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# THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

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APRIL, 1922

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## ROBERT, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY<sup>1</sup>

**L**ADY GWENDOLEN CECIL'S biography of her father is distinguished by rare ability and matured judgement. The two volumes just published cover the first fifty years of his life, from 1830 to 1880, and form an illuminating study of a critical period in our history, when the foundations of imperial and national policy were being firmly fixed. The articles which Lord Salisbury wrote for the *Quarterly Review* 'contain many passages illustrative of his more permanent attitude and opinions,' notably those bearing on the Reform question and his rupture with Disraeli in 1867. A series of extracts from other articles, grouped in an appendix to the first volume, give his views on the Schleswig-Holstein dispute, Church and religious subjects, and finance.

Lord Salisbury's early life was one long struggle with uncongenial circumstance. It is strange to find a nobleman's son beset by such a sea of difficulty, and stranger still to find him emerging triumphant from conditions which would have broken the spirit of one less resolute and less convinced in his principles of action.

He was the third member of his family in the direct line of succession who became Chief Minister of the Crown. Many generations separated him from Lord Burghley and his younger son, Robert Cecil. 'Actually, the most suggestive

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*. By his daughter, Lady Gwendolen Cecil. 2 vols. (London: Hodder & Stoughton.)

facts in the family history emphasize the influence of the mother rather than of the father upon the hereditary transmission of talent.' Lord Burghley was twice married. Nothing is known of his first wife, and her son was wholly undistinguished. The second wife, Mildred Coke, was famed for her ability even in that age of notable women. Her son Robert Cecil was his father's successor in office, and to a degree in mental capacity, but 'the succession was not continued. Cecil's son was notoriously lacking in ability—he was Pepys's "my foolish Lord Salisbury"—and during more than a century and a half the general mediocrity of talent which the family displayed was only varied by instances of quite exceptional stupidity.' Two marriages redeemed the stock from this destitution of talent. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the seventh Earl married Lady Emily Hill, daughter of the first Marquis of Downshire. Her house in Arlington Street became one of the centres of political society. She was noted for her wit, her audacity, and her social talent as well as for the zeal with which she used these gifts for the furtherance of her husband's parliamentary influence. Pitt acknowledged her services by making her husband Lord Chamberlain and giving him a step in the peerage. She took a prominent part in the electioneering activities of her county. 'Tradition still presents the four-horsed chariot, with its postilions and footmen in their blue and silver liveries, in which she drove through the streets of Hertford while the poll was being taken, and the bag from which she scattered half-sovereigns among the crowd as she went.'

This energetic Irish lady had an experimental farm at Hatfield which drew forth warm eulogiums from Arthur Young. When her husband's health compelled him to surrender the mastership of the foxhounds, she took his place and hunted the hounds to within a few years of her death at the age of eighty-five. Mrs. Chase Price writes in 1798: 'I never heard anything like the manner of living

at Hatfield. Five hundred poor fed every Tuesday and Friday. For six weeks at Xmas the house full of Company eating and drinking all day long. Doctr., Parson, and Mon. Silarie. . . . Lady S. goes a fox-hunting in the morning, or in her open Carriage, and to all the Balls in the county at night. She had a chase last week that brought them to Cain Wood [some ten miles from Hatfield]: her Ladyship and Mr. Hale and Mr. Wesley got into a hack chaise at Barnet and went home: another day she went in her Chariot 4 horses in hand eleven miles, before they threw off; in short, she does everything and everything all day long: it is a complete House.' A tragic fate befell this great lady. She was burnt alive in a fire which destroyed one of the wings of Hatfield in 1835.

Her son, the second Marquis, held office in both of Lord Derby's earlier administrations. But politics never had the first place in his estimation. He was a shrewd man of business, whose advice on all questions of estate management was widely sought and highly valued. He was also devoted to soldiering, and showed much architectural skill in the rebuilding of the wing of his mansion in 1835. In all matters of county administration he had unbounded influence. 'He had one characteristic which is interesting to note, because, unlike many of his peculiarities, it was markedly shared by his son; a constant impulse of opposition to all experts in whatever connexion they appeared. Whether it was a question of making roads or building cottages or planning drainage schemes or administering the Poor Law or directing the education of the village, he had his own ideas on the subject and would never willingly yield them in favour of those who could claim a more special knowledge of it. Sometimes he proved wrong; quite as often proved right, since, if he did not know the theory of the matter in hand so well as the expert, he knew the conditions under which it was to be applied much better.' His son told Lord Lytton in 1877: 'I think you listen too

much to the soldiers. No lesson seems to be so deeply inculcated by the experience of life as that you never should trust experts. If you believe the doctors, nothing is wholesome ; if you believe the theologians, nothing is innocent ; if you believe the soldiers, nothing is safe. They all require to have their strong wine diluted by a very large admixture of insipid common sense.'

The second Earl married Frances Gascoyne, who inherited large estates in Lancashire and Essex. She had deep religious faith, strong feelings, and warm enthusiasms, but she was always delicate, and died before she was forty. She was a fervent Tory, and was devoted to the Duke of Wellington, both as soldier and statesman. She gathered round her the finer intellects among the young men of her party. Lord Beaconsfield in his old age recalled gratefully her kindness to him at the outset of his career, and spoke of her graciousness and great ability. Mr. Gladstone's recollections of her had a peculiar tenderness and reverence.

Her third son, Robert Arthur Talbot, was born at Hatfield on February 3, 1880. The second boy had died in infancy ; the eldest was now eight years old, but suffered from nervous debility, which went on increasing until he died, practically of old age, before he was fifty. As a child Robert was nervous and sensitive, both in mind and body, 'with a passionate temper and a craving for affection which was no doubt as unspoken as it was at that time unconscious.' At the age of six he was sent to a school close to his home, where he once said he had 'an existence among devils.' He maintained that boys were not fit morally or physically for separation from home until they had reached the public school age of thirteen or fourteen. His mother died when he was ten. During her last illness he was for some months in the care of the Rev. Henry Lyte at Berryhead. The author of 'Abide with me' writes on October 3, 1889, 'We were all delighted with him. Indeed, I do not think that I ever met with so promising a boy, and

I have no doubt of his distinguishing himself hereafter in life.'

Next year he went to Eton. He was a favourite with his house-master, who spoke in superlative terms of his character and talent. His only fault was a 'mischievous spirit of negligence' about his clothes, books, and other belongings. 'His hat is generally reported as missing once in every forty-eight hours.' His father felt that to leave him hatless as a punishment would only encourage his dislike for outdoor pursuits and 'his habit of sitting by the fire.' He was so indifferent about amusements that he would not feel the loss of anything that contributed to them, but he was a lovable fellow. Years afterwards Lord Dufferin sent him a deathbed message which recalled 'the thin, frail, little lower-boy . . . even then writing such clever essays.' His divinity papers when he was eleven were answered 'in a very extraordinary manner for so young a boy'; three years later his theological powers are spoken of as 'singularly above the average.' His father was specially anxious about his progress in modern languages. For this purpose he was placed at once in a German class and the family correspondence was carried on in French. 'The unlucky schoolboy used to receive back all his home letters in batches duly corrected by an elder sister. A tutor was engaged to work with him during the holidays, though his house-master supported his pupil in protesting against this form of continuous pressure.'

At Eton he endured a martyrdom of bullying. He tells his father in 1844: 'Really now Eton has become insupportable. I am bullied from morning to night without ceasing. I am obliged to hide myself all the evening in some corner to prevent being bullied, and if I dare venture from my room I get it directly. When I come in to dinner they kick and shin me and I am obliged to go out of dinner without eating anything and to avoid it because of that. I have hardly any time to do lessons because I pass so much time in being

bullied. I get a punishment regularly every morning because I have no time to learn my lessons.' The boy was called stingy because he would not do verses for others. They took it out in bullying. One boy, he says, whose theme he refused to write, 'kicked me and pulled my hair and pinched me, and hit me as hard as ever for twenty minutes, and now I am aching in every joint and hardly able to write this.' He was once asked in later life how he had acquired his curiously intimate acquaintance with all the backways, the passages, alleys, and mews in the neighbourhood of his London home. He replied that in his dread of meeting his Eton schoolfellows he had always tried to avoid the larger thoroughfares, where he might be likely to meet them. His daughter says, 'Bruises heal quickly, but this burden of prolonged mental oppression probably inflicted lasting mischief both upon the boy's physical nerves, and, at the least, upon his superficial relations with his fellow men in after life.' He was taken away from Eton in 1845 at the age of fifteen. When convinced that the conditions which had caused his own unhappiness were no longer in existence he did not hesitate to send his sons to his old school. He took the two eldest there himself, but the fit of depression which old memories evoked was so great that his wife took care that he had not to perform a similar office for their younger boys.

For two years after leaving Eton the boy lived at home. He did not relish riding, but felt an absorbing interest in botany. With a packet of sandwiches in his pocket he would range the country in search of specimens. Once the keeper of a neighbouring squire fastened on him as a poacher, and only released him after an exhaustive search of his pockets and specimen-tin. 'His dress was never his strong point, and in his oldest clothes—and those torn and mud-stained—he no doubt presented an appearance that made the keeper incredulous of his claim to identity, and convinced that so ill-looking a personage could only have entered his

master's coverts with dishonest intentions.' His sister, Lady Blanche Balfour, was at this time his only confidante and intellectual intimate, and her sons, Arthur and Gerald, became in later life almost members of his own family. No one would have rejoiced more in his nephew's memorable service to the empire during the Great War and at the Washington Conference.

At the age of seven the boy had been page to his father at Queen Victoria's Coronation. Hidden among the crowd, he could remember nothing but the infinite weariness of the long ceremony, save for the moment when a good-natured neighbour lifted him on his shoulder to see the crown placed on Her Majesty's head. This revealed 'to the child an abiding vision of gorgeous colour and light centred upon the one slight, lonely figure, and unconsciously established the first link between the girl-queen and the man who was to direct her counsels for a longer period than any other, and to be her Prime Minister at her death.' He was one of the house party who welcomed Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on a state visit to Hatfield in the summer of 1846. Lord Robert was suffering from a bad stiff neck, and the only thing that he could be induced to recall was that when the moment for his presentation came he wondered 'whether he should bow towards the Queen while he gazed at the wall on her right, or, keeping his eyes loyally fixed upon her, make his reverence to the lady on her left.'

He went up to Christ Church in January, 1848, and availed himself of the nobleman's privilege which then existed to take his degree at the end of his second year. During these undergraduate days his bias towards politics became manifest, and his religious beliefs took the form which in its main outlines they permanently preserved. He was treasurer and secretary of the Union, and a member of the Pythic Club or Debating Society at Christ Church. Dr. Kitchin, afterwards Dean of Durham, said that the papers Lord Robert read at this club were admitted to be the



best of his time, showing a marked maturity of thought. Some of his fellow undergraduates predicted that he would end as Prime Minister in a Liberal Government, though at the time he was a Protectionist, and an absolutist who contemned all forms of popular government and looked on Strafford as the ideal of an historical hero. 'Reserved, remorselessly uncompromising in his moral judgements, fastidious on all questions of taste and refinement, morbidly depreciatory of his own powers of pleasing or of influencing others, he could not at that time have been an easy subject for friendship; though Dr. Kitchin speaks of his having inspired affection and trust as well as admiration.' He belonged to the set of serious-minded, hard-working men at Christ Church. His eldest sister had married Mr. Beresford Hope in 1844, and at their house, Bedgebury, in Kent, Lord Robert may have been drawn to the Tractarian movement of which he became an ardent member.

