

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

A table of contents for the *London Quarterly Review* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_london-quarterly-and-holborn-review_01.php

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER 1914

DANTE AS A SPIRITUAL TEACHER

The Spiritual Message of Dante. By Rt. Rev. W. BOYD CARPENTER, late Bishop of Ripon. (Williams & Norgate, 1914.)

Dante and Aquinas. By PHILIP H. WICKSTEED. (J. M. Dent & Son, 1918.)

Dante and the Mystics. By EDMUND G. GARDNER, M.A. (J. M. Dent & Son, 1918.)

'DANTE'S mystic, unfathomable Song,' says Carlyle in a well-known passage of his *Heroes*; 'I give Dante my highest praise when I say of his Divine Comedy that it is in all sense genuinely a Song. . . . The essence and material of the work are themselves rhythmic. Its depth and rapt passion and sincerity make it musical;—go deep enough, there is music everywhere.' The three kingdoms, as he calls them, *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*, 'look out on one another like compartments of a great edifice; a great supernatural world-cathedral, piled up there, stern, solemn, awful; Dante's World of Souls!' Amidst the bewildering mass of comment and literature that has been heaped over and around the Divina Commedia, Carlyle with characteristic insight has penetrated to the heart of the whole matter. Dante's poem is a world in itself, but it is a world of souls. Is it the soul of the wonderful thirteenth

century that is depicted here, the soul of the Middle Ages? Doubtless that is true, but more is to be found in it than a graphic portrait of a passing period. Dante's own soul speaks to the Soul of all the ages. This is the very heart of the truth. Marvels of poetic diction illumine the pages of the *Commedia*; they exhibit a wonderful array of historical knowledge ancient and modern; a skilful subdual of the science of the age beneath the sway of glowing verse, a power over words in a language which the poet did not so much find as create, an august embodiment of catholic faith and theology, the soaring power of an imagination seeking to render things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme—all these and more are to be found in Dante's great poem. But its main significance is the message it contains from spirit to spirit, and its tone is one of infinite, all-pervading music, the deep harmonies of mighty spheres which include within their vast boundaries Heaven and Earth and Hell.

It is not to be wondered at, however, if the majority of readers fail to catch the witchery of the song. To begin with, a large part of the power of all great poetry lies in the magic of the very words as they were written. Dante must be read in Italian; the best translators know that their versions are Dante and water. The biting intensity of scorn concentrated into half a dozen words, the ringing melody of single lines, are lost for the English ear when dissolved into cumbrous prosaic paraphrases. Further, to the obscurity occasioned by incisive brevity must be added the difficulties which arise from the fact that Dante has embodied in his poem a whole system of mediaeval science—astronomical, theological, cosmological and historical—so that a score of allusions need to be explained before the meaning of one canto is fully understood. And—to name only one other cause of Dante's remoteness from the English reader of to-day—his conceptions of God and the universe, of the past and future of humanity, are so circumscribed and so different from ours, that the English student of the twentieth

century requires to make an effort of which many are incapable, if he would reach the heart of the poet's meaning. Some readers are repelled by the grotesque horrors of the *Inferno* and hardly less by the scholastic metaphysics of the *Paradiso*, while the sturdy Protestant recoils from the idea of Purgatory as a fable based on a soul-destroying superstition.

But Carlyle is right. The whole diapason of what might seem to be jarring discords is mastered into music, as in the turbulent rush of Niagara the sound of many conflicting waters brings a deep, unutterable peace. The vast structure with its nave and aisles, its courts and chapels, its gloomy crypts and over-arching roof losing itself in the azure of the sky, is one whole—a cathedral in which only awe-struck, reverent worship is possible. It is the glory of this all-but-greatest of poets that amidst such a torrent of discordant sounds he has been able to hear the music which sounds through the history and destiny of mankind, that he has been able to gauge the symmetry of such a complex building, and has handed on his thought in immortal words to the generations, for as many as can see and hear after him. The one question that we ask of any great thinker, is What is his 'world-view' and how much is its worth? What dost *thou* make of the Cosmos, the *universum*—God and man, earth and heaven and all between, beneath and above them—what, O seer, according to thee is the meaning and what is to be the issue of the whole? 'Whence—and O heavens, whither?' Few dare attempt a detailed answer to such a question; and no one among poets or philosophers has given just such an answer as is enshrined in the *Divina Commedia*.

For it is a world of realities that Dante calls upon us resolutely to face. True, he has much to say about allegory, and his whole teaching is in form symbolical. But not symbolical in that modern and essentially mischievous sense of the word in which it is opposed to real. In the highest and best teaching symbol is employed as a faint

indication of a stupendous reality—faint, yet the best of which the human mind and human language are capable. If any man ever looked into his own heart and wrote with utter sincerity, or looked as best he could into the heart of the universe and pictured in living lines of light and darkling hues of earthquake and eclipse what he veritably saw, it was Dante. The very name 'Commedia' may mislead. It was used, as the poet himself tells us in his letter to Can Grande,¹ because tragedy begins in tranquillity and ends in shame and overthrow, whereas comedy begins with that which is dreadful and repulsive, but ends in happiness and prosperity. So he describes the literal meaning of his poem as 'the state of souls after death,' while allegorically it stands for 'Man, as rendering himself liable to rewarding or punishing justice, by his good or ill desert in the exercise of his free will.' But such 'allegory' is the most real of realities, and Dante presents us with a kind of philosophy of the history of mankind and of the individual heart—the macrocosm and microcosm as they appeared to a poet of penetrating vision, lofty imagination and incisive speech. And his message is not set forth in laboured prose, but chanted in the Orphic music of imperishable song.

That is to say, the realities of things, for Dante, are spiritual, and the reader who would understand him must occupy the same standpoint. There are a hundred other subjects of study in the poem. The personal characteristics of the writer are fascinating. Proud, sensitive, fastidious, reticent, stern; yet with a soul tremulously responsive to beauty, in the world of light and colour and in the world of pathos and of joy; loyal, courteous, brave and lofty, with a heart tender as a woman's, pitying and yearning as only one who had himself been in hell and come forth saved as through fire, could yearn and pity. The statesman and the philosopher are also reflected in Dante's poem; it is inter-

¹ The genuineness of this letter has been questioned, but on hardly sufficient grounds.

esting to trace the ideas of government, echoes of the *De Monarchiâ* characteristic of the great Ghibelline, the Florentine patriot, and the devoted servant of the Empire. The accomplished theologian, pupil of Thomas Aquinas, also speaks in the poem, sounding the depths of predestination and free-will. Dante's mind was capacious enough to embrace nearly all the best knowledge of his time. But these things are but the drapery of the picture, and the limitations of the thirteenth century were such that the *Commedia* would have been long since forgotten if its reputation had depended on its geography, its astronomy, and its metaphysics.

Dante is 'world-great, not because he is world-wide, but world-deep.' Few have pierced deeper into human hearts and human life than he. His theme is man—darkly, diversely, sinful, and his message concerning sin and evil is stern and inexorable, based, like the throne of God, upon inviolable righteousness. The soul that sinneth, it shall suffer, must intensely suffer; and wherever impenitent sin is, there is punishment which Righteousness demands and inflicts. Hell is what sin deserves; what man chooses and what God in holy love must appoint. But repentance is possible and most mighty. The God who is unsullied light, whose eyes of glory cannot look upon iniquity, is one who delights in mercy, and with Him is forgiveness that He may be feared—plenteous redemption for all who will turn and live. Suffering may not cease, but it wholly changes its character and is eagerly welcomed by the penitent, that he may work out to the full the consequences of his ill-doing and open up for himself a path to abiding light and peace. The *Purgatorio* shews how keenest pain may be full of delight when it expiates and purifies; how the soul may long intensely to bathe in fire, if only it will sunder him from the sin which sunders him from God. For to the One great Source and Centre of blessedness all creation turns and tends. The picture of the *Paradiso* is the gradual unveiling of God.

Here, in this realm of light and harmony, is the true *Primum Mobile*, the sphere which, in its rapid revolutions moves, while it encompasses, all the spheres of all conceivable worlds. The will of God rules and sways in perfect harmony the countless saints who summer high in bliss upon the hills of God. That will is Holy Love—*l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle*—the Love which moves the sun and all the other stars.

The three volumes named at the head of this article illustrate from different points of view the position here taken up. They represent the most interesting contributions to the study of Dante in this country during the last year. Bishop Boyd Carpenter has frequently lectured on the subject for some years past, and now, under the title, 'The Spiritual Message of Dante,' he publishes the Belden Noble Lectures, delivered in America in 1904. They are somewhat slight in character, having been delivered without MS. In their present form, compiled from notes written subsequently, they preserve the style of oral addresses. But they work out in interesting and popular fashion the thesis that the *Commedia* is 'a drama of the soul,' 'the cry of a soul which is striving to find itself, to express itself, and to reach at last the great central soul of love in which it can lose itself.' Dr. Boyd Carpenter asks whether there is any one thought which may be said to govern the whole poem, and gives the answer, 'The one word which gives us the clue to the whole is love. . . From beginning to end love, divine love, is working for the illumination, the emancipation and the salvation of the soul. *Amore—amore—amore*—the sound is heard loudest and loftiest in the happy reaches of paradise, but it speaks on the winding terraces of purgatory, and even in hell it is not silent.' Bishop Carpenter's survey of the poem, from this standpoint, if somewhat slender, is full of charm, and many readers will greatly prefer his attractive pages to ponderous volumes of minute study and analysis.

Mr. Wicksteed's *Dante and Aquinas* contains the substance of the Jowett Lectures of 1911. He, too, has long been a lecturer on Dante, and a small volume of his sermons, published more than thirty years ago, is still in circulation, and provides a good brief commentary on the religious side of the poem. The Jowett Lectures deal with its philosophical and theological side. They contain interesting chapters on the influence of Greek philosophy on mediaeval thought; on Aristotle and Neo-Platonism, as preparing the way for scholasticism. All students are aware of Dante's dependence on Aquinas, partly in specific passages, and still more in the general shaping of his theology. The term 'dependence,' however, must not be unduly pressed. It does not follow that Dante had mastered the *Summa*, but, as Mr. Wicksteed expresses it, we may 'use the works of Aquinas as the best means of introducing us into the mental theological atmosphere that Dante breathed.' The parallels adduced between the schoolman and the poet are full of interest, especially as showing that while the poet moved within the circle of scholastic ideas, he never allowed them to master him, but broke away from them again and gain, as his imagination soared on its own wings into the empyrean. The metaphysical element in the *Paradiso* is not attractive, but the marvel is that it could be brought by sheer force of genius under the sway of poetry at all.

Mr. Edmund G. Gardner is the author of one of the best expositions of the *Paradiso* in English. His *Dante's Ten Heavens* is a joy to every student of the subject, and should be read side by side with Dr. Carroll's helpful and instructive volume, *In Patriâ*. The new volume on *Dante and the Mystics*, containing the substance of the Barlow Lectures delivered at University College, London, lays stress on the mystical aspects of the *Commedia*, and traces the influence on the poet of mystical writers, from Augustine onwards. Mr. Gardner has gathered interesting parallel passages from Dionysius, Bernard, the Victorines and other writers, and

his book includes two suggestive chapters on the relation of Dante to Francis of Assisi and the Franciscan movement in history. He confirms Mr. Wicksteed's conclusion that where Dante has been influenced by preceding or contemporary writers, he is no plagiarist—the idea is inconceivable—but he handles in original and masterly fashion religious ideas which have appeared and re-appeared in history. The discussion as to how far Augustine was the inspirer of the well-known line,

E la sua volontate è nostra pace,

is very interesting. The comparison between the passage quoted from the tenth book of the *De Civitate Dei* and Dante's exposition in Parad. xxi, xxiii and xxx of 'the light which lighteth every man' illustrates the continuity of mysticism in successive ages. Mr. Gardner says that 'when Dante wrote, the doctrine of the *lumen gloriæ*, by which the rational or intellectual soul is made *deiformis* (godlike), and rendered capable of seeing God, was already a commonplace with scholastic theologians.' It is the very characteristic of genius to glorify the commonplace. It was one of Dante's main functions to breathe life into the dry bones of theological phrases, making them to stand upon their feet, a living army, apparelled in celestial light and winged like angels fresh from the very presence of God.

I

The three parts of the poem form one whole, and each can only be understood in its relation with the other two. This is especially true of the *Inferno*, which presents a formidable stumbling-block to readers who are listening for the music of the spheres. The prosaic reader who, guided perhaps by Doré, is brought face to face with a story of horrors, physical tortures of burning pitch and boiling blood, and the wailings of unutterable and hopeless anguish, may naturally be disposed to turn away in shuddering pity from a poem which opens thus. But he has not seen aright.

Dante desires to show him evil in all its naked hideousness ; the havoc that it works in the soul and in society ; the unspeakable degradation, vileness, and misery which belong to its very essence and which must accompany and follow it to the uttermost. When Plato, in his 'Gorgias' myth represents the souls of men in another world as seamed with the marks of many stripes and full of scars, these are the scars of perjuries and unrighteousness ; the ugly, foul, and deformed figures of which Socrates tells in his 'excellent, true story,' were made crooked and disgusting by falsehood and unclean living. The grotesque and often disgusting pictures drawn in the *Inferno* stand for the most tremendous attempt ever made to paint the utterly abominable and detestable nature of evil as it really is, and the fearful consequences it inevitably brings in its train.

The doctrine of hell has fallen altogether out of many modern creeds. It will always disappear when the doctrine of sin is feebly held and faintly taught. Belief in hell will not fall out—rather it will be, and ought to be, vehemently cast out—when it is handled, as, alas ! it has been in Christian history, so as to make Him who sits on the great white throne appear more like a fiend than a Father. The hell-fire preacher of a hundred years ago would not be listened to to-day. But that which lay at the heart of his extravagant and sometimes revolting denunciations can never be made to disappear from the world of realities so long as God is light and man loves darkness rather than light because his deeds are evil. Retribution is inevitable. It is not the result of arbitrary decree on the part of a cruel and capricious Deity ; it is not a dogma of Councils or a fiction of fanatical visionaries. It is the other side of sin, haunting its footsteps always, unescapable as a shadow in the sunlight.

Me miserable ! which way shall I fly
 Infinite wrath and infinite despair ?
 Which way I fly is Hell ; myself am Hell ;
 And in the lowest deep, a lower deep
 Still threatening to devour me opens wide
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a heaven.

It is the glimpse of that still 'lower deep' that makes some misery so terrible. It begins on earth; man need not wait for another life to taste it. Hell is no more an invention of theologians than the Bible is the cause of sin and evil. 'There may be heaven; there must be hell; Meanwhile, there is our earth here'—and it is the facts and possibilities of life on earth that open up the glorious prospect of a heaven and that create the desperate need of a hell.

God has not made hell; man has made it. That is Dante's teaching. In his own words, the subject of his work is, 'Man, rendering himself liable, by good or ill desert in the exercise of his free will, to rewarding or punishing justice.' Righteousness is inexorable, or it would cease to be itself. But that is a very hard way of stating undeniable truth; so hard that, standing alone, it may mislead. The God in whom the Christian believes is Love; and it is characteristic of Dante that while he insists, with a sternness which is a very echo of the voice of God, on the irrefragable certainty that 'the wages of sin is death,' his main thought is not so much the rigid sentence pronounced by outraged justice, but the irrevocable and inalienable misery of those who offend against love and shut themselves out from its gracious sway. Browning hits the mark, as usual, in a line when he speaks in *One Word More* of

Dante, who loved well because he hated,
Hated wickedness that hinders loving.

But the paradox that is implied in such hatred is not understood by the easy-going philosopher, who does not worry about his sins or their punishment, still less about the sins and woes of other men. Dante has pilloried such caitiffs for ever, branding them with his scorn in the ante-chamber of hell, 'to God and to God's foes displeasing,' neutral poltroons whom the very damned in deepest hell would despise as cowards. The existence of an Inferno is due either to lack of love or to rebellion against it in one of a thousand forms. Dante's verse is signalized by many mighty and

startling lines, but there is perhaps no more striking paradox than is contained in the last two words of the inscription written over the gate of Hell :

Divine Omnipotence created me
The highest Wisdom and the *Primal Love*.

How can love create a place of torture and misery ? How can one who believes in a God of infinite love write thus of the sufferings of the lost ? A spiritually blind and morally flaccid generation is not likely to understand the mingled severity and tenderness of Dante. Only the severe can be tender, while the weak may easily be indulgent. One of Dante's deepest spiritual lessons is that Love can only conquer in a world of sin by itself suffering and by bringing men face to face with the unspeakable hell of sinning against love, human and divine. The lesson does not lie on the surface of the poem and commentators are apt to miss it. One of the chief excellences of Bishop Carpenter's exposition is that he makes this aspect so clear. ' It is not God who goes far from us : it is we who go from Him. His love may build hell that we may learn the awfulness of separation from Him who is love. Yes, we may even go down into hell and find Him there, as we realize that it is our lovelessness which sets the great, impassable gulf between us and Him. . . . Hell is self-revelation . . . it is as a great pageant of the self-disclosures of evil that the scenes of the *Inferno* pass before us.' Dante's hair was singed and his face grew lean and haggard because his pilgrim's progress had led him into the depths of hell itself. But so the Divine will had appointed that he might learn and teach to others the unspeakable evil of evil, the outer darkness of those who are self-exiled from love.

Such words as these may become mere platitudes—harmless and useless. Generalization is fatal in questions of morals, and it is one of the supreme merits of Dante as a teacher that he is individual and concrete where most moralists lose themselves in vague abstractions. Dante's

analysis of the various kinds of sin is detailed and searching, his knowledge of the windings and self-deception of the human heart is profound. In his classification of sins—one underlying the whole structure of the *Inferno*, and another, slightly different, indicated in the ascending terraces of the *Purgatorio*—he may have drawn somewhat on the moral theology of the mediaeval Church. But no casuist ever saw with Dante's eyes. He paints with his own brush and his own incommunicable colours ; he stamps every line with his own impress. How deeply does the burin bite into the copper, as this master-etcher graves for all time the hideous features of the subtle evil he strips and brands. His satire was bitter, perhaps too bitter,

When, his left hand i' the hair o' the wicked,
Back he held the brow and pricked its stigma,
Bit into the live man's flesh for parchment,
Loosed him, laughed to see the writing rankle,
Bet the wretch go festering through Florence.

But it is the evil that he gibbets, not the man. Infinite pity breaks forth sometimes from his human heart, and 'tears seem to drop from the very words' in the description of Paolo and Francesca, and when the poignant story is told, he swoons, as one dead. But he is warned that there are times when pity is out of place. It is in mercy that the surgeon's hand is firm and steady, when the sharp knife nears the vital organs and the cancer that threatens life is to be cut clean away.

Much is to be learned that we cannot stay even to hint at from the gradation of evil which makes sins of sensuous impulse to be less heinous than sins of wilfulness, whilst sins of falsehood and treachery sink men deeper still in the horrible narrowing circles of perdition. Much were to be said, too, of the treatment assigned to heretics. Those who regard Dante as a mere bigot of orthodoxy should look more closely and they will see that the poet condemns not so much the error of the intellect as the headstrong perversity of will which leads to it. The last lesson of all is assuredly

not the least. After plagues of fiery rain and the story of graves like iron furnaces come the terrors of thick-ribbed ice and frozen tears. The heart of hell is *cold*! He understands evil well who can perceive that. Never is man further from bliss than when alienation from love has chilled his inmost being and his very heart is turned to stone. Mortification has set in when the body no longer feels pain, and corruption is uttermost when God says of Ephraim, Let him alone. The man who does not abhor evil would welcome even hot, bitter weeping to relieve his heart, but his tears are frozen at their source, he becomes himself a Satan—one who cannot love.

II

There are few more touching passages in literature than the lines (Purg. i., 18 and 115) which describe the passing of Dante and Virgil from the scorching flames and foul darkness of the Inferno *a riveder le stelle*—again to see the stars. These represent to Dante the aspirations of the soul and the joy of the upward way. The essential difference between the atmosphere of hell and of purgatory is that in the latter repentance and hope take the place of impenitence and despair. Penitence alone can absolve, says Dante (Inf. xxvii., 118). But here a question arises which concerns the whole significance of the second part of the poem. Dante was a thorough Catholic of the mediaeval period, and at this point there might seem to be a fundamental difference between his view of forgiveness and salvation and that which belongs to the Christian gospel. It might appear that the poet's answer to one who asks, What must I do to be saved? is not Look to Christ and trust, but Repent and work out thy due measure of penal suffering. If this were true the voice of the Evangelist would be silenced and the New Testament would have to be re-written. There is ground for hesitation. It is true that neither Christ Himself as Saviour, nor the salvation He wrought out on the Cross, nor the faith which

enables the penitent to make that salvation his own, receives the place in Dante's teaching that an evangelical Christian would desire and expect. The figure of Christ as the world's Saviour appears but little in the poem. Christ is indeed symbolized in the peculiar form of the Gryphon, half-eagle, half-lion, in the earthly Paradise; where the triumphal procession of the Church is led by One who unites in Himself the two natures, human and divine. The Cross does also flash forth for a moment in the heaven of Mars (Par. xiv., 108) as the banner of Christ's faithful soldiers, and in the Starry Heaven (Par. xxiii., 25) it is the light of His presence that glorifies His redeemed. But Dante has far more to say concerning Beatrice than concerning his Saviour, and in the noble address of Bernard in Par. xxxii. the glory of Mary, 'mother of God,' goes far to eclipse the glory of Christ. The whole drift of the *Purgatorio* might at first sight seem to be that only through the grievous payment of long accumulated penalties and the purifying influence of age-long suffering can a soul be saved indeed and made ready for the presence of God.

There is some justice in this contention. The sufferers in purgatory appear to be *atoning* for their sins, and deliverance from them to be impossible till all unexpiated stains have been removed by toil and effort and keen, excruciating pain. But Dante's whole view can hardly be described thus. If he had been asked concerning his Saviour he would have pointed to Christ, not to the Virgin; the Incarnation is one of the two crowning mysteries of his faith; he would have acknowledged that Divine Grace, not human effort, is the source and ground of all salvation. But the sinner who trusts to Christ as Saviour, he would have added, is not thereby freed from all the consequences of his sins, and the bearing of these in patience is a necessary part of the process of salvation. Further, at death even the purest saint is not wholly fit for the presence of God, and discipline, such as earth cannot afford, is necessary and will be eagerly

welcomed, in order that the follower of Christ may be purified and prepared for the Beatific Vision. A Protestant, without believing in purgatory, may accept the greater part of the spiritual teaching of the *Purgatorio* to help him in the trials and conflicts, the varied efforts and aspirations, of Christian life here on earth.

Repentance does not, properly speaking, atone for sin. But where it is real it has wonderful power, and without it there can be no salvation. There is, as readers of John Wesley know, a repentance of believers which forms an essential part of the work of sanctification. It is with this that Dante is concerned in his *Purgatorio*, rather than with the conditions on which a penitent sinner is justified before God. The Roman Catholic definition of justification includes sanctification, and the whole colouring of 'Catholic' as contrasted with 'evangelical' religion depends upon the fundamental view of life implied in it. An interesting illustration of the value of true penitence is found in the story of Buonconte of Montefeltro, who is found among the violently slain and late repentant in *Purg.* v. When in response to Buonconte's dying cry for forgiveness the angel of God took his soul, 'one from hell cried, O thou from heaven, why robbest thou me? Thou bearest hence the eternal part of this man—*per una lagrimetta che il me toglie*—for one little tear snatches him from me,' and the demon wreaks his impotent vengeance on the body, which is all that remains within his power. One little tear! One sigh, one glance, one penitent prayer is enough. One cry, and 'Lord, remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom!' is enough to win the answer, 'To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.'

The symbols of the three steps and the two keys which mark the entrance to the true purgatory in canto ix. are very significant. But in interpreting them it is to be remembered that a poet is not a theologian and that the suggestive emblems of the seer cannot be forced into correspondence with the technical definitions of the schoolman. The gate-

keeper of purgatory is seated upon a throne, to the foot of which three steps lead up. The lowest is white, smooth, and polished ; the second is dark, rough, calcined and rent through all its length and breadth ; the third is burning red like porphyry, or ' the blood which spurts forth from an opened vein.' There can be little question that the first represents that thorough sincerity of heart without which the way of return cannot be trodden at all. The second represents the affliction for sin, the broken and contrite heart with the sacrifices of which God is well pleased. The third stands for that glowing love which is ready to give up all even to death and is the symbol at the same time of love's sacrifice and love's victory. The seven P's marked upon Dante's brow by the point of the sword are the seven brands of sin honestly confessed, that are to be removed upon the seven successive terraces of the Mount of Purification. The gate is opened by the golden key of Divine pardon, yet this does not suffice without the use of the silver key of human discernment and insight.

Perch' ell' è quella che il nodo disgroppa,

'for this it is which unlooses the knot.' Here is another point at which Catholic and Protestant theologians part from one another. On their differences it might perhaps be truly said that each might with profit learn something from the other.

It is impossible to follow the symbolism of the seven terraces in detail, but the student of the human heart and every one who tries to guide the human pilgrim in his progress to a better life will find much to learn in every part of it. The 'scourge' and 'bridle' with which every virtue is stimulated and every vice checked and restrained ; the pains through which those who are being purified have severally to pass ; the examples held before the pilgrims to encourage them on their way ; the chanted Beatitudes, the music of which makes it easy for them to climb ; the glad removal of the accusing P's from the forehead—all these

are metaphors that speak for themselves. But the charm and power of the whole lies largely in the poetic presentation of the deep spiritual truths symbolized. Dante's very words ought to be allowed to speak for themselves, but the limitations of space forbid quotation. No one, however, can miss the significance of the fact that the removal of Pride is the first great step in the ascent. Dante humbly (and truly) confesses that pride is his own chief besetting sin and in it he finds the chief obstacle to the work of God in the human heart. He esteems sensuous sins as far less heinous and less difficult to overcome. If he is right—and who can question it?—some modern estimates of comparative guilt need to be searchingly revised. But Christians need to be reminded who it was who said that publicans and harlots find an easier entrance into the kingdom of God than self-complacent Pharisees. The one thing men will not do till Divine grace compels them is to become as little children. The first beatitude of all is to *many the last* and the hardest to learn—Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

When all the steep terraces of the mountain have been climbed, when all the purifying pains have been exultantly encountered, when the seven P's have been removed from the brow, and seven times the chant of deliverance has been sung, the work of purification is over. The mountain shakes to its very base, and a triumphant *Gloria in Excelsis* celebrates the fact that another soul has been wholly freed from sin and is ready for the presence of God. Virgil hands Dante over to the guidance of Beatrice and takes leave of him with tender words that are full of pathos as coming from one who himself can never enter Paradise :

Expect no more or word or sign from me ;
 Free and upright and sound is thy will
 And error were it not to do its bidding.
 Thee o'er thyself I therefore crown and mitre !

Purg. xxvii., 139-142.

III

It is not to be wondered at that Dante pauses on the threshold of his *Paradiso*, knowing how great a task he is about to undertake and questioning whether he can carry his readers with him. He has seen a vision. He has himself been in Heaven, but 'in drawing nigh to desire, intellect engulfs itself so far that after it memory cannot go.' He has passed through the 'filthiest gloom' of 'glutted hell'; he has wandered where the waters slope 'into a darkness quieted by hope.' It has been given to him also to 'pluck amaranths grown beneath God's eye, In gracious twilights where His chosen lie'; but who can describe those flowers, who can paint the Presence wherein they grew?

Here, most of all, Dante is spiritual. He may, and does, follow the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and enumerate the grades of the 'celestial hierarchy' of Dionysius and his followers. He may describe the nine concentric spheres in which the heavenly bodies revolve round Earth as a fixed centre—the heaven of the moon, of Mercury, of Venus, of the Sun, of Mars, of Jupiter, of Saturn, of the Fixed Stars, the Crystalline Heaven and the Empyrean encircling them all. He may discourse of Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers, as one who knows all their ranks and orders, the functions of Cherubim and Seraphim, of angels and archangels, in what order they stand around the supreme throne and what are their precise celestial ministries. But these constitute the merest framework of a picture which Shelley described as containing the most glowing images in all poetry, 'a perfect hymn of everlasting love.'

To understand and enjoy the *Paradiso*, however, not only must the spatial forms necessary to Dante's descriptions be allowed for, but much of the theological phraseology which belonged to the time must be set on one side. The true marvel is that in spite of these obsolete ideas, to moderns constituting a serious drawback, Dante's sublime verse

breathes so fully as it does the lofty, spiritual atmosphere of the skies. Movement, Music, Light! A swift and mighty progress from peak to peak of knowledge, love, and joy—the removal of veil after veil from the glory of the Shekinah, till the vision of God Himself is granted for a moment, and the beholder loses himself in light eternal! But the glory can only be seen by the spiritual eye. The contrast between Shelley's glowing appreciation of Dante, quoted above, and Byron's coarse sneers, speaks for itself. Shelley was not a Christian, but his spiritual imagination was of the loftiest, while Byron represents what will always be the impression produced by spiritual truth on the man who is of the earth, earthy. It is impossible here even to indicate the excellences of Dante as a spiritual teacher in this last of the *Cantiche*, the culminating effort of his genius.

But he teaches us that in heaven all is progress. The sense of ceaseless, rapid motion is conveyed throughout; stagnation is impossible and unthinkable. The mere wish to rise to a higher heaven bears Beatrice and Dante upwards ere the desire has found expression. 'Even as an arrow which smiteth the targe ere the cord be still, so fled we to the second realm.' Celestial gravitation tends ever Godwards. All sense of effort is gone, as souls by a ceaseless, upward progress advance nearer and nearer to God and to the transformation of nature that results from vision. 'We shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is.'

Beatrice is the guide. She is Divine Wisdom, manifested in its most attractive form. The passage from heaven to heaven, from glory to glory, is perceived, not by change in surrounding objects, but by the increasing loveliness of her face. The light in her eyes is the knowledge of God; and her smile—though she hardly dared to smile lest Dante should faint and perish in rapture too keen for his frame to bear—her smile is the joy which the knowledge and presence of God always bring. The happy spirits who appear and reappear are at the same time in motion and at rest;

everywhere and always moved by desire for God ; always and everywhere satisfied and at peace in Him.

Dante's most wonderful poetical effects are produced by his use of light, and some of his profoundest spiritual teaching is bound up with these. A volume might be written to illustrate Dante's use of light ; always, with one memorable exception, light without colour. The light of dawn, of early morning, of noon, of afternoon, of twilight ; the light of a pearly cloud, of the morning star ; the silver shining of Jupiter ; the cold, crystalline light of Saturn ; the mellow light of the golden stairway ; the endlessly diversified lights of glittering stars—all these prepare for the pure, indescribable light of the Empyrean, where He dwells who is Light indeed. The spirits manifest themselves as luminaries, and the excellent brightness of one is indicated by the fact that others appear as black when they are seen in front of its radiant splendour.

Four heavens illustrate the excellence of the four cardinal virtues—Justice, Wisdom, Courage and Temperance ; and the four circles and three crosses symbolize the relation of these to the three ' theological virtues,' as they are called—though they are neither virtues nor theological—Faith, Hope and Love. The greatest of these, in the skies, as on earth, is Love. Bishop Carpenter is in his element when discoursing on this delightful theme. ' From the heart of the heavens all love, all energy, all initiative, all light and music spring. The old image of the spreading circlets on the face of the waters, into which a stone has been cast, may be taken as giving, roughly, Dante's conception of the *Paradiso*. The centre of all, the highest heaven, glows with the eternal fire of love ; but from it love's energy passes forth and becomes in the next heaven movement incalculably rapid ; in the heaven next beneath it distributes itself in diverse forms, as one star differeth from another star in glory. We see love at rest, love in action, and love distributed into various fountains of capacity and centres of

influence; love peaceful, energetic, diversified, fills these highest heavens.'

Knowledge, however, is not forgotten. [Dante assigns to it what some think is more than its due place. The commonest complaint made against the *Paradiso* is that it is too theological; and it is true that the theologians in the heaven of the sun receive at least as much honour as the soldiers of the Cross in Mars and the righteous rulers whose praises are sung in the heaven of Jupiter. Dante shews how important to him is the sphere of knowledge in religion by the emphasis laid in the closing canto upon the two great Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. [He does this, however, as a poet, not as a dogmatist of the schools. Love and knowledge, with him, are not opposed; love is as necessary to knowledge as knowledge to love. None the less in the celestial order love comes first and last. As Bishop Boyd Carpenter expresses it, 'The last great scene of this great poem shows us that, as love alone can lead to the knowledge of God, so the highest knowledge man can gain leads but to love.' [The knowledge of God characteristic of Paradise is immediate, intuitive; it far surpasses what on earth we call the understanding of the intellect and the affection of the heart. [Both of these, raised to their very highest power, are necessary, before we can know God, even as also we are known.]

Space does not permit detailed illustration of the height to which Dante's spiritual teaching reaches in the *Paradiso*. But let any reader pause, for example, over the picture of the Church triumphant in the splendid White Rose, and note the connexion between it and the Divine Light which is the source of salvation. As Dr. Carroll points out in his fine chapter dealing with canto xxx, it is from the Eternal Light Himself that the ray comes forth which is the true *lumen gloriæ*. [This ray 'penetrates downward from sphere to sphere, until on earth it forms the light of grace by which the saints are saved.' It then returns from earth to heaven,

and shining upon the Redeemed in the Rose makes them visible in the light of glory. The light by which the saints above see God is not simply a direct ray from Himself : ' it is a ray from Him reflected from . . . all the experience of Divine grace on earth by which they were redeemed.'

The climax of the whole is reached when the poet, illumined by Divine light, is enabled for one brief moment to perceive, as by a flash of insight, the meaning of the two great mysteries—the Three-in-One of the Ever Blessed Trinity and the union of two natures, Human and Divine, in One Person in the Incarnation. The gleam of revelation is no sooner granted than it is gone. But the transforming power of the Vision remains. The seer has learned the great secret of heaven and made it his own—' His will is our peace.' Knowledge and love have done their work, and his chastened and purified spirit has reached complete conformity with the will of Him who is the One Centre and Goal of all created being.

Here power failed the lofty fantasy :
 But now was turning my desire and will,
 Even as a wheel that equally is moved,
 The Love which moves the sun and the other stars.

W. T. DAVISON.

A MAY MORNING IN THE LOUVRE

HOW delightful to be in Paris on a May morning and begin the day by a saunter through the green plane-tree alleys of the Luxembourg garden, fragrant with the freshly opened leaves and the lilacs in blossom! The vistas of these long alleys suggest many happenings; one imagines many a glad lovers' meeting there while remembering how many a terrible scene of the great Revolution and of the Commune has taken place in and close to it. From the gates a narrow street leads past the mighty towers of Sainte Sulpice with the statue of Bishop Fénelon in the square on the left, and turning to the right one enters the long and somewhat dingy Rue de Seine with its old book-shops and objects of art and tempting portfolios of prints. It was here that M. Bergeret, that student of books and men, found temporary quarters when he came up to Paris from his provincial town: a decidedly shabby yet attractive street; for outward smartness is far less usual in Paris than in London. As the street traverses the crowded Boulevard St. Germain one remarks how, while no people are more industrious than the French and none are more zealous for precision in their work, yet here in Paris there appears far less of the inhuman self-absorption that marks the hurrying crowd in the busier streets of our own great cities. However hard-pressed, the Frenchman generally preserves a good-humoured dignity, as if business, after all, were not the whole of life. Soon we arrive at the Quays and cross the Seine: often as I have watched the rows of anglers only once have I seen a fish caught, a perch of some nine inches, whereupon immediately a friend rushed up to congratulate the successful fisherman with the heartiest handshake. And what harm of that? But the genial and

many-sided French who can find pleasure in so tame a sport as this can also display the utmost intrepidity and daring. As we pass on towards the Rue de Rivoli, groups of people are seen at every corner, staring up at the sky while the flat roofs of the high houses are covered with girls who have deserted their work-rooms and are all gazing upwards. The faint daylight moon is riding high and, seemingly only a few degrees lower, two or three specks like tiny leaves floating in the air, indicate an aeroplane. An attempt is being made to break the record of height. For some ten minutes it seems as if the machine floated motionless. Presently it slopes downward and passes rapidly towards the south-west. The evening journals announce that the aviator rose to within three hundred feet of the highest reached when the motor refused to act properly and he had to descend.

Now the Louvre is before us, and, mounting the broad stairs, one passes into that realm of which the door opens wide from every country, where entering one may leave behind the troubled world outside where folly and injustice rule and find the truth of what the Sirens falsely sang to Guion,

This is the port of rest from troublous toil :

The world's sweet inn from pain and wearisome turmoil.

Here once more I stand in the Italian Room, full of reverence and salute again the old friends that we have known so long : how marvellous a company of figures, how strong in gesture, how noble in expression ! But here they are glorified in colour, no longer the pale shadows of themselves that hang upon our walls at home. Surely that ' Entombment of Christ ' by Titian is the noblest of all pictures both for depth of expression and magnificent blending of colouring. How comes it that, passing from picture to picture, we can tell at once the artist, and say, ' Here is a Titian ! ' or ' Here is a Tintoretto ! ' The painter sees the same world that we see, but what is the magic process that intervenes between his eye and the scene that he paints ?

Even as the poet, so too the painter is ever seeking to catch the essential element in every face or figure or landscape, yet in either sphere every true artist represents it in a fashion unmistakably his own.

Passing from room to room, wearied with the wealth of beauty that makes such importunate and exhausting appeal to the eye and spirit within, a picture is reached which brings me to a full stop. Sometimes, though rarely, it happens that the painter and poet have each in his own medium, the same standpoint, the same dominant ideas, the same reading of nature and of human life. This identity is not often so marked as to be arresting, but here it is forced upon us. The subject is only a corner of a market garden ; no ideal orchard with grassy lawn but merely a few little-tended fruit trees in a small field. Some tree-stumps and weeds are in the foreground : the artist loved the face of old Mother Earth so well that he did not disdain to paint it in its humblest aspects. Clouds, black with rain and loaded with Heaven's artillery, fill almost the whole sky, but the sun has broken through and is shining brightly on the trees upon a rising-ground behind, which are clothed in freshest green. These form the background. In the front of the picture an apple-tree covered with delicious blossom lifts up its sprays and laughs in the face of the thunder-cloud from which deadly lightning has flamed and will flame forth again as the storm travels on. But in the corner of the sky to the left appears the loveliest blue of heaven, such as is only seen after the air has been washed by tempest. As the painter meant us to do, we smell the very fragrance of the wet leaves and blossoms and the scent of the earth steaming in the sun, and feel the heavy air yielding to freshness. That perfect blue suggests and, as human beings are made, it cannot fail to suggest, peace and hope beyond the darkest storms of earth. A miraculous picture which brings the heart into one's mouth, Millet's ' Printemps ! '

But all the time the picture has been calling up other

associations, not of art but of poetry. One poet there is, one poet only, who has ever showed the earth in such an aspect, and at once I say to myself, 'Here is a Lucretius in colour!' In this painting the very spirit of Lucretius lives again. There is in both the same magic vividness, the same richness and depth of colouring; both see and feel the simple beauty of the earth as with the undulled senses and joy of childhood: the modern picture also suggests the same sense of contrast which marks the poem. Lucretius too makes us feel the rich life of the earth, bursting forth irrepressible in spring-time. Probably he had never planted and sowed and reaped as did Millet, both on his father's farm and afterwards for many a year at Barbizon, yet he realizes as strongly as did the painter what a Scottish poet calls the 'feminality' of the earth, and the sacred wonder of its lavish fertility. 'The rains are lost after Father Ether has tumbled them into the lap of Mother Earth, but the goodly crops spring up and boughs are green with leaves upon the trees, and trees themselves grow up and are weighed down with fruit. From them in turn our own race and the race of wild beasts are fed: hence we see the glad towns blossoming with children, and the leafy forests on all sides singing with new birds. Hence the kine, weary with their load of fat, lay their bodies down about the glad pastures, and the white stream of milk flows from the distended udders, and hence a new brood with unsteady limbs gambol and play over the soft grass, intoxicated in their young hearts with the pure milk.'

But men have ever felt that behind all this loveliness and lavish bounty of the earth there lurks something pitiless. Science may indeed have fettered and harnessed the mighty forces of Nature since Lucretius' day, but the bonds may at any moment be broken and iceberg or fog set at naught even as of old the consummate work of human invention and industry. This distrust of Nature is strong in Lucretius, and is grounded both in his science and in his Epicurean

creed which allows him to surmise nothing beyond this seeming treachery and cruelty. The poet sees all this beauty against a background of natural forces which may crush it at any moment in their play as it were, yet the white blossoms and green leaves of spring made more fragrant and more fresh because of it. For him the earth, that tiny corner of space, is vitally linked with the awful infinity around it, for should the inflowing stream of atoms from that vast, tossing sea ever cease to feed it, the world would at once fall asunder. The contrast between the human lives, frail but indomitable, which are being played out on the precarious stage of earth amid awful forces that reckon naught of man, is never far away in Lucretius' poem : it makes it more tender and more human : the same contrast is felt by the painter, but in him it is touched with a noble trust which Lucretius does not dream of. Millet never forgot the terrible ocean storm which befell in his childhood when, close to his native village, nine or ten vessels were shattered like glass on the rocks and the shore was strewn with dead bodies. ' Since that time,' he wrote, ' I have seen many tempests in my country, but none have left me with such an image of destruction—such an impression of the littleness of man and of the power of the sea.' Lucretius himself might have written those very words of Millet about the stars, ' Is there not something terrible in thinking of these lights which rise and disappear century after century without varying ? They light both the joys and sorrows of men, and when the world goes to pieces the beneficent sun will watch without pity the universal desolation.' *Noctis signa severa !* Victor Hugo shows in a magnificent poem, ' Horreur Sacrée,' how all the most beautiful things in Nature have a background of the terrible. Both Lucretius and Millet have the same keen eye for the contrasts of light and shadow both in the material world and in that other and deeper world of the spirit, a sense which is given only to the Latin race and is conspicuous in its great French poet.