After leaving Oxford his health gave way and a long sea voyage was pronounced essential to his recovery. On July 9, 1851, he went in a sailing-packet to the Cape. There he spent three months. He then went on to Australia, where the gold fever was at its height. There he studied social and political conditions with characteristic thoroughness, and found 'the kindness of the people in the Colonies very far exceeds anything we can have any notion of in England.' On May 30, 1853, he returned to England, with health re-established. He now had to decide on his future. The previous September he had written to his father: 'The House of Commons is undoubtedly the sphere in which a man can be most useful; but my chances of getting into it are, practically, none.' Shortly after his return, however, Lord Exeter offered to use his influence to secure his young cousin's return for Stamford, and on August 22 this was accomplished without opposition. He remained member for the borough till his father's death in 1867 and never had a contested election. In October he was elected Fellow of

All Souls, though he had rated his 'real chance as 7 to 1 against.' His maiden speech in Parliament was a protest against Lord John Russell's proposals for University reform. Disraeli wrote to the Marquis of Salisbury: 'His voice is good and he showed debating power, taking up the points of previous speakers, and what he had prepared he brought in naturally. . . . I have no hesitation in saying that if he will work—and he has a working look—I will make a man of him.' His father thought he might be a useful Member of Parliament, but could not flatter himself that he was likely to fulfil Lord Exeter's kind expectations 'by developing into a first-class debater.' He suffered seriously from nervous and digestive weakness, and though from the time of his marriage this burden ceased to be disabling, he remained through life subject to what he called 'nerve storms.' Mental worry or physical exhaustion seemed to induce them, and they were accompanied by an overwhelming depression of spirits, great bodily lassitude, and a morbid acuteness of the senses of touch and hearing. 'The slightest noise or the slightest physical contact became painful to him when in this state. With advancing age these attacks became continuously rarer and less violent.'

His physical salvation came with his marriage, to Georgina Alderson, eldest daughter of Sir E. H. Alderson, Baron of the Court of the Exchequer. Lord Robert met her about a year after his return to England. Her father's warmth of feeling and unfailing youthfulness of spirit drew around him troops of young people as well as lawyers and divines of his own generation. 'In this society his eldest daughter was a prominent figure. There scarcely seems to have been an aspect of life which did not appeal to her interest or her capacity for enjoyment. Responding to every form of social amusement, gayest among the young and gay, she was at the same time the chosen and intimate companion of men twice her age—distinguished lawyers, scholars, ecclesiastics. She was a fearless and untiring horsewoman, devoted to

travelling, an enthusiastic sightseer. She could talk brilliantly, and was an indefatigable, and, within certain limits, which excluded all the non-human sciences, an omnivorous reader. She had grown up under the influence of the great Church revival, and shared in its more superficial expression as well as in its inner spirit.' An 'untameable sense of humour and audacious candour of thought marked all her conversations and speech.' She helped to organize a ragged school near her home in London and for some time taught the slum children there. She composed a large number of verses and short stories, humorous and sentimental, which she never attempted to publish. She was vividly alive in every nerve of mind and body, and boasted towards the end of life that she had never met the person capable of entirely boring her. It was an ideal union, but Lord Robert's father, who had married again and had ten children, looked unfavourably upon an alliance with a lady whose father could settle very little upon her. Lord Robert consented not to see or write to her for six months. But his affection never wavered, and he was married on July 11, 1857. The young people lived at first with Lady Alderson. Their finances were slender. His father had settled £10,000 on him as his share of his mother's fortune and added to it £100 a year. When Lord Derby formed his Government in 1858 Lord Robert actually applied for some permanent position at home or abroad because he was 'in difficulty about the means of support.' Lord Derby expressed regret at the circumstances, but saw no present chance of being able to meet the request. His first child was born in April, 1858, and he took the house No. 51 Fitzroy Square in the following summer. Lord Robert did his best to avoid fashionable society, but his wife enjoyed as much of it as she wished for. She drove afterwards to the House of Commons, and waited patiently in the Ladies' Gallery till she could walk home with her husband in the summer dawn across the park, exchanging the news of lobby and drawing-room.

Lady Robert steadily encouraged her husband to 'play the great game.' She had confidence in his future, and was not willing that he should sacrifice it in order to gain some relief from financial burdens. With Lord Palmerston's accession to office in 1859 'the great game had perforce to be played, and the money to play it with must be found somehow.' That compelled Lord Robert to use his pen, though he described writing as 'an occupation which I hate.'

For seven or eight years he was on the staff of the *Saturday Review*, but his most important literary work was done for the *Quarterly Review*, to which he contributed 'from 1860 onwards with a nearly constant regularity for more than six years.' His best articles are 'noticeable for the lucidity of their construction; the ordered sequence of parts so appropriate as to appear inevitable; the sharp distinctness with which each branch of his argument is carried to its separate conclusion and yet not suffered to stray into independent side-issues; the effortless merging of the particular case which is being discussed into some larger whole; the smoothness with which the reverse process is accomplished, and it stands illuminated by what has become a self-evident application of a general law. The love of clear-cut outline is working upon a full preliminary possession of the subject in hand.'

His daughter ascribes his success in diplomacy, in leadership, in Cabinet management, in large measure to his power of appreciating the point of view of those who differed from him. 'That spirit appears in his writing when he offers advice on some practical point of parliamentary or electioneering strategy. 'But when he is actually fighting an issue the instinct of battle carries all before it. Friends are offered new grounds for confidence in their struggle or new motives for activity in its pursuit; possible recruits are urged with every form of argumentative appeal; but for declared opponents there is nothing but the charge and the sword-thrust.'

In passages of personal criticism he ranges from 'a good-humoured mockery with but just a bite in it to a bitterness which is almost savagery. The latter extreme is of rare occurrence, only appearing when his feelings are strongly moved.'

His first article in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1860, was on 'The Budget and the Reform Bill.' It gained notoriety by its attack on the tactics of his own leaders, especially of Disraeli: 'He had never procured the triumphant assertion of any conservative principle, or shielded from immanent ruin any ancient institution. But he had been a successful leader to this extent, that he had made any Government, while he was in opposition, next to an impossibility.' His tactics were so various, so flexible, so shameless, the net by which his combinations were gathered in was so wide—he had so happy a knack of enticing into the same lobby a happy family of proud old Tories and foaming Radicals, martial squires jealous of their country's honour, and manufacturers who had written it off their books as an unmarketable commodity—that so long as his party backed him, no Government was strong enough to hold out against his attacks.

Lord John Russell in the House of Commons denounced the language used by 'an obscure individual' through the medium of a 'ribald press,' and offered a consolatory tribute of appreciation to Mr. Disraeli's character. *The Times* also severely rebuked the anonymous writer. Lord Robert returned the critics blow for blow in the next number of the *Quarterly*. His reputation as writer and politician was distinctly raised by these articles, though he had to defend himself privately from the censures of Lord Exeter and his own father, who said if the attacks against one who had been his Cabinet colleague were persisted in he could not, with regard to his own character for consistency, continue to pay his son's election expenses. Disraeli himself comes well out of the affair. Lord Robert, who had just published a

violent denunciation of his leader, went to visit his father at Hatfield, where he found with consternation that Disraeli was among the guests. At a turn of the shrubbery he came face to face with his leader. He had scarcely realized the situation when Disraeli rapidly advanced to meet him, exclaiming, 'Ah, Robert, Robert, how glad I am to see you !' Before he could make any protest Disraeli 'enfolded him in his embrace.'

The chapter headed 'Religion' is deeply interesting. 'The doctrine of the Incarnation and the Gospel story read in the light of its revelation stood at the centre of his creed. That was the touchstone with which he approached the innumerable shades of belief and unbelief which divide mankind. The distinction which it established was, in his eyes, vital and absolute. With teaching that accepted the divinity of our Lord all accommodations were possible, all differences were comparatively insignificant.' His certainty that in the gospel alone could be found a remedy for the world's evil made him impatient of any claim in competition with it. He had a strong and deep-rooted hostility to confession, and thought it 'would require the very strongest conviction of a positive revelation to induce the English people to conform to a practice which is so utterly opposed to their feelings.' He attended church as regularly as circumstances would allow, 'but unless prevented by some actual physical necessity his weekly Communion was never intermitted.' He taught his sons at Eton to follow his example, 'urging a fearless frequency in attendance and deprecating strongly all scruples, all rigidity of precaution, all "fencing of the tables."' Despite his lack of animal spirits and indifference to all ordinary pleasures, his acute sensitiveness to every form of suffering in the world around, the pitiless sincerity of his mental outlook, and his capacity for disappointment and dissatisfaction with his life's work, there was a large serenity about his private life. The roots of this deep content of soul lay beyond even the touch of the partner who had

‘rescued him from human isolation, and who, to the end of her life, interpreted between his spirit and those of his fellows.’ ‘Signs too subtle or too sacred for record refer them to that personal surrender in love and trust to the living Christ, which lay at the heart of his religion.’

The eight years after Lord Robert’s marriage were marked by constant activity in Parliament and in the Press and by a sustained advance in public reputation. The birth of a son in 1861 healed whatever soreness his self-assertion in the matter of marriage had caused at Hatfield. His literary earnings grew, and he received more pecuniary assistance from his father. In 1862 he moved to 11 Duchess Street, Portland Place. Two years later he rented a cottage at Headley, about five miles from Liphook and seven from Haslemere. His practical interest in science seems to date from this period. He had diminutive laboratories both at Headley and in Duchess Street, where he carried on his chemical experiments and his photography. Later he turned to electricity, in which he did his really original and experimental work.

His elder brother’s death in 1865 pointed to his not distant succession to the peerage. Next year he became Secretary of State for India, where he soon showed that capacity for rapid industry which became associated with his official reputation. He only held office for a few months. Disraeli’s Reform Bill of 1867 seemed to infringe the principles of party ethics and to be an abdication of Conservatism, and he resigned as a protest. He moved the rejection of the Bill, but Disraeli was triumphant. When the Reform question was out of the way Disraeli showed rare magnanimity and high appreciation of Lord Cranborne’s ability and character in suggesting that he should rejoin the Cabinet, but the reply to the mediator was decisive :—‘I told him I had the greatest respect for every member of the Government except one, but that I did not think that my honour was safe in the hands of that one.’ He never altered

his opinion as to the action of 1867, but he learned to trust and work happily with Disraeli in later years.

His father died on April 12, 1868, after a few hours' illness. 'Their relations during the last few years had been of a genuinely cordial character, warmed at the close by the great pride which the father had felt and expressed both in the distinction which his son had achieved and in the self-sacrificing stand which he had made in the defence of Tory principles.' In 1869 he succeeded Lord Derby as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. The family mansion in Arlington Street had to be rebuilt, and new duties of estate administration had to be faced. Lady Salisbury was the centre of the social life at Hatfield and in London. Lord Salisbury himself was rather a detached figure, though in conversation the gleam of his wit was incessant and in discussion on the most serious subjects attention was kept on the stretch by ironic phrase, allusive metaphor, or an epithet whose audacity conveyed a volume of unexpressed criticism. He read a great many novels and was a worshipper at the shrine of Jane Austen. For four years he was Chairman of the Great Eastern Railway, but retired in 1872, when it had been set in a sound financial position.

In 1874 the Conservatives came into power, and Lord Salisbury, who for seven years had been resolved never to work with Disraeli, returned to the Indian Office, where he showed conspicuous ability in the management of difficult problems. His personal antipathy to Disraeli soon began to disappear. His daughter says he was 'compelled by circumstances to trust his chief, and found in fact that he could do so with impunity. Collaboration was the cause and not the result of the change of sentiment.' In 1876 Lord Beaconsfield asked him to represent the British Cabinet in the Conference on the Eastern Question at Constantinople. The Conference failed through the obstinacy of the Turk. 'Every day,' Lord Salisbury wrote, 'I am more convinced of the deplorable folly of the Crimean War.' Hostilities



broke out between Russia and Turkey in April, 1877. A year of many anxieties followed, and when peace was restored Lord Salisbury became Foreign Secretary. In June, 1878, he went to the Berlin Conference with Lord Beaconsfield. There, as his chief said, he 'pulled the labouring oar' and proved the man to whom 'the English share in the result was chiefly due.' Lord Salisbury bore witness that his chief's 'presence at the Congress had produced an effect such as no other living man could have produced.' They brought back 'Peace with Honour' and were received with national rejoicing. The Queen conferred the Knighthood of the Garter on both the plenipotentiaries. Many disappointments and anxieties followed. Relations with the Khedive were embarrassing, and led the Foreign Minister to write to Lord Lyons: 'The only form of control we have is that which is called moral influence, which in practice is a combination of nonsense, objurgation, and worry.' He did his official duty with such skill and devotion that a tradition of national policy was established independent of party changes. That was no small gain compared with the frenzied agitations of the later seventies. Lord Rosebery and the group of Liberals who supported him first gave articulate expression to the country's tacit resolve. 'But it was under the influence of Lord Salisbury's prolonged direction of affairs that the tradition attained strength and permanence. It may be contended that that result was at least in part due to the fidelity with which, both consciously and intuitively, he interpreted in his policy the real spirit of his fellow countrymen as distinct from its misrepresentation on either side by dreamers or scaremongers.' The two volumes are worthy to be set by the side of *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, and the completion of the work will be anticipated with eager interest by men of all schools and parties who feel that the honour of the Empire was safe in the hands of this high-souled patriot.