Such is the power of the artist, be it by words or through colour and form, to show us visions of the wonder of the world and set us pondering on the inner meaning of things. He can call up thoughts and feelings unknown to us before which crowd upon one another until we risk forgetting both time and place. But even of beautiful pictures one may have too much and it is a relief to pass again into the open air. The smoke from the steamer on the Seine suggests that nothing can be more refreshing than the cool woods and glades of St. Cloud. Starting from the Chatelet quay we pass the Palace of Justice, no longer bare walls staring grimly from windows open to the sky as the fire of the Commune left it, but restored to its old dignity. As we pass graceful bridge after bridge the winding Seine opens before us till the heights of Meudon rise above. On returning late in the afternoon we make for a restaurant in a by-street, modest but clean and not extravagant. What a variety of features one encounters on the Boulevard! many strong faces, others of marked refinement. Presently we enter the restaurant where Madame, debonaire and smiling, sits at her table, making out accounts while her husband and a waiter attend to the guests. How different from hers is his aspect, gaunt, swarthy, hollow-eyed! All faces have writing upon them for those who can read, and on his the lines are both plain and deep: its expression is not only strong but desperate. He has seen strange things, perhaps played his part, when a youth, in the Commune—for this is a volcanic city, and these now quiet streets have seen many a wild outburst of civil strife. As I pass out again the air is deliciously cool and family groups fill the chairs placed on the pavement in front of the cafés. On the little table in front of each there stands often a glass holding its measure of absinthe. The deadly narcotic shines green in the evening light as if reflecting in little the bar of rich colour which lies in the western sky where the sun has lately set. Trust the Parisian to see and seize the picturesque

point of everything. This hour of evening he has christened 'l'heure verte,' the green hour.

Those bright days are past. The shadow of a great war has fallen again over Paris. As a journalist writes: 'The city is one great camp, yet it is quite orderly. Nearly all shops are shut. Paris at midnight is as calm and quiet as a country village.' But it is not now as in 1870. France was then in decadence. Balzac, in his faithful picture of his own generation, has shown how rank (with a few noble exceptions) was corruption in public office, how prevalent were self-seeking, luxury, and vice in private life. Balzac died in 1850, but in those unswervingly honest records of his the prophecy of the coming Sedan stands written, unmistakable for all who have eyes to read. Since that day France has passed through great tribulation and its lessons have sunk very, very deep. For years now a new spirit of patriotism and self-denial has been throbbing in the land. High thinking and plain living have taken the place of luxury: the effort after efficiency has replaced boasting and self-confidence. The old light-heartedness may have been partly lost, but those who meet young Frenchmen of the educated class are struck by their manliness and self-possession. "La vie me fait peur," said one of these to a friend of the writer, but it was the seriousness of living that he thought of, not the enemy on the frontier—yet perhaps it may be well for any nation not to feel too safe. France stands again in the forefront of Europe in art, in philosophy, in science. It is this New France which is now our ally by whose side we are proud to fight against the intolerable oppressor. Every generous heart will pray and strive that she and her allies may demonstrate to the world once more that, when Might dares to usurp the place of Right, it is for its own undoing.

JOHN MASSON.

THE PANAMA CANAL: ITS IMPORTANCE AND POSSIBILITIES

- Story of the Panama Canal.* By L. MARSHALL. (London: Sampson Low & Co.)
- The Story of Panama, the New Route to India.* By FRANK A. GAUSE and CHARLES CARL CARR. (Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co.)
- Panama and what it Means.* By JOHN FOSTER FRASER. (London: Cassell & Co.)
- Panama Gateway.* By J. B. BISHOP. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)
- Panama and the Canal To-day.* By FORBES LINDSAY. (London: Sampson Low & Co.)
- Panama, the Canal, the Country, and the People.* By ALBERT EDWARDS. (London: Macmillan.)
- Things as they are in Panama.* By HARRY A. FRANCK. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)
- Panama: The Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection.* By PHILIPPI BUNAU-VARILLA. (London: Constable.)
- The Panama Canal.* By JOHN SAXON MILLS. (London: Thomas Nelson.)
- Joseph Pennell's Pictures of the Panama Canal.* Together with Impressions and Notes. By JOSEPH PENNELL. (London: Heinemann.)
- Panama, with sixteen full-page illustrations.* By EDITH A. BROWN. (Peeps at Many Lands Series.)
- Panama and the Canal in Pictures and Prose.* By WILLIS JOHN ABBOT. (London: Syndicate Publishing Co.)
- The Panama Canal, A Study of International Law and Diplomacy.* By H. ARIAS. (London: P. S. King & Son.)
- The Panama Canal Controversy.* By SIR HENRY ERLE RICHARDS, K.C.S.I. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.)
- The Panama Canal Conflict between Great Britain and the U.S.A.: A Study.* By LASSA FRANCIS LAURENCE OFFENHEIM. (Cambridge: The University Press.)

I

NO matter how much the crisis through which Europe at present is passing may overshadow the opening of the Panama Canal, it cannot take away from this gigantic enterprise the importance that it claims on account of the engineering feats accomplished; nor can it minimize the effect of the great reduction of distance covered by a large

percentage of the world's shipping made possible by the Canal. In these circumstances it will be of interest for me to outline the main facts relating to the construction of this gigantic waterway, and venture an estimate of its possibilities.

II

The Canal has been built by Col. G. W. Goethals, across the belt of land lying almost in the heart of the Isthmus of Panama, which the Government of the United States of America acquired in 1904, and when opened will sever the continents of North and South America, which hitherto were joined together by this narrow strip of land. Its length from shore to shore is 40 miles, in round figures. But channels have been cut at both extremities leading to deep water in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Taking into consideration these extensions, the Canal is about 50½ miles long. The exigencies of engineering have not permitted the Canal to be constructed in an absolutely straight line, but there are no dangerous turns to imperil or retard navigation. Distributed along the length of its changing course are a series of clean-cut angles, none of them with excessive curvature. It has also not been possible to give uniformity of character, depth, and width to the Canal. These features greatly vary in its three main sections. Even the level is not the same throughout. Part of the Canal is on the sea-level, but the larger portion of it is 85 feet above the level of the sea.

The first section is [a sea-level channel, about seven miles] long, 500 feet wide at the bottom, and 41 feet deep at mean tide. It extends from Limon Bay to Gatun, where there is a gigantic lock.

The second section is a high-level canal, 32 miles long, extending from the Gatun dam to Pedro Miguel. Its width varies greatly. It is 1,000 feet broad for a distance of 16 miles from the Gatun Dam. From there, for four miles, it narrows to 800 feet. Thence, until it reaches

Bas Obispo, it becomes 500 feet wide. The portion through the Culebra Cut has a bottom width of only 300 feet. Much of this variation is accounted for by the artificial lake, 164 square miles in area, that has been formed by impounding the waters of the Chagres River and other streams by means of a dam whose proportions are mountain-like, to which reference is made later on. The depth of this section of the Canal varies from 85 to 45 feet.

The third section, the Pacific entrance channel, extends from the Pedro Miguel Lock to Naos Island in the Pacific, some three miles beyond the city of Panama. It is about 11 miles long, 300 to 500 feet wide, and 41 feet deep.

The flow of water in the Canal is regulated by six double locks of concrete. The first series, consisting of a flight of three pairs of locks, is at Gatun. They have a combined lift or drop of 85 feet. The second series, consisting of one pair of locks with a combined lift or drop of 80½ feet, is at Pedro Miguel. The third series, two pairs of locks with a combined lift or drop of 54 feet 8 inches at mean tide, are located at Miraflores. All of the locks have a usable length of 1,000 feet and a usable breadth of 110 feet. Their side walls are 45 to 50 feet thick at the surface of the floor.

A pair of lock gates, placed wherever a change occurs in the water level, divides the locks into sections 1,000 feet long. Intermediate gates divide these chambers into two compartments, in order to save water in passing ships of a small tonnage through the locks. In addition to these, guard gates have been constructed at the ocean and lake ends of the locks.

Each gate consists of two leaves, each of which is from 47 to 82 feet high, 65 feet wide, 7 feet thick, and from 300 to 600 tons in weight. Fender chains, each weighing 27,098 pounds, are stretched taut in front of the gates when they are closed. These chains are lowered each time a vessel passes, and are lifted into place when the gates

are again closed. The leaves of the gate at Gatun are moved by motors aggregating 1,000 horse-power, those at Pedro Miguel by motors with an aggregate of 600 horse-power, and those at Miraflores by motors with an aggregate of 680 horse-power. The gates at each of the three locks are held in position when closed by machinery which requires, in each case, motors producing 322 horse-power. The chains in front of the gates are raised and lowered by hydraulic lifts operated by two pump motors of 140 horse-power in the aggregate, and two valve motors of one horse-power. Altogether there are forty-eight pumps, and an equal number of valve motors in operation at the three locks. The flight of locks at Gatun extend over 6,200 feet, and the machines operating them extend over about four-fifths of a mile.

It is interesting to note that the locks are operated, not locally, but from a central station. An ingenious device enables the operator to have before his eyes an indicator showing the exact condition of affairs at every moment, so that he is able to control the locks from a long distance without actually looking at them. A slight pull of a small switch will open or close a gate weighing 700 tons. Elaborate precautions have been taken to insure against outsiders tampering with this delicate mechanism. Full details of this wonderful apparatus were given in the Engineering Supplement of *The Times* for February 18, 1914, which may be consulted by those interested in a technical description of the machinery.

In addition to the locks already noted, there is a gate at the Pacific entrance constructed to control the tide, whose fluctuation sometimes amounts to as much as 20 feet. In designing the gates in the tidal lock, the Americans were required to meet a situation that engineers had never before tackled. The arrangements that have been made to overcome this difficulty have been most carefully thought out, and it is believed that it has been mastered: but

since these works are without precedent, it remains until the Canal has been working for some time to prove whether they will perfectly perform the function for which they have been constructed.

III

The construction of the Panama Canal is an engineering feat of which any nation might well be proud. Stupendous difficulties complicated an enterprise of the greatest magnitude that any race had undertaken. Technical skill and ingenuity of the highest order, executive ability, patience, perseverance, and pluck were needed to master these obstacles. In some ways the most perplexing problem that required to be solved was the control and disposal of the water of the Chagres River and its numerous tributaries, constituting a basin of 1,820 square miles. This stream winds like the coils of a snake across the Isthmus of Panama, from the San Blas Mountains to the Caribbean Sea, a little more than a mile west of Limon Bay. The Chagres is subject to sudden, passionate freshets, which sometimes rise 40 feet in twelve hours. In order to do anything in connection with the project, it was first necessary to devise means to handle the sudden excesses of water. The American engineers have solved the problem by converting this troublesome river from a hindrance into a help. They have made a huge artificial lake by confining its waters, which henceforth will be used to help pass ships through the canal. They have also harnessed the river to produce electricity to operate the machinery controlling the waterway,

This has been made possible by the construction of the biggest dam that human hands have ever attempted to build. It is a mile and a half long, 115 feet high—that is to say, 80 feet higher than the expected level of the lake—100 feet wide at the top, 400 feet wide at the water surface, and one-half mile wide at its base. Only

about one-fifteenth of the total length of the dam, or 500 feet, will be exposed to the maximum water-head of 85 feet.

The Gatun dam was constructed by piling up stones in parallel heaps a quarter of a mile apart, until they reached a height of 65 feet above the sea. The weight of these immense masses of stone squeezed out the soft soil from beneath them until they rested on solid foundations. The space between them was then filled up with an impervious mixture of sand and clay, which forms the 'core' of the dam. Thus a veritable mountain has been erected which it is hoped will withstand the fury of the Chagres in its maddest moments.

A gigantic spillway has been provided to discharge excess water, which, it is estimated, would half fill the lake over again during rainy seasons. It is cut through rock, almost in the centre of the big dam. Its bottom is about 10 feet above the level of the sea. It is 1,200 feet long and 800 feet wide, and is lined with concrete. Gates control the rush of water through the spillway, and guard against leakage in dry seasons. In designing the lake, dam, and spillway, the engineers have provided against contingencies that are practically impossible. They have made arrangements whereby the amount of water needed to maintain the level of the lake at 87 feet above the sea level during the wet, and 85 feet during the dry season, for three successive years of weather as dry as the driest on record. The spillway will discharge excess water even if the wettest kind of weather should continue for three years in succession.

Another great engineering obstacle that had to be conquered was presented by the hills at Culebra. These formed the backbone of the American Hemisphere, binding together the northern and southern continents. Some ten miles of the Canal had to run through this mountainous region, and this necessitated the excavation of many millions of cubic yards of soil and rock. In the most

favourable circumstances this would have been a stupendous task. But it was complicated by the fact that the hills at this point lacked the traditional toughness of a backbone. As soon as they were cut, even though immediately reinforced with a facing of concrete, they crumbled and collapsed and fell in, filling up the gap with soft *débris*, which in turn had to be removed. The work of excavation was further complicated with problems connected with the disposal of the *débris*. It was necessary that the steam shovels should be kept continuously at work, without stopping for a moment. This meant that a train must move forward the instant the last car was loaded, and that empty cars must be waiting for the next shovelful brought up by the mechanical digger. With a cut only 10 miles long and 500 feet wide at the bottom, it was not easy to work out a scheme of transportation that would be at once cheap and expeditious. Besides, it was found necessary to be prepared to convey various kinds of *débris* from Culebra to different points, so that it might be utilized to the best advantage. This necessitated that special kinds of trains should be waiting beside the steam shovels digging up earth, rubble, or rock, as the case might be.

The steps taken to overcome these difficulties cannot be explained here at length, for lack of space, but it may be generally stated that the engineers were able to make such good arrangements that empty cars alone were pulled up hill, while loaded cars were sent down hill propelled by their own momentum, which greatly reduced the coal bills. Practically all the stone excavated from the Culebra Cut was used for building the colossal dam at Gatun and the breakwater at Naos Island.

The water level in Gatun Lake and Culebra Cut is maintained by an earth dam, 1,700 feet long and rising to a height of 105 feet above mean tide. This has been managed by connecting the lock at Pedro Miguel with the high ground at the west.

The lake between Pedro Miguel and Miraflores has been formed by connecting the walls of the locks at Miraflores with the hills on either side by a dam 2,700 feet long and rising to a height of 15 feet above the surface of Miraflores Lake.

The question pertaining to the type of canal that was to be built in itself was a highly controversial and complex engineering problem. It was long debated whether a sea-level or a high-level canal was to be constructed. A message sent on February 19, 1906, by Col. Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States of America, to Congress, thus outlined the advantages and disadvantages of each type of waterway :

‘ The sea-level canal would be slightly less exposed to damage in the event of war ; the running expenses, apart from the heavy cost of interest on the amount employed to build it, would be less ; and for small ships the time of transit would probably be less. On the other hand, the lock canal, at a level of eighty feet or thereabouts, would not cost much more than half as much to build, and could be built in about half the time, while there would be very much less risk connected with building it, and for large ships the transit would be quicker ; while taking into account the interest on the amount saved in building, the actual cost of maintenance would be less. After being built, it would be easier to enlarge the lock canal than the sea-level canal.’

The President’s recommendation won the day, and in June, 1906, Congress voted in favour of it. Accordingly the main portion of the waterway has been constructed as a high-level canal.

But in spite of the fact that this type of canal has been built, the work entailed has been greater than that of any similar project that has been carried out. One has only

to ponder the figures concerning the excavation that has been done to realize the gigantic nature of the task that has been accomplished. It is authoritatively stated that it has been necessary for the United States engineers to excavate 228,559,000 cubic yards.

IV

Quite apart from the engineering difficulties that the Americans encountered, they had to face a sanitary situation whose effect was so deadly that it menaced the lives of everyone connected with the work on the Canal, from highest officials to lowest labourers. Yellow fever and malaria prevailed, working havoc at all times, and becoming virulently epidemic during the wet season. Rumour says that one man died for every sleeper laid for the railway built in 1850-55. It is estimated that in October, 1884, mortality from various diseases, chiefly yellow fever and malaria, amounted to over 100 per mille. In September, 1885, it reached almost 177 per 1,000. Some idea of the banefulness of malaria in those days can be formed when it is recollected that American engineers surveying the watershed of the Chagres took 40 grains of sulphite of quinine every day, and yet had to be conveyed down the river to the hospital, every two months, in order to receive treatment for chills and fever.

Immediately after the Americans assumed the responsibility of building the Canal, President Roosevelt directed the Commission entrusted with the enterprise: 'You will take measures to secure the best medical experts for this purpose (to provide effective sanitation) whom you can obtain.' Soon after, the medico-sanitary affairs of the Canal Zone were placed in the hands of Col. (now Surgeon-General) William Crawford Gorgas, of the U.S.A. Army Medical Corps, who had been responsible for disarming Cuba of its deadly yellow fever microbes. The Commission obeyed Mr. Roosevelt in appointing this capable officer,

but hampered him by refusing him the requisite authority and supplies. Col. Gorgas's work, therefore, did not really commence in right earnest until the new Commission was appointed in 1905. This body generously supported him. Thenceforward Col. Gorgas set out on a vigorous campaign. In a single year he poured 160,000 gallons of kerosene oil over places where mosquito larvae were bred. In a single month—May, 1906—he made people in the Canal Zone swallow 1,575,000 two-grain capsules of quinine. Nearly 2,000 men trained in the work of sanitation acted under the direction of this capable and enthusiastic officer. The total expenditure incurred for sanitation in the Panama Canal Zone is over £4,000,000.

The beneficent effect of this campaign rapidly showed itself. The last case of yellow fever occurred in December, 1905. That is to say, since the beginning of 1906, yellow fever has disappeared from the Canal Zone. The ravages of malaria were reduced from 800 cases in hospital per 1,000 workers in 1906 to 76 per 1,000 in 1913. The rate of mortality from all diseases was brought down from 4.1 in 1906 to 0.8 per cent. of employees in 1913. The death rate amongst the total population in the Canal Zone is now less than 28 per 1,000.

V

The surmounting of the obstacles presented by physical features and deadly disease has enabled the Americans to succeed in realizing an ambition which has stirred the imagination of many races. It is said that amongst the Spaniards who colonized this part of America after Columbus discovered the new world there were some who dreamed of such a project. But the scheme was considered by the Catholic Church to have been inspired by Satan, and the Inquisition stopped people from discussing a move which involved meddling with the Almighty's creation. It is also related that Paterson, a Scotchman who established a colony on

the Caribbean coast, planned to construct a canal, but was unable to do so through lack of funds, and died of malaria. An astronomical expedition sent in 1785 by the French Government to Central America urged the cutting of a waterway between the two Americas. Lord Nelson, before he had come into fame and received his peerage, also favoured the idea. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Spanish Government actually ordered a survey to be made. A few years later Alexander Von Humboldt, the German naturalist, pronounced the scheme of digging a canal feasible, and the idea also strongly appealed to Goethe. As soon as the Central American States had shaken off the yoke of Spain, towards the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, they appealed to Henry Clay, then Secretary of State at Washington, to take up the matter. From thence onward the building of a waterway either across Panama or Nicaragua interested many people, amongst them Louis Napoleon, who, before he became Emperor of France, published a leaflet advocating that France should serve humanity by constructing this canal. The movement received fresh impetus when gold was discovered in California towards the close of the first half of the nineteenth century. Following this, an American Company built the Panama railway. Shortly afterwards, President Buchanan sent naval and army men to survey Panama. But the United States Government seemed to favour cutting a canal through Nicaragua rather than through Panama. At this juncture the Panama authorities gave the concession to build the Panama Canal to Lucien Napoleon Bonaparte Wyse, a French lieutenant. A syndicate, with Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, of Suez Canal fame, as one of its members, was floated. It started the work of excavation in 1881. Eight years later, however, lack of funds and the ravages of disease led to the stoppage of work. A French syndicate thereupon bought up the old company and work was carried on at Culebra. However, progress was made

so slowly that the United States of America, which, on account of its geographic position and trade ambitions, and its Monroe Doctrine policy, was the most interested party, decided that the Canal should be dug and that it must belong to the United States Government and be worked by it. Towards the middle of 1902, Congress voted £8,000,000 to buy out the French Syndicate, and in 1904 it paid £2,000,000 to the Republic of Panama for ceding in perpetuity to the United States a zone 10 miles wide extending across the Isthmus from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, and agreed further to pay a quarter of a million pounds annually during the life of the Convention, beginning nine years after the date on which it was signed. A few months since President Wilson paid the Republic of Colombia the sum of £5,000,000 to cancel all the claims which it preferred against the United States in connexion with the Panama Canal. This act of Dr. Wilson caused much discussion, for it was contended that Colombia did not exercise sovereignty over Panama when the United States obtained its concession. However, the other side argued that in appropriating this amount and expressing his 'sincere regret for anything that may have interrupted or altered the relations of cordial friendship existing long between the two nations (Colombia and the United States of America),' the President satisfied the claims urged by equity. Be this as it may, the Canal Zone is to-day under the full, absolute, and unquestioned sovereignty of the American Government.

The United States has had to expend about £78,000,000 upon the construction of the Canal, in addition to the amounts paid for the rights. In this connexion it is of interest to note that the Suez Canal, which is much longer (about 99 miles in length) but only about 121 feet wide, is estimated to have cost only £24,000,000. The very great difference in cost is due to the greater amount of engineering work required in Panama. The total cost of buying up the

rights and building the Panama Canal, it is expected, will amount to close upon £90,000,000, and may even exceed that sum.

VI

As the Canal has been built, a ship entering from the Atlantic side will steam on to Gatun. There it will be confronted by a wall of concrete masonry 85 feet high. As the vessel approaches Gatun its power will be shut off, and ropes will be thrown ashore to connect it with the electric mules which are to tow it through the lock. As soon as the lock is entered, the gates will be shut, and immediately the water will begin to flow in through tremendous conduits emptying upwards through the floor. As the water rises, the ship will float higher and higher, until, when the lock is full, it will be more than 25 feet above the sea-level. At that point another set of gates will swing open, and the vessel will be towed into the middle lock by the electric mules. The process of filling the lock will be repeated, and when the last gate of the last lock closes behind the vessel, it will be floating on the surface of Gatun Lake, 85 feet above the level of the sea. While a ship is thus being lifted into Gatun Lake from the Atlantic entrance, another vessel, coming from the Pacific side, may be lowered from Gatun Lake to the sea-level channel to enable it to steam out into the Atlantic.

Once in the lake, the ship may steam ahead at full speed for twenty-four miles. Then it arrives at the Culebra Cut, through which it must proceed much more slowly. At Pedro Miguel it will be lowered through a lock to a small lake, the surface of which is about 55 feet above the sea level, and again at Miraflores, a mile and a half further on, it will be passed through two more locks, to the sea level, from where it steams out into the Pacific, by a channel eight and one-half miles long. Lord Bryce, in his book on South America, graphically describes a prospective voyage through the Canal :—

'The voyager of the future, in the ten or twelve hours of his passage from ocean to ocean, will have much variety. The level light of the fiery tropic dawn will fall on the houses of Colon as he approaches it in the morning, when vessels usually arrive. When his ship has mounted the majestic staircase of the three Gatun locks from the Atlantic level, he will glide slowly and softly along the waters of a broad lake which gradually narrows towards its head, a lake enclosed by rich forests of that velvety softness one sees in the tropics, with vistas of forest-girt islets, stretching far off to right and left among the hills, a welcome change from the restless Caribbean Sea which he has left. Then the mountains will close in upon him, steep slopes of grass or brushwood rising 200 feet above him as he passes through the great cut. From the level of the Miguel lock he will look southward down the broad vale that opens on the ocean flooded with the light of the declining sun, and see the rocky islets rising, between which in the twilight his course will lie out into the vast Pacific. At Suez the passage from sea to sea is through a dreary and monotonous waste of shifting sand and barren clay. Here one is for a few hours in the centre of a verdant continent, floating on smooth waters, shut off from sight of the ocean behind and the ocean before, a short, sweet present of tranquillity between a stormy past and a stormy future.'

VII

The claims of the Panama Canal do not merely rest upon the fact that it will provide passage through picturesque scenery, but are largely based upon its shrinking the size of the world, so far as shipping is concerned. It will shorten the journey by water from the Pacific Coast States to New York by nearly 8,500 miles, and will bring

that city 5,000 miles nearer the Pacific ports south of the Panama Canal. The trip to the Far-Eastern ports of Hong Kong, Manila, Shanghai, and Yokohama, and to the Australasian ports of Sydney, Wellington, and Melbourne, will be far shorter from New York *via* the Panama Canal than either around the Cape of Good Hope or through the Suez Canal. The distance from Liverpool to San Francisco through the Panama waterway will be shortened by 5,666 miles, compared with what it is to-day through the Straits of Magellan, while over 6,000 miles will be saved on the trip from Liverpool to British Columbia. Wellington will be brought nearer Liverpool by over 1,800 miles, by way of Panama, than it is through the Suez Canal. However, the journey from the Oriental and Australasian ports to Liverpool through the Suez Canal will still remain the shortest.

The effect of the opening of the Panama Canal upon the world's trade has been forecasted by many authorities, amongst them the Department of Commerce at Washington, D.C. According to that Bureau of the United States Government, the import trade of sixteen countries—Chili, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, New Zealand, Australia, China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands—will be affected. The export trade of eight countries—the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Russia—will be influenced.

It is pointed out that during the five years beginning with 1907 and ending with 1911, these eight exporting countries shipped to the sixteen importing countries merchandise valued at £142,440,000 per annum, on the average. Of this trade, the United Kingdom held 49 per cent., the United States 28 per cent., Germany 13 per cent., and France only 8½ per cent. The American document admits that England to-day occupies the point of vantage, inasmuch as generations of experience have given skill

to its traders which it is difficult to match in newer lands. Moreover, it confessed that since British goods are sent out to the four corners of the globe, the excellent qualities of articles manufactured in Great Britain naturally have become widely known and greatly appreciated by the buying nations. The inevitable result of Britain's commanding position in commerce and manufactures has been that it has come to control the carrying trade and the world-markets. The British policy of eliminating the factor of a tariff barrier has made it possible to build up an enormous trade in 'assembling' and 'improving.' 'Parts' have been gathered together from all quarters of the globe where they could be purchased for the lowest price and 'assembled' into complete articles for export. Partly finished articles have also been imported only to be re-packed or further manufactured and exported. Great Britain's long-continued control of trade has, however, led to conservatism which will brook no change in methods of manufacture or export, and this has had a tendency to hold back the progress of its export trade. Modern commerce demands versatility, both in manufacturing and selling methods, and the United States and Germany have for some time been attacking the trade of the United Kingdom at this, its weakest point. With the opening of the Panama Canal, the United States will have an all-sea route to the west coast countries of South America from 2,500 to 3,000 miles shorter than any of the routes from Europe to the same ports. Unquestionably this will make it possible for American export trade to grow even more rapidly than it has been doing in the past. It will, in the very nature of things, be only a few years before it will have forged past Great Britain and Germany in the marts of the West and the Far-East. In Japan it is generally believed that the United States will have a better chance than any European exporter, but as regards China, it is expected that the competitors will stand on about equal terms.

In considering this, no one can help but realize that, to say the least, the position of the United States will become very strong as the result of the opening of the Panama Canal. Even without the Canal, in spite of lack of experience, not possessing a merchant marine, and without extensive banking connexions, American exporters of late years have been holding their own in many of the importing centres. It is only to be expected, therefore, that, with the opening of the giant waterway, American trade will rapidly expand, and European trade will be compelled to suffer in proportion as that of the United States grows.

VIII

A project which is likely to effect great changes in the world's commerce and the relations between nation and nation naturally is of vital importance to all the Powers, great and small. International interests were guaranteed by the following article in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of September 18, 1901, which the United States Government is said to have executed in view of Great Britain giving up its ambition to build a waterway between North and South America :

‘ 1. The Canal shall be free and open to vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these Rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

‘ 2. The canal shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within it. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder.’

A large section of American legislators chose to give a narrow meaning to these words, and argued that the United States Government, so long as it did not give preferential treatment to any *foreign* nation, could do what it pleased in the matter of giving special terms to the shipping owned by Americans engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Canal, without in any way violating this convention. Proceeding on this basis, the Panama Act which, on August 24, 1912, received the assent of Mr. William H. Taft, then President, contained the following sections :

‘ Section 5. That the President is hereby authorized to prescribe and from time to time change the tolls that shall be levied by the Government of the United States for the use of the Panama Canal. . . . No tolls shall be levied upon vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States. That section forty-one hundred and thirty-two of the Revised Statutes is hereby amended to read as follows :

‘ Section 4182. . . . Tolls may be based upon gross or net registered tonnage. . . . When based on net registered tonnage for ships of commerce the tolls shall not exceed one dollar and twenty-five cents per net registered ton, nor be less, other than for vessels of the United States and its citizens, than the estimated proportionate cost of the actual maintenance and operation of the Canal.’

The passage of this Act called forth a storm of protest from Great Britain and other countries, and also from many Americans who considered that Congress and Mr. Taft had besmirched the honour of the United States in favouring the American coastwise trade. The President was urged to have the Act repealed, but he vacated his office at the expiration of his term without making any effort to have the measure struck off the Statute Book.

With the coming into power of the Democratic adminis-

tration, the controversy assumed a new aspect. Every right-minded person felt that a man of Dr. Wilson's high principles—a man who would govern the United States of America not for the benefit of financiers, and railway, shipping, and other trusts, &c., but in the interests of the public good and along lines of equity and justice—would do everything in his power to reverse the action taken by the Republican Congress and approved by the Republican President. Dr. Wilson justified these hopes. As soon as he had put through urgent domestic legislation, he made a stirring appeal to Congress to strike this Act off the Statute Book. His plea, couched in a few, but high-minded words, deserves to be quoted in part here :

‘ I have come to ask for the repeal of that provision of the Panama Canal Act. . . . which exempts vessels engaged in the coastwise trade of the United States from the payment of tolls. . . . In my own judgment, very fully considered and maturely formed, that exemption constitutes a mistaken economic policy from every point of view, and is, moreover, in plain contravention of the treaty with Great Britain. . . .

‘ Whatever may be our own differences of opinion concerning this much debated measure and its meaning, it is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretation precludes the exception I am asking you to repeal. . . .

‘ The large thing to do is the only thing we can do—voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question whether we are right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation. . . .’

The President's appeal to Congress was not made in

vain. The House of Representatives endorsed a Bill repealing the clause favouring American coastwise shipping, and sent it to the Senate, which accepted the new Bill but safeguarded what it considered to be American interests by appending to it the following proviso :

‘ Provided that the passage of this Act shall not be construed or held as a waiver, or relinquishment of any right the United States may have under the treaty with Great Britain, ratified February 21, 1902, or the treaty with the Republic of Panama, ratified February 26, 1904, or otherwise, to discriminate in favour of its vessels by exempting the vessels of the United States or its citizens from the payment of tolls or passage through said canal.’

This proviso does not alter the fact that the Panama Canal is not to be preferentially used by America any more than the Suez Canal is preferentially used by Great Britain, which holds the largest number of shares in that waterway. Thus President Wilson’s moral courage has cleaned from this gigantic enterprise executed by America the only blot that sullied it.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

THE EVANGELICAL PRESENTATION OF CHRISTIANITY

INTRODUCTORY

(1) **T**HE best definition of a term is often found in its history ; and so we may glance at the interesting story of this word *evangelical*. In the quaint title of a book which appeared in 1558 by Paynell, *The Pandectes of the Evangelicall Lawe : comprisyng the whole Hystorie of Christis Gospell*, it means pertaining to the four Gospels. When in 1581 Tindal in his *Exposition of St. John* writes : 'He exhorteth them to procede constauntly in the evangelicall truth,' it means what is in accordance with the faith or precepts of the Gospel, or Christian religion. In the Homilies, 1547, Isaiah is described as 'the evangelical prophet,' and Maurice in 1858 explained this epithet thus : 'It is meant that he is especially the prophet of the Messiah.' Laurence Sterne in his *Sentimental Journey* made the claim to be *evangelical*, because he had 'a fellow-feeling for whatever is weak.' Since the Reformation, however, the word has been used as a party label. It was claimed by Protestants that their doctrines were in accord with the Christian Gospel ; and More, in his *Confutation of Tindale*, uses it with some contempt : 'Tindall himselfe would no lesse were done than would his evangelical brother Barns.' The Protestant Churches in Germany and Switzerland still use the term, although it is generally employed to distinguish the Lutheran from the Calvinistic or Reformed Church. The established Church of Prussia, which was formed by a Union of Calvinists and Lutherans in 1817, is known as the Evangelical Church. In Great Britain the term since the eighteenth century has been 'applied to that school of Protestants which maintains that the essence of the "Gospel"

consists in the doctrine of salvation by faith in the atoning death of Christ, and denies that either good works or the sacraments have any saving efficacy' (Murray's Dictionary). The opposition of Evangelicals to legalism led some toward antinomianism. Doddridge in his *Life of Colonel Gardiner*, 1747, states: 'It was his deliberate judgement, that the Law should be preached as well as the Gospel; and hardly anything gave him greater offence than the irreverent manner in which some who have been ignorantly extolled as the most zealous Evangelical Preachers, have sometimes been tempted to speak of the former.' The Revival in the eighteenth century, of which Wesley and Whitefield were the leaders, is generally known as the Evangelical. Wesley's biographer, Hampson, in 1791 speaks of 'what are usually called evangelical views of religion.' Evangelical and Methodist came to be almost equivalent epithets. In 1809 R. Southey writes: 'The Wesleyans and the orthodox dissenters of every description, and the Evangelical Churchmen may all be comprehended under the generic name of Methodists.' A defect of this school in the early part of the nineteenth century was its dogmatism and sectarianism. Davies, in his *Unorthodox London*, in 1876, states that 'Dr. Arnold defines the Evangelical to be "a good Christian with a narrow understanding."' And a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1881 makes the complaint, 'We have always thought that the worst thing about Evangelicalism was its exclusiveness.' The Evangelicals often opposed themselves to amusements. In 1842 Dickens, in his *American Notes*, refers with amused contempt to this characteristic. 'Evangelical ladies there are, likewise, whose attachment to the forms of religion, and horror of theatrical entertainments, are most exemplary.' George Eliot, more gravely, in *Middlemarch* (1871-2) makes the charge: 'Evangelicalism had cast a certain suspicion as of plague infection over the few amusements which survived in the provinces.' In the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth century the Church of Scotland was divided into two

parties, the Evangelicals, who had felt the influence of the Evangelical Revival, and the 'Moderates.' The evangelistic labours of the Haldanes at the beginning of the nineteenth century revived religious life in many parts of the country, and out of this movement Scottish Congregationalism emerged. The influence was felt within the Church of Scotland, and gave strength and hope to the Evangelicals in their opposition to the Moderates. Both these parties were strictly Calvinistic; but the revolt against Calvinism began with James Morison, who, suspended from the ministry of the Secession Church, in 1848 formed the *Evangelical Union*, the theology of which was summed up in the three universalities, that God loves all, that Christ died for all, and that the Spirit strives in all. Such then is the history of the term evangelical.

(2) In accordance with the history of the term 'evangelical,' but allowing for such modifications of idea and phrase as the development without loss of identity of a theological type involves, we may provisionally define Evangelicalism as the mode of Christian thought in which emphasis is laid *on salvation from sin through man's faith in God's grace through the sacrifice of Christ*. In it the stress falls in man on guilt and bondage, in God on righteousness and judgment, in Christ on death and atonement. It is not committed to one plan of salvation, or one theory of atonement; but may change and adapt its presentation of what to it is central in Christianity to the changing conditions and forms of thought. It should no more be bound in the fetters of its past than should 'pure and undefiled religion' be discredited by the corruptions and superstitions of savages. The 'narrow understanding' which Dr. Arnold ascribed to the Evangelical of his own time need not, and in many of its prominent representatives does not, characterize it to-day. The antagonism of Evangelicals of a former age to even innocent amusements is not essential, but accidental to it as a theological type, although its serious and earnest view

of man's sinfulness may tend to make its standard of what is legitimate pleasure more exacting and rigid than that possible to other tendencies. It can claim that it seeks to follow in the footsteps of Paul, Augustine, Luther, Wesley, Haldane, Moody; and in following their footsteps it can believe that it is following Jesus Himself. It is not necessarily exclusive of other types, such as the *speculative*, the *practical*, the *mystical*, and the *sacramental*, for the circumference of its interest may be drawn wide enough to embrace all these; but its centre—the Cross of Christ—is, it maintains, nearer the circumference even if it is included in these others. To it 'the solemn shadow of the Cross is better than the sun': and it is in this light that it seeks to look on all things. While it may be a second-hand possession, accepted conventionally or traditionally, in many who profess it, in some at least it is a first-hand conquest, due to a distinctive and often passionate experience of personal deliverance. As one who has that experience, I cannot present Christianity in any other way, while my varied studies impel me to avoid the exclusiveness which has often characterized it, and to cultivate for myself as full an appreciation of, and as deep a sympathy with, all other modes of conceiving the common Christian faith as I can. I shall endeavour *first of all* to justify the evangelical emphasis by the facts of human life as well as the contents of the Christian Gospel. I shall seek *in the second place* to show how the one-sidedness which has sometimes characterized Evangelicalism can be corrected from the other types without inconsistency. And *in the third place*, I shall suggest the contribution this theological type can make to enrich other types of Christian thought.

I

(1) The Evangelical emphasis cannot be justified if the sense of sin is not real, but illusive; if man is so the product of his heredity and environment that he need not blame himself, and others have no right to blame him for his faults and

failures ; if God is either so removed in His infinitude from man's life, or so indifferent to moral distinctions that man's wrong-doing does not in any way affect His relation to man.

(a) The remorse which tortures and the repentance which restores the soul are facts of life ; and can these experiences be conceived as a cruel jest of the Maker with His handiwork ? The sure moral deterioration which results from a course of self-indulgence, the appalling moral degradation of the slums, the heartless indifference to the needs and the sorrows of others which is displayed by even many respectable people, the reckless and ruthless struggle for existence, in which the strong crush the weak, which is involved in many of our industrial arrangements ; these are the despair of the social reformer. If good and godly men have sometimes tormented themselves about 'sins' which now appear to us the products of a narrow, unenlightened, 'painful' conscience, does that justify our disregard of the fleshliness, worldliness, and selfishness which so abound in our midst ? Even if we could deal indulgently with private vices, can we be tolerant to public wrongs ? Is not the condition of moral progress the discovery and the condemnation of sins, and is not the sense of sin a spur to improvement ? Should it be reckoned as a fault in a theological type that it promotes the sensitive conscience, the contrite heart, the penitent spirit ? Any artificiality, exaggeration, or disproportion is to be condemned ; but Evangelicalism should not be held responsible for the morbidness of some of its representatives. Man is more than sinner, and God more to man than lawgiver and judge.

(b) To deny man's liberty and responsibility, as much modern thought to-day does, is not to attack Evangelical theology alone, but the moral conscience and religious consciousness of mankind ; and as we are concerned here to justify the evangelical presentation of Christianity among other presentations, we need not now pause to defend what must be common ground to them all.

(c) Only if we so exaggerate God's transcendence as to remove Him from all personal relations to man, can we conceive that He is in no way affected by man's good or ill. If He be moved by man's pain and misery, can He be unmoved by man's sin? Only if we ascribe to Him a moral indifference which annuls His moral perfection, can we suppose that He does not rejoice in man's goodness, and grieve for his wickedness. If our God be not the Absolute of the philosophers, but the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, then He does, as Jesus taught, mourn man's loss, and rejoice in man's recovery. In affirming that man's sin does disturb his relation to God, Evangelicalism is true to the teaching of Jesus.

(2) While morality and religion have sometimes been divorced, and the development of the moral conscience and of the religious consciousness has not always coincided, yet even in other religions than the Christian has there been a recognition that God's relation to man is affected by man's sin. Sin may in many instances have been identified with ritual offences rather than moral transgressions; but still there is the witness of sacrifice to man's sense of disturbed intercourse with deity. In the Hebrew religion the sense of sinfulness was so developed that sacrifice ceased to give assurance and satisfaction. This universal human need has been met, according to the evangelical interpretation of Christianity, in the Cross of Jesus Christ. This interpretation I hold to be entirely in accord with the self-witness of Jesus, the apostolic testimony to Him, and religious experience of believers in Him. (a) Three reasons may be suggested why Jesus did not give a clear and full doctrine of His own Cross. (i) The disciples were intolerant of the announcement of His Passion, and how could they have received an exposition of its meaning? (ii) For the real experience of the Cross, when faith and not sight was essential, Jesus Himself could not know all that the Cross was to mean for Him, and all it would mean for man-

kind. (iii) He anticipated a teaching by the Spirit after His departure which would compensate for His present reserve. But He is not altogether silent, even if His speech be less than we could desire. He does not think little of or treat lightly man's sin; He takes it as seriously as any of those who have tried to interpret His sacrifice. His use of the term 'lost' is of an inexpressible significance. His treatment of sinners in so tenderly seeking that He might so mightily save, His claim to have authority to forgive sins, and the exercise of that authority, His sayings about the ransom for many, and His institution of the memorial of the sacrifice of the new covenant, together with the agony of the Garden, and the desolation of the Cross, demand that His death be regarded as more than a martyrdom, even as a sacrifice. (b) When we turn to the New Testament we find there six types of theology, the Pauline, the Johanne, and the Petrine, and those represented by the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, and the Apocalypse. Only one of these can be held dependent on another, as 1 Peter shows traces of Pauline influence; and in five of the six the death of Christ is regarded as atoning. The Epistle of James is the one exception, although the speeches in the Acts show that it was only gradually that the definite view of the death was reached. And literature outside of the Canon, such as the *Didache*, shows that this interpretation of the Cross did not universally gain assent, although it was the prevailing doctrine in most of the Churches. As Paul's letter to 1 Corinthians shows, he believed himself to be in accord with the common teaching in declaring that Christ died for our sins, and rose again according to the Scriptures. 'A careful examination of contemporary Jewish theology,' says Dr. Andrews, 'fails to show the presence of any similar idea of sufficient influence to explain the origin of the doctrine'; but 'the impulse which created it must have come from Jesus Himself, even although it is quite certain that Jewish

thought influenced its subsequent interpretations' (*Mansfield College Essays*, pp. 86, 87). We may discard the Jewish terminology, but can we disregard the common experience, which thus sought interpretation, of salvation from sin through the sacrifice of Christ? If Jewish belief provided the language, it did not and could not provide the reality expressed. Paul found in Christ what he had vainly sought in the Law. Violence must be done to the New Testament to get rid of the support it gives to Evangelicalism. (c) But if it be said that the apostolic experience has only local and temporary significance and value, how is it that the same experience has been renewed from age to age in the Christian Church, and often in the most influential personalities? I have already indicated the honourable succession in which the modern Evangelical finds himself. The experience of Paul is being repeated to-day with only modification of the changeful circumstances, but not the essential character. On the mission field the receptivity of the human spirit for, and responsiveness to, this experience is being proved in men of different races and varied cultures. There has to be a preparatory work in the enlightening and quickening of the conscience, as the soul needs to be made ready for the seed; but as the moral conscience and religious consciousness develop, satisfaction is found in Christ and His Cross. Is a presentation of Christianity which can claim such evidence a partial and secondary and not an adequate and primary one?