JOHN TELFORD.

## CHRISTIANITY AND HEALING 'MIRACLES'

**J**ESUS CHRIST, the Founder and Lord of the Church, is commonly called the Great Physician. This title, not found in the New Testament, has by a right instinct been given to Him who, in the days of His flesh, went about doing good, ministering to the needs of men, healing their infirmities of body, mind, and soul. It is not, however, so commonly remembered that the healing ministry which He exercised He expected at least His immediate followers to continue. When He sent out the Twelve He 'gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases. And He sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick' (Luke ix. 1). To the Seventy were given similar powers (Luke x.). According to the Fourth Gospel, Christ promised His followers that even 'greater works' than His would they do. (John xiv. 12.)

That these were no empty promises is revealed by the history of the Apostolic Church. The disciples *did* perform these healing works. The Acts of the Apostles records many works of healing by the Apostles Peter and Paul. Here it may be remembered that Luke as an historian is being increasingly recognized as trustworthy. Even, however, if we were confined to the 'we' sections of the Acts, remarkable cures are narrated of which Luke was himself an eye-witness. That Paul effected works of healing is evidenced, also, from his Epistles (1 Cor. xii. 9-10, 28-30; 2 Cor. xii. 11-12; Rom. xv. 18-19). As far as the apostolic age is concerned there is good ground for asserting that Christ's promise to His disciples was fulfilled—the works that He did, they did also.

That these works did not immediately cease with the passing of the apostolic age is also abundantly clear from

the witness of the Fathers of the second and third centuries; although it seems also evident that they tend to diminish as the distance from the time of Christ increased. Justin Martyr says that there were Christians in his day 'who in the name of Jesus Christ have healed and do heal.' Irenaeus speaks of those who 'cure by the imposition of hands and restore to health those who have some malady'; and one of his arguments against the Gnostics is that they cannot cure the weak or the lame or the paralytic as the Church can. Tertullian, also, relates how Septimus Severus had been cured of a grave malady by a Christian who, in accordance with the precept of James, had prayed with him and anointed him with oil; and that, as a reward, the emperor had given him lodging in his palace to the end of his life.' In the seventh canon of the Council of Carthage (256 A.D.) is found the earliest record of the ordination of an order of exorcists: 'When they are ordained they receive from the hand of the bishop a little book in which the exorcisms are written, receiving power to lay hands on the *energumēni*, whether baptized or catechumens.' The existence of such an order, a curious survival of which is found in the office of exorcist in the Roman Church, while it reveals what is generally to-day held to be a mistaken philosophy of disease, viz. that ills were caused by demons, at the same time clearly proves that the Church believed herself to be in possession of the power to heal.

From different ages of the Church after those early centuries come stories innumerable of healing works. Many of the great saints were held to have performed them. Names such as Thomas à Becket, St. Francis of Assisi, Ignatius Loyola, and Francis Xavier occur to the mind in this connexion; round their lives stories of 'miracles' of healing gathered. Throughout the Middle Ages in our own country, as in the other countries of Europe, shrines, images, wells abounded, to which the sick and afflicted pilgrimaged,

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<sup>1</sup> *Contr. Haeres.*, II.

<sup>2</sup> *'Ad Scapulam,'* c. IV.

in faith of a cure. Without doubt many of these records date from a credulous and superstitious age. In Reformation times healing works reappeared among the Moravians and Waldenses. Cures are recorded of Luther and other reformers. In the seventeenth century the Baptists, Quakers, and other Puritan sects practised 'faith cures.' In the eighteenth century, also, the Methodists knew something of such cures. In the nineteenth century the Mormons and the Irvingites claimed the power to heal.

To separate fact from fiction in all these stories is no doubt practically impossible; yet, that there is no foundation in fact for many of them it is quite impossible to conceive. Much smoke presupposes a fire.

When we turn now to our own day, we find that, on the whole, the Protestant section of the Church has little *practical* interest in the subject. We say *practical* interest, for, while it is true that many tendencies of modern thought are compelling us to consider the implications of healing 'miracles,' there is little practical concern with the matter; there are few who seem to feel that what was once an important ministry of the Church can possibly have been meant to be a continuing ministry. The general Protestant attitude to the works of healing recorded in the history of the Church has been one either of complete indifference or of frank scepticism. They have been felt to be a difficulty. That the exaggerations of a credulous age have gathered round these stories has so weighed with Protestants, that the question as to the substance of fact behind them has hardly been raised at all. Many have escaped from an awkward position by boldly confining all such 'miraculous' works to the apostolic age. An interesting illustration of this attitude is found in the notes appended by Dean Milman to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. They are luminously indicative of the general Protestant standpoint of sixty or seventy years ago. Instead of boldly assailing Gibbon's scepticism as to these 'miraculous' powers, his notes suggest an

attitude of ill-at-ease defence. To Gibbon's remark that 'of the primitive miracles, the power of exorcizing is the only one which has been assumed by Protestants,' Milman adds, 'but by Protestants neither of the most enlightened ages nor most reasoning minds.' To Gibbon's reference to a book that assailed the miraculous powers of the Church throughout its history (Middleton's *Free Inquiry, &c.*, pub. in 1749), and, as Gibbon says, caused 'general scandal among the divines,' Milman appends this suggestive note: 'Yet many Protestant divines will now without reluctance confine miracles to the time of the apostles, or at least to the first century.' But if difficulty there be with this question of 'miracles' of healing, is it much lessened by confining them to the first century?

The truth is that this attitude has largely been determined by the old view of 'miracle' as an *evidential* breach of the laws of Nature. The 'miracles' of healing, like the 'Nature miracles,' were looked upon as interpositions of Omnipotence into the natural order of things. It was felt to be subversive of belief in the supernatural to look for a natural explanation of them. Hence, therefore, the necessity of confining them within the limits of a special age of revelation. For if these events happen in all ages, the *evidential* conception of miracle is evacuated of all meaning and value. Besides which, if interventions are always happening, they will cease to be such, and become natural and ordinary. Breaches that are frequently being made in Nature's ordered and harmonious processes will soon loom larger than the order. A wall that is continually having holes made in it will soon be, not a wall, but a hole. We have called this the 'old' conception of miracle, yet it is questionable whether it has been discarded as completely as we sometimes imagine. Such an assertion as the following is very common: 'In using the word "miracles" in a report dealing with scientific thought, we must guard ourselves against the often repeated misapprehension that the Church by that word means

breaches or suspensions of the laws of Nature.' But it is open to question whether those who make such assertions think out the implications thereof.

To-day, however, two things are compelling us to face anew this question of works of healing. These are (1) the presence of new forms of religious thought and activity which emphasize, and, we may add, exaggerate, this form of healing ministry; and (2) modern psychological investigations, which are throwing light upon the mysterious deeps of our personality. There are thus two questions for the Church in this matter: (1) the *practical*—whether she has not neglected a ministry which she was meant by her Lord to exercise, and (2) the *philosophical*—the relation of all these healing marvels to the healing works of the Gospels, and the bearing on the whole question of modern psychical researches.

(1) Regarding the first, every one is familiar with healing cults such as Christian Science, which in recent years have made such strides in America and Britain. It is not necessary here to emphasize the mistaken philosophy and theology which is behind the teachings of Christian Science. The very existence of such cults, apart from their philosophic and doctrinal basis, which, after all, the average man is not interested in, should give pause to the Christian Church before passing hasty condemnations. Is it not open to consideration whether the Church's neglect of a healing ministry to which Christ called His disciples must not be held at least partly responsible for the springing up of such healing cults outside her borders? May it not be that Christ's word applies to His Church in her neglect of a healing ministry, 'These things ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone'?

We have here a question of considerable practical importance and difficulty. But it is worthy of note, that from different directions suggestions are being made that the

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<sup>1</sup> Referred to by Dr. Sanday as the comment at a Lambeth Conference.

Church should enlarge the scope of her activities to include some kind of ministry to the mental and physical ills of humanity. An interesting movement has been in operation in Emmanuel Church, Boston, U.S.A., in which clergy and medical men have been working hand in hand in a clinic for nervous sufferers.<sup>1</sup> The recent Lambeth Conference considered this question, and in its report thereupon reminds the Church that the communion of a Christian with God, realized in union with Christ through the Holy Spirit, 'influences the whole personality of man, physical and spiritual, enabling him to share his Lord's triumph over sin, disease, and death.' The Conference also urged upon the clergy of the Anglican communion 'the duty of a more thorough study of the many-sided enterprise of prayer, in order that they may become more efficient teachers and trainers of their people in this work, so that through the daily practice of prayer and meditation the corporate faith of the Church may be renewed, and the fruit of the Spirit may be more manifest in the daily lives of professing Christians, *and the power of Christ to heal may be released.*' Dean Inge has recently been suggesting to the Church of England that clergy should be specially trained for dealing with cases of nervous and mental maladies.<sup>2</sup>

Many, therefore, are coming to feel that here is a ministry neglected by the Church. 'Although in dusty archives the Church has preserved theoretic belief in her power to heal the sick, she never practically admits that it is her duty to heal them.' Yet increasingly there are those who agree with the late Dr. Adeney when he wrote: 'There are those among us who hold that He (Christ) intended it (healing) to be practised continuously, and that it has been lost by failure of faith, and that it might be recovered—and perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> *Religion and Medicine*, by Drs. Worcester, McComb, and Coriot, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> See also T. W. Pym's *Psychology of the Christian Life*, pp. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *Christus Futurus*, p. 249.

in some cases has been recovered—by a re-awakening of this primary requisite.’

(2) Leaving the practical question, the second question—viz. the endeavour to relate modern knowledge to the facts as we know them from the Gospels and from the history of the Church, and to work out a coherent philosophy of the matter—increasingly forces itself upon us. Not that we have any illusions as to so great a task. But as new facts come before us in the realm of psychotherapy, and new investigations into the mysteries of human personality are yielding us new data, we are being compelled to face the question.

The initial objection of many will be that we must not expect to find in modern facts of psychotherapy anything analogous to the healing works of Christ as recorded in the Gospels. These latter are placed in a category by themselves. Partly, this is due, as we have already suggested, to a conception of ‘miracle’ which can no longer be held as satisfactory, a conception which creates more difficulties than it solves; and, partly, it is due to the feeling that to seek such an analogy is derogatory to the Person of our Lord. It is felt that should the healing works recorded of Him be paralleled by things that happen to-day, our Lord’s uniqueness will be gone. Hence, therefore, out of a natural and, in a sense, praiseworthy regard for the Founder and Lord of the Church, many bid us not to seek to place His healing works in any analogy with modern instances.

One or two things may be said in reply. First, we have already seen that Christ did not Himself place His healing works in a category by themselves; He expected His followers to do them. Further, the history of the Church shows that these things were done by His immediate followers, and the records of healing cures from later periods are too numerous to be entirely brushed aside as the records of credulous fancy or invention. In addition, such an attitude



seems at bottom to be the offspring of scepticism. While we must sympathize with an attitude of jealous regard for the Person of our Lord, we cannot but feel that to rule out, *a priori*, inquiry into His healing works is indicative of a fear lest such an inquiry should be destructive of a theory of His Person held to be fundamental to the faith. Like Newman's fear of the 'liberalism' of his day, and his escape therefrom by his acceptance of the claims of Rome, this attitude is one of philosophical scepticism. And, further, it is, of course, unscientific. Science bids us take all our facts, compare them, and see if we can find any bond of connexion between them. An attitude, therefore, which begins with an arbitrary ruling out of the question at issue, in the supposed interests of orthodox belief, is not only philosophically sceptical, but scientifically inadmissible; and, we may be allowed to add, will be found in the end to be no real help to the claims of Him whose name is above every name.