(8) Some may reject such an appeal as an escape from reason to authority; but Evangelicalism need not fear to meet its foes in the open field of theological discussion. (a) It must not be held responsible to-day for theories of *original sin* and *total depravity* in regard to man; for it can learn, and has learned, as other types, from modern scholarship. The story of the Fall is not the basis of its scheme. It appeals simply to the human conscience and human history to justify its declaration that man is sinful,

and needs forgiveness and deliverance, that moral and religious progress is not to be secured by a conscience less sensitive to the stain of sin, or a conception of God less jealous for His holiness, His separation from, antagonism to, and condemnation of sin. (b) The idea of an angry, offended, vengeful God it dismisses : and accepts fully the revelation of the Fatherhood of God in Jesus Christ. But it cannot regard Fatherhood as mere good-nature, as indifference to the distinction between right and wrong, as tolerance of disobedience and defiance ; but it must conceive the love of God in accordance with the moral perfection that the conscience of man, as it develops, must demand in the Being whom it acknowledges and worships as God. The point at which divergence from the evangelical view is likely to begin is this, Must the moral perfection of God involve the punishment of moral transgression in man ? It is so easy to represent the condemnation of sin by holy love as personal vindictiveness or even severity, as cruelty or harshness, that it must be fully conceded that Evangelicalism often has not escaped this danger. But surely it is possible to conceive a judgement, and even a punishment of sin, which is a pure and true expression of holy love, such a showing forth of what God is in His antagonism to sin as makes Him known as He is, and such a dealing with man as will awaken his conscience, and turn him in penitence and faith from sin to God ? This is what Evangelicalism aims at declaring, even if it has often failed in finding the adequate and the appropriate language. (c) The objectivity of the Atonement has often been insisted on by evangelical writers ; and by this the modern Evangelical, as I understand the matter, means that the significance of the death of Christ is not exhausted in its *subjective* effects on man in awakening penitence and faith ; but that it has value as an *objective* presentation, necessary for God Himself for His self-revelation in relation to sin, of His eternal opposition to sin. (d) The work of Christ must not be conceived as

an external substitution, but may be regarded as a personal self-identification in love with the race. I for one am careful not to say that Christ was punished for us, or was held by God, or held Himself, guilty in our stead. What I do hold is that He in love became so one with us as to experience to the uttermost the sorrow, shame, and doom of human sin, in the inevitable vicariousness of love. As He was conscious of fulfilling His Father's will in so dying, it does not seem over-bold to hold that in so tasting death for every man, He was expressing the divine judgement on sin more clearly and fully than the punishment of all transgressions ever could do. Human penitence and faith have read that meaning in the Cross ; and have seen there sin judged as well as forgiven ; and without that judgement the penitence would be less intense, and the faith less confident. Is it too daring to say that man's conscience can be satisfied only by such a judgement on sin as appears to satisfy the holy love of God ? While I do not pretend that the suggestions I venture here to offer would be accepted by all Evangelicals, what I desire to show is that the evangelical presentation may be relieved of representations offensive to the modern reason and conscience, and may be so given as to meet legitimate intellectual and moral demands.

(4) I should like to add some considerations that seem to me often overlooked, and yet of decisive importance in this connexion. (a) An intellectual demonstration of the necessity, nature, and efficacy of the Atonement, which will convince apart from personal experience, seems to me to be altogether out of question. And the intellectual dogmatism of evangelicalism in the past can only be condemned. Moral and religious intuitions are so significant here that an appeal to the theoretical reason cannot be final. (b) Such convictions as that sin must incur God's judgement, that the condemnation of sin is a necessity for His holy love, that Christ was able in His love to put Himself

in our place, that in the Cross sin is judged as well as forgiven, belong to man's moral insight and spiritual discernment, and cannot be proved by any logic. (c) Accordingly it seems to me a man must have passed through the experience of salvation in Christ's sacrifice before he can exercise that moral insight and spiritual discernment. We must let Christ save us before we can understand how He saves.

II

(1) Having offered this defence of Evangelicalism, I am so sure of its inherent value that I do not hesitate now to criticize the defects that it has often displayed, and to show how these can be corrected by taking account of other types.

Let me recall Dr. Arnold's charge of *narrow understanding*. It is quite true that Evangelicalism has often lacked a broad intellectual outlook. It has been so concerned with showing the plan of salvation, or proving the theory of the Atonement, that it has failed to take account of other intellectual interests. Here it can learn much from the *speculative tendency*; it can discover that man has not only a soul to be saved, but also a world to be understood. It was my delight and privilege to be a student of that great teacher and good man, the late Edward Caird; and, although I can no longer find rest for my mind in the Hegelianism which he so lucidly and persuasively taught, I owe him an unspeakable debt in that he taught me 'to think things together,' and so led me afterwards to gain the satisfaction of finding that the Christian faith in the revelation of God in Christ offers a clue to the labyrinth of the world, a solution of the problems of thought as well as of life. In so far as Evangelicalism has failed to recognize that man has need of, and a right to claim intellectual satisfaction, it must be condemned as having refused to meet the need of the whole man, as having further been unable to realize the treasures of wisdom and knowledge which are laid up in Christ

(2) A still more serious reproach that has been brought,

and not without warrant, against Evangelicalism, is that it has in extreme forms tended towards antinomianism. Christ's imputed righteousness was accepted as a substitute for personal righteousness. Instances have not been wanting of moral laxity along with the profession of evangelical doctrine, and even with a plea of justification from that doctrine, such as, if we are saved by faith, why concern ourselves about works? Less flagrant, but still no less regrettable, was the tendency in exclusive Evangelical circles to an artificial code of morals, a condemnation of innocent amusements, an abhorrence of what was called 'worldliness,' along with an indifference to wider social obligations. The correction of that one-sidedness is in what I would call the *practical tendency*, which lays stress on the moral teaching and example of Jesus, the insistence of Paul on dying to sin and living unto God, the necessity of holy living in all human relations. The better Evangelicals fully recognized the need of a life consistent with and commending the gospel. But probably in no previous age have the teaching and example of Christ been so emphasized as they are to-day. If the Christ of the Gospel sometimes in former days hid the Jesus of the Gospels, we are coming to recognize to-day that for many the approach to the Christ of the Gospel is by the Jesus of the Gospels; and that even those who live in the Risen Lord need the guidance and encouragement in holy living that the contemplation of the earthly life is proving itself so able to impart.

(3) A third danger that Evangelicalism has not always escaped is the substitution of orthodoxy for piety, belief in a plan of salvation or theory of the Atonement for trust in a personal present Saviour and Lord. It has understood and made its boast of the first four chapters of *Romans*; but it has failed to apprehend and appreciate the next three, especially *Romans* vi. 1-14, or *Galatians* ii. 20, or *Philippians* i. 21-24, that faith is a personal union with the living Saviour and Lord; that by that faith man amid the changes

of time lives in the eternal life in God, and has the eternal Spirit of God dwelling and working in Him. Although I have elsewhere expressed my objection to the term in this connexion, yet following the general usage we may call this the *mystical* type. I should prefer to call it, and so avoid all ambiguity, the *spiritual*. Those who have cherished and cultivated the inwardness of the Christian life, hid with Christ in God, have been repelled by and revolted against the externality of Evangelical dogmatism. But there is really no inconsistency or contradiction between the evangelical and the mystical or spiritual tendency. In Romans Paul is presenting a continuous argument, and is interpreting an organic experience. If grace be God's self-identification with man in Christ, it can be received and responded to adequately only in the faith which is man's self-identification with God in Christ. He died for us that we may die with Him ; He lives in us that we may live in Him. Christian faith is personal union with Christ as Saviour and Lord.

(4) There is a fourth tendency, which seems to me to be less distinctively Christian than the others, from which, however, Evangelicalism can still learn something ; this is the *sacramental* or sacerdotal, which magnifies the Church, its ministry, and its ordinances as channels of divine grace. The New Testament does not know any other priesthood than the High Priesthood of Christ, and the priesthood of all believers, and no other sacrifice than the death of Christ once for all. For the later developments of sacramentarianism and sacerdotalism the New Testament does not offer any warrant. Even if Jewish or Gentile influences led Paul to attach any 'magical' efficacy to any ordinance, which I for one do not believe, that must be regarded as a temporary and local limitation of his moral and spiritual outlook. Quite consistently with his moral and spiritual standpoint, he probably found both in baptism as well as the Lord's Supper a vehicle as well as a sign and pledge of divine grace.

And Evangelicalism is not necessarily opposed to such a view. It has sometimes tended towards an individualism which was indifferent, if not even hostile, to the Church with its ministry and ordinances. Then it forgot to add to the benediction it claimed from the love of God, and the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that which comes through the *Koinonia* of the Holy Ghost—the enrichment of the soul in Christian fellowship and worship. This gift it can enjoy in Christ as Saviour and Lord, for the Church is His body, and each of the members grows towards perfection in Him in the unity of His body.

III

(1) If the Evangelical type can find correction for its defects in these other tendencies, no less can these find a contribution towards their completeness from it. To begin with the speculative tendency, I may be forgiven a personal testimony. What drove me from Hegelianism was the inadequacy and even the unsatisfactoriness of its treatment of evil and sin. If the universe is but the self-unfolding of the Idea, if God and world are thus to be identified, if all the real must be proved rational, sin becomes a necessity of moral development. That conclusion is so much an offence to my conscience, that the whole system which leads inevitably to it stands condemned. Again, if all humanity is the final stage in its historic development of the evolution of the Idea in the universe, it is as such divine (this conclusion was drawn by Hegel's followers), and Christ is but the first man who came to be conscious of the universal identity of God and man. That conclusion, too, was so much of an offence to my religious experience of Christ as divine Saviour and Lord, that it offered a second, and even stronger reason for abandoning Hegelianism. What Evangelicalism can contribute to the speculative tendency is this, that its emphasis on the moral conscience and religious experience forbids a narrowly intellectualist

standpoint in the interpretation of the universe. Will that interpretation be more adequate which does full justice to the testimony of moral conscience and religious experience, or that which seeks to force them into the moulds of a logical system of abstract thinking?

(2) The Evangelical doctrine is no way inconsistent with, or a hindrance to the *practical type*; but supplies a lack in that tendency. In the moral life what is needed is not only principle, but motive also. To overcome the appetites and impulses there must be an affection more intense. It is true that admiration may inspire imitation—that Jesus, known and revered as Teacher and Example, may so cast His spell over the soul as to prompt obedience and submission. And yet it seems to me the evangelical tendency supplements the practical in three ways.

(a) *Firstly*, the Cross of Christ as both judgement on and forgiveness of sin invests the moral ideal with a more august authority. To see how God in Christ suffers that He may save surely reinforces the teaching of Jesus as to the perfection the Father requires in His children; and surely the love and holiness of Jesus find their fullest expression in the sacrifice that atones. (b) *Secondly*, as the conscience is made more sensitive by the influence of the moral ideal Jesus presents in word and life, there will be a deeper sense of unworthiness, of failure and shortcoming, which will retard moral progress unless relieved by the assurance of a divine grace which forgives, which makes the sinful past cease to be a shadow on the path, a burden on the soul. (c) *Thirdly*, the love that constrains to uttermost self-surrender is the love that suffered to the uttermost. An evangelical gratitude is a more potent motive than an ethical admiration.

(3) The *mystical type* is exposed to two dangers, as its past history has shown. (a) The mystics of the Middle Ages tended towards such an absorption in the divine as displaced monotheism by pantheism, and discarded as

an outward means towards a higher end the historical mediation of Jesus Christ as revealing God. The historical reality of truth and grace in Christ became subordinate, because inferior, to the union of the human and divine in the eternal reality. He who has known God as the holy love which judges as well as forgives his sin, who, whatever be his growth in grace, still thinks of himself as the sinner saved, will never dare to think of himself as identical with God. The grace of God in Christ distinguishes man from as well as unites him to God. (b) Even when in mysticism Jesus Christ is not left behind, but is loved and adored as the Bridegroom of the Soul in the sensuous, passionate language of the Song of Songs, there is often met with an irreverent familiarity which seems entirely unbecoming in the forgiven sinner to the Holy Saviour. Paul knew the intimate communion of the soul with Christ; but we can thank God that he did not paint his devotion with the colours of an earthly passion. He had been crucified with Christ unto sin; he had been raised with Christ to live unto God. Here a moral and religious meaning is preserved in the personal relation; and grace and faith are not obscured by emotional extravagance.

(4) The peril of the *sacramental and sacerdotal type* is to sink into formalism and externalism, to substitute magic and mystery for religious aspiration and moral purpose; and the *evangelical type* in its emphasis on the moral and religious realities of sin and grace, sacrifice and atonement, penitence and faith counteracts that tendency. The ministries and ordinances of the Church may be found helpful by many in maintaining the religious experience and the consequent moral character; but as soon as they cease to be instrumental, and become final in themselves, they endanger the vitality and vigour of the soul.

(5) I have thus endeavoured as briefly and yet as clearly and thoroughly as I have been able, to set forth the reasons for the faith that is in me as an Evangelical Christian,

who recognizes the peril of all partiality and exclusiveness in the interpretation of the Christian faith; but at the same time is fully persuaded that there is no position for the moral conscience and religious consciousness of mankind so central as the Cross of Jesus Christ, no standpoint for the thought of man so true for the clear and full vision of God and man, sin and salvation, life and death, time and eternity as the manifold wisdom of the divine sacrifice for human salvation; and no trysting-place for the soul and the Saviour so rich in memories, so tender in intimacies as Calvary. 'Far be it from me to glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world hath been crucified unto me, and I unto the world.'

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

IRISH POETS AND POETRY

AT a time when England was sunk in pagan darkness, Ireland was the centre of a culture and civilization which her missionaries and teachers disseminated throughout Europe. Many volumes of ancient Irish literature are still preserved in museums and libraries in Dublin, in England, Germany, and elsewhere. Upon seeing some of these in the Royal Irish Academy, Moore said: "These huge tomes could not have been written by fools for any foolish purpose. I never knew anything about them before, and I had no right to have undertaken the History of Ireland." This History proved perfectly useless, and Moore feeling his own incapacity for the task would have gladly relinquished it, had his publishers allowed him to do so.

As to the influence and extent of the Celtic element in literature, Professor Morley says in *English Writers before Chaucer*: 'The main elements of English literature cannot be disconnected from the lively Celtic wit in which it has one of its sources. The Celts do not form an utterly distinct part of our mixed population. But for the early, frequent, and various contact with the race that in its half barbarous days invented Ossian's dialogues with St. Patrick, and that quickened afterwards the Northmen's blood in France; Germanic England would not have produced a Shakespeare.'

That was before those days when any English settler in Ireland who dared to marry an Irish wife had all his goods confiscated and risked paying the penalty with his life. Englishmen, nevertheless, continued to marry Irish wives. In 1876 the Statute of Kilkenny forbade the English settlers in Ireland to intermarry with the old Irish under pain of outlawry. In his *Study of Celtic Literature*, Matthew Arnold says: 'If I were asked where English poetry got

these three things, its turn for style, its turn for melancholy, and its turn for natural magic, for catching and rendering the charm of nature in a wonderfully near and vivid way, I should answer with some doubt, that it got much of its turn for style from a Celtic source ; with less doubt, that it got much of its turn for melancholy from a Celtic source, and with no doubt at all, that from a Celtic source it got nearly all its natural magic.'

Style, then, is one of the most striking qualities of Celtic poetry, and if the Celt is sometimes to be charged with lack of balance, measure, patience, in fact with the lack of all those admirable qualities which go to make up the Teutonic temperament, he has in a special degree the power of investing what he has to say with distinction and charm. An old Irish legend thus assigns the characteristics for which the different nations are celebrated:—

For acuteness and valour, the Greeks ;
 For excessive pride, the Romans ;
 For dullness, the creeping Saxons ;
 For beauty and amorousness, the Gaedhils.

Always quick to respond to beauty in every form, the Celt has to suffer from its corresponding penalty, extreme sensitiveness to the shadows and sorrows of life. Highly strung, impressionable, passionately romantic, gay and laughter-loving yet easily moved to tears, he is prone to plunge suddenly from the wildest heights of hilarity to the profoundest depths of melancholy. Always beneath his lighter moods there is this deep stratum of melancholy—often without any known cause. This forms the basis and is the keynote of the true Celtic temperament. But the Celt must not be suspected of fickleness and insincerity because of these quick alternations of joy and sorrow. He is the essence of simplicity, transparency, and warmheartedness. He responds as easily and frankly as a child to kindness and affection. If he is also proud and too quickly prone to resent an injury, let it not be forgotten that centuries

of oppression have possibly had something to do with this trait in his character. But the Irish Celt and his temperament are best set forth, as is the case with all peoples, in his poetry, and it is to this that we must turn for a complete understanding of the race.

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Irish poets spoke and wrote in their own language. English at this time became the compulsory language for use in literature, in the schools, and in the law courts. Ireland gradually assumed the English tongue, and as Stopford Brooke points out, the use of an almost world-wide language has been an advantage to Irish literature, and will be, so long as Irish poets retain the quality and particular characteristics of their art. But Irish poetry must be as Irish as English poetry is English, if it is to have any literary value at all, and only those writers who have preserved these peculiar attributes of their nation will live.

This it is which is the aim of the present 'Celtic Movement.' For this reason Sheridan, Goldsmith, and Swift and later on Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw, cannot fairly be considered as Irish writers at all, for though of Irish birth and upbringing, they deserted the Irish traditions, and together with the English language they accepted the English outlook and manner of writing.

During the first sixty years of the nineteenth century, Irish poetry did not attain a very high level, indeed it is only recently, since the Celtic Revival, that modern Irish poetry can be included among the Arts.

The reason for this may be found in the famine which at this time overshadowed the country. This period of suffering and despair found expression in a poetry of passionate sorrow, anger, rebellion, and revenge: a poetry naturally not of the highest order, for Art never attains to her greatest expression amid turmoil and passion, joy and suffering.

It is afterwards, when the moment has been lived

through, the experience garnered, and the turmoil of passion quietened, that Art is able to record fully and nobly the emotion without which she is only cold and lifeless even though beautiful.

Through these sixty years, Irish poetry was wild, wrathful, passionately patriotic, but artistically on a low plane. Naturally political poems were numerous, but politics also is far from being an inspiration towards exalted Art.

The rollicking, witty, and sometimes reckless poetry which accompanied this darker patriotic poetry is typical of the Irish temperament in its revolt against sadness and its facility for reverting from extreme sorrow to wild hilarity. This found expression in street ballads, such as 'The night before Larry was stretched,' and in the songs of Lever, Lover, and Father Prout.

Many of the anonymous ballads and songs made by the hedge-schoolmasters and their pupils, and by the street-beggars, are beautiful and pathetic in their own way and appeal alike to educated and uneducated. 'The Wearin' o' the Green' is considered to be the finest street-ballad ever written, and has come to be regarded as the National Anthem of Ireland. To this day it retains all its old power to move the hearts of Irish people wherever it is sung throughout the world. When it is sung in the Albert Hall on St. Patrick's Day, the crowded audience shrieks and weeps with emotion, and perfect strangers clasp each other in their arms and sway to the music with all the old abandonment of their race.

It would be impossible, in any survey of Modern Irish Poets, to pass over the name of Thomas Moore. He was not a great poet, of course, and he has been the subject since his death of much scathing and possibly well-deserved criticism. Save for 'The Irish Melodies,' he cannot, although born and bred in Ireland, be seriously counted as an Irish poet. Stopford Brooke contends that 'he is neither a truly Celtic nor a truly English poet. The deep

things in the Irish nature were not in him. But,' he adds, 'He made her music charm the world. . . . It is not too much to say that Moore hastened Catholic Emancipation by his Melodies.'

Music came first with Moore. Poetry was a secondary consideration. He left Ireland when he was twenty, and speedily became the fashion in England and the life-long friend of Byron.

His light, fanciful poetry was eagerly welcomed by a society whose superficial and pleasure-loving nature neither demanded nor would have understood a poet more profound and passionate. He had his meed of fame during his lifetime, and publishers were willing to pay £3,000 for a poem before even a word of it was written ; so it is not a matter for wonder that he had a firm belief in his own supremacy and power.

James Clarence Mangan, who was born in 1808, was the first of the English-writing poets to return to the Celtic traditions. His life was a tragedy throughout, and in the opinion of some eminent critics his poetry has 'no equals and no superiors of his century.' He was familiar with the ancient history of Ireland and with all the old Gaelic myths and traditions. He was also imbued with a passionate devotion to his country and steeped in her sorrows and persecutions.

'Mangan's flight is highest,' says Lionel Johnson, 'his music is noblest, when ancient Ireland speaks to him of her glories, her sorrows and her hopes. He is the poet of much else that is imperishable, but above all he is the creator of a work foremost among the world's poems of inspired patriotism. It were enough for Mangan's fame that he is the poet of the "Dark Rosaleen."'

After the year 1867, when the worst of their troubles were over, the Irish poets ceased to write political verse. Responding to improved treatment from England they began to enter into that realm of Art, where the passion and turmoil having

been outlived, only the crystallized memory of it remains. Their poetry entered upon a new era, having become sublimated and etherealized by sufferings patiently endured and nobly sustained.

We thus come to the Celtic Movement, which is a return for inspiration to the splendid myths and ancient lore that Ireland has given to all literature and 'which,' says Stopford Brooke, 'men of other nationalities may use as they please, as the Norman, French, and Germans used the Tales of Arthur. But the Irish poets must embody their ancient story in verse that breathes the spirit of Ireland, or fall below their true vocation.'

Mysticism, a strong religious sense, nationality, and the use of their legends, are the distinctive features of Celtic poetry and are the traditions more or less strongly adhered to by the modern writers. Among the pioneers of the new era in Anglo-Irish literature, there are names which bring an intimate sense of magic and affection to those who have read their works.

Many of these writers are still young, and have not reached the zenith of their powers, but the trend of their genius is very clearly set forth in the poetry they have already produced. Some died before they attained their zenith, leaving behind them gems of such beauty and lustre as to show the world what has been lost to it by their passing.

Ethna Carberry was one of these transient and too quickly fleeting spirits. She was a Scotch Celt, who possessed a peculiar and passionately romantic love for Ireland, and upon her marriage to Semus MacManus she came to live among her beloved hills of Donegal. She died tragically early, leaving 'The Four Winds of Eirinn,' a little book of poems, touched with the beauty and pathos of that love for Erin of which her heart was so full. In 'The Cold Sleep of Brighidin,' we find her singing what proved to be her own death lament :—

There's a sweet sleep for my love by yon glimmering blue wave.
But alas ! it is a cold sleep in a green-happed narrow grave.

Oh ! shadowy Finn, move slowly,
Break not her peace so holy,
Stir not her slumber in the grass your restless ripples lave.

* * * * *

'The purple mountains guard her, the valley folds her in,
In dreams I see her walking with angels cleansed of sin.
Is heaven too high and saintly,
For her to hear, though faintly,
One word of all my grieving on her grave beside Lough Finn ?

Tír-nán-og (or the 'Land of perpetual youth'), another exquisite little poem, is full of dainty imagery and delicate melancholy. A maiden mourns for her lover who has been lured from her by the 'Sidhe' and who has lost all memory of her face, for—

In Tír-nán Og
In Tír-nán-Og
He wanders in a happy dream thro' scented golden hours,
He flutes, to woo a fairy love, knee deep in fairy flowers.

Nora Hopper is another bright spirit gone before she had attained the fullness of her gifts. Her three books: 'Ballads in Prose,' 'Quicken Boughs,' and 'Songs of the Morning,' are full of a wonderful charm and deserve a much wider recognition than they have yet received. Three particularly beautiful poems of hers are: 'The Dark Man,' 'The Fairy Fiddler,' and 'Rose o' the World.' 'The Dark Man' is founded upon the belief, common in Ireland, that certain persons are, as it is called, 'away,' or more with the fairies than with us, and that 'dark' or blind people can see what we cannot see.

One small but charming lyric may be given from the poems of Miss Althea Giles, entitled 'Sympathy':

The colour gladdens all your heart ;
You call it heaven, dear, but I——
Now Hope and I are far apart——
Call it the sky.

I know that Nature's tears have wet
The world with sympathy ; but you
Who know not any sorrow yet,
Call it the dew.

Mr. Yeats holds that Althea Giles may come to be one of the most important of the small group of Irish Poets who seek to express indirectly through myths and symbols, or directly in little lyrics full of prayers and lamentations, the desire of the soul for spiritual beauty and happiness.

'The Sea-Wrack,' 'Loughnareema,' 'Johnneen,' 'Cuttin' Rushes,' 'The Grand Match,' by Moira O'Neil, are Irish of the Irish, and describe the simple life of the peasants of the Glens of Antrim as do no other poems that I know.

William Butler Yeats must be counted as the central figure among the Celtic Poets. He was born in Dublin in 1865, and is the son of J. B. Yeats, R.H.A., the well-known Irish artist, and is considered by some critics to be the first of living writers in the English language. He possesses a style strong and original, and peculiarly his own. His trend of thought was certainly influenced by Fergusson and also by Blake; for the works of both writers he had a passion, but his style is his own.

In 'Ideas of Good and Evil,' Yeats says: 'I thought one day—I can remember the very day when I thought it—"If somebody could make a style which would not be an English style and yet would be musical and full of colour, many others would catch fire from him, and we would have a really great school of ballad poetry in Ireland. If these poets who have never ceased to fill the newspapers and the ballad-books with their verses, had a good tradition, they would write beautifully and move everybody as they move me." Then a little later on I thought, "If they had something else to write about besides political opinions, if more of them would write about the beliefs of the people like Allingham, or about old legends like Fergusson, they would find it easier to get a style." Then with a deliberateness that still surprises me, for in my heart of hearts I have never been quite certain that one should be more than an artist, that even patriotism is more than an impure desire in an artist, I set to work to find a style and things to write

about that the ballad writers might be the better.' Irish mythology thus found in Yeats what it never had before, a great artist to absorb and expound it.

Yeats is an extraordinarily careful writer, and never gives to the world work which he has not revised and polished to the last degree.

His extreme use of symbolism causes some critics to charge him with obscurity, and an over-tendency towards the use of mystical figures of thought and speech. But one has only to turn to such poems as 'The Isle of Innisfree,' or 'When you are old and grey,' to be assured of his powers in dealing with simple and natural themes in an exquisitely human and sympathetic manner. All the chief characteristics of the Celtic poetry, its tendency towards religion and mysticism and its use of the old myths have been blended together by Yeats into a beautiful unity instinct with imaginative mystery and spiritual imagery. He is still young, and though he has done much, we look to him to do much more.

He reminds us of Rossetti, whose compelling and magnetic power was acknowledged by so many artists and poets of his time. In like manner Yeats has influenced that circle of poets of whom we have been speaking and has been a creative influence among those who have surrounded him.

We look to him and to them to strengthen the wings of the Irish muse that she may soar to loftier summits than any of which she has yet dreamed; to give to Ireland that service which Chopin gave to Poland, to gather her tears and laughter and make songs of them; separating her bitterness from her sadness.

The Irishman needs self-expression, needs that unity with his brothers which Beauty can give him. He has gone forth weeping, bearing precious seed, but shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.

SAIDÉE KIBTLAN.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

SINCE 1908, the year of the Pan-Anglican Conference and the Lambeth Conference, much attention has been given to the subject of the Christian Ministry, and this is well, for the more thought that can be given, the more likely we are to arrive at a clear understanding of the various positions held. But in the last eighteen months there has been a considerable clearing of the air and an approximation to fundamental principles. It is becoming evident that there are in reality only two questions: (1) What is the essential character of the New Testament ministry? (2) How has this been, and how can it be, guaranteed and perpetuated? The second question is only of value as it is connected with the first, though it is apt to get undue attention by being considered practically alone. But the two are interlaced, and it is impossible to avoid considering them together, for as we ponder the second we cannot lose sight of the first, since we find ourselves continually asking what it is that has been perpetuated.

I

During the last year or two, three scholars have discussed the subject of Apostolic Succession in ways that are particularly significant. Dr. Headlam, in *The Prayer Book Dictionary*, while arguing that Succession has in it the elements of orderly continuity, Apostolic commission and identity of function, urges that the primitive doctrine does not include and involve transmission, that the mistake has been to make Orders depend on Apostolic Succession in this sense of transmission, and that the idea of transmission is late, exaggerated, and mechanical. Dr. Sanday expresses the following opinion on Dr. Headlam's article:—

'This view is sure to receive further examination. Taken along with Harnack's treatise, the article suggests that, on the one hand, the idea of a continuous succession of the Christian Ministry from the Apostles will be seen to be deeply rooted in reason and history, but that, on the other hand, any rigid and mechanical application of the idea for the purpose of invalidating one form of ministry as compared with another is to be deprecated.' ¹

Dr. Frere seems to agree in substance with Dr. Headlam, and favours the view that succession rather than transmission is the essential feature of Apostolic Succession, holding that succession is essential while the form is secondary. The Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, in his *Essay in Foundations*, after discussing the question of the Ministry, allows that Apostolic Succession cannot be asserted as more than an historical possibility, and that any defence of the principle for which Apostolic Succession stands must be made on other than historical grounds. He therefore points out that the divergence of opinion on the Ministry is the question whether the minister is a prophet or a priest. In accordance with, and also as an outcome of these views, the Bishop of Madras has been expressing his inability to accept the general idea of Apostolic Succession as based on history, though strongly insisting upon Episcopacy as the guarantee of unity. But inasmuch as Mr. C. H. Turner and Dr. Hamilton² have arrived at somewhat different results as the effect of their examination of the early history, it would seem that the historical situation is not yet settled, and that scholarship is still uncertain as to the exact and precise methods by means of which continuity of ministry has been preserved. This makes it all the more essential to examine carefully into the question of the precise character of the Ministry, for of course everything will depend upon the nature of that which has been handed down in a continuous line.

¹ *The Primitive Church and Reunion*, p. 82. ² *The People of God*, Vol. 2.

II

The position mentioned above as that which in general represents the view of Dr. Headlam, Dr. Frere, Mr. Rawlinson, and the Bishop of Madras, is clearly opposed by two or three writers, more particularly the Rev. H. H. Kelly and the Rev. F. W. Puller. We may take the article of the latter which appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1918, as representative of the attitude of a school, and as providing a convenient opportunity for examining the grounds on which that particular view of the Ministry rests. This is done without any desire or intention of being merely controversial, but only with the object of showing by a series of comments and criticisms how this view strikes one who holds what is generally called the Evangelical position. It is thought that by this means the vital questions at issue will be realized more clearly and the alternatives more effectively understood.

There is of course no question as to the divine source of the Church, nor is there any vital difference of opinion as to the necessity of the Church existing as a visible Society. The only question is as to the precise form or expression of the visibility. No one really doubts the fact, though there is a great difference of opinion as to whether any exact form of visibility is of the *esse* of the Church. The views of Dr. Lindsay and Bishop Lightfoot, quoted by Mr. Puller, would be accepted by almost every one, though Bishop Lightfoot's phrase italicized by Mr. Puller is of course subject to different interpretations. Much would depend upon what is meant by '*the Church constituted by a Divine order.*' Although Mr. Puller quotes from Dr. Hatch that the Church of the New Testament is 'a voluntary aggregation of individual souls for religious purposes,' many would deny that the antithesis to a divinely founded Church in Mr. Puller's sense is a merely voluntary human organization. The Evangelical conception of the Church is that while it is essentially

divine and not a merely human and voluntary organization, it is nevertheless not to be identified with any precise form of visibility regarded as a 'Divine order.' So that it is quite possible to agree with Mr. Puller as to the visibility of the Church founded by our Lord without in any way adopting as a consequence his views of the Christian Ministry.

Mr. Puller makes much of the passage in St. John xx. 19-23, but it may be questioned whether there is any essential difference between this and the passages in St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and Acts i., which clearly give our Lord's missionary commission. Mr. Puller is emphatic as to the commission given in St. John being limited to the Eleven, though he is of course aware that every member of the Fulham Round Table Conference admitted that the words were spoken to others beside the Apostles, and that the commission was bestowed upon the entire assembly as representing the whole Church. It seems impossible to argue on *a priori* grounds and to say 'it is incredible that such tremendous powers should have been given as a personal endowment to Cicopas and the other non-apostolic disciples who happened to be assembled with the Apostles.' What we should endeavour to discover is the exact nature of the gift bestowed and the use made of it in the Apostolic Church. Nor can we altogether overlook the fact that one of the Apostles was absent on that occasion.

The words of St. John seem to be nothing more and nothing less than the commission recorded in the other Evangelists, authorizing our Lord's disciples to go everywhere and proclaim the terms of the Gospel and its alternatives. That this great commission was to be in any sense limited to the Apostles is of course entirely out of the question, and it is significant that this passage, which is so strongly emphasized by Mr. Puller in its application to the Apostles, was actually the Scripture used in the Anglican Ordination of Priests up to 1662. It would appear from this

that the Reformers who were responsible for the Ordinal did not regard the passage as in any sense limited to the highest order of the ministry.

Then, too, Mr. Puller seems to overlook the well-known fact that the term 'Apostle' was later extended to St. Paul, and also to St. Barnabas and others. How are we to understand the authority of the Apostle Paul from St. John xx. if that passage meant some special endowment of the Apostolate? The fact that the word Apostle is applied to others beside the Twelve gives point to Dr. Sanday's view, that

'The absence of any sharp boundary between the Twelve and the larger class who bore the same name involves the exclusive claim which is made for the Twelve in serious difficulties.'¹

But even supposing Mr. Puller's view to be correct, that the commission was limited to the Twelve, there would still be a real difficulty in proving the transmission of that authority and power by the Apostles. Indeed, there is a threefold problem: to prove, first, that the Apostles had absolute authority; second, that St. Paul ever transmitted his authority to others; third, that Timothy and Titus recognized it as their duty to transmit their authority to those after them.

But the meaning of St. John xx. 19-28 demands attention. What was it that was given by our Lord on this occasion? It is clear that those to whom the commission was given were to be messengers from God to man, and this is the work of a prophet. The essential difference between a priest and a prophet is that the former represents man to God (Heb. v. 1), and the latter represents God to man (Exod. vii. 1). So that to speak of 'priestly absolution' is really a contradiction in terms, for not only did the Old Testament priest never absolve, but absolution is a message from God to man and therefore is the work of the prophet, not of the

¹ Sanday, *Conception of Priesthood*, p. 53.

priest. This, and this only, is the fundamental meaning of St. John xx.

Mr. Puller argues that the Apostolic office was intended to last until our Lord's Second Advent, and he quotes St. Luke xii. 42-44 and St. Matthew xxviii. 20 in support of this contention. He admits that our Lord 'does not precisely say that ordinarily believers are excluded from the promise,' but it is urged that Christ 'emphasizes its special applicability to the Apostles and their successors,' and Godet is quoted in confirmation of this general view. But is there not some confusion here between office and order, between function and position? Godet himself in the very quotation speaks of our Lord as referring to 'the minister of the Word,' and surely in this sense there could not be any exclusion of ordinary believers or even any 'special applicability to the Apostles and their successors.' The name 'steward,' such, for example, as our Lord mentioned in St. Luke xii. 42-44, is used as a general title applicable to all Christian men, and refers to function and service, not to precise office or order. Mr. Puller also objects, quoting Godet, to any ministry being derived by delegation from the Church at large, and, like the Bishop of Oxford, he inclines to contrast a ministry 'from above' (that is, from God) and 'from below' (that is, from the Church). But there is no necessary contradiction between these two ideas, for whilst all spiritual gifts must come from God, yet the Church has always been regarded as possessing a duty to recognize the possession of those gifts and to authorize their exercise in the community. Dr. Sanday agrees with Dr. Lindsay in deprecating this distinction between 'from above' and 'from below' as 'in many ways a false antithesis.'¹

Mr. Puller also uses St. Matthew xxviii. 20 as a proof that the Apostolate was to be perpetuated through the ages, and yet here again he overlooks the significant fact that this

¹ Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. ix. f. (The same point is made in various places by Dr. Bartlet.)

passage was used in the Ordination of Priests up to 1662, when the precise difference between Priest and Bishop was first expressed in the wording of the English Ordinal. Surely this is another testimony to the belief on the part of the Reformers of continuity of ministry, without limiting that continuity to a higher order than that of the Presbyterate.

Mr. Puller's belief that he has established on the basis of Holy Scripture the two fundamental truths on which the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession rests does not therefore seem to be valid, because the passages he adduces are capable of another, and, I believe, a much more satisfactory and convincing interpretation. Mr. Puller says that he passes over the aggregation of St. Matthias and St. Paul to the Apostolic College and also any discussion of the charismatic ministry, which he describes as entrusted to 'inferior Apostles.' But in reality these points are vital to any proper and full induction based on the New Testament, and must be given their proper weight in a true view of the New Testament Ministry. Besides, there is the significant fact that St. Paul received the Holy Spirit by the laying on of the hands of one who was an ordinary layman, Ananias; and Mr. Puller, referring to St. James, the brother of the Lord, speaks of him as 'anyhow an Apostle on a level with the Twelve and St. Paul,' though he speaks of him as 'possibly not one of the Twelve.' The force of 'possibly' is curious in the light of the Gospel story. This reference to Ananias seems to set aside at once the contention of Mr. Puller that only inferior and less important functions were communicated to Priests and Deacons, the higher functions remaining in the hands of the Apostles. So far as the New Testament is concerned there is no trace whatever of this distinction. As the Apostles were never technically Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, it is difficult to see how they could devolve or transmit precise functions which they themselves never possessed. The Apostles were unique in their position, and, as such, could not continue or transmit their office, and the

New Testament is absolutely silent as to the Apostles instituting the Episcopate to perpetuate their own order.

Mr. Puller uses the term 'hierarchical' and speaks of 'hierarchy of jurisdiction' and 'hierarchy of order.' But the term is ambiguous and needs careful definition, since every thing and every one 'sacred' might fairly be called 'hierarchical.'

The interpretation of the incident in Samaria in Acts viii., as illustrating 'a difference of sacramental power' will not find favour everywhere, because it is so plainly opposed to an episode like that of Ananias, already referred to.

Another difficulty in the way of accepting Mr. Puller's view of the Ministry is the frequent use of hypothesis in order to arrive at his conclusions. Thus he says that the creation of the order of priesthood or presbyterate '*seems* to have taken place at Jerusalem,' and that a still higher office 'emerged at the same time'; that '*there can be no doubt* that the Deacons neither celebrated nor confirmed'; that Presbyters '*presumably* were appointed and ordained by St. James'; that St. Paul communicated '*no doubt* by Ordination the Apostolic power of ordaining.' These are some of the methods of argument by means of which Mr. Puller seeks to substantiate his position, and it will be seen that his logic halts very seriously at important and vital points. Indeed he has hardly escaped the danger of reading back later ideas into the New Testament.

When he deals with the question of Confirmation, as illustrated by Acts viii., it would seem as though he was again unconsciously, but really, reading into the New Testament the views of later centuries. He admits that it is impossible to speak with certainty as to whether St. Paul conferred on Gentile Presbyters the right to administer Confirmation, though he thinks it possible they were given authority, and then adds in a footnote that at a later stage 'when each local Church had its resident monarchical Bishop

the circumstances would be entirely altered.' This last remark is surprising in view of the well-known fact that in the Greek Church in the present day it is the clergyman and not the Bishop who confirms. And if it be said, as it has been urged, that his Confirmation is episcopal because he uses oil that has been blessed by a Bishop, I am afraid that such an extension of episcopal power will not carry weight with many people.

In his discussion of the Acts of the Apostles Mr. Puller writes as follows :

'The upshot of this discussion seems to be that the mother Church of Jerusalem, after the departure of the Twelve, was organized under St. James, the brother of the Lord, as Apostolic President, assisted by a college of presbyters and by the deacons, originally seven in number.'¹

But is not this more than accurate exegesis warrants? A careful study of Acts xv. shows the presence not only of 'apostles and elders,' but of 'brethren,' and even 'multitudes,' the last-named term being used to describe the Church both in Jerusalem and also in Antioch (ver. 30) Surely, therefore, when St. James says, 'It seemed good unto us' (ver. 25), he included all those who were present. Both here and elsewhere it is impossible to avoid the impression that Mr. Puller is really reading into the New Testament simplicity some of the more elaborate developments of later ages.

Mr. Puller says that there can be no doubt that Deacons neither celebrated nor confirmed, but that at Ephesus towards the end of St. Paul's life some of the Presbyters laboured in the Word and in teaching. It is difficult to see how these statements can be proved from the New Testament. Most people will be inclined to agree with the Bishop of Oxford, who admits that there are two points on which the

¹ *Church Quarterly Review*, October, 1913, p. 65.