If, now, the question may be faced without being ruled out on *a priori* grounds, the point for discussion is: Is there, on examination, a real analogy between modern cures on psychotherapeutic lines and the cures of the Gospels? Differing judgements are given here. It is maintained by some that many of the cures of the Gospels cannot be accounted for along such lines. 'Christ's miracles of healing are not explainable by Matthew Arnold's "moral therapeutics," i.e. the cure of neurotic diseases by mental influences. Many of these diseases were not neurotic, and were such as do not yield to mental treatment.' Another writer says, 'We do not find reason to believe that the works of healing were instances of faith-healing.' The same writer says that those who maintain what he calls 'the neurotic theory of the miracles of healing' have to show (1) 'that the diseases which Christ is said to have cured were

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\* Art., 'Miracles,' *Ency. of Relig. and Ethics*.

\* Art. in *Hibbert Journal* by R. J. Ryle, April, 1907.

of the kind which experience proves to admit of psychical treatment,' and (2) 'good grounds for the assertion that the way in which the cures of the healing ministry were effected was the way by which at the present day such cures are effected when what has been called moral therapeutics has been the method employed.'

In answer to (1) it may fairly be granted that, if such a theory of the gospel works of healing be accepted, evidence must be adduced to show that the diseases cured were of a kind which are capable of cure by such method. At the same time it must be pointed out that, while *present* experience may not furnish analogies, that does not prove that *future* experience may not do so. Our present experience is by no means exhaustive of truth or reality; our present powers are not the end of human capacity and achievement. And to claim that only on the ground of what experience *now* proves can there be any analogy between Christ's healing works and modern cures on psychotherapeutic lines, is really *a priori* to limit the possibilities of human research and attainment. Further, it must be remembered that, from a unique personality as that of Jesus we should be prepared for things which are to us, even after nineteen hundred years, impossible. From what we know of His unique Person we should not be surprised to find that He did things which even modern psychotherapeutics cannot explain. But that does not mean, in our view, that these cures are inexplicable along these or kindred lines; but that Christ had knowledge, power, insight in these matters which we have not. Whether we ever shall have such knowledge is perhaps open to question. In the meantime, Christ's power and insight remain to show that He was near to the heart of reality, in close touch with the springs of life, in vital union—shall we not say?—with the Source and Life of all, God.

In answer to (2) it may be said that to make an understanding of the *mode* of cure necessary on the part of those who seek to 'explain' the gospel works of healings, is to

make a demand which recoils on the head of him who makes it. Do we know the *mode* of any cures? We see the results; we can do things which cause those results. But what happens in the mysterious personality, whereby this cause produces that effect, is beyond our ken. Who, then, can say *how* Christ performed His cures? If the answer is 'miraculously,' that does not explain anything. We should have to ask, What is meant by that term? And, in any case, 'there is much more difficulty in supposing these cures to be miraculous (in the scientific sense of the word) than in supposing them to be affected by a most benevolent energy of personal influence which persuaded faith, and thus brought the will and thought and emotion of the sufferer into that degree of assurance which wrought health.'

The plea is frequently made by those who are opposed to a psychotherapeutic theory of the gospel works of healing that only functional disorders are susceptible of cure along such lines. The distinction is frequently drawn by medical men between organic diseases and functional disorders; and it is usually maintained that the first are incapable of cure by psychotherapy. Since, therefore, many of the gospel cures were effected upon those suffering from organic troubles, they cannot, it is held, come under this category.

Now, as to the precise nature of the diseases cured by our Lord, only medical authorities have the right to speak. It must, however, be remembered that, with the exception of Luke, the Evangelists were not versed in the nature of the diseases whose cure they narrated. It would therefore be hazardous to build any theory of the healing 'miracles' upon their accounts. We are, we know, here on delicate ground. The question of the reliability of the records at once emerges. Here we may state our view that the wholesale modifying of the records in the interests of some theory, whether of the healing works or of anything else, is a perilous and unscientific undertaking. An illustration of such an

attitude is found in the following remark of Schmiedel (Art. 'Gospels' in *Ency. Bib.*): 'It is quite permissible for us to regard as historical *only* those of the class which even at the present day physicians are able to effect by psychical methods.' At the same time, it must be acknowledged frankly that the evangelists were not modern doctors. Perhaps this fact will make us neither eager to deduce a rigid theory from the records of the gospel cures, nor dogmatically to deny such a theory on the ground of such records. There seem to be two basally wrong attitudes in the approach to the gospel narratives; on the one hand, the endeavour to eliminate incidents which we cannot explain, by unscientifically modifying the records; on the other, the endeavour to build, hastily, rigid theories upon those records.

As to the distinction drawn between functional disorders and organic diseases, it seems to be true, as the writers of *Religion and Medicine* say, that 'it is in the region of the functional neuroses that all its (i.e. the writer's psychotherapeutic methods) real victories have been won.' At the same time, it is perhaps open to question whether with advancing knowledge this hard and fast distinction will be valid and final. Though this may seem a rather hazardous plea, certain features of modern thought seem, at least, to point in this direction.

More and more it is coming to be seen how mysterious is the personality of man. If the last century showed to us how wonderful is the world *outside* ourselves, perhaps the great office of this century will be to reveal how marvellous is the universe *within* ourselves. Increasingly we are coming to see that the study of the human personality is only at the A B C of its investigations. A large sphere of psychology is still a *terra incognita*. There are more things in this personality of ours than this world dreams of.

As regards the *body* of man, it is being increasingly seen how integrally one it is with the mental and spiritual part of

us. If the materialistic philosophy which dismissed 'mind' as a mere by-product of matter, an 'epiphenomenal' spark shot off by the wheels of the universe as it goes grinding on, is no longer regarded as adequate, so neither is the philosophy of personality which conceives the soul of man as related to the body in somewhat similar fashion to the relation of the bird to the cage in which it is confined. In strange and mysterious ways the body and mind affect each other. A multitude of facts of ordinary experience reveal these mutual relations. '*Mens sana in corpore sano*' is a most excellent ideal, and the *mens sana* and the *corpus sanum* are mutually dependent. To give but one instance, it is a familiar fact, both that a good digestion promotes general cheerfulness, and that cheerfulness of disposition makes for the health of the body.

Psychology teaches this interaction of body and mind. We are all familiar with William James', in his day, revolutionary suggestion relating to the emotions—that instead of the emotion causing the expression of it in physical reaction, the 'expression' causes, or at least partly causes, the emotion. 'Common sense says, we lose our fortune,' are sorry and weep; we meet a bear, are frightened and run; we are insulted by a rival, are angry and strike. . . . The more rational statement is that we feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble.' The 'new' psychology emphasizes the close relation which is seen to exist between body and mind. Facts adduced in relation to subconsciousness, suggestion, auto-suggestion, and hypnotism all point in this direction. By suggestion, for example, the subconscious mind can be so influenced as to effect physiological changes. Authorities 'prove beyond question that our subconscious mind acts through the instrumentality of our whole nervous system, both cerebro-spinal and sympathetic, and that through this complex mechanism it can effect important changes in our physical functions.' 'There is no physiological function which is exempt from

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<sup>1</sup> *Prin. of Psychol.*, vol. ii., p. 449-50.    <sup>2</sup> *Religion and Medicine*, p. 40.

modification by hypnotic influence, if not complete control by it.' A recent book on *Abnormal Psychology* says, 'The conviction that in the so-called nervous disorders the predominant part is played by mental causes has been steadily growing during the forty years which have elapsed since the work of Charcot, and has been greatly strengthened by the experience given to us by the war.'

This reference to the war will bring many facts to the remembrance of all. Remarkable cures from 'shell-shock' are familiar to most of us. Cases of the recovery of sight, of hearing, of speech, have been narrated so frequently during these recent years that we cease to be surprised. A sudden shock effects what the untutored mind of the savage would look upon as a miracle. Modern medical science has been showing that sometimes even to-day the lame walk, the deaf hear, the dumb speak, the blind see. If it was true, as was said before the war, 'that the time is coming when a knowledge of physiological psychology will be considered as necessary to the art of healing as a knowledge of anatomy,' that time has been hastened by the remarkable cures achieved in these recent years.

It is possible that facts of so-called Spiritualism, when, or if, they are explained, will bear out the suggestion we are making, namely, that the relation of matter and spirit is much closer than we had imagined, and that there are potencies in the human personality undreamed of a generation ago. On this question, the distinction must always be clearly drawn between the *facts* and the *explanation* of the facts; and in the present state of knowledge it seems well to hesitate before accepting any explanation, whether the 'spirit' one or any other. At the same time it may be suggested that in some, at least, of these phenomena there is a manifestation of the mysterious powers latent within us. And the suggestion is worthy of consideration that

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284, quoted from Janet's *Lowell Lectures*.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by J. A. Thomson in *The System of Animate Nature*, p. 524.

'most of the stories of the marvellous information conveyed by mediums, and supposed to come from discarnate spirits, would cease to be taken as proof of the spiritualistic hypothesis if certain facts concerning the trance or hypnotic condition were made known.'

These facts and suggestions seem to point in the direction that the healing works of the Gospels and of the early centuries of the Church, besides many similar phenomena recorded in more modern times, will have their explanation when, or if, the mysterious potencies resident within the personality are understood. Modern investigations are revealing, in a sense and to a degree that the Psalmist did not know, that 'we are fearfully and wonderfully made.' And when the mysteries of being and potency within man's personality are made known, possibilities will open out that to-day are impossibilities. 'Greater things than these shall ye do,' said Christ. 'All things are possible to him that believeth,' said the same great Master. And it is, at the very least, questionable if we do these 'greater things,' or have explored these illimitable possibilities.

And if it should be felt that such a method of approach to the healing 'miracles' is to assail the uniqueness of the Person of our Lord, it may be pointed out that nineteen hundred years before the discoveries of modern psychology were known, Jesus, the great Physician, did these things, and things which, even to-day, cannot be done. Does not this suggest that He had unique insight into the mysteries of Nature and personality, and unique power over them? And does it not rather bear out what the Church has always maintained—that He is the Firstborn of many brethren, the unique Son of Man? And if He called His followers to a ministry in which, in His Name, they should do the things which He did, shall we not, at least, try to understand what He means us to do, and by His power seek to do it?

C. J. WRIGHT.

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<sup>1</sup> Miss Dougall in *The Modern Churchman*, March, 1920.

## THE WAR POPE

**C**ARDINAL GIACOMO DELLA CHIESA was elected Pope on September 3, 1914, taking the name of Benedict XV. He died on January 22, 1922, and was therefore head of the Roman Church during the seven most terrific years in the history of the world. He controlled that magnificent machine which is the Catholic Church, with its hundreds of millions of people who listen to his voice as the Voice of God. He was believed by them to be speaking a word which could not possibly err. He guided an organization which moved in splendid unity under a single central control. He had an opportunity, such as no other contemporary had, of accomplishing great things for God and humanity, both during the war and in the dreary years of after war when Europe still seeks her peace.

Why did the Conclave of Cardinals elect him in such a crisis in the Church's history as presented itself on September 3, 1914? Pope Pius X, passing to the tomb in August, 1914, left the Roman Church in a weak and awkward position. He had been a saint, but no politician, and it is much more important for a Pope to be a politician than a saint. The prestige of the Vatican was low; relations with France, Spain, and Portugal were strained. And the Great War had broken out, full of all kinds of possibilities for the world as well as for the Church. The Papal Conclave claims to be led by the Holy Spirit in the selection of the successors to St. Peter, and now that the controlling power of the Emperor of Austria is no more the Cardinals may be able to resign themselves more completely to divine inspiration. But when they met to select a successor to Pius X there were many political considerations to disturb the current of inspiration, outside the still dominant veto of



Austria. Italy had not joined the Allies, and there was no apparent reason why she should. It was possible, even probable, that Germany and Austria would win the war, and such a victory might be made to mean much for the re-establishment of the Pope as temporal sovereign. It was very necessary to heal the breach with the Catholic Powers now alienated. It was an immensely difficult and an intensely interesting situation.

Not only did the politics of the world outside influence the Cardinals in their election. The situation within the Vatican had also much to do with the selection of Cardinal Della Chiesa. There were two strong parties, with strong men at the head of each. Cardinals Merry del Val and Maffi were both, as the Italians say, 'Popable.' But Merry del Val, during the brief Pontificate of Pius X, had dominated the situation, exercising papal power behind the simple-hearted Pontiff. And the Cardinals and the Church had had enough of him. Every one preferred him as Cardinal rather than as Pope. But Del Val was strong enough to keep the other strong man out of the chair if he could not sit there himself. He did not want Cardinal Maffi to be Pope, dreading his strength, and it is probable that Maffi would have also had the veto of Austria. If the Conclave had elected Maffi the Vatican would have been to-day covered with glory. But instead they did what a large body of elderly ecclesiastics might be expected to do. The two contending currents neutralized each other, and the swirl of the eddy thrust out into midstream the safe man, Archbishop Della Chiesa. He was elected because he was inconspicuous, had made no mistakes, and was a successful diplomat.

He was exactly the kind of man to commend himself to them in such a crisis. They were tired of the peasant piety and honesty of Pius X. His diplomatic clumsiness had appalled them, and he had been as helpless as a child in the hands of astute politicians like Merry del Val. Cardinal

Della Chiesa was an aristocrat. The son of Marquis Giuseppe Migliorati of Genoa, he came of an ancient family which had already, in 1404, given a Pope to the Church in the person of Innocent VII. He had been bred in the world, having graduated at the University of Genoa before taking orders at the age of twenty-four. Almost immediately after he was ordained, the famous Cardinal Rampolla had taken him up. In 1882 Rampolla took him to Spain in his train, and there he saw and took part in those masterly negotiations which secured to Leo XIII the immense prestige of arbitration in the difficult question of Queen Caroline. When in 1887 Rampolla was made Secretary of State (i.e. Prime Minister) by Leo XIII, he continued to protect and help Della Chiesa, and under the great man's favour the future Pope climbed rapidly the tortuous stair of Vatican diplomacy, until he became Under Secretary of State and a professor of Diplomatic Science in the College of Noble Ecclesiastics—in which, by the way, one of our Italian Wesleyan ministers was once a pupil.

The death of Leo XIII brought a crisis in the career of Della Chiesa. It is said on excellent evidence that Cardinal Rampolla was elected Pope, but that the veto of Austria was produced and the election annulled. However that may be, Rampolla was not elected, and instead the Patriarch of Venice was made Pope, under the title of Pius X. Rampolla withdrew in disgust from active life, and Merry del Val became almost supreme at the Vatican. His marked hostility to Rampolla extended itself to that Cardinal's followers, and although Della Chiesa retained his position of Under Secretary, it was only on sufferance. In 1907 Cardinal Svampa, Archbishop of Bologna, died, and Merry del Val seized the chance of getting rid of Della Chiesa, who, on the principle of *promoveatur ut amoveatur*, was raised to the vacant see. It had always carried with it a Cardinal's hat, but the enemies of Rampolla saw to it that his faithful lieutenant did not receive that distinction. The new see

was a difficult one. Svampa was a difficult man for such as Della Chiesa to follow, and the latter was never popular at Bologna. The gay and fat Bolognese did not appreciate the change from their decorative and splendid Svampa to the little spectacled aristocrat, who was reserved and authoritative. The clergy were slack, and there was much to be put straight. But in his seven years of rule, the Archbishop succeeded admirably. He reformed the slackness of the Church, at any rate as far as outward appearances went, and he succeeded in maintaining the most cordial relations with the Civil authorities. Above all, he dealt wisely with the Vatican, obeying all orders meekly, in the spirit and the letter, so that the shadow which rested upon him from his relations with Rampolla was dispersed; and when, in May, 1914, Rampolla died, and Archbishop Della Chiesa went to Rome to pay his last respects to the remains of his master, Merry del Val relented, and consented to Della Chiesa receiving the Cardinalship.

Three months afterwards the neo-Cardinal was elected Pope. He owed his election, then, to the fact that he was a successful diplomat, innocuous and inoffensive, not likely to be swayed by too much religious sentiment or betrayed by too much heart; above all, to the fact that he was considered a *safe* man, who would not make bad mistakes; to anything, in short, but promise of greatness or large and liberal vision. And in the fearful test of the war he behaved precisely as one would expect such a man to behave. It may seem to many that he failed conspicuously during the conflict, and earned the censure of honest men. We feel that if Pius X had lived through the war, or if Cardinal Maffi had been Pope instead of Benedict XV, either would have from the very beginning thundered out denunciations against the martyrdom of Belgium, the laying waste of France, and all the other beastlinesses of the war, that either would have preached a Holy War against tyranny and injustice.

But with Benedict there was little denunciation of wrong done. The little there was was so platonic and low-toned as to be unheeded and ineffectual. The lion-hearted Mercier did not receive the backing he ought to have had from Rome ; on the contrary, his heroic stand against Prussian frightfulness seemed to be frowned on at the Vatican. His Holiness seemed much more perturbed by the small efforts made by a few Protestant missionaries to evangelize Italy, and the work of the Y.M.C.A. among Italian troops, than by the outrages committed all over Europe by the Central Powers. The Pope's famous peace note of August 1, 1917, produced a very bad impression in the world outside Germany and her allies—by whom it was received with joy—and it is believed that it had something to do with the disaster of Caporetto. The world asked, Why did the Pope wait till three ghastly years of war had devastated Europe before making such a proposal ? Why did he not speak when the fair cities of Belgium were being devastated and her women outraged in the streets ? Were not the rights of Belgium and the ancient kingdom of Poland equally obvious to Pontifical vision in 1914 as in 1917 ? Was it only because the Kaiser suggested August 1, 1917, to be the opportune moment that he speaks now ? The airy phrase about the 'composition of territorial questions according to the self-determination of peoples . . . as far as may be *just and possible*,' without any definite pronouncement on the evacuation of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania, left too much to the imagination and provoked derision. There was no part of the proposals which gave more offence, and revealed more insensibility to the moral issues involved and the sacrifices being made, than the phrase 'useless carnage.' People who had lost their dearest and men who were offering their lives amid the horrible torture of the trenches realized that such an expression could only come from an academically frozen heart, unsympathetic with the life-and-death struggle for justice and humanity

which was being waged. It was felt in the allied camp that the vaunted impartiality of the Pope was a fiction, inasmuch as it had prevented him for so long from launching reproofs against acts of inhuman ferocity and shameless injustice, and that the protest only came against aggression when aggression was seen to have failed. The proposals were made, in short, when they were most useful to the Central Powers, and their rejection sealed the failure of the Papacy in the World War.

This article is written in Rome within a few days of the death of Benedict XV. The Italian papers are almost unanimous in their eulogies of the dead Pope, and many are the attempts to explain and justify the action and inaction of the Pope during the war. It is argued that he did not act because it would have been useless, he did not command because he would not have been obeyed, that he might have done something if he had had his temporal power, &c. A large portion of the world's population will never forgive him for not trying. He would have been forgiven if he had tried and failed.

He did not, however, fail to act because he was conscious of impotence or afraid of making things worse. His non-intervention was deliberate and calculated. And it is easy to understand when one understands the spirit and attitude of the Roman hierarchy. Given a rooted and profound conviction that the best thing that could possibly happen, for the salvation of the world and its people, is the re-establishment in a position of commanding political power and territorial sovereignty of the Holy See, and everything is explained. At the beginning it seemed possible and probable that the Central Powers would win. It would have been political suicide to declare against them or offend them. Austria triumphant might have meant a complete recasting of the kingdom of Italy. The whole sorry business resulted from that mixing up of the Church and politics which has been for centuries the curse of the Roman Church.

When the armistice was declared the Pope and the Vatican were thoroughly discredited in Italy, and regarded very coldly in most of the allied countries. The odium in Italy was very bitter, and extended to the clergy to such an extent that priests and friars were often insulted and maltreated in the streets. One felt that the Papacy would never be forgiven in Italy. Italy is a land of surprises. To-day the Pope lies dead, and it seems as though all is forgotten and forgiven. Not only so, but the Roman Church stands stronger in the world, and especially in Italy, three years after the armistice, than ever since 1870. Not for centuries has there been such a large and brilliant throng of ambassadors, plenipotentiaries, and ministers representing foreign states at the Papal Court. There is the astounding phenomenon of a British ambassador accredited to the Papal See, though no one in the world can understand why he should be necessary ; France is about to send her minister ; diplomatic relations are firmly established with many of the new states ; Vatican influence is consolidated in Germany ; Greece has sent her representative to the Vatican. The Pope's statue has been erected in Constantinople, and the Greek Church is flirting with the Vatican.

But the most striking and amazing change in the situation is in Italy. The reconciliation between Church and State in Italy is discussed in a hundred important journals by Ministers of State and ecclesiastical diplomats as something which is only a matter of time and arrangement. For the first time since 1870 cabinet ministers have visited at the Vatican during the Pope's illness to inquire and condole. Undoubtedly the improved relations with foreign powers are largely due to personal diplomatic triumphs of the late Pope. He may have had to sacrifice something of Papal dignity to secure some of them, but the result to the Church is an incalculable gain.

The change in the attitude of Italy, while owing a great deal to the wonderful political skill of the Pope, is also due

to much more mighty forces which have been operating since the war in favour of the Roman Church in Italy. The stars in their courses seem to have fought to rescue the Holy See from the contempt and dislike which the war policy of its head had brought upon it. Let it be said that one fact has counted very weightily in the rehabilitation of the Vatican. The Roman Church, under the guidance of Benedict, seized the occasion which the starvation and want of Europe and of Italy after the war offered to organize widespread charity, and in this work the almost limitless financial resources at the Pope's command were well used. Then, again, the chaplains' department did much during the war to neutralize the over-neutrality of the Pope.

Rightly the head of the Church was blessed for the comfort which his clergy had brought on the battlefield (and the Roman chaplains were magnificent, in field and camp). Such service earned tender feeling to the Church in many an Italian home.

The most powerful factor, however, in the re-establishing of the Church's prestige in Italy has been the social war. Soon after the armistice Italy was inundated by a terrifying wave of Communism. In the summer of 1920 all the factories were seized by the workmen, there was a widespread looting of shops, great general disorder, the red flag hoisted everywhere, and Communist inscriptions and notices met the eye on every side. It seemed as though Italy was about to follow Russia. Instead there was a strong reaction on the part of the middle classes. A new organization called 'Fascism' sprang up simultaneously all over Italy. It banded together under arms and a military organization all the fighting men of the middle and upper classes, and a Civil War began which is not yet finished, and which has made red with bloodshed the streets and fields of Italy. Socialist violence was met by bourgeois violence, and disorder has been the result. The *fascisti* went too far, and the souls of order-loving people were perturbed and

afraid. In this crisis the Church acted. There appeared a new party which called itself ' *Il Partito Popolare Italiano* ' —The Popular Party of Italy. It is hardly probable that Benedict XV conceived the idea. It is supposed to have originated in the brain of its astute leader, a priest called Don Sturzo, who has a political genius of Napoleonic greatness.

But certainly the Pope fostered and helped this new party. People turned to the party which represented the Church with a sigh of relief. Amid chaos and ruin the Church at least stood for law and order and the truest conservatism. At the election of 1919 the new party came in over a hundred strong, and it has grown in strength and prestige since. It has shown itself possessed of political ability of a high order. It is perfectly organized, and has a definite and wise programme. In the present Government it has three Cabinet ministers and five under secretaries, and it is strong enough largely to control the situation. The Cabinet crisis caused by the going over of the democratic party to the Opposition was due to the excessive favour shown by the Government to the Vatican. But the attempts to form another government have failed, and Signor Bonomi continues as Premier. By means of this party the Church has perhaps more real political power in Italy to-day, and a better standing than she had in 1869. The Church is once again feared and respected in Italy because of her parliamentary party. But that party would have been impossible but for the Socialist rising and the menace of Bolshevism.

Another and a higher force has been working for the Papal power in Italy. Italy is experiencing something of a religious awakening. The war and its aftermath has broken to some extent the Pagan spirit of Italy. Millions of Italians are turning to the Gospels and to Christ with a new longing and a new hope. The war led Italy to discover Christ. Papacy deserves no credit for this. On the



contrary, it has always been the policy of Papacy to keep the masses ignorant of the Gospel of Christ. The Protestant Churches of Italy, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Scottish Bible Society, collectively and severally condemned during the war by Benedict XV as 'emissaries of Satan'—a distinction which they share with the Y.M.C.A.—caused millions of Bibles, Testaments, and portions of Scripture to be distributed to the troops and to the people. These have been read, and they have awakened a new longing and a new interest. The Vatican is a great whispering-gallery in which the Pope listens to the murmurs of the soul of Italy. He was able, we believe, to hear the demand for the gospel. He proclaimed himself as the lover of the gospel. He reinforced the permission of his predecessor that the Gospel for the day should be read at Mass in Italian, taking care to add that the officiating priest should comment upon the reading, and in his reply to the Cardinal's address on Christmas morning he made a magnificent declaration, which was printed in the newspapers, the pith of which was: 'Our only hope is the gospel; we must get back to the gospel.' So he has become the 'Pope of the gospel.' Let it be understood that the Pontiff cannot encourage the study or dissemination of the Gospels willingly. Such a thing can only happen under compulsion, because once the people of Italy understand the gospel message the whole Papal edifice must fall or reform itself. It was seen that the new demand for the gospel was too strong to be resisted, and that the most politic thing to do was to welcome it and let the Church give the gospel with the Church's interpretation of it.