New Testament witness needs supplementing by the witness of the Church : (a) the exact divisions of the functions of the Ministry ; and (b) the form of the future Ministry.¹ Indeed, it is on the very subject of the presiding officer at the Holy Communion that Bishop Gore speaks quite frankly as to the silence of the New Testament :

‘ We have no clear information as to who exactly can celebrate the eucharist or who can baptize.’²

The view held by Dr. Hamilton that the celebration of the Eucharist was the essential feature of the Presbyter’s office is endorsed by Mr. Puller. But here again the matter is open to very great question. I have read Dr. Hamilton’s book with the keenest interest, and I find a large number of hypothetical statements expressed in terms like ‘ perhaps,’ ‘ highly probable,’ ‘ not impossible.’ And then suddenly that which has been regarded as problematical in the earlier chapters is stated as a fact, namely, that the Eucharist is the great central fact in the origin and development of the Christian Ministry. But so far as the New Testament is concerned no real proof is given.

The position of Timothy is regarded by Mr. Puller as indicative of a superior order in the hierarchy. But as he associates this with the words ‘ seems to me to imply ’ and ‘ I should be inclined to think,’ the matter is obviously capable of another interpretation, and many will still adhere to Bishop Lightfoot’s view that no such conclusion can be drawn, that Timothy is better described as an ‘ Apostolic delegate,’ and that at most his position can be described as ‘ a movable episcopate.’ Then, too, with the statement that ‘ it is not impossible that Crescens also may have been a minor Apostle,’ the question may at once be asked, What was a ‘ minor Apostle ’ ? And again we observe the hypothetical character of the argument.

There is one question that Mr. Puller does not seem to

¹ Bishop Gore, *The Church and the Ministry* (Fourth Edition), p. 246.

² *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 246.

have considered in his discussion of the New Testament, though it is one of great importance. Can we discover from the New Testament how the Apostles acted? Did our Lord give this authority to the Twelve, or, as the Roman Church maintains, to St. Peter alone as supreme? The Roman claim is quite simple and easy if we accept the premiss, but if we believe that St. Peter did not receive any authority beyond that which was given to the other Apostles, the question at once arises whether the authority was vested in the Twelve as individuals or as a College. If it be said that each Apostle could be the Head of an Apostolic Church, then there would be at least the possibility of twelve Apostolic Churches. If, however, the Twelve were only authorized to act as a collective body we still require the historical proof that they ever constituted themselves, or were constituted into a body to ordain successors. This is a point which, so far as I have been able to discover, is not usually faced by many of the leading writers of to-day, and yet it is surely vital to the issue.

As the main question consists in the discovery of what is precisely taught in the New Testament it does not seem necessary to dwell at any length on the authorities in the Sub-Apostolic age. But perhaps a word or two about Clement of Rome and Ignatius are necessary. Mr. Puller, following Dr. Hamilton, makes much of the evidence of Clement, but Dr. Sanday is equally strong in his opinion that St. Clement is not concerned with the doctrine of Apostolic Succession and its transmission.¹

So also with regard to Ignatius, while Lightfoot has no difficulty in proving the early evidence of a real episcopacy, he finds no trace of sacerdotalism, nor even of anything like the later monarchical diocesan episcopacy. No one questions the fact of episcopacy in Asia Minor by the time of Ignatius, and yet it seems purely congregational, for he is attacking separatists who disobeyed an existing Order, and is not

¹ *The Conception of Priesthood*, p. 72.

referring to other Churches which may have had another Order. This congregational aspect of episcopacy is admitted by Dr. Sanday, and also by Bishop Gore.¹ Ignatius bases episcopacy on two grounds : (1) its fitness as harmonizing with the Gospels, Christ being represented by the Bishop, and the Apostles by Presbyters ; (2) by direct revelation to himself. This claim to a spiritual knowledge as the basis of episcopacy is one that is not often heard of to-day. Nor is this surprising, for it really proves too much. The words of Dr. Gwatkin about Ignatius are particularly important.²

The fact that Presbyters and Bishops were one and the same is the ruling factor in the early years of the Second century. According to Jerome this was the case in the Apostles' time, and then to prevent schism the usage gradually grew which made the chief care of the Church devolve upon one person who was called a Bishop or 'Overseer.' But error seems to have arisen by confusing between superintendence or overseership, and a Bishop *jure divino*. The position of superintendence is no proof of a superior Order, and the mention of Bishops in the second century does not necessarily prove anything more than superintendence. This is certainly clear in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr, and even Irenaeus. But, as already mentioned, whatever differences of opinion there may be in regard to the true interpretation of the facts of the second century, the supreme question is as to the meaning of the New Testament.

With regard to the argument for Transmission, it does not appear to me that Mr. Puller invalidates Dr. Headlam's conclusion on this point. It still remains to be proved that the grace of Orders depends upon 'ministerially transmitted power derived by uninterrupted succession from the Apostles.' In connexion with this subject the meaning of the laying on of hands naturally arises. The view held by Dr. Sanday is

¹ *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 94 ; see also p. 102.

² *Early Church History*, Vol. 1. p. 294.

noteworthy for its contention that the meaning is commission not transmission.¹

Dr. Hort suggests much the same view.² St. Augustine associates the action with prayer, and so does the Roman Catholic Church, for Pope Leo XIII said that the act of the laying on of hands has no significance in itself.

On the subject of validity the request must again be made for an exact definition. Valid for what? What precisely is to be understood by ministerial or sacramental validity? If it be said that the demand is for assurance of grace, a guarantee of ministry within the terms of God's covenant, the question of proof is immediately raised. How can validity be proved except by genuine spiritual results? *

The words of Mr. Rawlinson are worthy of reproduction:

'The ministries of the various Protestant denominations may quite legitimately point to the witness of the souls they shepherd, and with St. Paul exclaim, "The seal of our Apostleship are ye in the Lord;" and it were well if the further bandying of epithets like "valid" and "invalid" could be abandoned by consent, as the *damnosa hereditas* of an age of legal metaphors and embittered controversy.'

Mr. Puller evidently attaches great importance to a statement by Dr. J. H. Moulton to the effect that he would not wish the Church of England to unite with the Methodist Church at the sacrifice of anything distinctive of the Anglican Communion. This opinion will be regarded as weighty in exact proportion to what is to be understood by the Church of England and its own 'Church machinery.' From Mr. Puller's own standpoint the words are doubtless 'very wise counsel,' but if it should be proved that his view of the 'Church machinery' is not scripturally or historically

¹ *The Conception of Priesthood*, p. 167.

² *The Christian Ecclesia*, p. 216.

³ See Sanday, *The Primitive Church and Reunion*, pp. 106, 108, 107.

⁴ *Foundations. Essay on "The Principle of Authority,"* p. 386.

accurate, then obviously Dr. Moulton's words cannot apply to the situation. Everything depends upon definition.

III

So we come back, after all this historical inquiry, to the real question at issue; What is the character of the New Testament Ministry? The Rev. H. H. Kelly¹ holds that an episcopally ordained Ministry is essential to the provision and guarantee of sacramental grace, and it is evident that only by the acceptance of his view of the Sacraments can his view of the Ministry be justified. But if his sacramental teaching be denied as opposed to the teaching of the New Testament his view of the Ministry at once falls to the ground. So that the real problem is whether the New Testament Ministry is priestly or prophetic. According to Mr. Kelly and Mr. Puller, it is priestly, and the priest is necessary for the act of eucharistic consecration which in some way or other associates the presence of our Lord with the elements.

The same view is seen in the words of the Bishop of Zanzibar when he speaks of 'the Sacraments that a Catholic Ministry alone can offer.'² And it is the basis of all the Bishop of Oxford's contentions about the Church and Ministry in relation to the Mission Field.

It is well that the alternatives should be so definitely stated; for there is no doubt that this is the crucial point at issue. If only we could concentrate attention on this problem of a priestly or prophetic Ministry it would enable both sides to recognize the actualities of the situation, for even if we assume for argument's sake that the succession has been historically proved beyond all question the problem still remains as to what precisely has been transmitted. There hardly seems any question as to the absolute silence of the New Testament as to any special order of Priests, for the term 'priest' is never once used to describe the

¹ *The Church and Religious Unity.*

² *Ecclesia Anglicana*, p. 27.

Christian minister. In the singular number it is only found of Christ, and His priesthood is said to be undelegated or intransmissible (Heb. yii. 24). When it is used of the Church it is always in the plural 'priests,' or, used collectively, 'priesthood.' This silence is surely a very significant fact and constitutes what Bishop Lightfoot calls 'the eloquent silence of the Apostolic writings.' And if it be said that the question is not one of words but of things, Bishop Lightfoot may again be quoted : 'This is undeniable, but words express things, and the silence of the Apostles still requires explanation.' Indeed, the Bishop goes on to speak of this feature as 'the characteristic distinction of Christianity.' If it be asked why this is so the answer is that it is irreconcilable with the letter and spirit of Apostolic Christianity. Three things invariably go together ; priest, altar, sacrifice ; for where there is no repeated offering there is no need of an altar ; where there is no altar there is no sacrifice ; and where there is no sacrifice there is no priest. As to the absence of sacrifice, the New Testament is perfectly clear ; as to the absence of an altar, Westcott points out that the use of the term 'altar' in Heb. xiii. 10 is absolutely inapplicable to the Lord's Table, and, indeed, incongruous. He remarks that any such material application would have been impossible in the early days. To the same effect, Lightfoot says that St. Paul had a special opportunity of using the word 'altar' in connexion with the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. x., but that he quite definitely avoided it.

But it is sometimes said that our Lord's words in St. John xx. 19-28 constituted the Ministry a priesthood. Quite apart, however, from the generally recognized fact (already referred to) that these words were spoken not to the Ministry only but to the whole Church as there represented, the question arises as to whether they can possibly be made to mean a sacerdotal priesthood. There is some confusion in such an interpretation. As stated above, a priest is one who represents man to God, just as a prophet

is one who represents God to man. The passage in St. John is clearly to be understood of a messenger from God to man, and this is the work of a prophet, not of a priest. So that Moberly's words, 'Ministerial Priesthood,' are a simple contradiction in terms, because a ministry is not necessarily a priesthood. Indeed, the representative character of the Christian ministry is not a priesthood at all. It is of course a beautiful and ingenious theory that the Church, like Christ, is priestly, and that therefore its ministers are the organs of the Church's priesthood, but this is really illusive, because it contains the doctrine of a special and specialized priesthood which is subversive of the New Testament priesthood of all believers. Lightfoot explains the silence of the New Testament by pointing out that as there are no more sacrifices there are no more priests. It is one of the simplest and easiest ways of falling into fallacy and confusion by noticing how Dr. Moberly's view of ministerial priesthood develops from simple representation into substitution.¹

The only passage approaching the idea of priestliness in ministerial functions is found in St. Paul's words concerning his own ministry in Romans xv. 16. But the passage is quite clearly metaphorical, with preaching as the function and the Gentiles as the offering. The passage on any showing has not the slightest connexion with a priest 'offering' or 'sacrificing' the Holy Eucharist.

We therefore return to the New Testament view of the Ministry and call renewed attention to the profound fact of its absolute silence as to any special order of priests. The evidence taken separately in its parts is striking, but as a whole it is cumulative and overwhelming. Bishop Westcott is reported to have observed in some of his lectures at Cambridge that the avoidance of the familiar term 'priest' was the nearest approach he knew to verbal inspiration. Some would venture to go a step further and take it as an unmistakable example of the superintending control of the

¹ Falconer, *From Apostle to Priest*, p. 285.

Holy Spirit in the composition of the Scriptures. Humanly speaking, the chances of avoiding the word 'priest' are almost as ten thousand to one. Indeed, we may almost say that to refuse to explain it by the guidance of the Holy Spirit is to require for its explanation what is virtually a miracle of human thought, fore-thought, and mutual pre-arrangement among several writers. There is no function of the Christian priesthood which cannot be exercised by every individual believer at all times. Differences of function in the ministry there are, but not in the priesthood. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of this simple, striking, and significant silence of the New Testament as to the fact that priestly mediation is no part of the purpose of the Christian Ministry. And so far as I have been able to discover no later scholar has ever been able to set aside Lightfoot's contention that there was 'a gradual departure from the Apostolic teaching in the encroachment of the sacerdotal on the pastoral and ministerial view of the clergy' which culminated in Cyprian. The Bishop remarks that 'the progress of the sacerdotal view of the Ministry is one of the most striking and important phenomena in the Church.'

Now if the Church of England claims to rest upon the Bible alone for all essential doctrine, the question of the absence of priesthood in the Ministry seems to be settled. Canon Simpson has remarked that

'The English Church claims to rest upon the rock of the Bible, and the Bible only, as exclusively as any body of Protestants in Christendom.'¹

And the Bishop of Oxford admits that the New Testament alone is insufficient.² Yet elsewhere he has spoken in the strongest terms of the loss of the safeguard of Holy Scripture in the Middle Ages when the authority of Scripture

¹ *The Thing Signified* (Second Edition), p. 13.

² *Orders and Unity*, p. 83.

was 'merged in a miscellaneous mass of authorities.'¹ If, therefore, attention is concentrated on the Ministry in the New Testament—and according to Article VI. only that which is in the New Testament is to be regarded as essential—there seems to be no room for a priesthood which is required to validate the Sacraments.

This is no question of mere historical continuity except so far as it is continuity associated with and based on truth. Continuity is valuable, and no one really wishes to destroy it, or even to minimize its importance, but the nature of the continuity needs to be carefully stated.²

The question of the Ministry is part of the much wider subject of the Church, and our view of the Church will largely determine our view of the Ministry. 'The first requirement is a clear idea of the New Testament doctrine of the Church and its place in the Christian system. There are only two general views on the subject.

One is the doctrine of a Church as a visible society mediating the work of Christ's redemption. This is the view of the Bishop of Oxford, who speaks of the Church as 'the home of salvation.' This means that the Church is a supernatural society, with supernatural powers, mediating blessing to individuals. This being the case the Church must have its officers through whom it can act, and it is on this account that the Church is often spoken of as 'the extension of the Incarnation.' As a consequence salvation is found only in membership with this society, for the Church in this view is essentially sacerdotal and mediatorial. In its strictly logical view this is the position of the Roman Catholic Church. To the same effect is the meaning of the Church as held by extreme Anglican Churchmen.

It will at once be seen that on this view the Church and Ministry are not only important but absolutely essential, or else the individual will never obtain the spiritual blessings associated with the institution.

¹ *The Body of Christ*, p. 223.

² See Blunt, *Studies in Apostolic Christianity*, p. 147.

The other view is that the Church is first and foremost a spiritual reality expressed at least partly in visible societies, but never absolutely identical with those societies. On this view the visible Church is not and cannot possibly be sacerdotal, for membership in the Church is a consequence of union with Christ. The New Testament conception of the Church is that of a Divine institution, which is primarily a spiritual organism, and only secondarily an earthly organization. The fullest view is found in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where the Apostle teaches that, as Newman once said, 'the Church started as an idea rather than as an institution.' While, therefore, the Church as a community in union with Christ expresses its life in connexion with visible organizations, yet, as Dr. Hort points out, the Church as the Body of Christ does not consist of aggregate Churches but of individual members. This distinction between organism and organization is vital to the New Testament conception of the Church, because it is impossible to regard the two as identical or coterminous.

From this it is clear that the place of Ministry in such a conception of the Church is didactic and prophetic not sacerdotal, for teaching and administration, not for mediation.

Now between these two views there seems to be no possibility of a compromise ; we must hold either to the one or to the other. The differences are fundamental. If the Church is really 'built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets' then it is quite clear that nothing can be regarded as absolutely essential which is not found in, or is properly deducible from, the writings of the Apostolic men. As to personal succession guaranteeing the spiritual validity to Sacraments the New Testament is silent, and it even looks forward to the time when false preachers would arise, separated from the primitive purity of faith and practice. It would seem, therefore, that the primary and fundamental necessity for a true ministry is the succession of truth. This was taught by St. Augustine.¹ So also by St. Ambrose.²

¹ *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, i. 4.

² *De Poenitentia*, i. 6.

And Irenaeus long before them spoke similarly. It is significant that Irenaeus is quoted on this point by Archbishop Laud in his conference with Fisher the Jesuit.

All this emphasis on the necessity of identity with Apostolic truth gives remarkable point to the well-known words of Archbishop Whately :

‘ There is not a Minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up with any approach to certainty his own spiritual pedigree. The sacramental virtue (for such it is that is implied, whether the term be used or not), on this principle, dependent on the imposition of hands, with a due observance of apostolical usages by a Bishop, himself duly consecrated, after having been in like manner ordained Deacon and Priest ; this sacramental virtue, if a single link of the chain be faulty, must be utterly nullified ever after, in respect of all the links that hang on that one. And who can undertake to pronounce, that during that long period, designated as the dark ages, no taint was ever introduced ? ’

IV

It remains to state as briefly as possible the positive Evangelical view of the Ministry.

1. Looking to the New Testament, first of all, Ministry is seen to be derived from a divine source. It starts with a divine gift (Eph. iv. 11, 12), as all true Ministry must necessarily do. It is this that is to be understood by the first question in the Anglican Ordinal : ‘ Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost ? ’ Then will come recognition of this divine equipment of Ministry on the part of the existing body of believers, just as we have in connexion with the Seven who were recognized by the Jewish Christians as men fitted for the work (Acts vi. 8). Then follows commission by means of ordination at the hands of the existing Ministry. Here again we turn to Acts vi. 1-6, where the Seven, after being selected by the Jewish Church, were commissioned by the Apostles.

2. This position fulfils all the functions of the New Testament Ministry in its evangelistic and pastoral aspects. The titles associated with the Ministry and the various words used for its exercise show its character and necessity. The Minister is a 'herald,' a 'messenger of good news,' a 'witness,' an 'ambassador,' a 'servant,' a 'shepherd,' a 'teacher,' and he is to 'evangelize,' 'herald,' 'announce,' 'testify,' and 'teach.' The variety and fullness of these references plainly show the essential features of Ministry, both in regard to evangelization and edification.

3. The form of the Ministry was gradually developed as needed. At first there were 'Apostles,' then came 'Deacons' (Acts vi.), 'Evangelists' (Acts viii.), and 'Elders' (Acts xi.). But in the New Testament the Ministry is one of gifts rather than of offices, as may be seen from the differences between the lists in 1 Cor. xii. 28 and Eph. iv. 11. In time, however, the Ministry naturally took two forms, evangelistic and pastoral, with something like an oversight in connexion with the position of St. James in Jerusalem (Acts xv.). But the terms 'Presbyter' and 'Bishop' are always interchangeable in the New Testament, and the term 'Apostle' is applied not only to the Twelve but also to others. The New Testament teaches a threefold function rather than three distinct offices.

4. This Ministry of the New Testament was and still is perpetuated in three ways: (a) By God continuing to bestow the spiritual equipment. (b) By the Church continuing to recognize the spiritual gift. (c) By the existing Ministry continuing to commission by Ordination those who are seen to possess the gift. This continuance is at once inward and outward.

5. The development of this Ministry is associated with a gradual evolution of Episcopacy, this being found earlier in some places than at others. In some churches there was a presbyter-bishop with several Presbyters under him, while in other places there was a monarchical Episcopate, and, if we may trust certain statements, the Church was well

on in the fourth century before mon-episcopacy, with Episcopal consecration, alone prevailed. Episcopacy is rooted in the very constitution of nature, which calls for leadership, and is seen in every institution, or body, or assemblage of men. Overseership is a law carved deep and written permanent on the record of humanity. Thus the Historic Episcopate in its widest interpretation is a basis of unity, and its associations with the past, its foundation in the natural order, and its acceptance by so great a part of the Christian Church make it impossible for its claims to be ignored.

6. This Ministry, according to Lightfoot, degenerated at the beginning of the third century by the introduction of certain sacerdotal features, and Evangelical Churchmen believe these erroneous elements were purged at the Reformation, the Ministry being then restored to its character as seen in the New Testament, while retaining and maintaining its Episcopal form.

7. This reformed, Scriptural Ministry has since been continued by means of the Laying-on-of-hands of the Episcopate, which Evangelical Churchmen regard as of particular value as a testimony to historical continuity, and with Dr. Sanday they hold that the Laying-on-of-hands implies ministerial commission.

8. The comparison of the Anglican Ordinal with the corresponding mediaeval books shows what the Ministry was intended to be in relation to the New Testament, and to all the essentials of proper ministerial commission and authority. Evangelical Churchmen hold that Ordination gives ministerial authority to exercise functions, but does not necessarily bestow spiritual power, except in answer to prayer.

9. While holding firmly to the Anglican Ministry as expressed in the Ordinal and taught in the Articles, Evangelical Churchmen take the same line as Cranmer and other leading Churchmen in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries did as to non-Episcopal communities. They hold tenaciously to the view stated by Dr. Sanday that 'it should be distinctly borne in mind that the more sweeping

refusal to recognize the non-Episcopal Reformed Churches is not and can never be made a doctrine of the Church of England. Too many of her most representative men have not shared in it. Hooker did not hold it ; Andrewes expressly disclaimed it ; Cosin freely communicated with the French Reformed Church during his exile. Indeed it is not until the last half of the nineteenth century that more than a relatively small minority of English Churchmen have adopted it.' ¹

10. This evangelistic and pastoral Ministry, in harmony with the New Testament, embodied in the Prayer Book and Articles, and confirmed by English Church History, is adequate to all needs of corporate life and service, ' for the perfecting of the saints for the work of " ministering," for the edifying of the Body of Christ ' (Eph. iv. 12). Thus it provides all that is necessary for spiritual equipment, sacramental regularity, and practical work.

11. All this is held by Evangelical Churchmen because it is believed to be in harmony with the fundamental requirement of Article VI., that only what is found in Scripture or may be proved thereby is to be accepted as an article of the faith, or regarded as essential.

I would therefore close by expressing my opinion that the supreme question connected with the Ministry is not the historical succession, even though Transmission could be proved beyond all doubt. Many of us are ready to accept all that Harnack and Mr. Turner have said in connexion with the precise method of historical development, and yet are still compelled to ask, What is the essential character of the Ministry thereby developed ? Has a sacerdotal Ministry *(has)* been transmitted, one which is essential for the guarantee of grace in the Sacraments ? Evangelical Churchmen cannot find it in the New Testament, and it would be well if in our discussions attention were concentrated on this point alone.

W. H. GRIFFITH THOMAS.

¹ Sanday, *The Conception of Priesthood*, p. 95.

THE HOME AND THE SCHOOL

The Bishop of Hereford's speech at the Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon, October, 1907.

The Manchester Grammar School Magazine for June, 1908, containing the Bishop of Hereford's sermon in the Cathedral, Founder's Day, May 29, 1908.

The Corner Stone of Education. An Essay on the home training of children. By the HON. EDWARD LYTTTELTON, D.D., Headmaster of Eton (London & New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1914).

'HOMEKEEPING youth have ever homely wits.' The familiar sentiment as it fell from the lips of Valentine in the opening scene of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* drew from Sir Walter Raleigh or Ben Jonson with whom he had gone to see the play, 'That depends on the nature of the youth and the quality of the home'; for travel only teaches those who would be certain to learn anywhere. Disraeli put something of the same thought in his own heightened way when he supplemented his 'Adventures are to the Adventurous' with the more characteristically epigrammatic, 'Every moment is travel if properly understood.' Two years after having broached it in the *Two Gentlemen*, Shakespeare himself returned to the idea and (*Richard II.* Act. I. Scene III.) makes John of Gaunt set it anew and elaborate it in the famous passage beginning that 'All places that the eye of heaven visits,' &c. The latest Tudor and the early Stuart period first acclimatized for English fashion what was known as the grand tour as a finish to a liberal education, foreign travel on its modern lines—implying world-wide locomotion—became indispensable to the seventeenth-century ideal of the complete man, personified first under Elizabeth by the 'Admirable' Crichton,

afterwards under James I by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. By none was the educational value of residence in a strange land more strongly insisted on than by the political philosopher who, but for his accidental stay with Sir Amyas Paulet at our Paris Embassy, would have divided all his youth between his university and his father's roof. Strange, exclaims Francis Bacon, that in voyages where there is nothing to be seen but sea and sky, men should make diaries; but in land travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it. Hence his advice to the Trinity undergraduates of the generation following his own. 'Not only give all the time you can spare from your studies to the observation of your fellow men abroad, but commit to writing whatever you see at the courts of foreign princes, and especially ascertain their modes of giving audience to ambassadors, the procedure in their courts of justice, the regulation of consistories, ecclesiastics, churches, monasteries, masques, funerals. You will even, he adds, do well to witness and record capital executions. But in all cases let the young traveller first learn the language before he goeth, so that he both may gather much and put his travel into a little room.'

The courtier and essayist who like Valentine would have his friend see the wonders of the world abroad, with the exception of the Paris sojourn already mentioned, had no cosmopolitan experience; he was indeed so home-keeping and homekept as to be literally in a manner tied to his mother's apron-strings. This remarkable lady, Sir Anthony Cooke's daughter and Sir William Cecil's sister-in-law, united accomplishments, remarkable even in that age of feminine learning, with sparkling readiness of wit, clearness of thought, strength of will and deep devotion to Calvinism. From the first she recognized her son's extraordinary powers and promise. None but herself, she determined, should have the training of so precious a plant. His supervision continued from the nursery period

throughout his entire youth, and even to the threshold of his professional career. From Lady Bacon's parlour, without passing through any intermediate stage, he carried to Trinity, Cambridge, the maternally infused objection to Aristotle, the whole race of schoolmen, their intellectual methods and their scientific processes. During her son's third year at Cambridge Lady Bacon chanced to meet at court Sir Amyas Paulet, absent from his post on furlough; she readily acquiesced in his proposal to take back her son with him to France. Paulet, it may be said in passing, had lately superseded as British representative at the French court an ancestor of our twentieth-century ambassador to the French Republic, Sir Francis Bertie.

This formed the future Verulam's sole experience of life and character in other lands than his own; and his mother had a motive spiritual rather than political or intellectual in arranging it. For Paulet was as severe a Puritan as Lady Bacon herself; it could not, the fond mother thought, but be profitable for her son that he should personally see the sagacity and skill of the English queen's plenipotentiary in combining just regard for the feelings of a Roman Catholic court and nation with the devotion to the plain evangelical truth she had from his infancy instilled into her son. The reformed religion had already roused the enthusiasm and been advanced by the sword of Walter Raleigh, with no other preparation for this or any other part of his world-wide adventures than the exclusively home education which preceded entrance at the university, in this case Oxford, at nearly the same age as Bacon went to Cambridge. Few perhaps it may be said in passing realize the speed, the ease and, for the most part, the comparative safety with which, after the fashion shown by Shakespeare in *Cymbeline*, travellers of the Tudor period passed to and fro between London and the most distant European capitals.

In 1593, Puck's 'I'll put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes,' was hugely applauded on the first representation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as a topical reference to the globe-trotting feats of the time. Ten years later the fairy exploit was rivalled in sober fact by Tom Coryat's pedestrian rambles to and fro between West Somerset and Central Asia. Robert Blake was at Bridgewater Grammar School before going to two Oxford colleges, St. Alban's Hall and Wadham. He had entirely left the University, and had been for some time domesticated beneath the paternal roof in the quiet square of his native town still bearing his name; he had served no nautical apprenticeship, when he first became M.P. for the bustling little town on the river Parret, and then after no long interval was called as a sailor to his life's work of humbling the Dutch fleet and clearing the Mediterranean of pirates. Blake had for his exact contemporary no less a man than Oliver Cromwell himself, who discouraged mere travel for the sake of sight-seeing as strongly as Bacon had commended it, and whose schooling had been all done in his Huntingdon home. Another Somerset worthy belonging to Blake's part of the country and epoch, the first House of Commons man of the essentially modern type, was John Pym. He, indeed, kept a few Oxford terms as a gentleman-commoner at Pembroke, but had, in his own words, picked up any Greek and Latin, or whatever he really knew, at home, being in this respect not less than in others a type of his time.

The men who, by exacting material guarantees against kingly usurpation, made the House of Commons the first power in the State, belonged to the same class; and personified the educational usages of their time in being as boys the exclusive products of home tuition. John Eliot went up to Exeter College, Oxford, from a dame's school kept in his Cornish birthplace. This formed his preparation for the limited continental travels, in whose

course he first found himself in the Duke of Buckingham's society. With that exception none of the great seventeenth-century Parliament men crossed the Straits of Dover. In every case they had been not boarders but day boys. Even Wentworth at the beginning on the popular side, the scion of a Yorkshire house immensely rich and of royal kin, went direct from the village clergyman's class to St. John's, Cambridge, had seen no more of France and Italy than during a short honeymoon tour, before going into Parliament. Westminster School has been called the nursing mother of statesmen before Eton obtained its vogue: but the only political celebrity of the epoch recalled educated under the shadow of the Abbey, was Sir Henry Vane, who left in 1628 for Magdalen Hall, Oxford. George III. still reigned when Westminster had its next pupil of political note in Sir Francis Burdett. About this time or a little later, Dasent and Phillimore became the illustrious Westminster names which they have remained to the present day. The school had no future premier for its alumnus till 1808, when the shy, delicate Lord John Russell began to make acquaintance with its fagging, flogging, and fighting. To the school itself he was indebted for none of his youthful knowledge, which had all been derived before he got there from his accomplished and devoted mother, or from the chaplain at Woburn. At a private class, however, held in Dean's Yard by a teacher unconnected with the school, he improved his reading, handwriting, and arithmetic; while his visits to the theatre did a little more than introduce him to the rudiments of English literature. From Bacon and Shakespeare to John Russell is a far cry. The sixth Duke of Bedford's third son had this in common with the great Elizabethans, that, though at school a boarder, he owed whatever he learned to the opportunities of a day boy. In that respect he may properly be bracketed not only with Bacon but Shakespeare.

Unlike the philosopher, the poet had passed through a local grammar school. In scarcely a less degree than Bacon, much, if not all, of what was best and most fruitful as well as most useful in his knowledge, came to him from the personal care of his mother (born) Mary Arden. A smaller squire's daughter and heiress, she had brought her husband a substantial dowry. To her son she transmitted mental gifts that grew into stupendous genius, her own facial features, and a certain air of good breeding which clung to him through all vicissitudes of fortune. The records of heredity, however carefully searched, will yield no more illustrious instance than this of a belief once general but now somewhat shaken. Such is the idea that the mother contributes the contour of countenance and the intellectual conformation while the moral sensibility comes from the father. The persistence through generations of characteristics originating on the distaff side has, it may be incidentally mentioned, been exemplified in our own royal family, whose members still perpetuate a distinctly Stuart peculiarity. The fullness of face below the eyes, especially on the right side, equally noticeable in Queen Victoria and in Edward the Seventh, first showed itself in the earliest Stuart successor of the Tudors. From James I it descended by his daughter's marriage with the Elector Palatine to the House of Hanover, in each generation of which it has been clearly discernible.

Vane, it has been seen—if not the only—stands out as the most famous of 'Old Westminsters' in the Jacobite Parliament. Among his contemporaries Bulstrode Whitelocke was the most eminent Etonian. The connexion of both schools with our public life exemplified during the seventeenth century by the two men just mentioned, grew steadily more intimate and illustrious throughout the Stuart and Hanoverian age. Of Westminster, Sir William Pulteney was then the chief representative, while Eton could claim Henry St. John, the future Viscount Bolingbroke, and Robert Walpole;

but the Eton that produced men of this stamp had about it a great deal more of the grammar—and day—school than the patrician and plutocratic training-ground which ill-informed censors sometimes charge it with having become. The next generation, or that following it, brought to the same school, though not exactly at the same time, the elder Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Charles Fox, Lord North, the Earl of Holland, and Earl Grey. When in 1788 George Canning exchanged Eton for Christchurch, the school in its personal composition and the variety of interests among its boys retained many of the old-world attributes which made it a mirror of the entire national life. Long before the French middle-class revolution of July, 1830, won the English middle-classes to the Grey Reform Bill, the new wealth, greatly to the school's advantage, was on the best of terms with the old acres at Eton as elsewhere. The Whitbreads, Bedfordshire country gentlemen as well as London brewers, had become not less necessary to the party of progress than the aristocratic committee which appointed Charles James Fox the Whig leader. Most of these went to the school hallowed by the memory of Robert Walpole; while, thanks to them chiefly or entirely, Eton, in different ways, came much more under the influence of the best domestic life in England than at any other time since the foundation of Henry VII had outgrown its original grammar school character.

Harrow produced her first imperial statesman in a Governor-General of India, the Marquis of Hastings. His term of office (1818-1821) was not less prolific in the display of great qualities than had been that of the Etonian who had been immediately before him in his great office (1797-1808). At school Hastings had not been remarkable for brightness or industry; he, therefore, brought with him from Harrow to India none of the scholarship whose depth and accuracy made Wellesley at Eton the rival of Porson and whose literary charm afterwards ornamented

the debates of the council at Calcutta. John Lyon, the Harrow founder, had bequeathed to his school the tradition of manly independence, illustrated by Hastings in his relations with the East India Company. Harrow day-boys vied with boarders in imitating these great examples, with the result that in due time the place produced two famous Prime Ministers. Four years after the beginning of the Victorian age the Etonian Melbourne gave place to the Harrovian Peel, who brought into his ministry at least two famous Harrow boys, Lord Aberdeen and Sidney Herbert; while Peel's successor, Lord John Russell, in 1847 took for his Foreign Secretary another Harrow boy, eventually the most popular Premier of his period, Lord Palmerston. Harrow also contributed to Peel's administration, either in its original form or as re-constituted 1845, not only the already mentioned Palmerston, but as President of the Board of Trade, Lord Dalhousie. Nineteenth-century Winchester renewed its earlier glories as a school of Bishops, Ken and Trelawny, by providing Mr. Gladstone with colleagues like Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke, Roundell Palmer, Earl Selborne, while during the 'seventies it was to have the training of the future Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. The elder Pitt, Lord Chatham, whatever he may have done with the less gifted heir to the family title, would not expose his famous second son to the risk of unlearning at Eton all that he had been taught for his life's work at home. Lawrence Sheriff, who in 1567 presented his midland birthplace with an almshouse and with a grammar school, to be made nearly three hundred years later by Thomas Arnold a landmark and a model in the public school system, was a genuine type of the educational founders, who promoted the Reformation by grammar schools. These practically began for the most part as day schools,—the idea of their creators being to combine not only home lessons, but home training with the discipline of the classroom and the playground. The grammar schools now spoken of were never

meant, it may be said, merely for teaching grammar. The work of Suetonius on illustrious grammarians is really a memoir of Roman literati, the exact equivalent for the Latin 'grammaticus' being the French 'litterateur,' for 'grammatica' it must be remembered signifies all now understood by literature. The grammar school, therefore, was originally so-called to emphasize the systematic instruction given by it in the 'humanities.' The name also distinguished it from schools teaching the mechanic arts, physical science, or mathematics. Grammar in the context now under consideration meant nearly the same thing as rhetoric. The institutions which in course of time came to be known 'par excellence' as public schools were grammar schools, which by some happy local accident or merit were resorted to by pupils far beyond their own neighbourhood. Whether the scholars lived at home or in hostels belonging to the school, the distinction of boarders and day boys was unknown. The education of home and school, therefore, long went hand-in-hand as it did in those seats of youthful learning, that, like Cheltenham College, began to prosper and multiply, as the places in which they were situated grew in popularity. At the great schools the day boys were looked down upon as an inferior caste. The new schools now referred to took up the functions of the old, which had fallen into desuetude. In the case of the old foundations the wants of local parents who sent their sons daily from their own roof to the school classes still received recognition. Thus at Rugby the day-boy element continued to exist by the side of the boarding element till the second half of the nineteenth century. The reforms of 1858 reconstituted the school created by a Rugby native for the good of his village; and the process changed the whole purpose and character of the school as well as impoverished its social life by improving the day boy out of existence. At Eton and Harrow at an even earlier date he disappeared so quickly that some affected to doubt whether he had ever been really

known. Anthony Trollope's account of his Harrow life, even perhaps if a little too highly coloured, describes the day-boy experiences of many others than himself. Save in exceptional instances of more promise or ability on the part of the boy or conscientious enterprise and self-sacrificing duty in the case of the master, the home boarder, from the beginning ignored, as belonging to an inferior caste, was made to feel his school life so much of a burden that he soon implored his parents or guardians to place him in a less famous seat of learning on a high chair in an attorney's office.

Meanwhile also the growing gentility of the middle-classes insisted on the day scholar's social inferiority to the boarding-school boy. Villadom and even shopocracy played into the hands of the school governors, who welcomed the support of any public opinion in discouraging, if not extinguishing, the day scholar. In the book mentioned at the head of this article, Dr. Lyttelton has something to say about the moral and intellectual mischief to the home, the school, and the community at large, when parents who can pay are relieved of responsibility for the process of character-forming during their children's most receptive and therefore most critical years. The Eton head master's most thoughtful and instructive book was preceded by the timely warnings of the most earnest and most variously experienced ex-head master now living: the Bishop of Hereford successively presided over Clifton and Rugby, and is as little likely to undervalue any conditions that make for good scholarship as Dr. Lyttelton himself. Dr. Percival's earliest contribution to the subject of the Etonian volume was a speech at the Whitgift Grammar School, Croydon, in the October of 1907. 'It is,' he said, 'our national weakness to consider that a really good school must be a boarding school.' Drawing from his own experience, Dr. Percival recalled the relations of day boys and boarders at his own Clifton. 'There the day boys numbered

160, containing some of the very best boys with whom I had to do. The great need,' he continued, 'is that the day school, as opposed to the boarding school, should now be awarded its proper place.' The best education obtainable was then defined as that received by a boy who, living in a good and cultivated home, attends a school where a high tone prevails, and there is sufficient opportunity both for studies and games.

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century grammar schools, whatever change of name they may have known, were at once among the chief agencies and results of the Reformation; this was notably so in the case of Lawrence Sheriff's Free School and Almshouse at his native Rugby. Of institutions that may be classed with Rugby, Westminster, and Harrow were founded since the Reformation. Christ's Hospital and other schools owing their existence to Edward VI, were, like Colet's St. Paul's Schools, strongholds of the new Protestantism. The City of London School (1834), the first of the modern public schools, took the initiative in blending the opportunities of home life and school life and thus supplying the defects of the more famous institution. The same function was fulfilled afterwards by Cheltenham first in 1840. Marlborough followed three or four years later. Clifton College grew up during the 'sixties, and as a result of the suicidal multiplication by Bath of agencies for teaching the young idea, is to-day the only Somersetshire school of the same quality as Cheltenham. The movement thus vigorously and successfully started for combining home influences with school discipline extended to the watering-places on the south coast, notably Brighton and Eastbourne. In Lancashire, Rossall has for seventy years been to northern England all that, about the same time, Marlborough became to the south. These, like other nineteenth-century foundations of the same standing, as regards *esprit de corps*, moral and social tone, academic and athletic prowess, have long since shown that the secret of

success in public school-making was not a mediaeval monopoly. The institutions just mentioned have attracted boarders rather than day scholars. Cheltenham and Clifton, being in an equal degree for both, are latter-day products whose stability and success come from their provision for boys living at home of the opportunities afforded by the grammar schools of the Tudor era before their conversion into fashionable and costly establishments for boarders.

Dr. Lyttelton, in his thoughtful and most suggestive *Corner Stone*, especially concerns himself with the duties of parents in respect of their children's moral training before they are of school age. This is a subject on which teachers like the head master of Eton may well feel rather deeply. Parents, Dr. Lyttelton might say, if he spoke his whole mind, have a way of ascribing their boys' faults, failings, or vices to the demoralizing influences of school life. In nine cases out of ten the evil seed has been sown at the preparatory school or in the home. Dr. Lyttelton therefore examines and describes at length the early training and home associations most likely to develop children into honest, truthful, Godfearing boys. Let, in effect, he says, the parent from nursery days win the child's confidence by kindness and admiration, by the example of a worthy and noble life; the only means likely to prove effectual will have been used for forewarning and fore-arming the future schoolboy against the temptations and dangers of the new world he is about to enter. Whatever their station, their preoccupation with great concerns, however liberal the sums disbursed to tutors and private masters, the parental responsibility remains the same; and the schoolboy, being a continuation of the child, is what the nursery and his mother's drawing-room have made him. Intellectually, also, something of the same sort may be said. School studies habitually owe more to the home lessons prepared by day boys, than those of the boarder beneath the school. That is especially the case with more

than one of the modern subjects which pay best in the competitive examinations of the period. No boarding-school education makes a boy really proficient in the curriculum of the 'modern side,' not to mention Shakespeare and the 'musical glasses' and other elegant attainments connected therewith. Examiners, however, have a way of circumventing even the 'crammer.' The most intelligent and therefore the most paying kind of proficiency in the poets and prose writers of our English language, as in the historical record of our country's progress whenever forthcoming, has for the most part been acquired in the quickening atmosphere of a very simple and frugal but of a refined home, every member of which makes some contribution to the general stock of family knowledge.

For private and personal as well as educational, social, and moral reasons, the boarding school will always be in some cases a necessity. Without it there are many boys who will never appreciate the best of homes, and holidays will lose half their delight and all their opportunities of wholesome influence upon character. Add to this the fact that in very many instances the moral atmosphere of the school is altogether higher than that of the home. To derive from it, however, substantial and lasting good, it must be breathed not merely for a few hours or days consecutively during two-thirds of the year. There must be the time which will ensure the whole temperament and nature being penetrated by it. Finally the collective life and the *esprit de corps*, for the most part such powerful agencies for good, seldom mean for the day boy what they do or may for the boarder. Independence of character is always of surer and stronger growth at the boarding school than at home.