Another thing which has helped the Vatican immeasurably is a book. A few months ago Giovanni Papini published a *Life of Christ*. Papini has a reputation in Italy as great as that of Bernard Shaw in England. During the war he attacked the Pope with devastating skill and bitter wit. Recently he has gone through a spiritual crisis and got

converted. One result is this book.<sup>1</sup> It is the first Life of Christ in the Italian language which is readable, and its effect, partly due to the notoriety of Papini and partly due to the charm of its style, has been widespread and very great. Everybody who reads has read it. It may be said that Papini has made Christ popular; certainly he has made Him known, admired, and loved. But all the tremendous effect of this book has been turned to the advantage of the Vatican. The preface is the most striking thing in the book. Papini tells the story, in magnificent language, of his conversion. He also declares himself converted to humble discipleship to the Roman Church, whose Pontiff is the Vicar of Christ. And his pen is always at the service of the Pope. He is writing to-day of his universal sovereignty as the one hope of the world.

Cardinal Ratti, Archbishop of Milan, has been chosen Pope, and has taken the title of Pius XI. He has climbed Mont Blanc, has visited Manchester, speaks English, and has spent much time as a librarian and palaeographer. He assumes control of a Church which has been placed, by mighty catastrophes, the combination of many circumstances, the diplomatic skill of the late Pope, the genius of an erratic man of letters, and the loyal and devoted service of thousands of devoted servants, in a position of great power and prestige. She is to be reckoned with by those who pray for the kingdom of God. That Church herself is still within the power of prayer, and it will be the prayer of all Protestants that the new Pope, and the hierarchy which he heads, may be swayed by God's Spirit, seeing that, for good or ill, the Roman Church will count for much in the reconstruction of a ruined world.

EDGAR J. BRADFORD.

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<sup>1</sup> See Note in this REVIEW for January.

## CORNISH SAINTS AND KINGS

**M**UCH earnest and expert labour has been expended in recent years upon the early history of Cornwall. And this is only natural, for the whole atmosphere of that wave-washed county is redolent of romance, and we are challenged more frequently there than in any other part of England by fascinating problems that provoke inquiry. The multitude of stone memorials of a pre-Celtic people, the Christian crosses with inscriptions provokingly suggestive of links with actual history, the holy wells, the remains of buildings like the Church of St. Piran and the Chapel at Madron, the names of village after village, and field after field, which lead us through a door half-opened into a world of speculation, can hardly fail to arouse especially eager interest. Who were these men whose romantic names stand yet for church and village, homestead and headland? What is the story that links together the religious history of Wales, Ireland, Brittany, and Cornwall? What was this Land's End like during the Roman dominion, after the Saxon settlement; to what extent and how early were the bars of its exclusiveness broken down at the time when Norman succeeded Saxon, and how did it succeed in preserving so much of its individuality when finally partitioned by the Conqueror?

These and kindred questions have been answered more or less satisfactorily by archaeologists like Mr. W. C. Borlase, the bearer of a name distinguished in such inquiries, in his *Age of the Saints* (1878); by the Rev. T. Taylor in the articles included in his *Celtic Christianity of Cornwall* (1916); by the illuminating addresses of Mr. H. Jenner, as President of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society; by Professor Loth, of the University of France; by Dom Gougaud, and the Abbé

Duine, and many more. They have delved in the vast quarry of the lives of the Celtic saints for the precious stones of probable, sometimes certain, historical fact, which are preserved mostly in the literature of a later age decked out in all the array of imaginative devotion ; the chief hagiological sources being, Mr. Jenner tells us, 'The lives in Cott. M.S. Vesp. A. xiv. and the *Liber Landavensis*, all manner of British, Irish, Scottish, and Breton Breviaries and Martyrologies, the collections of John of Tynemouth, Capgrave, Nicholas Roscarrock, Lobineau, Le Grand, and others, notes of William of Worcester and Leland, and of course the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandist Fathers of Brussels.' They have followed every clue to be found in Haddon and Stubbs' *Councils*, in episcopal and parochial registers, and other published and unpublished records, and early legal documents ; they have ransacked the ecclesiastical muniments of Wales, Ireland, and Brittany. Works like M. Fawtier's edition of the *Life of St. Samson* have shown that in the once-despised sphere of hagiology are treasures of great value to the scientific historian.

The main results of this elaborate study of records and imaginative biography, based on early traditions or writings, are surprisingly harmonious. Personal idiosyncrasies come out in all work, not least in archaeology ; we may doubt the bold conjectures of Baring-Gould and Fisher in the *Lives of the British Saints* ; we may be conscious of a sceptical bias in M. Fawtier, or consider Mr. Jenner apt to erect too great a building on the foundation allowed him. Yet there is a remarkable unanimity among the students of the early history of Cornwall so far as real results can be claimed.

Looking first at the Roman period, there seems no reason to suppose that the conquest of Cornwall was not as complete, and the Romanization of its inhabitants as successful, as that of other parts of Britain. There is very little evidence one way or the other, except the Roman milestone at St. Hilary, near Penzance, which shows at least that there was

communication from the east through the whole extent of Cornwall to Mounts Bay, whence there was easy access by sea to the ports of Western Gaul. If Cornwall was Romanized, say, by 200 A.D., it was certainly Christianized long before the Edict of Milan in 313 A.D. We know that the usurping Emperor Clemens Maximus, who married the British princess Helen, and was defeated and put to death by Honorius in 388 A.D., was a Christian, for it was he that put the heretic Priscillian to death. The great Royal House of Damnonia, starred with the familiar names of Arthur, Geraint, and Uther, seems to have been Christian from the time of its progenitor Constantine the Blessed, who probably lived into the fifth century. Mr. Jenner is inclined to suppose that the Cornish under Roman rule attained a high level of civilization, far higher than that of the Irish or the invading Saxons. Much stress is laid on the statements of the monk Gildas, who was a member of the Royal Family, and whose book, written early in the sixth century, is now reckoned authentic. He attacks with great bitterness the clergy of his time for neglect of duty, bad example, love of gain, and especially simony, and, as Mr. Jenner says, he rebukes a Church that 'had largely worn out the original fervour of its conversion, and had settled down into a comfortable, easy-going, fairly wealthy institution, whose clergy did not bother the laity, especially the upper classes, much about their sins, and whose leading laity were content to support the clergy, and not to require too strict a life from them as long as they did not worry them.' Such a picture no doubt corresponds with the fulminations of Gildas, and such corruption is no doubt often the penalty of an advanced civilization, but it must be remembered that Gildas wrote many years after the departure of the Romans, and Cornish ideals may have deteriorated in the interval. We know, of course, a great deal about the Christianity of Gaul in the fourth and fifth centuries. Such writers as Ausonius, Symmachus, Sidonius Apollinaris, and Salvian, live for

us in the fascinating pages of Professor Dill, and reveal an easy, cultured Christianity amid a world more and more affected by German invasion, yielding gradually to the strong waves of the new ideals of monasticism. It is somewhat perilous to transfer the entourage of Ausonius or Sidonius to Cornwall, and to imagine that the Britons had anything approaching the culture of Gaul. But the constant intercommunion of Cornwall with the mainland later, and the large settlements of the Cornish there, at least suggest that Gaul and Britain's Western seaboard were really closer together than we might think.

There is no evidence to show that there were monks in Cornwall before missionaries came from Ireland. When the era of persecution was at an end, the whole Empire was found to be organized spiritually under territorial bishops. The word 'diocese' is of course but the civil 'dioecesis.' We have no means of knowing in what way this applied to Cornwall, but it is practically certain that there was a territorial bishop responsible for the oversight of Christ's Church in Cornwall, and, indeed, as far as the rule of the Damnonian princes extended. Their territory in the early days of the Saxon invasion included Devon, Somerset, and a part of Dorset. They were, as we shall see, thoroughly Romanized Britons, though the relation of the rulers of their line to the Imperial Government during the Roman occupation can only be guessed at. It was probably that of feudatory princes to Rome in other parts of the Empire. They may, then, be regarded as Christian rulers of a nominally Christian people that had become slack and unspiritual.

It was to their country that the fire of new and intense religious fervour came in the persons of missionaries from Ireland, and from Wales, whose Christianity had also been revitalized from Ireland, and those missionaries have left their mark in the names of the vast majority of Cornish Churches, and in many names of places. They are the

Celtic saints unrecognized and uncanonized outside the Celtic Church, with some exceptions. They are a wave of the great flood that flowed westward from the spirit of St. Patrick. That great saint, the historicity of much of whose life is regarded as authentic by so cautious a critic as Dr. Bury, found a pagan Ireland about the year 487, and in his long ministry of forty years had made it Christian, and organized its religion on the monastic lines with which he had become familiar in Gaul, adapted necessarily to the tribal system of the country ; according to this system religion was centred in monastic foundations, whose tenants were associated with the religious care of the men of their own blood in a district ; their abbot was a member of the chief's family, and the hereditary ' saint ' of the community. He was seldom himself a bishop, but in most monasteries one or more of the brethren had received episcopal ordination, chiefly for the purpose of ordaining clergy. This system, so strange to the mind of the Western Church, lasted in Ireland till the time of St. Malachy of Armagh in the twelfth century. Since the religious and civil sides of the tribe were so closely united, the fate of one was bound up with the fate of the other. When a tribe expanded and a part of it had to immigrate into other lands, it took its saint with it to found a monastery to minister to the religious life of the new settlement. The opposition with which the Irish missionaries were met, which is reflected in the legends of King Tewdrig who attacked them, was therefore due, not to the fact that Cornwall was pagan, but to the fact that the mission was part of the immigration of a hostile people into a country owned, but sparsely populated, by an ancient race.

The first direct Irish Mission was that of St. Piran, a disciple of St. Patrick, the remains of whose actual church, long buried in the sands behind Perranporth, is now reckoned one of the most interesting monuments of Celtic Christianity. He is identified by Mr. Jenner and Mr. Baring-Gould with St. Kieran of Saighir and also with St.

Keverne, but Professor Loth considers them three distinct persons. If he arrived about 490 A.D. his mission would synchronize with the expulsion of an important tribe from the district now covered by the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Ossory, in which Saighir is situated. There is nothing to suggest that he met with opposition, and if he was indeed St. Kiaran and St. Keverne, the spheres of his activity were wide apart.

A far more important religious invasion, which established Irish Christianity in the extreme west, followed, led by Fingar or Gwinear and his sister Ciara. It is represented as consisting of seven bishops and seven hundred and seventy men. It was opposed by King Teudar or Tewdrig, probably a feudatory chief, and there was a battle in which Fingar was killed. The memory of Fingar is represented by the Church of St. Gwinear, and Ciara or Píala is supposed to have settled at Phillack, having apparently come to terms with Teudar. About the same time came Hia, or Ia, with her company. The story is that Fingar started without her, that she saw a leaf in the water, and floated across upon it, landing at Pendinas, afterwards to become St. Ives. Hia's 'leaf' is considered by Mr. Jenner to be a poetical description of the light and fragile coracle, common among the Celts. With Hia were several saints, whose names are attached to churches in the neighbourhood, her brothers Erc and Uny, St. Breaca, Sennan the Abbot, Maruan the monk, Germoe the King, Elwen, Crewenna, and Helan. The authority for this is Leland, who quotes from a life of St. Breaca existing in his day, and probably then in the Church of Breage, named after her. It is to be noted that the fact of her being accompanied by an abbot and a king means that this was an actual tribal migration, fully equipped both on its secular and religious side, and that St. Breaca brought with her the nucleus of a nunnery, having herself come, according to Leland, from St. Bridget's convent in Kildare. The large number of Welsh saints of the sixth century who are



commemorated in the place-names and church-dedications of Cornwall and Devon, e.g. St. Cadoc, St. Petrock, St. Samson, St. David, and his mother St. Non, and many others, witness to the very close connexion of Wales and Cornwall up to the date when the important Saxon victory of Deorham, close to Bath, and the conquest of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, enabled the Saxons to reach the estuary of the Severn, and to drive a wedge through the heart of the Celtic world. Henceforth the Damnonians were cut off from the Welsh, so far as communication by land was concerned. This battle took place in 577, and it did away for ever with the fruits of the Arthurian victories of a half-century before.

These Welsh saints, common in many instances to the whole Celtic world, so far as Cornwall is concerned, belong in great measure to one family, that of the traditional Brychan, King of Brecon, the son of an Irish settler and a Welsh princess, whose father's kingdom he inherited. He is represented as having an enormous progeny, many of whom became 'saints' or founders of religious communities, wandering from place to place, living for a time as hermits, involved in the political events of the time in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, and generally fulfilling the Celtic religious ideal of simplicity, spirituality, love of learning, and hatred of injustice. It is more than possible that the memorials of those saints in the yet uninvaded parts of Britain and in wild Brittany are a key to much that happened immediately after the withdrawal of the Roman legions. Pictish and Irish invasions, and the Saxon menace, drove tribes of settlers further south, and the foundation of a new Britain across the channel relieved the narrow territory remaining of the streams of fugitives that fled before the Saxons.

During this period there was constant intercommunication between Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. Saint Samson, for instance, whose life is ascribed by Mgr. Duchesne to the seventh century, was the son of an Armorican chief, who went to Wales for education under St. Iltyd at Llantwit

Major, returned to Brittany *via* Padstow, became Bishop of Dol, and according to the Welsh accounts returned to Llantwit Major and died there about 565 A.D. Cornwall was naturally the footpath trodden by the feet of travellers like him, quite the centre, in a way, of the Celtic world, and it would be foolish to doubt the presence of saints like Petrock, Cadoc, and David, and their activity in building up its religion.

It is difficult to get any clear idea of the Damnonian kingship prior to the departure of the Romans. There seems fair evidence that Constantine of Cornwall, who is called 'The Blessed' in Welsh writings, and became King of Damnonia and Overlord of Britain early in the fifth century, is a real person. He is represented as the grandson of Conan Meriadoc, who led the refugees out of Britain into Armorica, and founded the Breton Royal House. Among his sons were Ambrosius, alluded to by Gildas, Uthyr the father of Arthur, and Erbyn, who inherited the kingdom, reigned peaceably, and finally retired into a monastery. With Geraint I, his son and successor, we touch more solid ground. He is, of course, the Geraint of Tennyson's *Idyll*. His name is prominent in Welsh writings, 'principally from two pieces, the prose story of Geraint ap Erbyn in the *Red Book of Hergest* and a poem attributed to the sixth-century bard Llywarch Hen, who is one of the best authenticated early bards of Wales.' He perished, according to what seems to be a modernized twelfth-century form of a poem by the latter, in the sea-fight of Llongborth about 522, being one of the three British admirals. Llongborth is usually considered to be Langport, in Somerset, or Portsmouth. It might possibly, as Mr. Jenner suggests, be Falmouth, the neighbourhood of which is associated with Geraint. A striking saying of his is preserved in a Welsh triad, 'Short lived is the enemy of the saints.'

Geraint was succeeded by his son Salamon, or Selyf, who is possibly the same as St. Levan; his son Caw, father of

the writer Gildas, founded one of the three holy families of Britain, and Jestyn, or Just, and Cyngar, two other sons of his, were saints. The next ruler we hear of is a second Geraint (cir. 588). The *Book of Llandaff* tells how its second Bishop, the famous St. Teilo, warned by a vision, deserted Britain for Brittany with many followers in order to escape the plague which was devastating the country. On his way he was received by Geraint II, and promised that wherever he might be he would come and give him the Last Sacrament on his deathbed. When Geraint fell ill, St. Teilo knew of it by miracle, and arrived at Dingerein, bringing with him a stone coffin, which floated by his ship. This is the Geraint who, the legend says, was buried at Gerrans in a gold ship with silver oars.

The third Geraint is historical, for he received a letter from St. Aldhelm, whose death occurred in 709 A.D., urging him to induce the clergy of his kingdom to conform to Roman customs. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us that Ina of Wessex fought against him in 710 and drove the Britons beyond Taunton.

Between Geraint II and Geraint III there is a gap of quite one hundred and fifty years. Mr. Jenner would place Blederic, a 'Dux Cornubiae' mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, somewhere about 600. During these years the Damnonians were pressed farther and farther back. Egbert devastated the country as far as Camelford, or, as Mr. Baring-Gould prefers, Galford, on the Devon border, and fought a great battle at Hingston Down, near Callington. A King Durngarth, who is said to have lived at Liskeard, was drowned in 875, according to the *Annales Cambriae*. Hoel, the last king, submitted to Athelstan in 986.

At the time of the Norman Conquest there was an Earl of Cornwall, supposed to belong to the ancient Royal House, from whom descend the Courtenays, Earls of Devon. Thus the Royal House of Damnonia, which apparently came into existence about the time of the Saxon invasion, represents

five hundred years of very gallant struggle against enemies that grew stronger as they became more united. The end was scarcely doubtful, yet they held on. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us of British defeats, but seldom of British victories. They were pressed farther and farther back, but they were but a branch of the great stock that ruled in Brittany. The fugitive Britons had inherited another world, and were ruled by the same family. Mr. Jenner is probably right in contrasting their urbanity, their civilization, with the uncouth manners of the Saxons. In the early days of the first Geraint, with all due allowance for the embellishment of later poets, they stood for culture and refinement; they were the great patrons of the new monasticism; their sons and brothers were among the leading saints, and therefore students not only of the Scriptures, but, as we know from certain evidence, of the great Roman writers as well. Have we not the story of St. Cadoc and the question whether his favourite Virgil was among the saved? Their names are for the most part Celtic forms of Roman names. They came of a good Romanized-British stock, and fought against their fate with all the endurance of the Roman and all the idealism of the Celt. There is something pathetic, as Mr. Jenner says, in this extinction of a higher civilization by means of a lower—'one of the saddest stories in all history, and all the sadder because the extinction was no sudden catastrophe, but a slow and gradual process.' Those five hundred years present the picture of a sovereign people slowly done to death, yet alive in its worst hours to the things of the spirit, as their devotion to their great saints testifies. '*Victrix causa deis*'—but the long agony of the conquered should win our wonder and admiration.

W. J. FERRAR.

## JUDAISM IN THE CHURCH OF TO-DAY<sup>1</sup>

**T**HE fall of Jerusalem marked the end of the long struggle between Christianity and Judaism, a struggle the history of which is practically the history of the apostolic age. Henceforward Judaism, shorn of its ritual and bereft of habitation, ceased to be an outward danger to the new religion. But it did not cease to be a danger. Waterloo is not always the end of a beaten enemy. The spirit of Judaism, so far from being entirely eliminated from the conquering religion when the latter finally cleared itself from all association with Jewish observances, found a permanent home within it, and has been a source of trouble and peril to the faith from that day to this. Its persistence may be traced in many of the unlovely features of ecclesiastical life during nineteen centuries.

Of course, it would be a mistake to affirm that the residual Judaism left in the Christian society was the sole source of the doctrinal and other errors that followed. There were many other causes in operation tending to introduce defilements into the stream of Christian life and teaching. Notably there was the influx of heathen into the Church, bringing with them their own systems of thought and practice, and applying these to their new faith. But while it would be contrary to fact to trace all the ecclesiastical corruptions of the ages back to the Judaists, a great proportion of them may fairly be so accounted for—perhaps a greater proportion than is sometimes thought. If we put alongside Judaism another first-century erratic movement, Gnosticism, and associate with these the influence of Paganism just referred to, we have specified probably the greatest corruptive tendencies in Christian history. And with regard to the

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<sup>1</sup> Part of the Paton Prize Essay for 1921.

first two, it has been authoritatively affirmed that much that was formerly explained as Gnostic is perfectly explicable as Jewish.<sup>1</sup>

The object of this paper is to indicate some of the manifestations of the spirit of Judaism in modern religious life.

I. We see it in *Mechanical Views of the Ministry*. Through the whole course of ecclesiastical history we may trace what Harnack calls 'the tension between spirit and office,'<sup>2</sup> between *χαρισματα* and regulated authority, between the officialism of 'orders' and the spontaneous zeal of 'irregular' ministries. This age-long opposition is essentially the Judaistic controversy over again. The Jewish spirit, which remained in the Christian community after the overthrow of Judaism as a system, resulted in the acceptance on the part of the Church of the Levitical sacerdotalism as a model for its own ministry. Under the old dispensation the priesthood was limited to one tribe; and thus through long ages the idea of 'succession' became deeply ingrained in the Jewish mind. This idea was carried over into Christianity. Levitical succession became apostolic succession. Instead of the ministry of the word and altar being limited to one family, it was to be confined to the apostles and those whom they should delegate as successors. Thus the Judaizers became the originators of the doctrine of apostolic succession, and their literature (the Clementines, and the apocryphal Gospels and Acts) did much to disseminate the belief in episcopal authority and papal supremacy.

This Judaistic error of preferring historical succession to spiritual vocation was one of the points at issue in the controversies between Paul and his opponents. The Judaizers, taking their stand on the doctrine of 'succession,' impugned Paul's position and authority, and denied that he was an apostle. 'Who was this Paul . . . ? What claim had he

<sup>1</sup> Hort, *vide* Hastings' *D.B.*, s.v. 'Gnosticism.'

<sup>2</sup> Quo. R. M. Pope, *Intro. to Early Church History*, p. 22.

to be considered an apostle? He did not keep company with Christ while on earth, as the others had done; he was not called, as they had been, to the apostolate by the Lord in His lifetime; he had no external authentication of himself, like their letters of commendation from the mother Church at Jerusalem.' Paul, in his reply, swept aside the whole idea of apostolic descent. He affirmed that in calling himself an apostle he was not guilty of usurpation, though he was neither one of the Twelve nor acting under their authority. His apostleship was 'not from men nor through man, but through Jesus Christ.' Here, at the very beginning of Church history, is the answer to all the pretensions—ancient and modern—based on external transmission of authority. The mighty career of Paul is the great argument against those who would make the validity of the Christian ministry a matter of mechanical delegation rather than of spiritual endowment, and equally against those who, while emphasizing the latter, insist that there is a necessary connexion between it and the former. The only apostolic continuity that is in harmony with Paul's position and principles, and with the essential genius of Christianity, 'is in the function, not in the entail; in the Eternal Word proclaimed, not in the unbroken chain prolonged. It is in the message, not in the order of men.'

The Free Churches of England have been accustomed, during three centuries, to aspersions on their ministry as 'invalid,' or at least 'irregular.' If it be so, then, as the writer just quoted has well said, 'we must revise the whole New Testament idea of apostolic value and of the Spirit's work.' The *sine qua non* of the Christian ministry cannot be other than inward and spiritual. And in these days, when reunion is so ardently desired by an increasing number of the best spirits in all the Churches, we must see to it that our praiseworthy eagerness to heal the wounds of Christendom

\* Hastings' *D.B.*, s.v. 'Ep. Galatians.'

\* Gal. i. 1.

\* Forsyth, *The Church and the Sacraments*, p. 129.

\* *Ibid.*, p. 181.

does not lead us to a surrender of vital principle on this point. To accept any theory of the ministry which would substitute an external transmission of authority for the authority of spiritual endowment and the call of God, would be a departure from essential Christianity and a reversion to Judaism.

II. We may trace the spirit of Judaism in *Sensuous and Magical Conceptions of the Sacraments*. In the matter of the Sacraments, as in the case of the qualifications for the ministry, the centre of gravity gradually shifted from the inward to the external during the early centuries. This tendency to externalism resulted in an emphasis on ceremonial alien to the spirituality of the religion of Jesus. Perfection of system and splendour of ritual received the stress which should have been given to the necessity of substantial inner life and spiritual depth. Religion became impregnated with sensuous conceptions, and Baptism and the Eucharist gradually but surely assumed a more mystical character, until eventually Christianity became transformed into 'a visible organization depending mainly upon magical rites.'<sup>1</sup> Of course, other forces as well as Judaistic operated here—as, e.g., the influence of Greek and Oriental mystery religions—but 'sacramentarianism' was very largely a recrudescence of the mechanism and rigidity, the emphasis on cult and ritual, of Old Testament modes of worship.