Unfortunately, the latest tendencies of the time are not favourable to the spread of the beneficent home agencies now glanced at. The domestic existence and associations that have done as much for true culture as the college or the school are being squeezed out by the pressure of

twentieth-century novelties and dissipations. Dr. Lyttelton's appeal to the parental sense of beauty may perhaps have the effect of checking at least in some quarters the vulgar and debasing process which has already become a fashion of the time. Formerly, as has been seen, the boarding school commended itself to parents by its superior gentility. Its more modern attractions are the extent to which it enables middle-class fathers and mothers to divest themselves of a concern for their young people, inconveniently interfering with their own pleasures or other social arrangements. The contemporary week-end, the up-to-date vogue of taverns and restaurants for the daily meals, and the growing multiplication of amusements, only a few years ago unknown by name, have already done not a little towards changing the entire views of life taken by the fathers and mothers of the middle class. The experience may, however, prove more transient than some critics of our social state expect. A more sobering and solemn epoch in our history has been reached than any now living have previously known ; and a new sense of parental responsibility practically displayed in matters of vital moment to the future of the race now considered, may be among the much-needed lessons that the war will teach.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

A FINE ENGLISH GENTLEMAN

The Letters of John B. S. Morritt, of Rokeby, descriptive of Journeys in Europe and Asia Minor in the years 1794-1796. Edited by G. E. MARINDIN. With Illustrations. (Murray. 1914.)

IT is rather surprising that no Life of John Bacon Sawrey Morritt, of Rokeby, has ever been written. His intimate friendship with Sir Walter Scott, his position as a Yorkshire land-owner and Member of Parliament, and his love of art and literature entitled him to the honour of an adequate biography. Material was not lacking, and Mr. Marindin has made good use of some of it in the interesting volume of letters which he has just edited with skill and knowledge. The originals are in the hands of Miss Spedding. Mr. Marindin has supplied a brief biographical introduction, and has added valuable notes on the public events and the archaeological researches referred to in the letters.

John B. S. Morritt, son and heir of John S. Morritt, was born in 1772. His mother was the daughter of Henry Peirse, of Bedale, M.P. for Northallerton. The elder Morritt purchased Rokeby Park in 1769, from 'long' Sir Thomas Robinson, so called to distinguish the tall and thin baronet from a contemporary of the same name who was short and stout. Lady Townshend said, 'I can't imagine why one is preferred to the other. The one is as broad as the other is long.' The Robinsons had bought Rokeby from the original owners in the seventeenth century. The castle was destroyed by the Scotch in a foray after the Battle of Bannockburn, and the owner built Mortham Tower on his wife's estate on the northern bank of the Greta. The last descendant of the old family, Colonel Rokeby, was ruined in the Civil Wars by his loyalty and unthriftiness. Sir Thomas Robinson rebuilt

Rokeby, enclosed the park with a stone wall about 1725-1730, planted many forest trees and built the bridge over the Tees. He married in 1728 the eldest daughter of Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, who was widow of Lord Lechmere. She died at Bath in 1739 and was buried in the family vault under the new church of Rokeby. Sir Thomas married again, but left instructions in his will that a monument should be placed in Westminster Abbey for the 'accomplished woman, agreeable companion and sincere friend' who had been his first wife. Sir Thomas was Governor of Barbados from 1742-7. He dissipated his fortune by his passion for building and for entertainments, and was thus compelled to part with Rokeby. His brother Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, was created Baron Rokeby of Armagh in 1777.

Mr. J. S. Morritt died in 1790, leaving Rokeby Park and a large fortune to his son. The younger Morritt had been in Paris in 1789 and took his degree at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1794. In February of that year he set out on his travels. The first letter to his mother is sent on February 27, from the inn at Sittingbourne, where he and his companion, Dr. Stockdale, spent their first night. They were armed with letters to the Sublime Porte. The Turkish Ambassador had a strange notion that as Englishmen they were well acquainted with the art of fortification, and gave them letters to his brother, the Grand Master of the Ordnance in Turkey. Mr. Morritt tells his mother not to be surprised if she should 'hear of General Stockdale and me fortifying the Dardanelles.' He promised to send home 'an account of everything queer we meet with.' From Brussels he writes, 'the ridiculous mélange of English, French, and Austrian manners here is completely laughable.' Robespierre was then in power. The Terror was at its height, and France was at war with the Allies on the frontiers, yet in Brussels all was 'just as gay and as quiet' as in London. Dresden, which they reached in March 21, greatly interested them. It lay in 'a large plain on the Elbe, bounded with pretty cultivated hills and vine-

yards. The drollery and absurdity of the figures and equipages here exceed anything I ever saw, and like true Englishmen, we have been employed all the morning in quizzing the natives. However, it is hardly worth while, for it quite fails in its effect with a German, as if you were to spit in a man's face here he would only wipe it off. I always thought what I had heard of the phlegm and sleepy temper of these people exaggerated; but it is enough, I assure you, to look at them, and see the scenes we sometimes do: you would swear the whole nation was asleep. The composure with which they let you scold them is inconceivable; and when we have done we might have better held our tongues, as a German is never in a hurry, and I believe cannot conceive anybody else is. Voltaire somewhere calls them the old men of Europe; and it is drawing their picture at once.' The contrast between 1794 and 1914 comes home to every one who reads those graphic sentences.

There was not a chimney in all Westphalia. The smoke went out at the windows, and in the villages the cow-house adjoined the living-rooms, so that Lord Porchester, whom they met at Dresden, found a white cow one night in his bedroom. At Dresden they moved in Court circles. Mr. Morritt sends his sister an amusing description of the dinners and the company. For him, however, 'the principal lion' was the Picture Gallery with five of Correggio's best works, and the finest Raphael he had yet seen. Their mornings were spent in seeing pictures and statues, or in the charming country.

May found them in Vienna. He quiets their fears at home by telling them that the passage thence to Constantinople was 'as regular as from Edinburgh to London, and as safe, and almost as commonly travelled; rather *worse roads*, but I believe nowhere so dangerous as over Finchley Common.' Vienna made a very favourable impression. 'The number of people of fashion who reside here, the ease with which we were introduced, and the many places of

public lounging, are beyond those of any town we have seen on the Continent. The English were in high vogue and were received with much cordiality. The Emperor's guard of four hundred young Hungarian nobles wore Hussar breeches and caps, waistcoats and jackets edged with sables and adorned with small round buttons and Brandenburgs. Each was attended by his servant, also in Hungarian dress and on horseback. In revenge, however, for all this dressing, the common people are almost naked, and all beggars.' He writes to his mother : ' Can anything be more striking than the perpetual conjunction of superstition and poverty that prevails in many parts of the Continent ? The poor wretch with nothing to comfort him on earth has recourse to his beads and Ave-Marys, which, in their turn occupying all his thoughts and industries like a dream, continue that misery whose pains they alleviate. In the Prussian and Saxon dominions, on the contrary, at least in parts of them, industry and activity are seen in their villages, which are clean and comfortable even under an arbitrary government, so that despotism borrows part of its effect from religious opinions.'

In the journey from Vienna to Constantinople they found the peasants of Transylvania and the Bannat miserably poor, often with no clothing but a shirt and a pair of trousers. They were livelier than the Germans, but had a vacant idiot laugh and were senseless beyond description. In one place when there was no inn, the travellers were entertained by a noble Wallachian lady, who sent into the village for things which she had not in the house. After dinner two servants walked round with a basin and pitcher to pour water on their hands. They slept on the sofa, which was six feet broad and as long as the room. In the morning their hostess came in with her little boy, bringing each of her guests a teaspoonful of conserve of roses, the best they had ever tasted. They were not suffered to pay for anything save what they had obtained from the village, and left the house delighted with the novelty of the scene and the hospitality.

From Bucharest they proceeded to Constantinople on horseback. They approached Tirnova through a close lane overhung with the largest and finest oaks. The moon shining through the foliage had an enchanting effect. For several miles a rocky wooded bank lay on the right, below on the left was a winding river fringed with many trees. Next day the country was rich and varied like that between Doncaster and Rotherham. Everywhere they met with the greatest good will, and were allowed to walk freely about the Turkish mosques at Adrianople. Mr. Morritt had engaged a draughtsman to go with them, who was busy all day taking views of Constantinople, but it baffled his pencil almost as much as it did his master's pen. They lived in a small, uncomfortable inn kept by Italians, and wandered about the streets just as though they had been in London. Saint Sophia greatly impressed him. The lower columns were twenty feet high, the higher about fifteen feet. Each was an entire piece of verd antique marble. The floors and walls were overlaid with marble, and the great dome, built about the year 540, had a wonderful effect.

In September they pushed forward into Asia Minor. James Dallaway, son of a banker at Stroud, Gloucestershire, who was chaplain and physician to the embassy at the Porte, sailed with them. The letters say he is 'a very agreeable addition to our party, as he is both pleasant and well-informed.' He was a member of the Society of Antiquaries. He returned to England in 1796, became vicar and sinecure rector of Slinford, near Horsham, and in 1801 Vicar of Leatherhead. He retained both livings till his death in 1834. His wife issued in 1821 some etchings of Views in the Vicinity of Leatherhead, to which he prefixed a History of Leatherhead.

At Smyrna 'the news of Robespierre and Co. having been beheaded' reached them. Mr. Morritt wrote, 'As to the decapitation, I am happy it is so well authenticated.' He hopes they will 'establish some kind of government with which their neighbours may be at peace.'

Nicaea was reached in the midst of a violent storm of lightning. The old wall was still standing and enclosed a space three times as large as the town. It had been originally built of hewn stone, but had been almost hid or destroyed by great fortifications of brickwork into which broken columns, friezes and other things had been heaped pell-mell. Brusa, the old capital of Turkey, stood in a plain of inconceivable richness and fertility, with houses and mosques on different slopes and heights, and the ruined fortress perched on a high rock. Olympus rose finely behind with its bold crags and forests. Mr. Morritt climbed it and found it covered with snow. He says 'the country from hence to Smyrna is a succession of mountains more extensive than I think I ever saw. In consequence of this, I never saw, I think, a country so rich and grand in its distances, but there are very few really pleasing views, as the foreground is everywhere bad, and there is seldom even a good middle distance.'

At the little town of Loubad they attended a Greek feast held in the priest's house and yard. Mr. Morritt tells his sister that the faces of the village belles exceeded by far any collection in any ballroom she had ever seen. 'They have all good eyes and teeth, but their chief beauty is that of countenance. Of this you really cannot have an idea. It is an expression of sweetness and of intelligence that I hardly ever saw, and varies with a delicacy and quickness that no painter can give.' The women married very early, and began to grow old at the age of twenty-four or twenty-five. The men who were betrothed wore a wreath of flowers on their heads. In the island of Scio they found all the people walking on the shore one Sunday evening, 'and a more handsome assemblage of girls he never saw. Every young woman is a beauty, but, in revenge, no woman is young after twenty.' The friends spent two days examining the ruins of Ephesus, which were strewn all over the ground. He writes to his mother: 'You see I am not tired of my tour; a more satisfactory one you cannot

conceive. Every hill I see here is interesting, and seems an old friend after what one has read about them; I am more mad about Greece than ever, and look forward to the time when I shall make the whole family as mad as myself by bringing drawings of every hill and dale in the country. Except when on horseback I am reading or writing all day long.'

Letters from England were full of politics, and he was tempted to rejoice, as his mother put it, that he was not beset with party people. His good sense comes out in the words: 'I think a man at my age had better be making observations, to form his opinion upon them, than acting strongly on what he can't be master of. Everything to me seems in these days to run so much in extremes, that an acting man, especially if a young man, would not find it easy to preserve his character as a moderate one, the only honest one anywhere.' His prayer was that England might get well rid both of her allies and her enemies. 'I think I shall contrive, by what I see and hear, to hate both sides. So much so that I shall return as English as I set out.' That was his sincere wish.

In November, 1794, Mr. Morritt found himself in the heart of Homer's country, 'surrounded with the monuments of his heroes.' He sent home a full description of the region. His aunt had lent him Lechevalier's book on the Troad, which had given him a keen incentive to visit these scenes. He adopted the Frenchman's theory that the Homeric Troy was on the heights of Bali Dag, near Bunarbashi. That view held the ground till Schliemann's excavations (in 1871-9) showed that Hissarlik was the real site, and that New Troy occupies the site of Old Troy. Morritt was 'a good scholar, well read in Greek and Latin literature, and had already developed a considerable taste for antiquarian research.'

From the Troad the party crossed to Tenedos and Lemnos, and then sailed to Mount Athos, where they landed

in a harbour near to a great Greek monastery. As every one was fast asleep they muffled themselves in their great-coats and waited under an old open summer-house. Near by were the boatmen of a small skiff who had been stripped and wounded by pirates. 'We now thought ourselves very well off ashore, and our summer-house improved very much upon second thoughts. As soon as it was light our eyes were amused with one of the finest countries I had ever seen. All the mountain is covered with Greek convents, of which there are not less than twenty scattered over its sides in the most picturesque points of view you can conceive. One of these, embosomed in wood, was above us at a little distance from the shore. Its turrets and high, battlemented walls, mixed with tall, thick cypresses and surrounded with wood, had an air completely monastic; farther up the hill was another, equally venerable. The bank on which they stand is uneven in the extreme, covered with wood, and now with all the beauty of autumn colouring. As, besides the greatest profusion of oaks, chestnuts, and oriental planes, the mountain is covered with shrubs and evergreens, you can hardly conceive anything so rich and varied. We stayed one night at this monastery, and saw with wonder the comfort in which they live here. In the courtyard of the monastery is a thick orchard of oranges and lemons, now full of the finest fruit I ever ate.' They rode twelve miles towards the point of Mount Athos. The road wound at one instant through thick and beautiful woods, at another along lawns or open fields, commanding views of the sea and the different islands. The slopes of Athos were covered with wood, and the high, pointed crag reflected the softest and most brilliant colouring, both in the morning and evening. Mr. Morritt was accustomed to beautiful scenery, but this surpassed any that he had ever seen. The prospect from the window of one large monastery was glorious. 'I have no hesitation in preferring it to everything I ever saw, even in Switzerland, and will never

again suppose I have seen the finest thing in the world, for there is no limit to beauties of this sort. The view of a double sea, adorned to such a degree with islands and shores, was what I had not a notion of. The variety of these islands is another beauty.' The monks were not so attractive. 'Imagine one thing more dirty, sycophantish, and ignorant than another, you will have a faint idea of a Greek papa. This is the title of their priests. One or two of the superiors look sometimes rather cleaner, but are all equally ignorant.' One of the priests told Dr. Stockdale they were all much too young to travel together, and proposed to go with them and take care of them. They were flattered, but were not anxious to have a Greek travelling tutor. It was not till 1833 that the Hon. Robert Curzon published his *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*. That favourite book of Ruskin's will come to the minds of many who read Mr. Morritt's letters.

On their way to Salonica they passed through miserable villages inhabited entirely by Greeks or Jews. The Greeks had the power in their hands, and used it 'in so rascally a manner' that the travellers inquired as eagerly for Turks as in other places they would have done for Englishmen. 'Everything you have to buy or order in these villages is a signal for the whole body to unite in cheating you. No redress from a Greek Aga (or governor); he only cheats higher than the rest.' At Athens they lodged 'with the Consul, who is poor and a Greek, two circumstances which together always make a man a scoundrel.'

Many French refugees were in Salonica, who described the effects of the Revolution in the provincial towns of France. 'The private history of it is, I think, both more interesting and more dreadful than the public, which is little more than the news of Paris. The sufferers, too, are more to be pitied, as they are not of the detestable class of aristocrats whose crimes and infamy raised the spirit in their country, but merchants and people of the middle

rank of life, the most virtuous in every country, and the most exposed to plunder in their own.' One young man, whose father was imprisoned at Marseilles, told Mr. Morritt: 'There is nothing against us, only honesty and wealth—crimes with the revolutionary government.' A young lady 'whose father has been guillotined by these brutes, obliged, with horror in her heart, to wear the cockade amongst her black ribbons, that she may not expose the rest of her relations to the same fate. I have just seen her walking about with a party of them, and I own I almost joined with Edmund Burke in regretting the Age of Chivalry.' The higher class of refugees execrated the government, though they wore the cockade and temporized to save their property.

Over almost every door in Athens was an antique statue or basso-relievo, so that they felt themselves in a perfect gallery of marbles. 'Some we steal, some we buy, and our court is much adorned with them.' Mr. Morritt bought silver medals often for less than the price of the silver, and copper ones for halfpence. He was also treating for marble statues, and overcame the 'scruples of conscience in the mind of the old scoundrel at the citadel; that is to say, he did not think we had offered him enough.' These scruples were satisfied. The marble was to be theirs as soon as they could find means to send it off from Athens.

After visiting many of the islands they reached Naples in November, 1795. Their artist, whose health had suffered much on the tour, left them at Zante, and Mr. Morritt found a painter to finish the sketches. He hoped to bring home four or five of the principal views, executed 'in a very masterly style, and the rest neatly finished in a suite of smaller drawings.' At Naples they saw Lady Hamilton, whose husband told every one he had married her because 'she only of the sex exhibited the beautiful lines he had found on his Etruscan vases.' Mr. Morritt says, 'No creature can be more happy or satisfied than he is in showing her off, which he does exactly as I have seen a wax figure

exhibited, placing you in the most favourable lights, and pointing out in detail before her all the boasted beauties of his *chère moitié*, and, luckily for him, without any more bad effects upon her than would happen if she were a wax figure; which is wonderful considering the pains he takes and the country he takes them in.'

Without affectation or prudery she kept her husband and every one else in order. She was a born actress and a mimic. Her attitudes made a sight 'fairly worth all Naples and Rome put together. Her toilet is merely a white chemise gown, some shawls, and the finest hair in the world, flowing loose over her shoulders. These set off a tall, beautiful figure, and a face that varies for ever, and is always lovely. Thus accoutred, with the assistance of one or two Etruscan vases and an urn, she takes almost every attitude of the finest antique figures successively, and varying in a moment the folds of her shawls, the flow of her hair, and her wonderful countenance, is at one instant a Sibyl, then a Fury, a Niobe, a Sophonisba drinking poison, a Bacchante drinking wine, dancing, and playing the tambourine, an Agrippina at the tomb of Germanicus, and every different attitude of almost every different passion.' The change of attitude was the work of a moment, and all were studied from vases and paintings. She sometimes assumed two hundred of these rapid poses in succession, and they were scarcely ever twice the same. 'In short, suppose Raphael's figures, and the ancient statues, all flesh and blood, she would, if she pleased, rival them all. What is still better is that she acts with the greatest delicacy, and represents nothing but what the most modest woman may see with pleasure.' When Mr. Morritt dined with them Lady Hamilton acted a new scene, and in the dress of a Neapolitan *paysanne*, danced the tarantella with castagnets and sung vaudevilles till she convinced the company 'that acting was a joke to her talents.' Here were all the elements for Nelson's downfall. Mr. Morritt's letters show

that Naples was no place for those who had not power to resist temptation. He had 'only known one or two good fellows among the men, and not one woman of character, or scarce common decency, among the ladies.'

In Rome he spent some weeks. St. Peter's seemed the most magnificent building in the world, though it could not produce the sensation of religious awe which York Minster inspired. Still more did the young Englishman enjoy the Coliseum by moonlight. He tells his sister that he had had no idea of the lions to be hunted down at Rome. There were at least eighteen or twenty houses, of which each had a rich picture gallery and many fine collections of pictures. To these were to be added the antiquities and the modern artists. He felt at last rather like Lord Webb, who expressed [his relief when told that there were no fine pictures to be looked at in a certain house. Vienna proved a charming relaxation, for there was nothing to see and a great deal of amusement, 'exactly the contrast of Rome, where your eyes are the only sense you ought to employ.' They came home by Berlin, 'one of the prettiest towns in Europe,' though 'melancholy, dull, poor, and ill-peopled.'

In July Mr. Morritt was back at Rokeby. He soon gained a reputation. Sir William Fraser found him 'a brilliant raconteur.' He knew also how to use his pen. When Jacob Bryant set forth his view that no such city as Troy ever existed, Mr. Morritt published *A Vindication of Homer and of the Ancient Poets and Historians who have recorded the Siege and Fall of Troy*. This was in 1798. The controversy went on for a year or two. He was elected a member of the Dilettanti Society in June, 1799, and his portrait as 'arch-master' of its ceremonies in the long crimson taffety-tasselled robe of office was painted for the Society in 1881-2 by Sir Martin Archer Shee. In 1808 he was married by special licence at the house of Colonel Stanley, M.P., in Pall Mall, to Katharine, daughter of Rev. Thomas Stanley, Rector of Winwick. His mother

died in 1809, and was buried in Rokeby Church. He was one of the founders of the Travellers' Club in 1819, and was a member of its first committee. He won public confidence, and sat as Tory Member of Parliament for Beverley 1799–1802, Northallerton 1814–18, and Shaftesbury 1818–20.

In 1807 he supported the nomination of Wilberforce as member for Yorkshire, in an 'excellent speech.' In 1818 they stayed together at Muncaster. Wilberforce wrote, 'Morritt very cheerful, unassuming, full of anecdote, and a good deal of knowledge—literary—of the old-fashioned Church of England religion, and high-spirited as to integrity, generosity, gratitude, family attachment, &c. Most kind to his family and friends.' The two men were on intimate terms. In 1819 Wilberforce wrote: 'I have received a letter from Morritt, stating that the West Riding of our county is in an alarming fermentation—the lower orders too generally corrupted, and the merchants and higher manufacturers scarcely daring to resist the tide of blasphemy and sedition.' Mr. Morritt's estimate of Wilberforce as a speaker is given in the *Life*: 'His voice was beautiful; deep, clear, articulate, and flexible. I think his greatest premeditated efforts were made for the abolition of the trade in slaves, and in supporting some of the measures brought forward by Pitt, for the more effectual suppression of revolutionary machinations; but he often rose unprepared in mixed debate, on the impulse of the moment, and seldom sat down without having struck into that higher tone of general reasoning and vivid illustration, which left on his hearers the impression of power beyond what the occasion had called forth. . . . I always felt, and have often heard it remarked by others, that in all his speeches, long or short, there was generally at least from five to ten minutes of brilliance, which even the best orator in the House might have envied.' Mr. Morritt 'more than once remonstrated with him for giving us in his speech the deliberation which passed in his own mind, instead of the result to which

it led him, thus furnishing his opponents with better weapons than their own arsenal could supply.' He felt the striking contrast between 'the manly decision of his conduct, and his unfeigned distrust and diffidence of his own opinions.'

In 1808 Mr. Morritt was introduced to Sir Walter Scott by Lady Louisa Stuart and other friends. He and Mrs. Morritt spent a week in Edinburgh, where Scott showed them 'the lions of the town and its vicinity, exactly as if he had nothing else to attend to but their gratification.' Scott unlocked all his antiquarian lore and added vastly to the pleasure and instruction of the visit. They became intimate correspondents. Lockhart says, 'From this time to the end of his life Scott communicated his thoughts and feelings to one of the most accomplished men that ever shared his confidence.' Mr. Morritt saw much of Scott at Rokeby and at Portland Place, London. After his first fortnight at Rokeby in June, 1809, Sir Walter describes it as 'one of the most enviable places I have ever seen, as it unites the richness and luxuriance of English vegetation with the romantic variety of glen, torrent, and copse, which dignifies our northern scenery. The Greta and Tees, two most beautiful and rapid rivers, join their currents in the demesne.'

Morritt had written, in 1802, a volume of miscellaneous translations and imitations of the minor Greek poets. He also composed a metrical inscription for the monument of William Brough in York Minster. Mrs. Brough left Mr. Morritt the fine miniature of Milton by Cooper. This Scott greatly admired. He calls it 'a valuable thing indeed. The countenance is handsome and dignified, with a strong expression of genius.' It was painted for Milton's favourite daughter, and was long in the possession of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who bequeathed it to the poet Mason. He left it to Brough. Scott included Morritt's spirited ballad, 'The Curse of Moy: a Highland Tale,' in the edition of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, published in 1810. Morritt

also wrote occasionally for the *Quarterly*. In 1811 Scott gave his friend deep pleasure by choosing his domain as the scene of his fourth poetical romance. Mr. Morritt supplied him with facts, and when *Rokeby* appeared, the unique fidelity of the descriptions of local scenery delighted its master. He offered Scott help in his pecuniary troubles, and was one of the three to whom Scott confided the great secret that he was the author of *Waverley*. Many of their letters are given in the *Life of Scott* and in his *Familiar Letters*, 1894. When Mrs. Morritt died in 1815, Scott's sympathy did much to comfort his friend. In 1826 Scott was at Rokeby, 'where we had as warm a welcome as one of the warmest hearts in the world could give an old friend. I saw his nephew's wife for the first time, a very pleasing young person. It was great pleasure to me to see Morritt happy in the midst of his family circle, undisturbed, as heretofore, by the sickness of any dear to him.' In May, 1828, Scott found Morritt looking well and easy in his mind. 'He is now one of my oldest, and I believe one of my most sincere friends ; a man unequalled in the mixture of sound good sense, high literary cultivation, and the kindest and sweetest temper that ever graced a human bosom. His nieces are much attached to him, and are deserving and elegant, as well as beautiful young women.'

In September, 1831, Sir Walter spent one more day at Rokeby. The parting from his old friend was 'a grave one.' Scott had left the ring he usually wore at an inn, and wrote asking Mr. Morritt to inquire about it, as it had been dug out of the ruins of Hermitage Castle, and probably belonged to one of the 'Dark Knights of Liddesdale.' Morritt was to wear it for Scott's sake till the owner came back to reclaim it. Scott never saw Rokeby again. He died in 1832, and Lockhart says in the *Life* : 'The ring, which is a broad belt of silver, with an angel holding the Heart of Douglas, was found, and is now worn by Mr. Morritt.'

Morritt was a friend of Sir Humphry Davy, and Southey,

who spent the night at Rokeby in 1812, described the grounds 'as the finest of the kind' he had ever seen. The glen was, for its extent, more beautiful than anything in England. The inside of the summer-house was ornamented by coloured designs, which Mason the poet set the family to cut out. In 1829 Southey made a short visit to 'this singularly beautiful place,' and met its master again.

Mr. Morritt died in 1848, and was laid by the side of his wife in the vaults under Rokeby Church, where a marble tablet surmounted by his bust was erected to their memory. He has been recalled to the mind of Englishmen to-day by the most famous of his art treasures. The 'Venus with the Mirror' belongs to the last decade in the life of Velasquez. 'His art had matured; adversity had thrown him back upon his work; it was the solace of the hours that were not claimed by absurd official duties.' The Venus is one of the master's most notable studies, and its wonderful flesh-painting makes many another picture look lifeless and unreal. Its history is well authenticated. It was painted in 1650, and eighteen years afterwards came into the possession of the Duke of Alba as part of his wife's dowry. In an account of the ducal palace a century later it is described as 'the very celebrated Venus depicted from the back.' It was bought by Mr. Morritt in 1808 for £500, and remained in the family till it was sold by order of the Court of Chancery for £80,500. The National Art Collections Fund secured it for £45,000, and presented it to the National Gallery, where it had the misfortune to be seriously damaged by a suffragette. It has preserved the brilliancy and freshness of its colour for more than 260 years, and helps to keep alive not only the memory of one of the world's greatest masters, but also of that fine old English squire whose friendship with Scott and whose enlightened love of art and literature make him one of the most interesting figures of his time.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE EMPIRE'S TASK

WHILST this number of the *London Quarterly* was being prepared, in the midst of the joys of peace, the foundations of the world were shaken and our country found itself at war. The storm seemed not unlikely to burst upon us earlier, amid the Balkan war, when Sir Edward Grey was using every art to preserve Europe from such disaster. After his victory we breathed freely. Then, suddenly, with the tragic murder of the Austrian Archduke and his consort, the clouds returned, and before most of us dreamed of that terrible catastrophe Europe was at war. Our own country's share in this bitter cup is known too well. Great Britain has always been the champion of weak nationalities. She has tried to secure for smaller peoples liberty and good government. She had pledged herself to maintain the neutrality of Belgium, and her co-signatories were Germany and Austria. At last the hour of testing came. Germany wished to break her compact and sought to win England's consent to stand aside. Her own Imperial Chancellor confessed, 'We know we are doing wrong in invading the neutrality of Belgium, but we are compelled to the wrong.'

How much that confession meant events have shown. Yes, nations have consciences, and ours was in good keeping. Neither fear nor self-interest moved the brave men with whom the decision rested. The nation was committed to her righteous struggle, and we all set ourselves to follow the path of honour and of woe. After the most crucial month of our history, the Prime Minister reviewed the situation. He did not seek to disguise its difficulties. No one could do that in the midst of the events which had taken place under the eyes of the nation and the world. Those experiences are written in our hearts. They are felt in all our homes, they reach far and wide to the bounds of our Empire. But the way in which they have been met filled the Premier with gratitude: 'In whatever direction we look there is abundant ground for pride and comfort.'

The chief ground for that verdict is the highest: 'For my part, I say that sooner than be a silent witness, which means in effect a willing accomplice of this tragic triumph of force over law and of brutality over freedom, I would see this country of ours blotted out of the page of history.'

The nation shares that conviction. England is not her own. We have learned to regard our race as in a special sense the instrument of Divine Providence, shaped to secure lasting peace, to bring

in social prosperity and international good-will. For that end we have long laboured. Our Churches have prayed and served and held aloft that banner, and God has blessed it. Now we seem in conflict with our ideals, but through the mist we see the issue on which our hearts are set, and to it we move with faith in God and strong courage. We have honestly sought His guidance, and we have not ceased to offer our national intercession, and to Him we commit our cause.

The catastrophe was foreseen by not a few of our wisest leaders. Three years ago the world was startled by the issue of one of the most painful books ever written. General Von Bernhardt had been mapping out before his eyes the possibilities of the future, and in *Germany and the Next War* he did not hesitate to give his thoughts to the world. He represented Germany as a lover of peace. That feeling was rooted, he held, in the very soul of its people. They did not wish to be disturbed in their commercial life, which involved a clamorous need of peace. The General thought that the political power of Germany was fettered externally by this love of peace. He persuaded himself that extreme friction existed between the Great Powers, notwithstanding all peaceful prospects for the moment. 'In this struggle of the most powerful nations, which employ peaceful methods at first until the differences between them grow irreconcilable, our German nation is beset on all sides. This is primarily a result of our geographical position in the midst of hostile rivals, but also because we have forced ourselves, though the last corners, the virtual upstarts, between the States which have earlier gained their place, and now claim our share in the dominion of this world, after we have for centuries been paramount only in the realm of intellect.'

The book created a profound sensation in 1911, and now that it has just been reprinted it shows its true character as a terrible anticipation of the present conflict. The methods which amazed and outraged the world are all there in outline. That unfolding of the real meaning of militarism has been more than fulfilled. England is clearly pointed out as one of the most dangerous of Germany's enemies. She is described as planning attacks on Germany and setting herself to humiliate her in regard to Morocco. Whither such thoughts have led the world knows to-day.

War has its retinue of woes and calamities, but when it comes despite a nation's desires and prayers even out of these some nobler things are born. We are being knit together, and all that is bravest and most unselfish throughout the Empire is being brought out. A strong conviction has grown up that if peace is to bless the race those who would fain banish it from the earth, as General Bernhardt taught with such astonishing frankness only three years ago, must lose their influence. War has brought its terrible train of sacrifice, but the brave Methodist soldiers of the Low Countries—whom Wesley loved and whom God used so memorably—met those woes, as our noble defenders are doing to-day, in the fine Christian temper of loyalty and courage.

No company of Christians has given nobler proof of its devotion

to the cause of peace than the Society of Friends. Many wondered how its leaders would look on the terrible conflict which opened last August. We were not left in doubt. The message 'To Men and Women of Goodwill in the British Empire' had no trace of mis-giving. It recognized that war was proceeding upon a terrific scale, and that our country was involved in it. In view of that situation the Society recognized that 'our Government has made most strenuous efforts to preserve peace, and has entered into the war under a grave sense of duty to a smaller State towards which we had moral and treaty obligations. While, as a Society, we stand firmly to the belief that the method of force is no solution of any question, we hold that the present moment is not one for criticism, but for devoted service to our nation.'

The address laid down the first principles which should guide Christian men and women in this perplexing hour, and pointed out a course of action which should prove those who took it to be worthy citizens of Christ's kingdom. Those principles it described: 'War spells the bankruptcy of much that we too lightly call Christian, yet in the darkest hour we must not lose heart; the spirit of love for all must be shown amid the struggle.' When happier days bring the tremendous task of reconstruction, the address held that no country would be in a position 'to compel others to struggle again to achieve the inflated standard of military power existing before the war.' To construct European culture upon the only possible permanent foundation—mutual trust and goodwill—would need 'the united and persistent pressure of all who believe in such a future for mankind.' It called for freedom from vindictiveness, even in war, and trust in God which would survive the shock even of this conflict. That is a summary which carries with it all Christian consciences, and we are grateful to the Society of Friends for thus laying us under a new debt.

As we write our King has sent a thrilling message to his self-governing dominions. 'Had I stood aside . . . I should have sacrificed my honour and given to destruction the liberties of my Empire and of mankind. I rejoice that every part of the Empire is with me in this decision.' It will not increase their loyalty or devotion, for that is as deep and as eager as our own, but it will set the great issue vividly before all eyes. This struggle is knitting our Empire together, and binding all hearts in one; it is calling all to prayer and service; and through God's mercy we shall come out of it with new purpose and with new opportunity to give undivided hearts and minds to our mission of peace and goodwill. England is pledged to serve the world, and if her loyalty to her pledge in Belgium has brought on her head the storm of war, she is neither dismayed nor shaken in her purpose. There lies behind this war no background of self-interest or ambition. Our country has followed the light that beckoned her along a dark path, and God has promised His guidance and blessing to those who seek them. For these we pray and serve. May He give us His continual help and blessing.

That is the prayer of our country and all who love her. The Christian temper of goodwill can be kept on battlefields and in camps. Chivalry and freedom from rancour and revenge—for these also our country prays, and God will surely answer us.

THE EDITOR.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GITANJALI

MR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S work no longer needs any man's praise. But, just because *Gitanjali*, in its English dress, has a value so absolute and a perfection so surprising, it must be pointed out that the significance of Mr. Tagore's work has been often misunderstood. Mr. Yeats' Introduction is eloquent, movingly written, and many other excellent things, but a vein of misconception runs through it, and from time to time outcrops to the surface in definite statements. Mr. Yeats' name carries so much authority that the wrong perspective of his essay is regrettable. The frank way in which he lets it be seen that he has no great knowledge of India disarms criticism, but all the same, the misconception should be shown.

Mr. Yeats' enthusiasm is so nobly expressed that the reader rarely stops to examine what is being said. Only once does he fall below a level of lofty praise, when he writes, 'These verses will not lie in little well-printed books upon ladies' tables, who turn the pages with indolent hands that they may sigh over a life without meaning, which is yet all they can know of life.' Here, one does wonder to find such a man using so hackneyed a smartness; Bagehot said much the same about Wordsworth, and the remark is among reviewers' stock phrases. Also, is not this fate exactly the one which threatens *Gitanjali*? Out in India, the rumour reached us of mobs of 'worshipping ladies,' which the poet had the modesty and sense to avoid. But let this pass. A little earlier in the essay occur the words, 'If the civilization of Bengal remains unbroken, if that common mind which—as one divines—runs through all, is not, as with us, broken into a dozen minds that know nothing of each other. . . . ' But this unbroken unity of Eastern minds is becoming an imaginary thing. In so far as it is not imaginary, it is artificial and superficial, the result of society's pressure upon the individual. If an agreement so produced existed in England or Ireland, Mr. Yeats would not think it praiseworthy. Praiseworthy or not, the assumption misses of the facts; we trust to make this clear presently. 'My Indians,' as Mr. Yeats confidently calls them, have pardonably forgotten that they represent only a section of Bengali opinion in much that they say. From their statements Mr. Yeats seems to have built up the conception of a rejoicing Bengal acclaiming its universal voice. The conception is a majestic one. But is it true? Not quite. Some of Rabi Babu's songs, especially his love-songs, are known over Bengal, a consum-

mation helped by the music to which they are set ; but the *Gitanjali*, the latest phase of his genius, are a different matter. Let me use my recent experience to illustrate this. The Head Pandit of a school under my charge, a man of great Sanskrit learning, reading the *Gitanjali*, 'birakta hoiachhilen' ('became ratty,' is, perhaps, the best translation), because the Bengali was so shockingly bad ! The second pandit, a much younger man, said that the poems 'bhala lage na' ('do not taste well'), and complained of the exceeding badness of the diction. My masters were unanimous in the same charge. Waiting on a railway station, I began showing the *Gitanjali*, side by side with the English translation, to some students ; immediately a crowd gathered, intensely curious, and read poem after poem. There was one mind among them ; the thoughts were very high, certainly, but the diction was mean and bad. 'Bhasha bhala lage na, sahib' ('the language does not taste well') ; such was the complaint. The late Dwijendralal Ray, a most popular poet, said of some of the *Gitanjali* that the Bengali was so bad that it could not be worse. In talk with educated Bengalis, the same charge kept cropping up. They were flattered and delighted with his vogue in the west, but somewhat bewildered also ; and for the *Gitanjali*, at any rate, there seemed little enthusiasm.

Now what does this signify ? I think the dissatisfaction with Rabi Babu's work may be traced to two causes. First of all, there is his diction, as already shown. The two most popular Bengali authors, in prose and in verse, are Bankimchandra Chatterji and Michael Madhusudhan Datta, both writers of more than a generation back. The former is the famous novelist, often called 'the Bengali Scott.' He can be as colloquial as any one when he chooses, but for the historical portions of his work he often uses a style highly sanskritised, exaggerated and rhetorical ; in English, such a style would hardly be considered good. Michael Datta, also, is a writer of genius. Rabi Babu in his youth wrote a severe criticism of him, for which he is now remorseful. For Michael was meant to be a great man. He naturalized blank verse and the sonnet in Bengali, innovations much criticized but long since justified. He has suffered some of the loss always incurred by those who pioneer for others ; no doubt, with the passage of time, in his work he will suffer still more. 'After me cometh a builder ; tell him, I, too, have known.' The pandits are now throwing at Rabi, the builder who has followed, many of the same stones that their fathers threw at Michael. Michael became, as his name suggests, a Christian, at least professedly, but we are now concerned with his work alone. He chose his themes from Hindu mythology, his epic, the *Meghanadbadh Kavya*, dealing with a by-story of the *Ramayana*, to which it stands in much the same relation as the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus does to the *Iliad*. His attitude may be expressed in his own words : 'though, as a jolly Christian youth, I don't care a pin's head for Hinduism, I love the grand mythology of our ancestors.' Taru Datta (Toru Dutt), also a Christian, seems to have held much the same view. She says :

Absurd may be the tale I tell,
 Ill-suited to the marching times ;
 I loved the lips from which it fell,
 So let it stand among my rhymes.

Michael's model was *Paradise Lost*, and his language a sanskritized diction so remote from spoken Bengali as to be difficult for all but good scholars. 'Michael was nothing of a Bengali scholar,' remarked Rabi Babu once, when we were discussing his predecessor; 'he just got a dictionary and looked out all the sounding Sanskrit words.' Still, he has become the idol of the pandits and the older school. Rabi Babu, on the contrary, has his following, an exceedingly enthusiastic following, among the young men who covet for their tongue the simplicity and direct power of English. They refuse to have Bengali fettered by the rules of Sanskrit grammarians. They are aware that excellent spoken English would be excellent written English. It is high praise of the style of an English book to say that it has the charm of the best conversation. In Bengali, on the other hand, besides the differences between the dialects of East and West Bengal and the local variations within these areas, between the literary tongue, common to poets of all districts, and the 'chalita bhasha' or spoken tongue (literally, 'walking language') there is a gulf. Rabi Babu's aim has been to weld out of these two elements a new and stronger language. Like most poets of high rank, he is a philologist, and he has seen the advantages which have come to English by the fusion of French and Saxon dictions. Keeping the sonority of the literary tongue, he has simplified its forms and reinforced its vocabulary from the vigorous 'chalita bhasha.' Hence, the virulent abuse of pandits and conservative Bengalis, who complain of him, as Ben Jonson did of Spenser, that in the *Gitanjali* he has 'writ no language.' I shall not easily forget the excitement with which my Head Pandit, already mentioned, ramped about the school when he had seen the book. He is seventy-five, but his voice was tremulous not with age but with anger.

Secondly, Rabi Babu's thought is, in a scarcely less degree, a stumbling-block. The complaint is that he is 'like a Western thinker.' I have heard it put still more particularly, that he is 'Khristabhabhi' ('Christian in thought'); 'that is why you Englishmen like him.' This charge should surprise no one who has read the *Gitanjali*. 'The book is pure Catholicism, with a delightful touch of Indian life colouring it,' says Mr. Canton. "Not Catholicism as to degree, but as to emotion and contemplative ardour. John of the Cross might have written some of it; St. Francis or St. Gertrude or St. Mechtilde some also.' Surely, this feeling must have come to many. This exquisite chap-book of mysticism is singularly free from the characteristic traits of Hinduism. In No. 58, 'the divine bird of Vishnu' appears, as an illustration only, exactly as in Milton and many another Christian poet the Greek mythology appears. To No. 52 the Radha-Krishna cult has contributed, but how nobly purified

from the form in which popular Hinduism knows it ! It has become 'jam pro conscientia Christianus'; losing its Indian differentiae, it is one with the Divine Eros of all ages and religions, and the Christian mysticism of any century can parallel it. Since a great deal of nonsense has been talked about the *Gitanjali* representing the true Hinduism, one or two things may be stated here. Recently a Bengali friend pointed out to me that, while the English *Gitanjali* had run into several editions, the original was still in its first. Secondly, the poet himself told me that his countrymen have constantly complained of his 'obscurity of thought.' The late D. L. Ray, in particular, asserted that of some of the *Gitanjali* he could make out no meaning at all. No one will be surprised at this who remembers how many men lack the religious sense. But there is more to be said. Rabi Babu's latest English book, the series of lectures entitled 'Sadhana,' show on every page how joyfully he has assimilated the teachings of Western science and used them to feed the fires of his passionate theism. No Christian preacher is readier with striking illustration. The poet has all his life drawn unhesitatingly from two worlds, in a manner hard to parallel in history. In his youth, Shelley greatly influenced him, and at the age of sixteen he translated many of his poems; 'but I have long ago outgrown that enthusiasm.' In later years, he has learnt to love others of our poets. Among the rest, Francis Thompson is on his shelves, though he complains that he is often hard to follow, a complaint in which many would join with him. Reading Thompson, he must often remember Michael, that other searcher after difficult diction. Rabi Babu, many years ago, studied under Professor Morley in London, and speaks still of the pleasure that he derived from the *Religio Medici*. The Tagore family is a very notable one in Bengal; 'almost like a little nation in our midst,' said a Bengali. They have a reputation for aristocratic aloofness. There is a proverb here that the goddesses Lakshmi and Saraswati (goddesses of fortune and learning) do not dwell together; but for this family they have broken through their immemorial enmity. The Tagores have long been leaders of religious thought; his father, Debendranath Tagore, compiled the liturgy used in his branch of the Brahma Samaj. Mr. Yeats's essay furnishes additional evidence of the presence and favour of Saraswati. It may be added that Rabi's brother was the first Bengali to enter the Indian Civil Service. However, it is the Brahma Samaj that is relevant to our present purpose. Is it too much to assume that English readers, at any rate those who consider that they are interested in India, know what the Brahma Samaj is? One fears it is; but the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and other books of reference are available, so to these I must send them for the history of this syncretism of Vedism and Christianity. The Brahma Samaj, or, as it often calls itself, the Theistic Church of Bengal, has lost and, I think, is still losing influence, but there can be no question of its power in the past. Few Englishmen realize how profoundly Christian some of its noblest leaders have been. Rabi Babu has Christian influence in his blood.

In his case there is something more than the strong impact of Christian thought upon the deeper life which few educated Bengalis can escape. His father was the least Christian of all great Brahma leaders, and his son, like him, has drawn very much of his inspiration from the *Upanishads*. But at Bolpur, in place of a temple, is a church bare of all idol-representation; around are stones inscribed with texts of austere theism; and the pillars at the gate prohibit the bringing of idols within the premises or the slaughter of beasts for food or sacrifice there. And among his few intimates are missionaries, almost the only Englishmen known to his boys in their remote 'Asram' ('Asylum') at Bolpur.

I add a few desultory observations as to the style of the *Gitanjali*. So good is the English that one sometimes asks if it is possible that the translation is better than the original. This has freely been suggested by Bengalis, and it is about the only remark that the gentle poet cannot hear with patience. It is to him what the censure of *Paradise Regained* as much inferior to *Paradise Lost* was to Milton. An Englishman cannot pronounce on this question. One remembers Goethe's almost insolent remark that, whatever the English might say about him, Byron was different from all the rest of their poets and in the main greater. For myself, I simply say that in many of Rabi's poems, especially some of the untranslated ones, I find a charm which seems beyond translation. The warmth and beauty of his patriotic poems, for example, cling to their language, like fragrance to a flower's petals; the subtle thought of his epigrams becomes commonplace in translation. Of the epigrams I add a few examples:

Labour and Rest are bound by closest ties;
For Rest falls lidlike upon Labour's eyes.

'Who art thou, Silent One!' Eyes tear-bedewed
Give Kindness answer, 'I am Gratitude.'

The game of life both birth and death comprises;
To walk, our instep falls no less than rises.

But by putting his own Bengali and English side by side, we see with what resource and easy command of two vernaculars he has expressed himself. His poetry is a Corinth, with access to a double sea. Look at No. 24. The Bengali says, 'if the tired wind moves no more'; the English renders this, 'if the wind has flagged tired.' Western readers are familiar with the imitations of 'Babu English,' that from time to time have added to our nation's small stock of gaiety. No imitations can equal the original article; myself, I have no longer any inclination to be amused by either, for it is the tragic side that confronts me. But how different is the English of the *Gitanjali*! how simple and marvellously beautiful! It is impossible not to think that its quality has its counterpart in the original, just as the 'Babu English' also is an echo of what is native to its parent's mind and style. Leaving mere diction, there is one test to which

English poetry must conform which Bengali poetry can often not sustain, the test of visualization. Even Rabi Babu's work sometimes cannot be visualized satisfactorily. One of the untranslated *Gitanjali* prays : ' Screening me, stand in front of me, upon the lotus-petals of my heart.' This seems to me beautiful, but it is not English. Throughout the whole of the translated *Gitanjali* it would be hard to parallel such a sentence.

Secondly, we are beginning to see that the religious *ideas* (as distinct from the warmth of personal emotion) of *Gitanjali* have been overassessed. The main thought is of life as *lila*, a thought which is fresh in the West but commonplace in India. *Lila* is sport, in its highest meaning rising into drama of tragic and heroic significance, in its lowest sinking into mere play and laughter. Now all life is *lila* ; but too prevalently in *Gitanjali lila* seems to bear its least noble meaning. God is the great playfellow who creates flowers of beauty as toys for His children, and death is a momentary interruption of the *lila*. Such a conception of life might produce a lovable and interesting personality but hardly a strong one.¹ The best thing of all in *Gitanjali* is the passionate love of God and the way in which He is seen as personal. This the poet learnt from noble masters, the Bengali Vaisnava poets of our Middle Ages and the Christian servants of God. After saying this, I must add that I have an almost boundless admiration for Rabi Babu's work and deep affection for his personality. I believe he is a much greater writer than English readers imagine. He himself objects to the narrow label of mysticism being put on his works, and he is right. He is far more than a writer of charming devotional poems. His short stories seem to me the noblest I know ; and, going here into what is far beyond my powers of proof or any man's knowledge, I firmly believe that he is the greatest poet living to-day. His mind is rich and versatile, and every quality, from pathos to humour, may be found in his work. This much I must say, to remove any suspicion of depreciation of so great and winsome a man.

To conclude : What becomes of Mr. Yeats's statement, ' A whole people, a whole civilization, immeasurably strange to us, seems to have been taken up into this imagination ' ? Surely it becomes clear that Rabindranath Tagore is something greater than Mr. Yeats has guessed. On the side of language, he is a pioneer, at variance with the scribes of his people. He replied to Dwijendralal Ray, I am told, that after his death it would be known whether his Bengali was bad or not. On the side of thought, what is he ? For those Englishmen who are distressed over the mess we have made of Bengal as of Ireland, over the farce of education and the tragedy of character, he is the most hopeful thing that has happened for fifty years. Remarkable in himself, he is still greater as a prophecy of what is to be. Through him, we come to believe that the end of this mingling of East and West will be good and not evil. Of that intermixture

¹ For this criticism I am indebted to the Rev. E. W. Thompson, of Mysore.

and its results, men have seen enough that was hideous and depressing ; but here is a result which is only lovely, a book that will stir men as long as the English tongue is read. The man who henceforward must rank among the great religious poets of the world does not call himself Christian ; but in him we get a glimpse of what the Christianity of India will be like, and we see that it is something better than the Christianity which came to it. What is best in *Gitanjali* is an anthology from the ages of Indian thought and brooding ; but it is the sun of Christian influence that has brought these buds into flower. We may feel that in such a book and such a man we have the earnest that the enmity of East and West will be reconciled, that the mysterious destiny which has thrown a handful of northern islanders upon these ancient peoples will be justified ; both may believe that some better thing has been provided for them than aught yet experienced, that apart from the other neither would be made perfect. In the words of F. W. H. Myers, ' we may trust and claim that we are living now among the scattered forerunners of such types of beauty and of goodness as Athens never knew.'

EDWARD J. THOMPSON.

A SIDELIGHT ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

A VOLUME of painful interest has just been published under the title of *Vital Issues in Christian Science*. From such a title the reader looks for the explanation and defence of fundamental principles. But he finds instead the history of a domestic controversy within the ranks of Christian Scientists. The only issues of importance are alleged infringement of the constitutional rights of other churches by the Mother Church in Boston and some variation of teaching and practice on the part of Mrs. A. E. Stetson, a New York ' practitioner.' It is an *ex parte* statement, and it is not for an outsider on such evidence to decide upon ' vital issues.' But the inward thought of a community often is seen in the light of controversy, and so regarded this book may be instructive to those who desire to estimate this strange phase of religious thought.

The book is not easy to understand, for much of it is in a dialect familiar, doubtless, to the initiate, but jargon to the outsider. Some of the expressions are novel and transatlantic. There is a verb to ' malpractice ' and another to ' co-elbow.' One member declares it is ' impossible for one to affiliate with undemocratic methods,' and a widely current Americanism describes people as ' growing beautifully,' in Science. Mention is made of ' chemicalization,' a word as unlovely as perplexing. It is officially defined as ' the forces which mortal mind and body undergo in the change of belief from a material to a spiritual basis ' (806 n) ; it is not easy to account for the fitting of the word to the idea.

Mrs. Stetson, who was excommunicated by the directors of the ' Mother Church,' Boston, of which Mrs. Eddy was apparently Pope,

and more than Pope, and the directors her college of cardinals, was accused of 'malpractice.' She added to current practice a protective agency against 'animal magnetism,' which seems identified with 'aggressive mental suggestion.' This defence included the 'addressing people and treating them without their consent.' If the testimony of Mrs. Stetson's adversaries may be accepted, her 'handling' of absent people must have been dread and drastic. They accuse her of 'remanding people six feet underground, treating people on the basis of their being devils, or so full of evil that their bodies must go out'; a euphemism that may acquire popularity at the Old Bailey. One of the parties quoted vindicates himself, and apparently counts it to himself for righteousness, by declaring, 'I have never said, "Go six feet under the ground."'

Mrs. Stetson was autocratic, and were she as powerful as she was evidently relentless, had been a dangerous woman. Of her imperiousness there is much asserted. A witness testified to the Board of Directors, 'Mrs. Stetson has taught me to obey her implicitly.' The witness was under her control 'in the question whether I could move, or whether I could not move, and whether I could go and whether I could not go, and not being at liberty to go away when I felt the leading to go off entirely. I was commanded to be here at the tick of the clock, year in and year out.' One witness testified somewhat cryptically that her 'ethical teaching had tied me at times into a very tight mental condition, which my normal scientific sense has enabled me to get out of.' Mrs. Stetson was evidently imperious and ambitious for power, teaching that 'a student could not progress who became disloyal to her.' One is hardly surprised to find one solitary reference to a suspected intrigue that 'when she (Mrs. Eddy) died, she (Mrs. Stetson) might be fortified to institute an independent movement, tending to substantiate her claims.' May not this suspicion of her ambition have done much to start and embitter this controversy?

The quotations given will have illustrated the peculiar dialect. But a more extraordinary phenomenon of this cult is the extravagant adulation, often involving a profane use of Holy Scripture, addressed to Mrs. Eddy and Mrs. Stetson. Mrs. Eddy's writings are associated with the Bible as of equal authority, indispensable and adequate to salvation. 'The Bible, *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, by Mary Baker Eddy, and the *Manual of the Mother Church*, will always be (a) sufficient guide to eternal Life, Truth and Love.' Mrs. Stetson, addressing Mrs. Eddy, wrote, 'We are observing your advice in the Manual, and are rejoicing that "the devils are subject unto us through thy name,"' p. 154. The personal adulation is even more explicit; 'the wise see you to-day as the Messiah, or the Anointed of God to this age, fulfilling the law of Love. They do not deify your *human* personality, but will not lose sight of your *spiritual* individuality, or God with us,' p. 161. To another Mrs. Eddy is 'our forever Leader,' 'who first received the Word of God, and by whom the working out of eternal ends must be revealed.'

Elsewhere she is spoken of as 'our precious leader, the forever presence of the living God,' p. 140.

Mrs. Stetson receives from her pupils a 'composite letter' in which similar homage and laudation are offered. 'May a purified life attest the endless gratitude I feel for the manifestation of the Christ you have given us, while, with Mary of old I cry, Rabboni—Teacher,' p. 140. 'Your unselfish life, fast approaching the perfect idea of Love, is to my hungry sense of Truth, the bread of heaven and the water of Life. Eating this bread and drinking this water is to me eating the body of Christ, and drinking His blood.' Only a person void of the sense of proportion could write in this style. Another enthusiast declares that he has learned from Mrs. Stetson 'so to purify my own thought that I can be subject to the Head of the Body of God, as reflected by you. Gratitude is expressed only as we become instantaneous in our response to your mental touch. "God spake, and it was done."' The accusation is made against Mrs. Stetson that 'she constantly speaks of herself as the manifestation of God, and that God can only be seen or reached through her.' The witness, while denying that he had been so taught, admitted 'I find my Leader, Mrs. Eddy, and my teacher, Mrs. Stetson, so far in advance of me in realization that it is easier for me to hear and see God through them.' Sometimes the two leaders share the same shrine of adulation. 'We beheld our beloved Leader, Mary Baker Eddy, revealed to our waking thought as eternal life, and you, our blessed teacher, as the manifestation of Truth.'

This profane laudation these leaders not only fail to repudiate—Mrs. Stetson reprints it—but they make for themselves claims which, alike in substance and expression, appear blasphemous. The preceding paragraph gives one illustration; elsewhere Mrs. Stetson is quoted as saying 'We are journeying onward—your hands are in mine, and mine in God's.' Mrs. Eddy, as may be expected, is even more assertive of this exalted, not to say divine or semi-divine, position. It is hardly conceivable that any reverent or sane woman could address another as does Mrs. Eddy in a facsimiled letter to Mrs. Stetson: 'Darling, rise each hour; now is the resurrection morn, and I want Augusta to be my Mary,' p. 374. In a letter addressed to her 'Precious Leader' Mrs. Stetson recalls the following incident with its audacious parody: 'You asked me years ago this question, "Augusta, lovest thou me?" I answered, "Yes, beloved Leader, I love you." Again you repeated the query, "Lovest thou me?" and again I replied, "Yes, I love you, my Leader, Teacher, and Guide to eternal Life." Then you said, "Feed my sheep."' p. 154. The words of St. Paul come to mind concerning one that 'sitteth in the sanctuary of God, setting himself forth as God.'

It may be asked, Why transfer such silly and profane utterances to these pages and parade them before our eyes? The vindication of the writer lies in his hope that so we may recognize by how few and rapid steps this modern movement has marched along its path and reached its goal in this quasi-apotheosis of its leader. To some

self-styled 'Christian Science' may appear but a religious phase of psychiatry; in the light of these extracts it means the substitution of a self-conceited woman of the nineteenth century for the Eternal Word, the Christ of God. In this movement the mediatorship of Christ is abolished and new mediators are distinctly acknowledged. Whatever its beginning, in its mature form 'Christian Science' is not only un-Christian, it is definitely anti-Christian. Its Biblical phraseology cannot save it from this condemnation; it is only the more lamentable that men and women, acquainted with the language of the New Testament, should have acquired that knowledge only to prostitute it to the profane laudation of a fellow mortal. St. Paul warned the men of Colosse against 'any one that maketh sport of you through his philosophy and vain deceit,' and age after age this peril has faced the Church. Perhaps in this movement we may find the fulfilment for this age of the Apostle's warning; or see in it one of the 'many Antichrists.' If so it may not have been labour without worth to have before us the end to which this new delusion bears those who embark upon this stream, or upon its tributaries. Ultimately it means the dethroning of Christ as Lord. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

J. T. L. MAGGS.

DAHSE v. WELLHAUSEN

IN a foreword to a recent publication, written by Mr. Harold H. Wiener, M.A., LL.B., occur the words, 'It happens that recent investigations have entirely removed the basis of this theory (the theory that the Pentateuch can be resolved "into a number of documents, commonly known as J, E, P, etc., all of which are declared to be post-Mosaic"), with the result that Wellhausen himself, who formerly regarded it as invulnerable, has admitted to Dahse, one of the investigators concerned, that he has put his finger on a sore point of the theory, and has given authority for this admission to be published.'¹ A pamphlet by Dahse recently translated into English (*Is a Revolution in Pentateuchal Criticism at Hand?*)² puts the question a little less confidently, though Dahse has subsequently attempted to persuade us that we are in the middle of the revolution in his *Textkritische Materialien zur Hexateuchfrage* (1912), and an article in the *Studierstube* (1913), 'Wie erklärt sich der gegenwärtige Zustand der Genesis?' Wiener's *Pentateuchal Studies* have been read by many English students; and although, as far as I have seen, the words which he quotes from Wellhausen have not been published with their context, the opinion is widely held in some quarters that a German scholar, Dahse, of whom till lately we had heard nothing, has discovered some remarkable argument which is compelling the leading Old Testament critics in Germany

¹ Caklecott, *Synthetic Studies in Scripture* (London, 1913), p. xiv.

² London, S.P.C.K., 1913.

and England to confess that they have been in the wrong, and that the whole Pentateuch was really written as it stands by Moses after all. If so, the sooner we recognize it, the better.

But is it the case? In the first place, it must be remembered that for the last twenty-five years at least, the whole weight of scholarship, both in Germany and England, has been on the side of what are called 'modern views.' It is enough to mention the names of Wellhausen himself, Budde, Cornill, Guthe, Gunkel, Stade, Kittel in Germany, and in England, Driver, Robertson Smith, G. A. Smith, and, in his later years, the veteran Scotch scholar, A. B. Davidson. Nor has there been any noticeable change since Dahse in 1908 called attention to the variations of the LXX. from the M.T. as regards the Divine names in Genesis, as can be seen from the more recent work of e.g., Proksch, Gressmann and Steuernagel in Germany, and Skinner, Cooke, Gray and Burney in England.

It must not, however, be thought that it has been left to Dahse and Wiener alone to challenge this formidable array. Other names will be found in Dahse's *Wie erklärt sich?* (Rupprecht, Möller, Redpath, &c.), and also in the reply to that work by König (*Die moderne Pentateuchkritik und ihre neueste Bekämpfung*, 1914). But it will be admitted that the matter is not one of names only, although if it were to be so decided, there would be little to suggest that, whether the names were counted or weighed, the 'modern view' was in any serious danger. But let us look at the arguments on either side.

In the first place, what exactly is the 'modern view'? It may be briefly summed up as follows: four out of the five books of the Pentateuch are in the main compiled from three sources, known as J, E, and P., the first two dating from the earlier years of the Hebrew monarchy, and the last from some time before 444 B.C. Of these three documents, all of them animated by an intensely religious spirit, J is marked by a simple and naïve style, a picturesque and vigorous vocabulary, strongly marked anthropomorphisms, and decided interest in the southern half of Palestine. The Divine name with him is *Jahveh* throughout.

E is less naïve and anthropomorphic; in picturesqueness and ease of style he is similar to J; but his 'territorial' interest is rather in the northern half of Palestine, and until the call of Moses at Horeb, he prefers to use 'God' (*Elohim*) rather than *Jahveh*.

P, like E, uses *Elohim* till the call of Moses, but in other respects he offers a strong contrast both to E and J. His style is legal and precise, entirely lacking in the colour that is characteristic of the other two writers; his conception of the Deity is strongly anti-anthropomorphic; his presentation of the events in the ancient history of Israel is often different from that of J and E, both in general character and in details; his interest chiefly lies in matters to which they pay but little attention; and he has a vocabulary of his own which is as distinct from that of the other two as the vocabulary of the Fourth Gospel is distinct from that of the Synoptics.

In addition, the book of Deuteronomy is generally regarded as dating some years before the Reformation of Josiah (621 B.C.), and the latter half of the book of Leviticus (chh. 17-26) from the beginning of the sixth century B.C. It is pointed out that, as regards its legal provisions, Deuteronomy stands midway between the earlier documents and P; and that a sketch of sacrificial law, midway between Deut. and P, but really in agreement with neither, is found in Ezekiel, whose work, were P Mosaic, or even known in the time of Ezekiel himself, would be unintelligible.¹

It should be added that this 'modern view' colours the whole conception of the history of Israel; for that conception turns on the fact that in the earlier years of Israel's history her knowledge of law and ritual was simple; that by her contact with Canaanite practice, and specially in the commercial changes of the first half of the eighth century, the ritual was seriously debased; that the prophets themselves knew nothing of P; but that the developed legislation of P only came into acceptance by the whole nation about a century after the return from exile, at the impulse of Ezra and Nehemiah. To reject the 'modern view' of the Pentateuch means to be compelled to attack afresh the whole problem of development in the history of Israel.

Dahse, however, and his fellow labourers, have no idea of doing this. They confine themselves to a single corner, so to speak, of the vineyard. Neglecting the general characteristics of the alleged component documents of the Pentateuch, they fix attention on the differences in the use of the Divine names in Genesis and the first part of Exodus. Their argument is simple. 'Your alleged variations between *Jakveh* and *Elohim* are based merely on the use of the Massoretic text. You have forgotten the LXX, a translation which is at least a millennium older than our oldest Hebrew MS. In the LXX the use of the divine names does not correspond to that of the M.T.; the equivalent of *Jakveh* appears in what you call E, or P, and the equivalent of *Elohim* appears in your J. Hence, a conclusion which is based on the M.T. alone is worthless, now, if this argument is correct, 'literary criticism must be corrected by textual criticism.' But Dahse and his followers are raising for themselves a very serious problem, viz.: How comes it about that what is to be regarded as one and the same document exhibits in one place a combination of simple picturesque language and childlike religious conceptions, and in other places a quite different combination of austere language and developed religious conceptions, to say nothing of inconsistencies and contradictions? This problem, however, is nowhere discussed by Dahse, though Wiener has dealt with a portion of it, indirectly, in his *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* (1910)² Dahse proceeds as if the documentary theory were founded simply on the use of the

¹ The most recent statement of this view in English will be found in Simpson, D.C.' *Pentateuchal Criticism* (1914); German readers may consult the elaborate *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, by Steuernagel, 1911.

² Cf also *The Origin of the Pentateuch* (1910).

divine names and a few other proper names in Genesis, whereas the differences between the documents run right through the Pentateuch.

Let us turn therefore, to the argument itself. Its basis is obviously a comparison of rival texts, M.T. and LXX. Dahse writes, indeed, as if his principle were, 'When LXX differs from M.T., M.T. is wrong.' This, however, is not so far as I am aware stated in so many words, and though convenient for his argument it is not necessary. What is necessary is, 'Where LXX differs from M.T., you cannot trust M.T.' But to say this does not simply mean that you must proceed to collect differences between LXX and M.T. You must first decide whether, in the case of such differences, the latter is really untrustworthy. The New Testament critic might as well argue, summarily, that where D differs from B, you cannot trust B. A direct challenge of the textual worth of the M.T. demands some proof. And there is more in the case than this. Dahse's argument imperatively requires two things; that he should show us, first, that the LXX is itself a reliable witness, on matters of this kind, to the Hebrew text from which it was translated; and second, that the LXX readings to which he refers are themselves reliable. Otherwise, how are we to know that they invalidate the readings of M.T.? As a matter of fact, neither of these is done. It is true that there has been in certain quarters a tendency to exalt the worth of the LXX against the M.T.—compare, for the N.T., the varying views of the value of the Western text—but there is as yet nothing like agreement; and the decision as to the actual text of the LXX itself is an extraordinarily complicated problem. It may at least be said that in many cases the readings of the M.T. are certainly superior.

Now, this is especially the case with the divine names. In M.T., the different names occur in blocks. A whole passage which employs *Elohim* will be succeeded by one which employs *Jahveh*. Gen. i.-ii. 4 (*Elohim*) is followed by Gen. ii. 5-iii. 24, which employs *Jahveh Elohim*, except in the conversation between Eve and the serpent (*Elohim* only); iv. 1-15 has *Jahveh* only. In LXX the terms *κύριος* (*Jahveh*) and *ὁ θεός* (*Elohim*) are used sporadically, and on no easily recognizable principle. This is indeed what we should expect. The Alexandrians had no idea of the 'documentary hypothesis'; nor, evidently, did they attach weight to the fact recorded in Ex. vi. 2ff. (cf. Ex. iv. 14); nor had they any special interest in the distinction, even if they knew it, which was familiar to the later theology of the Old Testament, where *Elohim*, in distinction to *Jahveh*, stands for the Divine Being manifest in His works in Creation and Providence, which even non-Hebrews and polytheists might recognize; while *Jahveh* stands for the personal God of the nation of Israel, revealed, not so much by His works in nature, as primarily in His words to Moses. Thus it would be perfectly intelligible that, while in the M.T. the divine names are used in accordance with a distinct principle—that of the separation between the documents J, E, P,—the Alexandrian translators, not understanding this nor being interested

in the differences in question, should sometimes insert one name, and sometimes the other.

Dahse, however, will have none of this. Holding that the LXX represents what was really the original Hebrew text, he has now another problem of his own; How did the names come to be re-arranged as they are in the M.T.? He solves it by supposing that considerable alterations of the original text took place at the time of Ezra. The Pentateuch, or at least Genesis, was then split up into sections for liturgical purposes (the synagogue name for such sections is *Sedarim*, but we have evidence for them only at a much later period) and it was felt to be necessary that in each of these sections the first occurrence of the divine name should be different from what had preceded. At the same time, each section had prefixed to it, like the title of a chapter, a clause describing its subject-matter (though it is difficult to see how the clauses in question as pointed out by Dahse fulfil this function), and these clauses later crept into the text, as glosses have always tended to do. Thus we have to take account both of a theological and a liturgical manipulator.¹ The reader who works out the results of these manipulators must decide for himself how far the actual state of the text bears out their alleged purpose, and whether the new hypothesis is after all an improvement on the older one.

It ought, however, to be noticed that Dahse refers to the Vulgate and Syriac translations of Genesis, as showing that they too fail to represent the distinctions preserved in the M.T. What he does not show is that there is any agreement between their use of the divine names and that of the LXX, or of any one of its types. And this omission is surely fatal to the argument.

But, allowing all possible weight to these contentions, it must still be remembered that the main question has not been touched. If we admit that the M.T. uses the divine names sporadically, and with no reason for preferring one to the other, and if we admit (what the 'higher critics' have never denied) that E does not only use 'Jacob' and 'amah' (maid), and J does not only use 'Israel' and 'shiphcah' (maid), and the like,² the outstanding literary and religious characteristics of P on the one hand and J and E on the other, and of J in contrast to E, remain untouched. If they did not, we should be left once more with that mass of inconsistencies, and, to a Christian, misrepresentations of God, which, once the staple of 'rationalist' criticism of the Pentateuch, are now happily being silenced.

In closing, I add these two brief remarks. It may well be that Toy and others have admitted that more needs to be done in comparing the M.T. with the LXX.³ But that the textual reputation of the LXX will be the gainer by this process is doubtful, as may

¹ See his *Textkritische Materialien*, pp. 95 ff., 144 ff. etc.

² See on this point KSnig, *Die moderne Pentateuchkritik*, pp. 91 ff.

³ His words are quoted in Wiener, *Origin of the Pent.*, p. 37.

be seen from the arguments summarized by König,¹ and from the remarkable varieties of LXX readings shown by Wiener himself.² The two most redoubtable critics of the Wellhausen school have been Winckler and Eerdmans; of these, the latter holds that the Leviticus, for example, is to be referred not to Moses but to the Jerusalem priesthood; and the former, that the whole of the early Old Testament narratives are based, not on history, but on certain astral-mythological ideas borrowed from the Babylonians. '*Non tali auxilio!*'

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

INDIA'S EDUCATIONAL STRIDES

OFFICIAL publications recently issued³ show that the hope his Majesty the King-Emperor expressed during his tour through his Oriental Dependency in 1911-12, of seeing illiteracy blotted out of India, is rapidly being fulfilled. Speaking on January 6, 1912, to the Senate, Syndicate, Graduates, and Under-Graduates of the Calcutta University, his Majesty said :

"It is my wish that there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges, from which will go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industries and agriculture and all the vocations of life. And it is my wish, too, that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health. It is through education that my wish will be fulfilled, and the cause of education in India will ever be very close to my heart."

On December 12, 1911, the day of the Coronation Durbar, the King-Emperor had asked his Viceroy to announce that a special, non-recurring grant of £888,000 (50 lakhs of rupees) was to be made to help forward the cause of popular education.

The expression of the Imperial wish to remove ignorance from India, and the grant of a substantial amount to further that cause, came just after the Government of India had provided itself with facilities for pushing on the propaganda of enlightenment. A special department had been created at the close of 1912 to manage the

¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

² *e.g.*, in *Studies in the Septuagintal Text of Leviticus*, pp. 80 ff.

³ *Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year 1912-13*. Forty-ninth number of *East India (Progress and Condition)*. 1914 (Parliamentary Blue Book).

Progress of Education in India, 1907-1912. Sixth Quinquennial Review, by H. Sharp, C.I.E., Calcutta, Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1914.

Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907. Fifth Quinquennial Review, by H. W. Orange, C.I.E. 1909.

Indian Educational Policy, 1912. Calcutta. 1913.

General Report of the Census of India, 1911. Cd. 7,377. 1914.

educational and sanitary affairs. It was placed in charge of Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., who, Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, considered would infuse enthusiasm into the men connected with the educational service. Mr. H. Sharp, C.I.E., who was amongst the most experienced educational officers in the employ of the Indian Government, was made Secretary of the new Bureau. Early in 1911, the Administration allocated a special grant of £600,000 (Rs. 9,017,000) to enable the Bureau to take vigorous action.

The Government has wisely kept up the policy of augmenting the ordinary educational grants with special allowances. During 1911, 1912 and 1913, no less than £8,161,188 (Rs. 47,417,000) were provided for education in addition to the regular funds. The expenditure from public funds on education amounted to £2,700,000 in 1912, whereas it totalled only £1,976,000 in 1907, the increase being over 36 per cent. These figures do not include all the money spent upon education in India, as they do not take into consideration the sums received in the shape of fees of various kinds, or the money expended by private philanthropy. Taking these sources into consideration, the total expenditure on education in India amounted to £5,289,507 in 1912.

The liberal increase in expenditure and the vigorous work of the Department of Education, heartily and loyally assisted by the educational authorities of the various Presidencies and Provinces as well as by the divers private agencies, missionary and otherwise, which conduct educational enterprises in various parts of Hindostan, has resulted in India taking gigantic educational strides in the past few years. The number of scholars obtaining instruction in different grades has increased. The number of girl pupils has grown at even a brisker rate than that of boys. Schools of every description have multiplied. Private enterprise, missionary and otherwise, Indian and non-Indian, has put forth greater effort to supply scholastic facilities for the rising generation of boys and girls. To reduce these generalities to specific details :

The grand total of scholars receiving instruction in schools and colleges maintained by the Government and private agency, subsidized and otherwise, has increased by fully one-fourth, being 7,149,669 on March 31, 1913.

The number of girls receiving instruction has risen to be almost half as much again, having grown from 645,028 in 1907 to 952,911 in 1912.

The increase in the number of pupils attending Primary, Secondary, and Special Schools and Colleges is graphically brought out by the following table :

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

Arts Colleges :				1906-07.	1911-12.
English	..	..	..	18,001	28,196
Oriental	..	..	..	917	1,452

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

Professional Colleges :			1906-7.	1911-12.
Law	..	..	2,898	3,086
Medicine	..	..	1,542	1,806
Engineering	..	..	1,248	1,187
Teaching	..	..	362	552
Agriculture	..	..	205	267

SCHOOL EDUCATION, SPECIAL.

Schools for special instruction..	66,104	179,929
-----------------------------------	--------	---------

SCHOOL EDUCATION, GENERAL.

Public Secondary Schools	..	718,842	924,870
High Schools	..	298,276	407,765
Middle English Schools	..	204,271	294,801
Middle Vernacular Schools		210,795	221,804
Private Advanced Schools	..	60,792	55,200
Public Primary Schools	..	8,987,866	4,988,142
Private Elementary Schools	..	540,756	585,440

It will be of special interest to the readers of this Review to learn that the Christian population in India is making educational progress which compares most favourably with that of non-Christians in the Peninsula. The only community which has outstripped the Indian Christians in the matter of College education is the Parsi, while the Hindus and Musalmans are behind it. There are 49 Indian Christian students for every 10,000 of the population in Arts Colleges, whereas there are only 18 Hindus and 6 Musalmans, out of every 10,000, who are attending the higher academies of learning. The Parsis in the Arts Colleges number 702 for every 10,000 of population. Out of a total of 85,000 College students in the whole of the Peninsula, over 1,000 were Christians, that is to say, one-thirty-fifth of the total, whereas the Indian Christian population of Hindostan is only about one-one-hundredth of the total Indian population. Similarly, the proportion of Indian Christians in Secondary Schools was about one-twentieth, there being 48,244 out of a total of 924,870. Christian children in primary schools numbered 188,808 out of a total of 4,988,142 pupils. The increase in the number of Christian pupils attending educational institutions below the College grades has not been so great as that of the Hindus and Musalmans, the growth in the case of the two latter communities being 25 per cent., while that of the Indian Christians was 20 per cent. Reviewing the total strength of pupils of all classes and all ages, we find that about one-twentieth of the Indian Christian community is receiving instruction. Fully one-thirty-fifth of the total number of scholars, or 196,805 out of 6,780,721, on March 31, 1912, were Indian Christians.

It is specially gratifying to note that female education is advancing rapidly in the Christian community. Of the total of 369 female college students in Arts Colleges on March 31, 1912, about one-third, or 105, were Indian Christian girls. About one-third of the girls in

secondary schools, or 12,890 out of 86,892, are Indian Christians. However, strange to say, only about one-fourteenth of the girls receiving primary education, or 56,122 out of 812,522, were Indian Christians.

The census has also established the fact that the Indian Christian community holds a specially strong position in the matter of literacy. They have three times as many literate persons as the Hindus, and more than four times as many as the Musalmans, one Indian Christian in six being able to read and write as against 5.5 per cent. of Hindus and 3.8 per cent. of Mahomedans. The contrast is very striking in the matter of female literacy. One in ten of the Indian Christian females is able to read and write, while only 8 out of 1,000 Hindu and 4 out of 1,000 Moslem females are literate.

Literacy has considerably advanced during the ten years intervening between 1901 and 1911, when the last two censuses were taken. In 1901, only 98 males and 7 females per mille were literate, whereas in 1911 there were 106 males and 10 females per mille who could read and write.

The progress of education in India during recent years is eminently satisfactory so far as it goes, but that, after all, is cold comfort. The last census discloses the fact that over 94 per cent. of Indians are still illiterate. The Sixth Quinquennial Review of Education shows that at best only 17.7 of the population of school-going age are receiving instruction. The statement 'Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India' confesses that each institution for males has to serve four towns and villages, and each school for females 89 towns and villages. At the end of 1911-12 there were only 176,225 institutions, putting together all the colleges and schools conducted by Government and private agency. This in a country whose area exceeds 1,800,000 square miles and for a population of over 815,000,000 fully 15 per cent. of which is of school-going age! The scholastic facilities available in India of our day are shockingly inadequate.

However, it appears that the Government is making serious efforts to multiply the number of institutions and to better their teaching staff and equipment. On February 21, 1918, the Department of Education issued an important Resolution in which the educational policy was reviewed and its present trend outlined. It ended with an eloquent appeal to Indians to co-operate with the Government to advance the cause of education in India. I quote the following to show the new spirit of fellowship between the Government and educated Indians which is becoming a dominant factor in modern Indian life :

'The Governor-General in Council trusts that the growing section of the Indian public which is interested in education will join in establishing, under the guidance and with the help of Government, those quickening systems of education on which the best minds of India are now converging and on which the

prospects of the rising generation depend. He appeals with confidence to wealthy citizens throughout India to give of their abundance to the cause of education. In the foundation of scholarships; the building of hostels, schools, colleges, laboratories, gymnasias, swimming baths, the provision of playgrounds and other structural improvements; in furthering the cause of modern scientific studies and especially of technical education; in gifts of prizes and equipment, the endowment of chairs and fellowships, and the provision for research of every kind there is a wide field and a noble opportunity for the exercise on modern lines of that charity and benevolence for which India has been renowned from ancient times.'

It may be added that Indians are coming forward with great enthusiasm to contribute their mite towards the educational progress of their people. Recently a number of Indians have bestowed princely benefactions of this character. The gifts made by Sir Taraknath Palit and Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh to the Calcutta University especially deserve mention. The former gave Rs. 1,400,000 for the purpose of teaching science. Private individuals have also donated large sums of money for the endowment of the Science Institute and Gujarat College, and the projected College of Commerce in Bombay. The tribes of the North-West Frontier Province have gathered together Rs. 500,000 to start an Arts College at Peshawar. Efforts are now being made to establish a Hindu University at Benares and a Mahomedan University at Aligarh. Large funds have been subscribed by princes and peoples to found these institutions of higher learning. A most remarkable fact in connexion with these donations is that Hindus have subscribed funds for the proposed Moslem University, while some Musalmans have given sums for the projected Hindu institution.

Not a few of the educated Indians have been for years and now are agitating for the Government to make primary education free and compulsory. Not long ago a Bill for this purpose was introduced into the Supreme Legislative Council of India by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., India's most distinguished politician, for a number of years one of the leading professors of the Fergusson College at Poona (Bombay), where he served on a subsistence allowance of £5 a month. This measure received the support of practically all the Indians in the Assembly, but the Government felt that it did not possess the resources to make elementary instruction absolutely free, and considered that the popular prejudice against compulsory education rendered obligatory education impolitic. The official majority therefore killed the Bill. The Administration, however, undertook to do all in its power to extend and better the educational system—a promise which, as already has been shown, it has, during recent years, striven hard to keep.

The missionaries, from the very beginning up till now, have taken a leading part in Indian education. Mr. Nathan, writing in

the *Review of Indian Education* for 1898-1902, says: 'Missionary societies of all denominations have contributed to the work (of enlightenment), and at the present day missions connected with the Church of England, with the Roman Catholic Church, with the Church of Scotland, with the Free Church, with the Wesleyan, with the Lutherans, with the Baptists, and with other sects, have their schools for the instruction of Indian youth.' The Report for 1907-12 notes:

'Mission societies maintain colleges and secondary schools. Their work in establishing well-supervised hostels is particularly appreciated. They also maintain primary schools among special sections of the population—hill-tribes or backward classes. In the Khasi hills of Assam, a Welsh mission manages the great majority of the primary schools, receiving a lump grant from Government. In the Punjab and elsewhere, the Salvation Army is working among the depressed classes. And the Oxford Mission and other bodies are doing admirable work among the Namasudras (low castes). "The part played by mission agencies in Bengal," writes Mr. Prothero (of Bengal) "is increasing in efficiency and importance, especially in female education and in educational work among aboriginal races." Further, a considerable number of European schools are under mission management. The work of these bodies constitutes an element of strength in the educational system of the country. They furnish a body of men, well-educated, imbued with fresh ideas, from Europe or America, endowed with the missionary spirit, self-sacrificing, reliable. . . . It would be difficult to imagine an agency more helpful to government, more trusted by the community and more wholesome in its educational influence.'

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Personality and Friendship. By William Bradfield, B.A.
(Kelly. 8s. 6d.)

IF the new Fernley Lecture does not furnish the 'Methodist Philosophy of Fellowship,' which the Preface speaks of as a desideratum, its twenty chapters supply much of the material which goes to the building up of such a philosophy. Each of the two elements named in the title has been the subject of many philosophical treatises, none of which claims to be final and complete. The definitions arrived at are only tentative. The recent discussions by Seth, Illingworth, Green, Temple follow in the track of treatises by the great masters of thought. At first sight the two ideas seem to be too disparate to be capable of combination; yet they are found together in every form of human life. Personality indeed is spoken of as 'impervious' in a superlative degree. Still it is elastic and receptive in the fullest sense. Personality is only developed and perfected in society. It opens or closes itself to other influences at will. It is found in perfection in God only. While human and divine personality must be akin, the former must not be taken as the measure of the latter. In the divine Trinity the two ideas meet in perfect unity. God is one; 'Still the Godhead is itself a society,' p. 202. The Lecture treats of the history, theory, and practice of both ideas, and finds them perfectly united in the doctrine of the Church. In history personality was the last to be developed. For long ages the individual was merged in society, in the body corporate. In the Old Testament the life of independent responsibility appears first in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, although it existed in rudimental form from the beginning. If Jesus Christ discovered the individual, He also discovered the *ecclesia* or Kingdom, or family in its highest perfection. On such questions 'we know in part and prophesy in part.' Still we know, and are thankful to those who, like the author of this volume, from their stores of reading and reflection confirm and illuminate beliefs which underlie our whole life.

Roman Ideas of Deity. By W. Warde Fowler. (Macmillan. 5s. net.)

The present age is manifesting extraordinary activity in the study of religion. Work after work emanates from the press treating of the cults of the various races of the world and the religious ideas and

customs of people civilized and uncivilized. Mr. Warde Fowler is a well-known expert in the religion of ancient Rome: indeed by his *Religious Experience of the Roman People* and *The Roman Festivals* he has done for the pre-Augustan period what Cumont has achieved for the theology of the imperial age. The present series of lectures—six in number—are valuable studies in the Roman conceptions of deity. He opens with an illuminating criticism of Cicero, whose *Natura Deorum* appears to approximate to the Lucretian view of *religio*, and he proceeds to treat of the difficulty of the Roman or Italian mind to conceive divinity. 'The Roman was incurably pragmatic, and his interest was centred in the cult rather than in the objects of it; a tendency against which it was the mission of the Jewish prophets unceasingly to contend, as destructive in the long run of God and His relation to His people.' After tracing the ideas of deity, or rather the continuity of life, which is so akin to deity in the nobler sense, in the domestic cults of Rome, he discusses in turn the development of the monotheistic idea in relation to the worship of Jupiter, the cosmic conceptions of deity, especially in connexion with the prominence of Fortuna in the last century before Christ, and the rise of the idea of the man-god. The true Roman religion is shown to have discouraged the divinity of rulers; and, except in Greece and the East, where the idea flourished, the tendency to deify the rulers made slow progress. On the other hand, the attribution of divinity to a dead great man like Julius Caesar was not 'out of harmony with the Roman idea of genius or with the Stoic doctrine of the scale of existence,' nor was there anything really unwholesome in it. Deterioration, however, set in with the importation of Greek anthropomorphic ideas of the gods in the Augustan age and the growing contempt of the mythological deities. The tendency is seen in Horace, in the cold irreligiosity of Propertius, and in the degradation of Ovid, to whom the gods were but interesting material for the art of his elegiacs. This is but a bare summary of the course of Mr. Fowler's argument, which claims and will repay careful study.

Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. By F. C. Burkitt, M.A., D.D. (H. Milford. 8s. net.)

Prof. Burkitt dedicates his volume to 'Samuel Rolles Driver,' the first of the Schweich Lecturers. He has confined himself as much as possible to what he regards as 'the fundamental idea which underlies the great series of Jewish Apocalypses, viz., the idea of the imminent Judgement to Come, and further, to exhibit this idea in connexion with what I believe to be both its true historical setting and the ultimate causes of its manifestation.' Those Apocalypses draw their vitality from the struggle between Religion and Civilization, of which the Maccabean Martyrs are the symbol. During that period the Jews 'learned to think imperially.' In his first lecture Prof. Burkitt deals with certain ideas and conceptions with which

the Apocalypses are fundamentally concerned. The wonder is that Judaism survived the sack of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The problem to be faced by Rabbinical Religion is shown in an illuminating way. This leads up to a detailed study of the Book of Enoch. The teaching of the book is summed up and compared with the Synoptic Gospels. 'Enoch has the faults of a pioneer. His work is rough, he is unacquainted with the country, he often loses his way. But his guiding star is a belief that the confused drama of History is not without a purpose, and that in the end, the Judge of all the earth can and will do right.' The third lecture is divided into two sections on the Minor Jewish Apocalypses and Early Christian Apocalyptic Writings. The Appendix on the Greek text of Enoch appeals specially to scholars, but the lectures themselves are delightful reading and will tempt many to study more closely a subject which throws new light on so many pages of the Bible.

The Mind of the Disciples. By Neville S. Talbot. (Macmillan and Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Talbot is favourably known to many readers of *Foundations*, and this little book will increase his reputation as a Christian apologist. He thinks that the great and hopeful fact which underlies the present disturbed condition of religion and theology is that the Christian faith is in renewal. Whilst scholars are conducting their investigation of the historical truth of Christianity, humbler members of the Church may be perplexed as to what they should teach and believe. Many take refuge in Authority, yet 'no authority can prop up any truth, unless the truth is capable of being rooted in the general mind of Christians, and of being taught and understood by ordinary men?' He has therefore ventured to give the conclusions which he himself has reached mainly through reading the Bible itself. We have in the New Testament a portrait of Jesus which 'did not fall from heaven, but was derived from portrait-painters.' There were minds capable of drawing His Figure. We ask, 'How did the portrait of His brilliant and whole Personality come out of the incoherent minds of the men who let Him go to His death?' How was the portrait of Jesus given to history? The question of the Cross has to be faced. Those who saw their Master die, and thought that the close of His life, had a knowledge of Jesus resulting from their fellowship with Him; yet but for the Resurrection it would have lain buried in their broken hearts, and would have perished with them off the earth.' That sent out 'a fellowship of men with a good news of God upon their lips.' The return of Jesus remade their faith in God. Pentecost brought the full motive for the portrayal of Jesus. It made Him the Lord who dwelt in men to set them free from sin and death. The coming of the Spirit was also the coming of the Church. Mr. Talbot deals briefly but helpfully with the problems of Eschatology, the Virgin Birth, and St. John's Gospel, and then brings out 'the relevance of the argument to ourselves.' The Church must so understand

'the past dealings of God with His people, that she may be made the instrument for the bringing in His Kingdom in the present.' The old way of discipleship and conformity to the will of God is still open, and in Christ's school is the training-place for all that is best and noblest in human nature. The book is both opportune and reassuring.

Citizens of the Universe. By the Rev. Robert Killip, F.R.A.S. (Kelly. 8s. 6d. net.)

Nineteen select posthumous sermons by the greatly gifted and beloved minister whose life is sketched so beautifully in a brief yet pregnant Foreword by his friend and colleague, Dr. Maldwyn Hughes. The sermons are fine examples of the best modern preaching, broadly evangelical, deeply spiritual, uniformly practical. Mr. Killip had 'a strong, keen, analytical mind' and 'was equally at home in the profundities of philosophy and in the intricacies of science'; but, if these sermons are the fruit of a deeply thoughtful and a carefully cultivated mind, they are none the less the outcome of a rich experience and of 'the insight and the intuitions of the heart.' They will be treasured by the Church that he adorned and served with much fidelity and modesty for too few years, and will open out for him a wider ministry in this and many lands. Mr. Killip, as is well known, was an amateur astronomer of some eminence, and, on the motion of the late Sir Robert Ball, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society; but his illustrations are not confined to this particular science, nor are his style and thought obscured while ranging through the deep and high things of the universe. They are as clear and simple and as full of charm as was the man himself; and these memorials of him will be welcomed by the aged and the young alike.

The Rig-Veda and Vedic Religion. With Readings from the Vedas. By A. C. Clayton. (Christian Literature Society for India. 1s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Clayton was asked to prepare a revised edition of Dr. Murdoch's *Account of the Vedas*, but found that it could not be made adequately to represent modern knowledge. He has therefore prepared this volume, which gives in seven chapters a reliable account of the Aryans, the Vedas, the Vedic gods, the sacrifices and prayers of the Aryans, and the Message of the Rig-Veda. Readings from the Veda follow. They are arranged according to the deities addressed or the special subjects to which they refer. The translations are those of the late R. T. H. Griffith, formerly Principal of the Sanskrit College, Benares. Some valuable appendices are added. This is an admirable guide, full of matter clearly put. The Rig-Vedas are really stanzas of praise, but the collection now contains blessings and curses also. Mr. Clayton's is a book for which all students of Indian religion will be grateful. It is strange to find that there was

a time when beef was esteemed as food by the people of India, and that the alteration of a phrase in the Rig-Veda was made to justify the burning of widows.

Christianity as Religion and Life. By Rev. J. M. Shaw, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 2s. net.)

This is the Pollok lecture for the current year. It covers a wide area, and consists of four addresses on the great subjects of religion, sin, the atonement and life in the risen Christ. Religion is defined as 'essentially the attempt on man's part to come into fellowship with the Divine.' Sin is a breach with God, which is healed by a sacrificial atonement, and followed by a life of union with Him. That is, in brief, the outline of the lectures, which are evangelical and earnest and, on the whole, a substantial setting forth of cardinal truths. A few pages are given to the discussion of theories of atonement, and the lecturer is helpful, especially in regard to the necessity that Christ should die. There are ample indications that He regarded His death 'as the fact of supreme importance and significance, the great fact and act of His life.'

The Short Course Series. (T. & T. Clark. 2s. net.)

Three more volumes in this series have been issued, and agree in character and quality with their predecessors. All are simple and devotional in spirit, and, if sometimes necessarily slight, each forms a good specimen of the connected addresses that may occasionally be woven with advantage into a short course of expository lectures. Dr. A. C. Zenos examines the title, 'Son of Man,' as it occurs in the Gospel of St. Mark; Dr. Griffith Thomas discourses briefly on nine of 'The Prayers of St. Paul'; and Principal Garvie expounds the parable of the prodigal son under the title of 'The Joy of Finding.' The appendix, instead of being bibliographical as in the other cases, contains a series of explanatory notes from two or three recent commentaries on St. Luke of different value.

The Universal Bible Dictionary. Edited by the Rev. A. R. Buckland, M.A., assisted by the Rev. A. Lukyn William, D.D. (Religious Tract Society. 8s. 6d. net.)

This dictionary has been prepared to meet the needs of Bible readers for whom more exhaustive works are unsuited. It gives explanatory articles on such subjects as altar, tabernacle, temple, and is specially strong on geographical and archaeological subjects. Nearly nine columns are given to Palestine, and five to Jerusalem; Assyria has six, Nineveh one and a half. There is an informing article on non-canonical books, and an excellent description of the text of the New Testament into which is packed a general view of the whole subject divided into The Materials of Textual Criticism; Greek MSS., Versions, Patristic Citations and the Methods; internal and external evidence. There are also very useful articles on Theology, The

Trinity, The Septuagint. The article on Jesus Christ provides a synopsis of the events of His life in the form of a harmony of the Gospels which will be very convenient for students. It is a workman-like dictionary, which avoids all padding, keeps close to facts, has little sympathy with any wild exegesis or advanced Higher Criticism, but is in touch with all true scholarship and biblical research. It is a marvel of cheapness, and it makes a very attractive volume.

Why not Modern Unbelief? By Frank Ballard. (Kelly. 2s. net.)

Dr. Ballard's purpose in this volume is to show that Christianity is the true and final religion for humanity. Christ is 'all in all' for human hearts and for human life. 'He stands alone in the world's history, and amidst all its teachers of religion, as the Revealer and Pledge of that Universal and unlimited Fatherhood of God which involves not merely the comfort of individual souls, but the hallowing of homes, the leavening of nations with such righteousness as would end all our social wrongs and miseries, and the bringing together all nations of the earth in a universal brotherhood that would make war impossible for evermore.' In the light of that statement the claim of Atheism, Materialism, Naturalism, Pantheism, Agnosticism, Rationalism and Theosophy are examined in the most searching way. The scheme is simple: What Materialism really means; its alleged grounds, and its fallacies. Those who have to meet sceptical thinkers will find this little book no mean armoury. Dr. Ballard knows every recess of his subject, and has the art of setting forth his case in a way that makes a broad and clear appeal.

Two other numbers: *Why not Spiritism?* and *Why not Eddyism?* are published separately (1d. each). They are packed with facts, and the lucid and pungent criticism ought to open some eyes to the dangers of séances and the measureless possibilities of deception and delusion. That on *Eddyism* is just the pamphlet to put into the hands of those who are being led astray by what is mis-called Christian Science.

The Open-Air Speaker's Handbook. Edited by C. Ensor Walters. (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net.)

The churches are beginning to see that open-air work will have to be done more freely and more effectively if the indifference to religion is to be overcome. Such work needs to be done wisely if it is to be of any value. This little volume is really a school for open-air preachers. Papers on the preparation of the speaker and of his message put the worker on right lines, then he is shown how to conduct an open-air meeting, and how to become an effective evangelist and a defender of the faith. One racy chapter, 'How to deal with the heckler' is added as a model lesson, and it is a first-rate one. The way to handle questions of temperance and social reform, the cultivating of the voice, music in the open-air are all effectively

treated, and an account is given of the open-air speakers' school which has been formed in Westminster and is bearing good fruit. Mr. Walters has been very happy in his group of writers. The book is a sign of the times. It is intensely practical and is full of passion for souls. It ought to be a great stimulus and help to many.

The Challenge of the Age to Christianity. (Kelly. 6d. net.)

It was a happy thought to hold a meeting in connexion with the Wesleyan Conference in Leeds at which the Challenge of the Age to Christianity might be considered. Principal Selbie dealt with Anti-Christian thought in a suggestive way. When you come to analyse it the 'call to superman' is surely a call to selfishness on the one side and sensuality on the other. Dr. Haigh compared our Lord with other masters, and shows how He alone gives deliverance from sin, victory over death, and leads on to life abundant. Bishop Gore enters the realm of the social ideal, and shows what Christianity ought to mean in practice. He wants the world to say that though Christians are in some respects lamentably divided, yet in regard to the great social question they present a united front. Dr. Gore hopes to see the Churches identify themselves with the principle of the living wage. He pleads strongly also for granting the vote to women. The Rev. J. R. Gillies works out the argument from experience. He claims that 'we have no scientific objection to prayer that will hold ground. The law of prayer is far more valuable in the spiritual world than any law of Nature in the natural world.' There is much food for thought in this valuable pamphlet.

The Sovereignty of Character. Lessons in the Life of Jesus.
By Albert D. Watson. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

There are about ninety-four lessons in this book, which fill from two to five pages each. Their value is increased by the chronological arrangement, and they bring out very suggestively the perfect beauty of 'the fairest flower God ever planted in the garden of human life.' The subjects are skilfully chosen, and are a happy blend of history and high moral and religious teaching. There is a glow about them which will stir the mind and heart of every teacher who uses this inspiring set of lessons.

Bible Notes, Vol. IX. The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus. By Herbert G. Wood, M.A. (Headley Brothers. 1s. net.)

The annual volumes of 'Bible Notes' have a value of their own to all students, and Mr. Wood's workmanlike discussion of our Lord's teaching concerning the Kingdom is of special interest. He recognizes that the eschatological element is more influential in the Gospels than has sometimes been supposed. 'The Kingdom in the message of Jesus is future rather than present. Jesus seems to be conscious of standing in the verge of a new age—of the new age in

which God wins His final triumph.' Mr. Wood criticizes Schweitzer's position, and shows that 'the hope of Jesus has been abundantly fulfilled. If this were not true, and if the early Christians had not felt it to be true, we should have had no Christian religion.' The little book can be strongly commended as a wise and helpful study of a vital question.

The Sufferings and the Glory. With other Woodbrooke Addresses. By Rendel Harris. (Headley Bros. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Rendel Harris's Monday morning addresses will be prized not only by those who heard them, but by a larger circle of devout readers. To him the 'central historical fact in the traditional message of Christianity' is the death of its Founder. 'If historically "Christ died," then dogmatically, "Christ died for the Ungodly," which becomes, when translated into the language of experience, "The Son of God loved me and gave Himself for me."' The eight addresses are always suggestive, and though we cannot agree with the writer's views about the sacraments, there is a glow about his words, 'Happy for us, if we know the interior sense of sacraments, and find our Lord interpreting the world for us and us for one another. We ought to be knee-deep in sacraments. Our life-calendar ought to be sparkling from end to end with their unexpected coruscations.'

Canon McClure has added a new chapter to the second edition of his *Modern Substitutes for Traditional Christianity* (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d. net). It deals at some length with Modernism as represented by Loisy and Tyrrell, and has a suggestive passage on Prof. Sanday's reply to Bishop Gore. The *præjudicium* which has led to Dr. Sanday's conclusions is based on the so-called 'Uniformity of Nature,' which he could not dismiss from his mind. The criticism of *Foundations* is instructive, and the whole book is timely and of real service. To get such a wide survey in a single volume adds much to its value. The new section is also published separately (6d. net), and will repay careful reading.—*The Wondrous Joy of Soul-Winning.* By R. A. Torrey, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. 1s. 6d. net.) Dr. Torrey draws on his wide experience to show how souls are most effectively won by personal influence. His 'one by one' method is well presented, and the appeal to Christians is forcibly brought home.—*Our Church Membership and How to Increase It*, by Vallance Cook (Kelly, 6d. net), is a plea for a Discipleship Campaign. A disciples' roll is provided for signature, and the advantages of the method are well set forth.—*The Secret of Intercession*, by Rev. Andrew Murray, D.D. (Morgan & Scott, 6d. and 1s. net), gives a brief meditation for each day of the month intended to rouse Christians to the duty and privilege of prayer for others. It is deeply spiritual and full of influence.—*The Rural Church Movement.* By Edwin L. Earp. (New York: Methodist

Book Concern. 75c. net.) Dr. Earp, the Professor of Sociology in Drew Theological Seminary, believes that there is no life investment in the United States so promising as labour for the country church where spiritual leadership is the most important factor of success. Dr. Earp shows 'the rural-mindedness of the prophets and of Jesus,' and has suggestive chapters on the Spiritual Conquest of the Germanic peoples regarded as a rural achievement, and on the rural church in the pioneer period in America. Many practical suggestions are made as to the rural Sunday School and social work. A Home Missions policy is also outlined in this timely book. It ought to give new courage and zeal to all workers in country districts.—*Tried and Proved*. By Thomas Ross. (Kelly, 1s. net.) Twelve promises are expounded in a simple and practical way that will strengthen the faith of Christian men and women. They will also be helped by the testimonies from those who have proved the promise. Such a book will not only be a blessing for a sick-room, but will supply much material for Bible classes and addresses. It is fresh and full of hope throughout.—*My Friends: A Study in Personal Relations*, by H. F. Burgess, LL.D. (Kelly, 6d. net), dwells on the privilege of friendship with Christ, whose 'incomparable sympathy' and all-sufficient power are at the service of His friends. It is a rich and inspiring message which this booklet brings to weary and burdened lives.—*Gleanings for a Preacher's Note-Book*. By John Edwards. (Kelly, 8s. 6d. net.) These Sermon Studies on eighteen great texts are intended to help those who are beginning to preach. One or more selected outlines are given, with exposition, suggestion, and illustration. The material has been gathered with much skill, and it is presented in a way that will stimulate young preachers to make the best of themselves and their reading.—*Christianity with Nature*, by John Shearer (J. & J. Bennett, 1s. net), is a puzzling little book, and its English is very bad. Mr. Shearer thinks that modern man should look back more kindly on his ancient ancestors and their sacrifices.—*Baptism*. By Philip Mauro. (Morgan & Scott, 1s. net.) A study of Scripture teaching on baptism which brings out the prominence given to the subject in the New Testament, and urges Christians not to risk the consequences of disobedience in the matter. Mr. Mauro regards infant baptism as 'an unauthorized, or at the best, a very questionable, procedure,' but his strange interpretations of many passages do not allow us to attach much weight to his findings.—Mr. Mauro has also written a booklet on *The Lord's Supper* (6d.). He pleads strongly for its observance in the evening, and for the responsibility of the Church as against that of any special body of 'clergy.' *God's Salvation* (1d. net), by the same author, turns the reader from ordinances and ceremonies to Jesus Christ for perfect and full salvation.—We have also received *A Basis of Fellowship*, by E. J. Page (Tavistock: Jolliffe & Son, 4d. net), which gives a statement of the salvation revealed in the New Testament and draws up what it describes as 'The Creed of the Gospel.'

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Imperial America. By J. M. Kennedy. (Stanley Paul & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

MR. KENNEDY's object in this book is to describe the development of the United States of America, particularly from an economic point of view. He holds that its tendency has from the first been imperialistic. Whilst still an infant nation, with hundreds of thousands of acres lying untilled within its own borders, the United States bought or occupied land wherever an opportunity could be found for doing so. That tendency has not yet reached its goal. In 1867 Alaska was purchased from Russia, and the Monroe Doctrine has recently been interpreted in a way which indicates that the United States intends to assume the responsibility to Europe for the whole of the Central and Southern American republics. Mr. Kennedy maintains that it would be profitable for the United States to go to war to secure control of the vast commercial possibilities of South America. The Panama Canal is essential to these markets and the struggle will centre around it. The view taken in the book of American development and American relations with England is 'less seductive and tender than that held up for us by the peace-makers,' but Mr. Kennedy claims that it is 'certainly more manly and more in accordance with reality.' He begins his record with the New England colonies. The spirit of commercial enterprise was manifest in these Puritan settlers. The beginning of the Revolution and the course of the War of Independence are clearly sketched. Washington saw that after the war new and even more intricate problems would press for solution. Congress had to enact heavier taxes than George III had ever dared to ask, and the people could not see why it was necessary to invest a central government with extensive powers. Washington and perhaps a dozen other leading men had to deal with this wrangling spirit, and they found, as John Hay, first Chief Justice of the United States put it, 'It takes time to make sovereigns of subjects.' The jealousy and suspicion of the people made the formation of the Constitution a matter of great difficulty and Washington lost favour before he retired from public life in 1797. He drove in a state coach when he opened the Session of Congress, addressed its members in a speech, and bowed to those who were introduced to him instead of shaking hands—all these things were resented as imitations of monarchy. The 'spoils system' which came into force under Jefferson not only opened the door for all kinds of corruption, but it made politics mean business. America could not understand that power was a privilege to be exercised with rigorous care and self-sacrifice. 'From the very beginning of America's career as an independent nation, therefore, honesty, self-

sacrifice, and high standards of thought were unknown in her political organization.' English readers will find much light thrown on American history by these pages. President Roosevelt's extraordinary popularity in the United States is not altogether easy to explain to an Englishman. He 'did not spend two years in a ranch in Western Dakota for nothing. His rough and ready platform style, his frequent outpourings of maudlin rhetoric, his ready command of his native country's colloquialisms, his general outlook on life, are all representative of the rather superficial nature of the average American.' His energy and his commonsense grasp of immediate problems enable him to make progress where a more profound theorist would lag hopelessly behind. The chapter on the trust system is illuminating. Mr. Kennedy's experience has convinced him that the system properly applied, organized, and regulated, is inevitable, and will long be necessary for the development of so gigantic an industrial territory as the United States.

The fight for the Panama Canal means in the long run a fight for the trade of those new markets which the use of the canal will develop all along the western coast of South America. The action of the United States in reference to Colombia and Mexico is discussed at some length, and a final chapter deals with literature and art. Abraham Lincoln is the only typically American man, and three writers alone—Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, and Bret Harte—are 'sufficiently national in their work to be called typically American; and in them the "national" level is not long maintained.' Whistler is the one American artist, and he is less American for what he painted than for what he wrote. Mr. Kennedy thinks that much development is needed before the United States can become a united nation. 'We shall have to look for that fusion of like races, with the predominance of one superior type, which has resulted in the evolution of European nations.' So frank and outspoken a discussion of the problems of American civilization is bound to attract keen discussion on both sides of the Atlantic.

Friedrich Nietzsche. By George Brandes. (Heinemann. 6s. net.)

The Danish critic may almost be described as the discoverer of Nietzsche. He called attention to the philosopher's work in 1889 in an essay on 'Aristocratic Radicalism.' Nietzsche thought that expression 'the cleverest thing I have yet read about myself.' That essay was the first study of any length devoted to the man who became the fashionable philosopher in every country of Europe. Before it appeared 'the great man, to whose lot had suddenly fallen the universal fame he had so passionately desired, lived on without suspicion of it all, a living corpse cut off from the world by incurable insanity.' Dr. Brandes' essay exposed him to the charge of having broken with his past, and renounced the liberal opinions and ideas he had hitherto championed, but he maintains that his

principles have not in the slightest degree been modified through contact with Nietzsche. He felt that Nietzsche's opinions deserved to be studied and contested. 'I rejoiced in him as I rejoice in every powerful and uncommon individuality.' In 1886 Nietzsche sent Brandes his book *Beyond Good and Evil*, and next year a correspondence began which was continued till the philosopher's mind gave way thirteen months later. The frank and genial letters do credit to both writers. Nietzsche writes from Turin in 1888 that his stay there has been better than any he has known for years, 'above all more philosophic. Almost every day for one or two hours I have reached such a pitch of energy as to be able to view my whole conception from top to bottom; so that the immense multiplicity of problems lies spread out beneath me, as though in relief and clear in its outlines. This requires a maximum of strength, for which I had almost given up hope. It all hangs together; years ago it was already on the right course; one builds one's philosophy like a beaver, one is forced to and does not know it; but one has to see all this, as I have now seen it, in order to believe it.' Nietzsche acknowledged that he owed a large share in the first successful spring that he had enjoyed for fifteen years to his Danish friend's sympathy. The recovery was not sustained. The philosopher's 'self-esteem, which had always been very great, acquired a morbid character,' and there were 'constantly recurring outbursts of anger with the German public's failure to appreciate the value of his works.' His last letter to Dr. Brandes was signed 'The Crucified,' and another written at the same time announced that he intended to summon a meeting of sovereigns in Rome to have the young German Emperor shot there. This was signed 'Nietzsche-Caesar.' Two little papers written on Nietzsche's death in 1900, and on the publication of his posthumous *Ecce Homo*, are of great interest. The unrestrained self-esteem of this work is ominous of the approaching loss of reason.

The Mediaeval Papacy. By W. E. Beet, D.Lit. (Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.)

In his preface Dr. Ernest Beet frankly admits that his latest book is a collection of essays rather than a continuation of his earlier historical studies, which were based on original research and an investigation of the available authorities. Nevertheless, even with this deduction, the volume is a contribution of no little value to historical students and others: for though written without the apparatus of full references and with only occasional footnotes, this is not wholly a disadvantage in view of the *clientèle* which Dr. Beet endeavours to interest in the period under review. Moreover, the earlier chapters are really a continuous study of the mediaeval popes from the mid-fifth century to the age of the Borgias; and any one who takes the trouble to read these sixteen chapters or sections will have mastered an important period of European history. The volume concludes with three essays on 'The Churchmanship of Cardinal Wolsey,'

'The History of Modern Liberty,' and 'Our Royal Edwards and the Principality of Wales.' The story of the Papacy in some respects is a melancholy comment on the frailty of human nature; but Dr. Beet's method enables us to distinguish its moments of light and the outstanding personalities which redeem the record and have left an impress on the world's history. In particular, we may mention the sections on Pope Gregory VII, whom he describes as 'the Julius of the imperial Papacy,' as illustrating the author's powers of characterization and luminous treatment of political and religious ideals.

Our Friend John Burroughs. By Clara Barrus. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2 net.)

After twelve years' study of John Burroughs' books Miss Barrus ventured to tell the author what a joy they had been to her. She was invited to visit him in 1901, and soon found herself on intimate terms with the genial and approachable naturalist, of whom Walt Whitman said, 'John is one of the true hearts—one of the true hearts—warm, sure, firm.' For the last twelve years Miss Barrus has helped Mr. Burroughs with his correspondence, and has persuaded him to write a series of autobiographical letters. From these, helped out by information gained in interviews, she has been able to compile this book. The naturalist belongs to a race of farmers who came from the West Indies to Connecticut towards the end of the seventeenth century. His parents were members of the Old-School Baptist Church. The father was a man of strong religious feeling, and his son remembers how for forty years he took 'The Signs of the Times' and read all the experiences there with deep emotion. He never said, 'Thank you,' but though he lacked delicacy, he did not lack candour or directness. He was uneasy about John's tendency to books. 'He was afraid—as I learned later, that I would become a Methodist minister—his pet aversion.' The mother was a strenuous housewife whose days were filled with a thousand duties for her farm and her ten children. To her John Burroughs owes his temperament, his love of nature, his brooding, introspective habit of mind. 'My idealism, my romantic tendencies, are largely her gift.' Miss Barrus speaks of the friendship with Whitman. The poet used to come to breakfast with his friend in Washington: 'Mrs. Burroughs makes capital pancakes, and Walt was very fond of them; but he was always late to breakfast. The coffee would boil over, the griddle would smoke, car after car would go jingling by, and no Walt. Sometimes it got to be a little trying to have domestic arrangements so interfered with; but a car would stop at last, Walt would roll off it, and saunter up to the door—cheery, vigorous, serene, putting every one in good humour. And how he ate! He radiated health and hopefulness. This is what made his work among the sick soldiers in Washington of such inestimable value. Every one that came into personal relations with him felt his rare compelling charm.' After teaching school in various places John Burroughs became clerk in the

Treasury Department in Washington, and afterwards bank examiner in the eastern part of New York State. As a boy he had felt the spell of living things, and in 1868 when a teacher he chanced upon the works of Audubon: 'I took fire at once. It was like bringing together fire and powder! I was ripe for the adventure; I had leisure, I was in a good bird country, and I had Audubon to stimulate me, as well as a collection of mounted birds belonging to the Academy for reference. How eagerly and joyously I took up the study! It fitted in so well with my country tastes and breeding; it turned my enthusiasm as a sportsman into a new channel; it made me look upon every grove and wood as a new storehouse of possible treasures.' Henceforth a new world opened to him, and it is because he has given us eyes to see some of the beauty of nature which was thus revealed to him that he has won so many friends on both sides of the Atlantic. He loves the country, and has an instinct for a sane, normal, healthy life. The intense religious feeling of his forbears is lacking in him, though he says, 'That I have given my heart to Nature instead of to God, as these same old people would have said, has never cast a shadow over my mind or conscience—as if God would not get all that belonged to Him, and as if love of His works were not love of Him!' The book brings us very near the man, and its portraits and illustrations show him and his country homes in a very pleasant light.

Healing and Saving: The Life Story of Philip Rees, Methodist Missionary in China. With seven Illustrations. By W. Arthur Tatchell, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net.)

It was an address given by Dr. Wenyon to the Didsbury students that inspired Philip Rees with the desire to become a missionary. He won a scholarship at Charing Cross Hospital, where he had a distinguished course, and on one occasion had ten prizes presented to him. He began his medical work at Fatshan in 1905. 'Everything is very strange,' he writes, 'and I have crowds of new experiences.' The work proved heavy, but he had a keen sense of God's presence, of His guiding hand and sustaining power. He found that a Christian man could save many lives every month, do away with a vast amount of suffering, and stop many from going totally blind. By and by his first congratulatory tablet arrived from a grateful patient 'accompanied by presents of fans, wine, and a whole roasted pig.' On another occasion, besides the pig and other gifts there was a salute of many thousands of crackers interspersed with louder bangs of masses of gunpowder. On one visit to a village he was able to save the lives of a mother and her babe. Many details are given of his work in these early days. He had his share of exciting experiences, and was in Wuchow assisting Dr. Macdonald not long before that heroic missionary fell a victim to pirates. In 1907 Rees was moved to Wuchow to take charge of the hospital there. In less than

twelve months the workers on the station were scattered and Rees was left alone. In May nearly 650 out-patients, were treated, and almost all the available accommodation for in-patients taken. Two mandarins were in-patients, and a high official visited Rees in order to arrange for his son to study medicine. Rees was married in 1907, came home on furlough in 1910, and returned to China in 1911. He died in 1918, one of the devoted band who could be worst spared from the great world of China. He has left a memory which will be an inspiration to all who knew him, or who read this touching little Life. With all his gifts there was a delightful modesty and a frank boyishness which endeared him to colleagues and patients. His father and mother laid a costly gift on the altar, and God accepted it and used it richly for the blessing of China.

The Energy of Love: A Memoir of the Rev. W. D. Walters.
By E. W. Walters. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

W. D. Walters was one of the most devoted pastors Methodism ever had, and the story of his unwearying labours as a circuit minister and in his wider sphere as Secretary of the London Mission has been beautifully told by his son. He had mastered himself, and was calm amid every agitation. His work was often 'harassing, but he did it faithfully, joyfully, and with eminent success, keeping himself always unruffled whatever the difficulties might be.' His son describes his father's birth and parentage, follows him through the stages of his ministry, allows us some delightful glimpses into his happy home, and shows how his zeal for the salvation of London showed through all his toil as Secretary. Mrs. Walters was a wife and mother of the finest type, and her tragic death in saving the life of a little boy at Woolwich crowned her noble home ministry. The book is so fresh and so full of filial insight and affection that it is sure to be a favourite wherever it goes, and it will do much to inspire others with that unselfish devotion which marked the whole life of one of the most gracious and spiritually-minded men we have ever known.

English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement considered in some of its neglected or forgotten features. By J. Wickham Legg. (Longmans & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Legg's object has been to draw attention to points in English Church life which have been little dealt with by other writers, and especially to emphasize the existence in the period of practices and ideas in which it has often been assumed that the time was altogether wanting. 'The school of Hammond and Thorndike, Pearson and Wheatly, was influential over a far greater extent of time than is commonly thought.' Dr. Legg holds that the eighteenth century has been unduly denounced, and he brings forward evidence to aid in the formation of a true judgement. He has gathered his

material with astonishing industry, and his chapters are full of most enjoyable excerpts from all the best sources. Mark Pattison's verdict that in the first half of the eighteenth century there was 'decay of religion, licentiousness of morals, public corruption, profaneness of language' is disputed, but no reader of Wesley's *Journal* and the autobiographies of his first preachers can doubt that it justly sums up the situation. We are thankful, nevertheless, to have the brighter side set forth in this volume. We see, however, that Thomas Pyle found at Bishop Hoadley's table in 1753, 'such easiness, such plenty, and treatment so liberal' as was never his lot before. 'But I think I shall by use, not be in more peril from my Lord's ten dishes than I was formerly from my own two, for I begin already to find that a fine dinner every day is not such a perpetual temptation as I thought it would be.' Mrs. Montague says that Archbishop Gilbert of York, who died in 1761, 'feeds more like a pig of Epicurus than the head of a Christian Church.' Dr. Legg's comment is significant: 'For this gluttony they had not even the excuse of being teetotallers, who are commonly gross feeders, by way of compensation for the loss of other stimulants.' That is a libel on teetotallers, but the whole passage shows how unlikely such prelates were to be the spiritual leaders and guides of the masses. The brighter side is given in descriptions of 'The Old High Church School' and the Nonjurors. Chapters on the Eucharist, the observance of daily service, observance of church seasons, discipline and penance, church societies and kindred subjects give a wealth of information as to the actual church life of the time. In the chapter on 'The Apostolical Succession and Constitution of the Church,' Dr. Legg shows how widespread this teaching was in the Church of England early in the eighteenth century. He quotes a letter from John Wesley: 'We believe it would not be right for us to administer either Baptism or the Lord's Supper, unless we had a commission so to do from those Bishops whom we apprehend to be in a succession from the Apostles. We believe that the three-fold Order of Minister . . . is not only authorized by its apostolical institution, but also by the written word.' This was in 1745. Three weeks later Wesley read Lord King's *Account of the Primitive Church*, and began to see 'that bishops and presbyters are (essentially) of one order, and that originally every Christian congregation was a church independent on all others.' In his ripe old age he writes: 'I firmly believe I am a Scriptural *ἐπίσκοπος*, as much as any man in England or in Europe; for the uninterrupted succession I know to be a fable, which no man ever did or can prove.' Dr. Legg's book is certainly a mine of information, and we have found it full of living interest.

Modern English Literature from Chaucer to the Present Day.

By G. H. Mair, M.A. (Williams & Norgate. 6s. net.)

Two years ago Mr. Mair wrote the volume on *English Literature: Modern* for the Home University Library. He has here carried the

study back to Chaucer, re-writing the first chapter and dealing with authors whom it was impossible to include in the smaller volume. Modern English literature may be said to begin with Chaucer, 'so that the book now covers more or less the whole range of those English authors whose work can be read without the intervention of the philologist or the professor of dead dialects.' Sixteen full-page portraits add greatly to the charm of the book. As it now stands the volume is an introduction to modern English literature which will help to form the taste and guide the reading of all who consult it. The interest never flags, and as we compare the earlier work with this we see how skilfully additions have been made. A discriminating paragraph on Miss Austen shows that 'she was convinced that a really veracious picture of ordinary life could be as interesting as any romance. . . . If we miss great emotions, that is simply because in the society which she set herself to depict great emotions very seldom intrude.' Mr. Mair's book ought to have a place in every one's library.

The Methodist : A Study in Discipleship. By Henry Carter. (Kelly. 1s. 6d. net.)

In 1748, five years after his own evangelical conversion, John Wesley issued a set of Rules for his Societies. They pointed out a path of life for his converts. The only condition required for their entrance into the Society was a 'desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.' But they were expected to evidence their desire for salvation by doing no harm; by avoiding evil of every kind; by doing good of every possible sort to the bodies and souls of others, and by attending upon all the ordinances of God. Mr. Carter has brought out the significance of the great tradition which Wesley established, and shows that our age has to face the same problem. He dwells on the three aspects of the Rules—The Christian Negative, The Christian Positive, The Christian Dynamic—in a most persuasive and attractive way, and in a final chapter brings before us 'this strange sight, a Christian world.' It is a study in discipleship, which ought to make a profound impression, and no one can read it without being better for doing so.

Each of the latest five volumes of the *Home University Library* (Williams & Norgate, 1s. net), makes its own appeal. Mr. Arnold Lunn tells the saga of *The Alps*, with its record of doughty deeds and disaster. He takes us back to the Middle Ages, when the lovers of mountain scenery were in the minority, though they existed in far larger numbers than is sometimes supposed. He writes of the pioneers and the opening up of the Alps, tells the story of Mont Blanc and the Matterhorn, and gives an account of modern mountaineering and of the Alps in literature. It is a fascinating volume. Canon Charles traces the *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments*. He has made the subject his own and brings out the wealth

of interest which surrounds the two centuries before Christ. Apocalyptic ideas and the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are lighted up by this little masterpiece. Miss Sichel's volume on *The Renaissance* describes its course in Florence, Rome, France and England in the most picturesque and instructive fashion. We deeply regret that this gifted and devoted lady died last August after a brief illness. Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., gives a bird's-eye view of *Elizabethan Literature*. Valuable chapters on prose before Sidney and Poetry before Spenser lead up to Spenser and Shakespeare. The book is packed with matter and is always bright and readable. *Central and South America*, by W. R. Shepherd, gives the information we all want now that the Panama Canal bids fair to revolutionize the trade with these countries. Prof. Shepherd sketches the history and describes the economic resources and social and intellectual life of the twenty republics of Latin America in this little book, which throughout is one of absorbing interest. The five volumes form a very valuable addition to a Library whose importance becomes more obvious every day.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, edited by Adolf C. Von Noé (University of Chicago Press. 8s. net). This number includes a list of the Sulzberger Collection of Soncino books in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Dr. Max Radin writes an explanatory preface to the bibliography. Under Wisconsin Verse a list is given of volumes of poetry published by Wisconsin authors. The list of 'Bibliographies of Bibliographers' is concluded. The Bibliographical Society was founded in 1904 and has held nineteen semi-annual meetings. The subscription is \$3 a year.—*Some Pictures on my Walls*. By Frederic W. Macdonald. (Kelly. 2s. net.) Two family portraits and four well-known religious pictures are effectively used as texts for six charming papers. They have a geniality and a breadth of vision which are very delightful, and they are written with all the author's brightness and vivacity.—Dr. Lansdell now has the sixth part of his history of *Princess Aefrida's Charity* ready (Blackheath: Burnside. 6d. net). It describes Morden College under the East India Trustees with many biographical facts, and gives an account of the chaplain's position which is full of interesting details. *Analecta Bollandiana*. (Tomus XXIII. Fasc. II.) The chief feature in this number is the Life and Miracles of S. Lawrent, Archbishop of Dublin, edited by Charles Plummer, from two manuscripts which may be dated about 1400. He gives a very interesting account of the manuscripts and of the prelate, who was born in 1128, the youngest son of a chief of Kildare, and became Archbishop of Dublin in 1162. Three very curious pieces from the Vatican archives which throw light on the character and life of Pope Pius V are edited by Dr. Van Ortrooy, with a valuable introduction.—*Our National Flag*. (S.P.G. 1d.) A cheap edition which appeals to every Englishman. 'An Old Naval Officer' gives the history of our national flag, and shows how to make a Union Jack.

GENERAL

The Conduct of Life, and other Addresses. By Viscount Haldane. (Murray. 2s. 6d. net.)

THE first of these addresses was given to the Associated Societies of Edinburgh University. It is a strong and helpful deliverance which recognises that 'the only foundation of what is abiding is the sense of the reality of what is spiritual—the constant presence of the God who is not far away in the skies, but is here within our minds and hearts.' As to personal preparation for success, the Chancellor affirms 'you can train yourself to increased intellectual and moral energy as you can train yourself for physical efficiency in the playing field.' Lord Haldane is also careful to insist on the social virtue of courtesy and urbane manners. In its best form this arises from goodness of heart. He endorses Lord Eldon's rule that success at the Bar meant living like a hermit and working like a horse, but he warns his hearers that they must guard against becoming narrow and uninteresting. This high-toned address is followed by the Creighton Lecture on 'The Meaning of Truth in History.' The historian must look at his period as a whole, and in the completeness of its development. His material is not history until it is re-fashioned in his own mind. History is a science in so far as 'scientific methods are requisite for accuracy and proper proportion in the details used in the presentation. But the presentation must always be largely that of an artist in whose mind it is endowed with life and form.' The third address on 'The Civic University' marked Viscount Haldane's installation as Chancellor of the University of Bristol. It is an inspiring vision of the possibilities of such a civic centre of learning and life. The masterpiece is 'Higher Nationality: A Study in Law and Ethics,' delivered before the American Bar Association at Montreal. The Lord Chancellor shows that Canada and Great Britain on the one hand, and the United States on the other, with their common language, their common interests, and their common ends, form something resembling a single society. Such a society may develop within itself a foundation for international faith of a kind that is new in the history of the world. The lawyers of the three countries have a special responsibility for the future of the relations between them. That is persuasively put, and must have produced an abiding impression on the distinguished audience that heard it.

The Secrets of a Great Cathedral. By H. D. M. Spence-Jones, D.D. (Dent & Sons. 2s. 6d. net.)

The Dean of Gloucester draws material for his study from many Cathedrals, though he reverts often to the great pile of which he

is chief guardian. His purpose is to answer some of the chief questions which have been put to him by visitors. He begins with a most instructive sketch of Romanesque architecture, which was really a falling-back on the ante-classical style of Roman architecture. The principal architects were the *Magistri Comacini*, a guild of masons who had their headquarters first at Ravenna and then at Como. Their symbol, the interlaced Solomon's knot, was an emblem of the manifold ways of the power of the one God, who has neither beginning nor end. Dates and details of many kinds add greatly to the value of this historic sketch. The dean then discusses the triforium, which at Gloucester surrounds the choir. He thinks it represents the women's gallery of the Eastern churches, and in the West may have been built for the great cloud of witnesses of the Mass. The Lady Chapel forms another delightful study. At Gloucester its east end is square or rectangular, a form derived from the ancient British type, and adopted before the coming of the Normans. There are also two small transepts. The crypt and the cloister are also made to yield their secrets. Gloucester has the most famous cloisters of any English Cathedral. The glorious fan-tracery of the roof is unmatched in Northern Europe. The work of the monks and the games of the novices are described in a way that brings back the olden times. The whole study is illuminating.

Pragmatism and French Voluntarism. By L. Susan Stebbing, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

Miss Stebbings' thesis was approved for the Master of Arts degree in the University of London. Her own standpoint is diametrically opposed to Bergson's Intuitionism, but she is not blind to the interest and importance of his work. She shows that the French Voluntarists can in no sense be classed as Pragmatists. In Renouvier there is an element which leads to Pragmatism, but the main line of development is the spiritualistic philosophy of contingency derived from Maine de Biran, and culminating in the anti-Pragmatic Intuitionism of Bergson. On the other hand is the not less anti-pragmatic philosophy of *Idées-forces*, which is opposed both to the moralism of Renouvier and to the Intuitionism of Bergson. The main part of the thesis is taken up with 'The Nature of French Voluntaristic Philosophy.' Felix Ravaisson has exerted a profound influence on the current of French philosophy which, as he foretold, is setting in the direction of a spiritualistic dynamism. Bergson's creative evolution continues the current of French thought that proceeds from Maine de Biran through Ravaisson and Boutroux. He thus falls into place in the spiritualistic activism of French philosophy. Bergson's system is very acutely criticized, and in her 'Conclusion' Miss Stebbing gathers up the results of her study. Bergson claims to have found in intuition a deeper kind of knowing faculty, but she regards philosophy as essentially the affair of intellect, and sees the way of advance in a development of intellect to the full possession

of its powers. The thesis is one of great philosophic interest, and is both luminous and acutely reasoned.

Essays. By Alice Meynell. (Burns & Oates. 5s. net.)

These essays are selected from five previous volumes and bound in buckram, uniform with the author's *Collected Poetry*. They have a concentrated charm of style and thought, which entitles them to rank as prose poems. Mrs. Meynell never wearies us. The essays range from two to seven pages, and are divided into eight groups: Winds and Waters, In a Book Room, Commentaries, Wayfaring, Arts, The Colour of Life, Women and Books, The Darling Young. We are interested at once in 'Ceres' Runaway,' the wild summer growth of Rome. 'It breaks all bounds, flies to the summits, lodges in the sun, swings in the wind, takes wings to find the remotest ledges, and blooms aloft.' The visitor found with most welcome surprise lettuce growing on certain ledges of the Vatican. 'The Little Language' is a dainty essay in praise of dialect—'The elf rather than the genius of place, and a dwarfish master of the magic of local things.' 'Have patience, little Saint,' is a plea for civility to beggars. 'An elderly Italian lady on her slow way from her own ancient ancestral *palazzo* to the village, and accustomed to meet, empty-handed, a certain number of beggars, answers them by a retort which would be, literally translated, "Excuse me, dear; I, too, am a poor devil," and the last word she naturally puts into the feminine.' Mrs. Meynell is rather hard on the Salvation Army girls' 'brutal word of contempt' at the friar's dress, 'Only fancy making such a fool of oneself!' We are glad, however, to see how 'the noble graces' of Lucy Hutchinson have appealed to her, and the last seven papers in 'The Darling Young' are worthy of such a title. There is something for every age and every taste in this volume, and all is put so freshly and so brightly that it is full of delights for a leisure hour.

Mr. Humphrey Milford has issued a new edition of Matthew Arnold's *Essays* (1s. 6d. net). The frontispiece is from the fine portrait by G. F. Watts, and five essays are added which have hitherto been unpublished in volume form. One is on Dean Stanley's *Jewish Church*. Arnold holds Christianity 'will assuredly ever be able to adapt itself to new conditions, and, in connexion with intellectual ideas changed or developed, to enter upon successive stages of progress.' The other essays are on Dante and Beatrice, on the Modern Element in Literature, Obermann, and Sainte-Beuve. These add much to the interest of a very fine volume, which is a marvel of cheapness.

The Poetical Works of George Crabbe. Edited by A. J. Carlyle and R. M. Carlyle. (Oxford University Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

Crabbe's text has been practically reproduced in this edition with the addition of the posthumous volume of *Tales* and a few poems

reprinted from his son's edition of 1884. The arrangement of the poems is chronological. The Introduction gives the facts of Crabbe's life, and an estimate of his work which will be very helpful to readers of the poems. The editors think that he reached his highest level in *The Village*. In it he 'opens the new literature of the life of the labouring poor in town or country. He throws aside the traditional pastoral, the idyllic mood, the gracious temper, and he sets out to write the real life of the labourer. He has at least the desire to set out the truth.' Every Englishman ought to have this edition of Crabbe on his shelves. He will see how the new social spirit began to change the outlook of thoughtful and earnest men. 'Crabbe, the most respectable, the most conservative of artists, is yet the creature and child of the great movements of Europe.'

Legends and Lyrics. Together with a Chaplet of Verses. By Adelaide A. Procter. (Oxford University Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

The Introduction which Charles Dickens wrote for *Legends and Lyrics* in 1866 is prefixed to this reprint. Her poems appeared in *Household Words* under a pseudonym, and it was nearly two years before the editor discovered that the poetess was the daughter of his old friend Barry Cornwall. She died in 1864, after being confined to bed fifteen months. In all that time her old cheerfulness never quitted her and not an impatient or querulous minute could be remembered. The verses are full of deep religious feeling, and have a grace and tenderness of their own which endears them to all kindred spirits, despite the plaintive note which runs through them. This edition, with its fine portrait and six illustrations, is printed in clear type and neatly bound in scarlet cloth covers.

The Feeding of School Children. By M. E. Bulkley. (Bell & Sons. 8s. 6d. net.)

This volume is issued through the Ratan Tata Foundation of the University of London. Miss Bulkley is an authority on the subject, and she sketches the history of the movement for providing school meals and shows how the Act is worked. The preparation and service of meals, the selection of the children, and all other sides of the subject are explained with many interesting details. A special chapter is given to the provision of meals in London, where specially difficult problems have to be faced. The half-hearted fashion in which London undertook the responsibility for its underfed children showed itself markedly in the arrangements made for serving the meals. In 1906 at thirty schools where 8,060 children were fed, plates and mugs were not provided. This meant generally that 'the children brought their own mugs and ate the food out of their hands.' Since the formation of the Local Associations of Care Committees in 1909 conditions have improved, but are 'still far from satisfactory.' The extent and causes of malnutrition, the effect on the children and

on the parents are discussed in the closing chapters. Miss Bulkley thinks that the meal should be provided for all children who like to come and should be regarded as part of the school curriculum. She thinks it should be continued, if necessary, during the vacations. It is a full and clear treatment of a subject which is of national importance.

The Cure for Poverty. By John Calvin Brown. (Stanley Paul & Co. 5s. net.)

Mr. Brown looks on our life with the eyes of one long accustomed to the United States. He believes in fiscal reform, and asks how long Great Britain 'will stick to an antiquated Fiscal system which depends for its success upon the superior sanity of the systems of competing countries?' 'Protected' countries make prosperity, and British 'Free Traders' do the boasting. He begins with his 'Impressions.' He has 'learned to prefer the fresh coolness of an English home, and to abhor the stuffy, suffocating closeness of the American superheated homes.' Some racy pages prepare the way for a few simple definitions which Mr. Brown thinks would form a tariff programme for a party and 'land it safely and permanently in control of this badly diseased industrial nation.' He describes the commercial career of Britain and of the United States, explains what a tariff means, and shows its effect upon consumers and producers, on the cost of living, on manufacturing and labour and on agriculture. The closing chapter is an urgent plea for federation of the British Empire and for a scheme of Imperial Tariff defences. The writer knows his own mind, and all the elements for a lively controversy lie in his outspoken book.

The Sanctity of Church Music. By Rev. T. F. Forth, B.A. (J. & J. Bennett. 2s. 6d. net.)

The music of the Jewish Church was distinctly national. The Catholic Church assimilated the best music of each land in which it was planted. The first hymn of the New Testament is the Magnificat, and various quotations of hymns are found in the Pauline Epistles. The earliest extant hymn is Clement of Alexandria's 'Bridle of Colts untamed,' and of this and other early hymns some interesting particulars are given. St. Ignatius is credited with the introduction of antiphonal singing into the Church. He was 'the first to make any serious attempt to organize Church music, and in imitation of his heavenly vision formed a double choir for that purpose.' Antiphonal singing was not introduced into the West till the time of Ambrose, who divided his congregation into two parts as well as his choir. The development of hymn-singing under Ambrose is sketched and chapters are given to early Latin hymnody, passion music, and the influence of St. Gregory. Early Church music was catholic, antiphonal, sanctified, uniform, and under clerical tuition, and Mr. Forth holds that it should still have those notes. His book will be eagerly dis-

curssed by all who are concerned with the Church's praise, and lovers of sacred music will find in it a compact, general view of the subject which they can scarcely get anywhere else.

Dr. Ivor's Wife. By Mary Kernahan (Mrs. Charles Harris). (Allen & Co. 6s. net.)

This is one of the best stories we have read for a long time. The doctor's little girl forms a link to the schoolmistress, and when a considerable fortune is left to her on condition that she marries Dr. Ivor, they agree to go through the ceremony but to live separate lives under the same roof. Margaret is a splendid woman, and transforms the dismal house, but the relations between husband and wife become more and more embarrassing till they discover that they are really in love. The mystery is well kept up, and there are some very awkward moments, but Margaret's tact and self-control bring them through, and her charming sister plays her part with rare skill. Dr. Ivor has a thick crust of reserve and ill-temper, but Margaret works as great a revolution in her husband as she has done in her home and her step-daughter. There is humour and insight into character in this pleasant book.

Old French Romances. Done into English by William Morris. With an Introduction by Joseph Jacobs. (Allen & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

These versions first appeared in three issues of the Kelmscott Press, and were gathered into a volume in 1896. As Mr. Jacobs says, they breathe the very air of romance. They are packed with adventures. 'Men take rank according to their might; women are valued for their beauty alone.' Morris had the art of reproducing the tone, the colour, the charm of the Middle Ages. It is caught in these four stories, and to read them is to feel ourselves transported into the old world of romance. The volume is neatly got up and well printed.

Beautiful Bairns, by Uncle Reg (Kelly, 1s. 6d.). Eight or nine of Dickens's children are here, and the sketches are lighted up by many a page from Uncle Reg's own experience. His ways of putting things sometimes borders on the grotesque, but they are always arresting and always tend to unselfishness and true affection. *Wild Animals at Home*, by A. Pembury (Kelly, 1s. 6d.). Every boy and girl who loves animals will rejoice over these descriptions of wild creatures. There is much instruction pleasantly put, and the black-and-white and coloured illustrations are a great success. A little map is given with each sketch, showing the home of the creature there described. *The Secrets of Success in Life*, by Walter Wynn (Williams & Norgate, 1s. net). The Editor of 'The Young Man' begins on a high note. 'You can succeed,' and he justifies that optimistic view by personal experience and the success of others. He sees that the difficulties in the way are 'not outside a man, but always in him'

One helpful chapter deals with 'clever men who waste their lives,' another shows 'how the defeated can conquer.' All is breezy, yet sane and homely. High character, unwearied effort, and unquenchable optimism are the watchwords of success. It ought to do young men great service. On p. 68 the author that Mr. Wynn has forgotten is John Foster, and the sentence comes from the essay on Decision of Character. *Homely Thoughts on how Science has Discovered the Four Ways to the Four-square City of God*, by John Coutts (G. Lyall, 2d.). Mr. Coutts always provokes thought. Science suggests that the time has arrived when it is possible to get a clearer conception of the Divine Order that operates throughout the Universe. Man's highest good is to be found in obedience and divine law. 'What men require is not social, legal, and penal laws; it is being true and right with God in His moral universe.' *The Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand for 1912* fill two large blue books. They have been compiled by the Government Statistician from official returns and form a body of information about every side of life in the dominion.—*For Better For Worse*. By David Lyall. (Kelly, 8s. 6d. net.) This story shows how two young folk escape the rocks and make a happy start on life's voyage. The peace of the little home at Wimbledon is almost wrecked by Milly's selfishness, but she learns her lesson and becomes a model wife and mother. Such a book will delight and help all who read it.—*Shaggy the Great*. By H. Lestrangle Malone. Illustrated by Gordon Robinson. (Kelly, 8s. 6d. net.) This tale cannot easily be matched for adventures. The little girl has won the friendship of the beasts. Her uncle is blacker than he was painted, but her friend Nipping Bear comes to the rescue. Then a still more wonderful set of adventures begins as she sails back into the past and meets Shaggy the Great. All ends well with the plucky girl, and children will delight in her and her wonderful journeys.—*Early Days for 1914*. (Kelly, 2s.) No magazine for boys and girls has more variety and charm than this. It supplies reading that both charms and instructs, and sets young folk writing and thinking for themselves. We do not wonder at the popularity of such a magazine. It only needs to be better known to win a large increase of readers.—*The Black Hour* (Kelly, 8d. net) is a discussion on National Service which appeared in the *Magazine* of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Mr. Coulson Kerna-han supports Lord Roberts, Professor J. H. Moulton gives reasons 'why we cannot accept conscription.' It is a discussion of profound importance, and every Englishman ought to study it with the greatest care.—*The Minimum Wage*, by L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P. (Kelly, 1d.), is one of the *Social Tracts for the Times*. Mr. Money shows the Economy of High Wages and gives many instructive illustrations which make his essay a real help to all who are facing this question of wages.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Among the outstanding papers in the *Edinburgh Review* (July-September) is one summarizing much recent literature on 'West African Religions,' by M. P. Amaury Talbot. A brief article on 'Servia Irredenta,' by Mr. Francis Gribble, is of even greater interest than it was at the time of its appearance, and the same remark applies to the paper on 'The Expansion of Italy,' by Mr. Algar Thorold. Whether Italy maintains her neutrality in the European War or not, Mr. Thorold's words are worth preserving. 'The rational argument for an alliance between France and Italy seems overwhelming. Italy and France are the two great Latin powers of Europe. They have the same culture; where their populations have remained religious, the same religion; where they have been emancipated, they take the same definitely rational view of experience and life. Their commercial relations are intimate; the Mediterranean is the sphere of many of their common interests, and they have a common interest in Mohammedan civilization. A more ancient political tradition than the *Triplíce* binds Italians to France; they have the same traditional culture; to a great extent the same interests in the same quarter of the globe; they are also the only two great Continental democratic nations who stand firmly and consistently for the principles of the Revolution. Does it not seem only reasonable that an alliance so natural, so fitting, so rational, may one day be accomplished?' The writer also notes that England is the third great democratic power of the Old World, possessing with France and Italy serious interests in the Mediterranean and in Africa, and hints at a future alliance between the three. Mr. Horace Bleackley, in an article on 'Casanova,' thinks that this great eighteenth-century charlatan 'neither desired nor deserves the smallest apology. To regard him as anything but a pagan would be to misunderstand him. Folly, he confesses to have been the predominant element of his life. His only philosophy was the Epicurean. . . . No woman was ever more vain. . . . It is because of his singular freedom from cant that he enjoyed such a brilliant career. Regarding the battle of life as a contest between knaves and fools, he is never obliged to swerve from his purpose by considerations of principle. . . . Thus in the happy age of charlataniam he surpassed every other impostor by reason of his transparent hypocrisy, and will remain to the end of time the greatest trickster that history has ever known. A second Napoleon is far more possible than another such as he, for a great conqueror might

well find a mission in the world, while a new Casanova would be an anachronism.'

The Quarterly Review for July-September opens with an elaborate article on 'Christian Origins,' in which Mr. C. H. Turner passes in review a considerable number of recent French and English works, dwelling particularly on the three volumes by L. Duchesne which have been placed on the Roman Index. Duchesne, he says, is 'a scientific historian who knows when and how to judge, and also knows that moments come when judgement must lose itself in admiration and reverence. . . . Two saints of the fifth century exercise over him this magic sway: Saint Augustine, the Christian teacher, and Saint Leo, the Christian statesman.' There is a timely article on 'Modern Forces in German Literature,' by Mr. T. W. Rolleston, which indirectly and by anticipation throws some light on the present European war. Other papers of permanent value are 'Roger Bacon,' by Mr. Robert Steele; 'Sir David Gill and Recent Astronomy,' by Mr. George Forbes; 'The Settlement Movement in England and America,' by Messrs. E. J. Urwick and R. A. Woods; and a finely illustrated article on "The Mysteries of Mithras," by Mr. E. Stuart-Jones. The article is based upon M. Franz Cumont's masterly works, and treats Mithraism throughout as 'the most serious rival faced and conquered by Christianity.'

IN the Dublin Review (July-Sept.) Mr. Wilfrid Ward continues the story of his visit to America, but reserves for a future number a fuller account of the lessons he learnt and of the impressions formed. Mr. Albert A. Cock discourses on Mr. Balfour's Gifford Lectures, pointing out the apologetic value of Beauty, and noting that Mr. Balfour 'will not leave our aesthetic experiences, profound as they are, in isolation. He proposes to argue quite systematically from all values, the intellectual, the logical, the scientific, the ethical, as well as from the aesthetic, to a causal explanation of value. Unless we can believe in a God who cares for beauty, cares for truth, cares for the good and for all other values that operate in our spiritual life, then these values themselves become a mockery to our souls. He must care, for was it not God Himself who said, 'Consider the lilies of the field'; God Himself whose value-judgement was, 'Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these!' Father Martindale contributes an article on 'The Fruits of "The Golden Bough"', in which he criticizes both the methods and the result of Dr. Frazer's monumental work. 'The whole book,' he says, "is stained with quiet little assumptions . . . which witness to an antecedent philosophical view, governing all later management of evidence, and which simply asks for false illations and unwarranted conclusions. . . . We have wondered more than once while reading the book whether here were some new Darwin doing a work destined to be soon, but reverently, superseded, or some Herbert Spencer, condemned to a less noble fate. But on reading the last page we ask ourselves also, have we not here pure Renan?' Of 'George Borrow

in Spain,' Mr. Shane Leslie writes: 'He has been called "a fantastic bigot," but he is better dubbed "a Biblical Don Quixote"—one, indeed, who for the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant alike, carried out a campaign against a visionary Giant Pope, as fond and futile as the famous cavalry charge, executed by one nobler and madder than he, among the unheeding windmills of La Mancha.' Father Feuling, O.S.B., has an expository and critical article on Eucken's philosophy, in the course of which he utters a timely caution: 'Prudence and discernment are particularly required in the spiritual intercourse with authors who, whilst supporting or trying to support, the cause of religion and Christianity in a way, are yet far from grasping and acknowledging the thoroughly supernatural character of God's revelation given through Christ, and preserved in the Church.' Other notable papers are some anonymous 'Confessions of a Catholic Socialist' and a brief sketch of the newly made Cardinal Gasquet, by Father Benson, who describes his Eminence as 'a genial Englishman, a real friend, and a great priest.'

IN the Fortnightly Review for July, Count Ilya Tolstoi continues his reminiscences of his father. These are of extraordinary interest, and will be of considerable literary and historical value. There are also pleasant papers on Sir Thomas Browne, by the Hon. Gilbert Coleridge; 'M. Jean Richepin's Shakespeare,' by Professor Gaston Sévrette; and 'English Life and the English Stage,' by Mr. John Macdonald, strongly in praise of Mr. Zangwill's 'Plaster Saints.' In the August number, Count Tolstoi continues his most interesting recollections, and there is a capital article on 'Walter Bagehot,' by Mr. Arthur Baumann.

To the Nineteenth Century and After for July, Miss Arabella Kenealy contributes a remarkable article entitled 'Is Man an Electrical Organism?' This was a favourite thesis of the late Mr. Watts-Dunton's, and it is treated by Miss Kenealy in a most attractive manner. In the course of her argument, she attempts to prove that the impelling force of creation and evolution is negative electricity; that man is only a complex electrical organism, with the right side of him positive and the left side negative; and that woman when she hastens to make herself like man is tending to destroy that poise which holds the human being, as it holds the atom and the universe, in equilibrium. In the August number, there is a discriminating article on 'American Humour,' by Mr. Stephen Leacock, who notes that there is not much American literature which 'moves upon the highest plane of humour, in which the mere incongruous "funniness" of the ludicrous is replaced by the larger view of life. . . . The writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne, and the works of Mark Twain (not as cited in single passages or jokes, but considered in their broad aspect) present this universal element. But the generality of American humour lacks profundity, and wants that stimulating aid of the art of expression which can only be found in a literary people. . . . The original impetus

which created American humour has largely spent its force, nor is it likely that, in the absence of a widespread literary spirit, anything else will be left of the original vein of Yankee merriment except the factory-made fun of the Sunday journalist.' In the same number, Mr. Alexander Carlyle gives us 'More New Letters of Jane Walsh Carlyle' with the idea of proving and illustrating the general happiness of the Carlyle marriage. We give part of a letter dated 1827 which, at all events, leaves no doubt as to Mrs. Carlyle's passionate devotion to her husband; but all of them are worth preserving and perusing. Addressing her 'Dear, dear Cheap Cheap,' she says: 'Nay, it is no joke; to be separated from you, even for one week, is *frightful*, as a foretaste of what it *might* be. But I will not think of this—if I can help it. And after all why should I think of *life without you*? Is not my being interweaved with yours so close, so close that it can have no separate existence? Yes, surely we will live together and die together and be together through all eternity. Awful, yet delicious thought! But you will be calling this "French sentimentality," I fear; and even "the style of mockery" is better than that.'

Hibbert Journal (July).—Mr. A. D. M'Laren gives an instructive account of German Protestantism to-day, especially of the *Austrittsbewegung*, the organized movement to effect a formal severance from the Prussian State Church of those who no longer hold its doctrines. The question is: If this were accomplished what would be left? Eucken's question: Can we still be Christians? cannot be answered in the affirmative except by stretching the name 'Christian' till it breaks. Rev. J. M. Thompson in 'Post-Modernism' shows that a similar movement is beginning in this country, while Mr. A. Weir's article 'Criminous Clerks' discusses from another standpoint the position of 'mis-believing priests.' Canon Adderley on 'Sacraments and Unity' agrees with a recent proposal of Rev. R. H. Coats for re-union on the basis of the Sacraments. A very timely lecture by Dean Inge is republished under the title 'Institutionalism and Mysticism,' while Mr. Bertrand Russell surveys the tendencies of mysticism in our own time on another side, its relation to science, in a paper entitled 'Mysticism and Logic.' Other papers are, 'Savage Elements in the Religion of Cultured Races,' by Dr. Farnell; 'Schweitzer as Missionary,' by Rev. W. Montgomery, and 'The Significance of Death,' by C. J. Keyser. Dr. Agar Beet, in an article 'The Hereafter in the Bible and in Modern Thought,' reproduces in the form of a brief summary the views which he has already published in volume form on this important subject.

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—There is no 'leading' article this quarter. The first paper is on the work of Porphyry against the Christians and its reconstruction by T. W. Crafer, D.D. The discussion circles round the attacks of a Neo-Platonist preserved in the writings of Macarius, which bear more or less resemblance to

the arguments of Porphyry. Rev. J. M. Creed gives an account of the Hermetic writings, which date from the late second, or early third century. They shed light on the philosophico-religious view of the world held in the Roman Empire at the time of the rise of Christianity. Mr. Martin Rule continues his account of 'The Queen of Sweden's Gelasian Sacramentary,' and Dom Conolly contributes a second article on 'The Work of Menezes on the Malabar Liturgy.' Several interesting reviews appear written by Dr. Kennett, Professor Gwatkin, Mr. C. C. J. Webb and others.

The Holborn Review (July).—The contents of this number are varied and interesting. Some of the subjects are: 'The Women's Movement,' by W. E. Farndale; 'The Message of Ibsen,' which is interpreted as the quest after Self-realization, by A. Hird, and 'The Temptation of Jesus, a Study in Interpretation,' by T. Johns Martin. A well-written and highly appreciative sketch of Dr. S. R. Driver is contributed by W. L. Wardle, B.D. Mr. Henry Jeffs in 'Words and the Word' shows how much is to be learned from one section of the Oxford English Dictionary. The writer on 'Psychical Research and the Christian Faith' thinks that the time has come for a commission representative of all the churches to inquire into the claims of modern spiritualism and of those abnormal occurrences, vouched for by some scientists, of which we hear so much.

The Expositor (July-August).—Dr. Maurice Jones in 'Dr. Sanday and the Creeds' gives an account of the events which led up to the publication of Dr. Sanday's recent pamphlet in which he takes his place with the Modernists. Dr. Jones distrusts the distinction which Dr. Sanday seeks to draw between miracles that are above nature and those that are contrary to nature. He also deprecates Sanday's appeal to the example of the Liberal Protestant school in Germany, as really weakening his position. Rev. J. A. Hutton begins what promises to be an interesting series of papers on 'The Sense of Sin in Great Literature.' Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner' is dealt with in this number. Prof. Mackintosh continues his series on Christian Eschatology by a paper on 'Future Judgment.' Principal Garvie's notes on the Fourth Gospel deal (not very conclusively) with the Raising of Lazarus. Two other papers are 'A Plea for the Four Trumpets,' by Rev. J. T. Dean, and 'Papias and the Gospels,' by Archdeacon Allen.—In the August number, Prof. König discusses Naville's theory that the Hebrews down to the time of Solomon wrote their literature in the Babylonian language and script, adducing practically conclusive reasons against it. Mr. J. A. Hutton's paper on 'The Sense of Sin in Great Literature' deals most interestingly with 'Peer Gynt.' Prof. Mackintosh continues his studies in Eschatology, arguing against Universalism, and Principal Garvie contributes a further instalment of his 'Notes on the Fourth Gospel.' Professor Andrews suggests a very attractive re-arrangement of the matter in

John i-iii, which would enlarge the scope of the Prologue to the Gospel and remove several exegetical difficulties.

The Expository Times (July-August).—Dr. Hastings' Notes discuss several questions of current interest, such as Bishop Gore's views on 'Symbolism' and Dr. Sanday's reply to him. Prof. Anderson Scott's paper on 'The Church's Interpretation of the Historic Christ' is timely, instructive and helpful. Prof. Deissmann in 'Study Travel in New Testament Lands' resents, courteously but decidedly, certain strictures of Sir W. Ramsay which seemed to question the thoroughness of his investigations in Asia Minor. Rev. F. J. Rae's paper on Prayer, as religion at work and as a directive force, is thoughtful and practical. Prof. Gordon, of Montreal, writes on Ewald as a Pioneer in the study of Old Testament poetry.

International Review of Missions (July).—Dr. Schwager, of the Society of the Divine Word, the oldest missionary society of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, writes on 'Missionary Methods from a Roman Catholic Standpoint.' He calls 'attention to some erroneous ideas which are not infrequently to be found in Protestant missionary literature.' His subjects are missions and the preservation of national characteristics; Unity in the Mission Field; Missionary Comedy; and the Preparation of Catechumens. He thinks that the Roman Church has a position of incomparable advantage compared with Protestantism because 'the only possible way of maintaining the unity for which Christ so earnestly longed and prayed, i.e. the principle of authority, receives in it practical recognition.' That is not a statement which gives much hope for reunion. Nor does the following sentence increase it. 'The assurance of ecclesiastical, and consequently of national unity, depends on the influence and success of Roman Catholic Missions.'

Church Quarterly (July).—A strong number. Miss Spearing's paper on 'John Donne and his Theology,' Mr. Jenkinson's 'Old St. Paul's in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Literature,' are of special interest, and 'Affusion or Submersion,' by Rev. C. J. Rogers, is a valuable study of the arguments for and against baptism by submersion. Dr. Nairne's 'Versions of Holy Scripture' is a masterly survey of modern translations.

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (July).—The first three articles in this number go to the roots of things—whether wisely or not, is a question. Professor N. C. Macintosh, of Yale—who must not be confused with scholars of similar cognomen—contends that there must be a 'new Christianity' if 'world-conversion' is to be realized. He proposes to drop 'the old Christian supernaturalism and evangelicalism,' the doctrines of the deity of Christ, of sin and atonement, in order that Christian missions may be more effectual among Hindus and Mohammedans, Chinese and Japanese. 'Ultra-conservatism is

suicidal'; we must be 'honestly radical' from the beginning, if we are to be 'truly conservative' in the end. Prof. D. S. Schaff also, in dealing with 'fundamental articles of faith,' proposes that instead of assent to a precise form of articles we should substitute 'warm devotion to Christ.' The phrase has an attractive sound and there is no question that subscription to elaborate theological formulae is not essential to salvation. But 'warm devotion' to a vaguely defined person does not seem likely to furnish a strong bond of cohesion in these disturbed and anxious days. Prof. Lyman, of Oberlin, answers the question, 'Must dogmatics forgo ontology?' with a decided negative. His reasoning is sound. Whilst he admits some of Ritschl's conclusions, his resistance to certain Ritschlian tendencies in the Churches will prove serviceable. Prof. E. D. Burton continues his linguistic inquiry into the meaning of 'spirit, soul, and flesh' in the New Testament. The critical reviews are numerous and some of them are valuable.

Princeton Review (July).—The first article on 'Genesis,' by J. Ritchie Smith, is avowedly not critical, but 'purely homiletic.' It is pleasant to think that amidst the prevailing absorption in documentary analysis there is some one left who, when reading Genesis, can think of religion. Dr. Warfield discusses with much minuteness the difficult passage concerning 'blasphemy of the Son of Man.' He contends against the view that Jesus in this passage places Himself among men, calumny of whom might be forgiven, while blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, as Divine, could never be forgiven. R. D. Wilson gives a clear and full account of the papyrus of Elephantine, 'the greatest discovery ever made in Aramaic.' The full significance of this document is only gradually being appreciated. Prof. W. P. Armstrong publishes the first of a series of papers on 'Gospel History and Criticism,' which promises well. 'The Authority of Holy Scripture' is the title of a thoughtful paper by Geo. Johnson, in which it is urged that the book itself 'forms a part of the special revelation prepared by the Holy Spirit to be the permanent possession of the people of God.' A biographical note pays tribute to the memory of the late Dr. S. R. Driver. The reviews are full and able. We notice that Dr. Warfield, in reviewing the sixth volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, characterizes Dr. Davison's article on the biblical and Christian doctrine of God as 'a good sketch, somewhat over "modern" in tone, but informed with a true conservatism of spirit.'

The Methodist Review (New York) (July–August).—The opening article by Bishop Bashford on China contains an inspiring account of missionary achievements and an urgent plea for help in meeting the pressing needs of the hour. Dr. James Mudge explains 'Why ministers should study Shakespeare.' He is perhaps preaching to the converted, but it is not so long since Methodists would have been shocked at the bare idea. The dual element in every man and the practical lessons based upon it form the subject of an article on

'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde' by Jesse B. Young. President Doney's paper on Nietzsche is short, but pointed. Other articles are on the Doctrine of the Trinity and 'Religion and Irreligion in Wagner's Operas.' Under 'Notes and Discussions' there appears a tolerably lengthy article on *The Old Book and the New man* by the late Dr. J. T. MacFarland. It emphasizes the appeal of the Bible to the heart and conscience of man in every generation.

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (July).—The Editor, Dr. Gross Alexander, writes on the Early History of Methodism in the South, and Bishop Lambuth gives an account of the Missionary Situation on the Congo. There are a dozen more articles in this interesting number on miscellaneous subjects, some of the more important of which are 'The Philosophy of Personalism,' by J. A. Kern; 'The Life and Letters of C. E. Norton'; 'The Ethics of Jesus,' by C. W. Mathison, and 'A Ringing Challenge from the Awakened Orient,' by V. M. Ilahi-Baksh, Bombay. W. Harrison draws attention to 'The Passing of the Mechanical Conception of the Universe,' and a Jewish Rabbi answers the question: 'What do Jews believe?'

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) contains articles on 'Baptist Work and Prospects in Italy,' 'The Doctrine of Salvation in Hinduism,' 'Water Baptism in the New Testament,' and one on 'Paul the Interpreter,' by Dr. A. J. Rowland, of London.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The July number opens with a thoughtful article, judicial in tone, on 'The Irreducible Minimum,' by Dr. Genung, of Amherst. In many attempts to submit the Gospel sources to analysis, in order to ascertain the irreducible minimum of fact, a subjective bias vitiates the conclusions. It is rightly urged that 'the subjective feeling of our time is by no means unfriendly to the supernatural.' The main question is: 'Shall the Divine, deigning to dwell among us, bring His own unit of measure or submit wholly to ours?' The answer is sought along these lines: 'Evolutionism is slowly discovering that our animal derivation does not, of itself, hold the distinctive germs of manhood. . . . Some new factor must be found which shall account not only for the mystic forces that work in human history, but for the logic and prophecy of Evolution. . . . A divine germination has supervened upon the animal.' An important issue is raised by the Rev. E. G. Lane in discussing 'The Psychology of Conversion.' He insists on distinguishing between the religious psychology and the Christian psychology of conversion. 'Such a distinction is necessary for three reasons at least: (1) To warn us against the acceptance of every psychological explanation of conversion; (2) To save us from the rejection of all scientific psychological explanations of the phenomena of conversion; and (3) To be fair to that body of men whose psychological explanation may be both scientific and Christian.' Professor W. W. Sweet writes on 'The Civilizing Influence of the Mediaeval Church.' He is not unmindful of the fact that there is

a dark side to the picture, but he holds that 'the mediaeval church as an institution, coupled with its teaching, was the greatest civilizing force of that formative period.' Yet it is a mischievous mistake to try to foist mediaeval ideals upon the modern world. But the fact 'that the Church has changed so little since mediaeval times is the main ground for present criticism.'

Harvard Theological Review.—Professor Von Dobschütz contributes a scholarly study of 'The Lord's Prayer' in its varying versions, and argues for the genuineness of the shorter Lukan form. His comments on some of the petitions are illuminating, as, e.g., when he says: 'Forgiveness of sin is the daily bread of the soul, and it is significant that Jesus puts it in this way. This was not the attitude of later Judaism. Consciousness of guilt and longing to be rid of it was, indeed, not lacking—one need only remember the Psalms—but it is usually on account of a special fault, under the pressure of a special penalty, that the Jew asked for forgiveness. . . . Christianity was fully aware that man has every day to struggle with sin and that his struggle is often successful.' Professor Rockwell compresses much useful information into his article on 'The Jesuits as portrayed by non-Catholic Historians.' He shows how impossible it is to deny that the Jesuit actually has entered and does enter politics. He also gives numerous instances of the failure of the political activities of the Jesuits. 'In education, ethics, politics, and in the Roman Church, the Jesuits are a power; yet in most countries their influence is on the decline.' The article of most general interest is probably that on 'The Churches of France and their Separation from the State,' by Pastor Albert Léo. 'It is the terrible misfortune of Catholic Christianity in France that the religious enthusiasm and the ardour of its best children not only are of no use to them under present conditions, but may be said, on the contrary, to cause their ruin, whenever their relations with the Vatican are not perfect, and their opinions are not identical with the pronouncements of the Curia.' The French journal *Foi et Vie* is praised because it is animated with a Protestant spirit and represents modern thought and ideas. Many of the French people are 'weary of the free thought, as shallow as it is cold, which has prevailed among us for twenty or thirty years.' The spiritual tide is 'on the rise in the best French minds.'

FOREIGN

Writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (July 15), M. Georges Goyau, one of the best French historians, begins what promises to be a complete and striking portrait of what he calls 'Une Personnalité Religieuse' in the shape of a history of Geneva, 'the Protestant Rome,' from 1535 to 1907. M. L. Paul-Dubois also contributes an elaborate sketch of George Jacob Holyoake and the Co-operative Movement in England. That which is remarkable in this 'Grand Old Man of English Co-operation' is the moderation, the equity,

the 'fairness' he showed in the exposition of his convictions and to his discussions with his opponents. The writer speaks of his friendship, in spite of his scepticism, with such men as Stopford Brooke, Charles Kingsley, and Dr. Parker, and tells the story of his gift of a pair of spectacles to an old woman in order that she might read her Bible. 'He died in 1906 at the age of 88, after having seen, in his strange life, strange things, done some harm and some good, and merited by long service to an interesting cause a name which, in Europe and America, is still held in honour and esteem.'

Religion und Geisteskultur.—A further instalment of a comprehensive study of 'Christianity and Buddhism' by Priv.-Doz. Lic. W. Luttge appears in the July number. It deals especially with the contention that in its ethical teaching Buddhism compares favourably with Christianity. The Christian religion, it is urged, is saved from pessimism, because it gives to the world of labour and of culture a meaning and a soul; it leads its disciples from materialism to idealism, and opens up new possibilities of progress; moreover, it teaches that without the exertion of moral energy man cannot ascend to God. The compassion inculcated by Buddhism springs from its estimate of the world as an abode of suffering and of death; but Christian philanthropy has its source in joy and in humility, and flows from hearts that have experienced the power of an inner life. Buddhism dwells on the cosmic relations of the human spirit and aims at transcending personal experiences; the individual must strive to attain Nirvana. But the Christian is taught to seek perfection in communion with God, and in so far as this experience is real, his moral and spiritual personality is perfected. The conclusion is that in Buddhism morality lacks clearness, certainty, and purity. Christianity is ethically superior to Buddhism, because light is stronger than darkness, life than death, and an energetic will rendering self-realization possible is preferable to suppression of the will leading to self-annihilation. Pfarrer Walther Lehmann contributes an instructive study of 'Pantheism,' which is held to be a perverted form of genuine, thorough-going Theism. Its kernel is compromise; it is a one-sided Theism which emphasizes the immanence of God, but a Theism with a tendency towards Pantheism which is, however, only apparent, inasmuch as it cannot dispense with a transcendent God. Pantheism has, therefore, no right to indulge in polemics against Theism which does not deny the immanence of God. Dr. Fabricius reviews at length recently published works on the 'History of Religions.' He expresses a wish that some enterprising publisher would issue a collection of illustrations. In many of the non-Christian religions there is much that can be better described in pictures than in words. Our understanding of these religions would be appreciably furthered by pictures of gods, saints, priests and monks, as well as of temples, convents, and ceremonial rites, processions, dances, &c. The illustrations should be arranged systematically in historic order. For some

separate religions there exist such sets of illustrations; what is needed is a work which would include all religions, and in this age of photography it should ere long be forthcoming.

Theologische Rundschau.—In the July number Dr. W. Köhler contributes an able article on 'Modern Church History.' It deals with the Reformation period, and refers to a new work by Brieger, a Lutheran. The dictum of Troeltsch that Luther belongs to the Middle Ages is combated by Brieger, who says: 'The modern era begins with Martin Luther.' Köhler thinks that the two judgements are not so incompatible as, on first reading, they may seem to be. Troeltsch does not deny that in Luther's teaching there was a new, creative element. 'His spirit was the battle-ground of two eras.' Everything depends upon the point of view. Troeltsch sets out from the side of modern culture, which is certainly not the creation of Luther, but of the Renaissance; to Troeltsch, therefore, Luther seems to be mediæval, whereas Brieger begins with an estimate of the mediæval age which compels him to emphasize Luther's powerful protest against its worldly spirit. There is truth in both presentations, but to see the real Luther one must combine the two pictures in a stereoscopic view. Such a view cannot be given in a word-picture; hence it is unfair to complain that a historian has failed to portray 'the entire plastic Luther.' Brieger is praised for his thorough refutation of Janssen, in whose history the closing years of the mediæval age are presented in a very favourable light. The review of works on 'Systematic Theology' is by Dr. Karl Beth. Prominence is given to books which are based on intuitional philosophy and to those which approach theological problems from the basis of mysticism. Bergson is described as an opponent not only of Mechanism, but also of Vitalism, including Neo-Vitalism. In his view, the fight between these two systems cannot be fought out, hence he soars above them both. Bergson's biological Monism is said to rest on the dualism of philosophy and science. Philosophy is for him the first; it precedes science, which works with ideas and analyses reality therewith. In his theory there is much that is attractive; but in Beth's judgment Bergson's intuitionalism fails to distinguish clearly between the knowing subject and the object to be known. It is therefore a source of danger to religion; for when the religious man ceases to distinguish himself from his object, his psychical condition is no longer normal. All true knowledge is determined by the objects of experience. The knowledge of God is mediated by revelation, as Kaftan and Herrmann have shown. But Bergson represents Revelation and Experience as being in opposition, and owing to his nature symbolism he does not recognize a real revelation in history. He is 'the new romanticist on the throne of the philosophers'; but he is also not far removed from American pragmatism. Our intellectual faculties are not designed for the search for truth, they are to enable us to discern and appreciate what is useful.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 14, Dr. Goldziher bestows high praise on a work by Professor Nicholson, of Cambridge, who is recognized as having expert knowledge, on *The Mystics of Islam*. 'There is scarcely anyone more qualified by knowledge of the sources to describe Sufism in all its manifold forms of thought and in their successive development.' External influences, such as Christianity, Gnosis, Neo-Platonism, Indian thought, are shown to have wrought upon the penitents and ascetics of Islam so that gradually they were induced to deny individual reality and to adopt Pantheistic views. That Professor Nicholson rightly describes Sufism as 'a Protean phenomenon' is proved by his excellent translations from the writings of the most prominent representatives of Sufism. Dr. Goldziher is especially grateful for the quotations from al-Niffari, a hitherto neglected author, whose mystic aphorisms are said to yield valuable material taken from an older era of Sufism. Reference is also made to the worth of Dr. Margoliouth's Hibbert Lectures on *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*. In the sixth lecture a work by Niffari is most instructively used to cast light on Islamic Pantheism. The reviewer rejoices to know that Professor Nicholson intends to publish the Arabic text of this author's works with an English translation. Dr. Gunkel expresses his agreement with the position taken by Priv.-Doz. Lic. Gerhard Kittel in his work on *The Odes of Solomon*. The unity of this much-discussed work is ably defended. Variations of style are recognized, but they are accounted for. Sometimes God is directly addressed in prayer, and sometimes the third personal pronoun is used in comments suggested by the author's reflections. 'I' and 'we' alternate, according as attention is directed to personal experience, or to experiences shared with those who are likeminded. Differences in metaphorical language are explained by observing that the poet sometimes vividly describes what he actually sees and sometimes employs what are merely faded figures of speech. Making good use of these and similar arguments Kittel defends the unity even of those Odes in which the style is most variegated. In a review of Dr. Reinhold Seeberg's *System of Ethics* it is refreshing to read, in the light of the terrible present, this criticism: 'Of especial value is Seeberg's treatment of international relations. What he says about war seems to me to be correct in itself, but it needs to be supplemented by a stronger insistence on the Christian ideal.'