This aspect of Judaism, in addition to the mechanical views of the ministry already referred to, to which indeed it is closely allied, has persisted to our own day. It is at the heart of the recent affirmation of a prominent Anglican ecclesiastic that 'order' is as vitally important an element in Christianity as the principle of faith itself. As against this position, we must insist, as Paul and his coadjutors did, that no ceremonies are of the *esse* of the religion of Jesus; that God can be found quite apart from any ritual

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<sup>1</sup> Eucken, *The Problem of Human Life*, p. 210.



procedure, magical process, or external observance whatsoever. 'Essential to the message of Jesus is the thought that "God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." This great conception . . . survives as the hall-mark of Jesus. St. Paul was always alive to the identity of spirituality with true religion, and the entire force of his testimony told on its behalf.'

This does not mean, of course, that forms and observances have no place in Christianity. But when the position is maintained—as it is by the Judaist, ancient and modern—that some particular rite or ceremony is necessary to salvation, then with the great apostle we must insist on the freedom of Christianity as against all attempts to swathe it in the bonds of formalism, and on its essential spirituality as against every effort to degrade it to the ceremonial and external. And this even though the particular rite in question is of divine appointment; for circumcision, the abrogation of which was fearlessly proclaimed by Paul, as certainly bore the stamp of the divine ordination as Baptism or the Eucharist. While these New Testament sacraments are of precious significance and efficacy, it is an entire misunderstanding of the function which Jesus meant them to fulfil to regard them as the extreme sacramentarian does. To suggest that they are of the essence of Christianity and necessary to salvation is to recapitulate the selfsame mistake which the first-century Judaist made with regard to circumcision.

These sensuous and mystical sacramental tendencies not only obscure the essential spirituality of Christianity, but lead to arrogant notions of religious privilege. It was so in apostolic times. The earliest manifesto of Judaism was an uncompromising 'Except ye be circumcised, ye cannot be saved.' But the Judaizers, after the Council of Jerusalem, 'determined on a new and more artful attempt to capture the Gentile churches. They did not now, as before, bluntly

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<sup>1</sup> Kennedy, *Vital Forces of the Early Church*, p. 189. <sup>2</sup> Acts xv. 1.

insist that circumcision was necessary to salvation. But they maintained that the law of God created an inalienable distinction between the circumcised Israelite and all others. . . . They no longer denied the Christian status of uncircumcised believers in Christ, but they vindicated a higher status for the circumcised.' Against these false notions of status and privilege Paul, Hebrew of the Hebrews though he was, passionately protested, for he realized that they stultified the universality of the gospel appeal, and were a negation of the essential principles of Christ. Still in these latter days the protest is necessary. We have the authentic spirit of Judaism manifested when certain branches of the Church refer to others as limited to the 'uncovenanted mercies' of God. 'We recognize you as Christians, but your status is lower than ours.' We have it in that narrow sectarianism which unchurches all other communities; whether it be the sectarianism of the *soi-disant* Catholic (and, ironically enough, he is generally the narrowest sectary of all, the authentic modern Judaist) or that of the smallest coterie of 'the elect.' It needs to be pointed out—though indeed this ought to be axiomatic—that such a position is entirely alien to the mind of Jesus, absolutely antithetical to His attitude and principles. 'The living spirit of Christ is plainly no respecter of persons or of denominations'—surely that is obvious, as a fact of history and experience. And where that living spirit is present and operative, 'there is the Church and all grace.'

III. Judaism manifests itself in *Legalistic Interpretations of Christianity*. To the Jew religion was obedience to a law. He approached God with a code-book in his hand. And naturally enough this was the idea he took over with him into Christianity. Christ's conception of religion was radically different. 'What He taught,' as R. L. Stevenson puts it, 'was not a code of rules, but a ruling spirit; not

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• Hastings' *D.B.*, s.v. 'Paul the Apostle.'

• Inge, *The Church and the Age*, p. xi.

views, but a view. What He showed us was an attitude of mind.' The typical Jew found it extremely difficult to grasp this ; in fact did not grasp it ; and in the Judaistic controversy we find him hanging grimly on to his code-book, believing with utmost tenacity in the perpetual indispensability of his list of rules and regulations, and entirely failing to understand that a new and living way into the holiest of all had been opened up by Christ. The greatness of the Apostle Paul is seen in that, despite his Pharisaic training, he discovered the futility of the method of legislation in religion. Arguing from his own experience, and from his insight into the needs of the human heart and into the essential meaning of Christianity, he affirmed that a code of regulations concerning conduct, a detailed catalogue of things to do and things to avoid, was entirely inadequate, and entirely out of harmony with the spirit of Jesus.

This Judaistic tendency to harden Christianity into a legalistic scheme has persisted through the centuries, and is seen pre-eminently in Roman Catholicism to-day. In the Roman system of inhibitions and permissions we have the lineal descendant of that painful Pharisaic scrupulosity which in the light of Christ's teaching seems so pitifully futile and often so humorously irrelevant. The Christian law is a law of liberty ; a law not of the letter, but of the spirit ; a law which 'sweeps away all anxious questioning as to the exact performance of each separate precept' ; a law which inculcates the spirit of love to God and man, and affirms that this is accepted as the complete fulfilment of the divine requirements. Any system which tends to substitute an external law, a list of rules and regulations, a series of commands and prohibitions, for this inner law of liberty and love, is a travesty of Christianity.

We see another aspect of this same legalizing tendency in the frequent identification of Christianity with the Sermon on the Mount, the latter being regarded as 'a freshly

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<sup>1</sup> *Lay Morals*, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Mayor, Epistle of St. James*, p. 90.

promulgated code of laws which should take the place in the lives of Christians of the Law of Moses.' But to interpret the Sermon on the Mount as a series of literal enactments is entirely to misunderstand it. While our Lord expresses Himself indeed in the form of particular injunctions or prohibitions, 'the proverbial nature of these directions is apparent, in part because they are sometimes mutually contradictory; and they must be taken, like proverbs generally, as embodying in extreme concrete instances general principles or motives for action.' To take any one of these prescriptions and make it obligatory as a rule of conduct will probably mean the ignoring of a contrary maxim which our Lord gives in another connexion. Each enactment must be interpreted in the light of Christ's teaching as a whole, and in the light of that *israëlis* which, as Matthew Arnold truly said, was so eminently characteristic of the spirit of Jesus. It is an indication of how deeply the legalistic spirit of Judaism is ingrained in Christianity that all this should need emphasis after nineteen centuries of Christian experience. The legal mind, with its painful precision, is fatally disqualified as an interpreter of the essential poetry and frequent paradox of the teaching of Christ. How entirely it misses the mark was seen not infrequently in the recent war. To represent Jesus as merely a great legislator is to pass Him by; and to regard Christianity as a superior Mosaism—a religion of code and rule—is to make the very mistake in fighting which Paul spent his life.

IV. The spirit of Judaism is seen in *Limited and Selfish Nationalism*. A narrow national outlook was one of the outstanding characteristics of the Judaism of the Old Covenant. Through long ages the Jews were trained to think of themselves as the peculiar people of God—as indeed they were; but instead of regarding their election altruistically, as being intended to minister to the salvation of the world, they viewed it with unprogressive selfishness and

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<sup>1</sup> Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 108. <sup>2</sup> Gore, *Sermon on the Mount*, p. 108.

looked on God as their special preserve. And when Jesus came they could think of Him in no larger category than as the Messiah of the Jews who was to restore the Kingdom to Israel. The Jew was consistently marked in his attitude to the unbeliever and the non-Jew by indifference, dislike, and contempt. It was against this spirit that Paul and those who with him grasped most completely the content of Christianity had to wage warfare in the early days of the Church. The Judaistic controversy was a struggle between Jewish nationalism and Christian universalism. It is not difficult to trace this aspect of Judaism in modern Christianity. There is always a danger of its appearing where there is an external alliance between Church and State. The menace of such an alliance is that the State ever seeks to utilize spiritual values as a mere means for its own ends, and to control them accordingly. And when the Church acquiesces in such control—which history seems to suggest is the almost inevitable Nemesis of the alliance—one result is that its international outlook takes on the colour of that of the State, and tends to become as limited and selfish as that of ancient Judaism.

Again, in times of peril and excitement there is danger of the recrudescence of this aspect of the Jewish spirit. Dr. Glover speaks of 'the panic haste' with which, when the recent war came, 'the churches of this country prostrated themselves to the Government and flung themselves into a nationalism little less hysterical than that of the Press.' It is to be feared that much that was then said and done was indefensible from the standpoint of Christianity. Nationalism, patriotism, imperialism—by whatever name this sentiment may be called—is a mingling of noble and ignoble elements. In recent years we have seen many of its splendid and not a few of its undesirable features. When Germany arrogated the Divine Being to itself as a peculiar possession we heard the authentic note of Judaism; and the same

claim, the same attitude, though perhaps less aggressively expressed, may be traced elsewhere than in Germany. Long-continued privileges, such as we English have enjoyed, tend to an assumption of superiority, and there is much to teach us that the results of this in practice are inimical to the universal outlook of the religion of Jesus Christ. From the standpoint of Christianity the famous words of Edith Cavell are deeply true: 'Patriotism is not enough.'

This is not to argue for a wiping out of national characteristics. Indeed, it is the work of Christianity to develop these characteristics. But just as the religion of Jesus only came to its own when it was finally severed from Jewish particularism, so to-day we need to transcend that parochial patriotism which is so nearly akin to the Jewish outlook, and to cultivate that generous universalism which is one of the essential features of Christianity—that universalism which Jesus manifested in His entire attitude and teaching, and which was carried to its logical issue in the affirmation of the great apostle: 'There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave nor free man, but Christ is everything and in all of us.' A saying like this represented a social revolution; and the transformation involved meant immense tasks for the young society, tasks which even yet have by no means been accomplished—indeed, have never been adequately attempted. Modern missionary enterprise has much to do, in alliance with the ideals of the League of Nations, and perhaps in association with its methods, to transcend national distinctions, and to lead mutually jealous peoples to recognize the essential unity of mankind as children of one Father.

V. Judaism reveals itself in *Intellectual Obscurantism*. Through all the centuries the vital, progressive force of the religion of Jesus Christ has had to contend against a mental inertia which is directly descended from Judaism. The Jews of early Christian days had long forgotten the voice of

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<sup>1</sup>Col. iii. 11 (Weymouth).

the prophets. There had grown up a religion of priestcraft and scholasticism which was unintelligent to the last degree. Progress was suspect ; new ideas were taboo ; religion was placed within inverted commas ; everything must be supported by authority and backed up by a quotation. In studying their Scriptures they counted the number of words and letters and overlooked the great vital truths ; the dropping of a consonant caused them more concern than the abandonment of a principle. Obviously there could be nothing in common between an attitude like this and the spirit of Jesus, and conflict between the two was inevitable. 'The immediate effect of Christ's coming,' says Dr. Glover, 'was a struggle between inheritance and experience.' That struggle has never ceased. While the Church has in all ages supplied the inspiration for movements towards intellectual liberty, it has also nearly always contained the protagonists of reaction, and sometimes these latter have been more numerous, and more prominently placed, than those who stood for progress. The obscurantism of these reactionaries is nearly always blamed on Christianity, but their principles link them to Judaism and not to Jesus. 'There is no such hide-bound Tory in the world,' says the Dean of St. Paul's with characteristic forcefulness, 'as the religious spirit. It is profoundly uncomfortable if it cannot find or invent a tradition of the elders to justify every article in its creed and every detail in its worship.' That is precisely the spirit of Judaism ; and it has been as persistent through the ages as it is irreconcilable with the mind of Christ.

We have it in the famous saying of Vincentius, '*Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*'—a saying which one section of the Church enthusiastically quotes as defining Christianity. But—waiving the obvious point that what would be left after this threefold process of elimination would be so pitifully small as not to be recognizable as

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xiii.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

Christianity at all—this is a false test for the essential content of the religion of Jesus. Christianity is not a matter of tradition, of subservience to ancient revelation, of bygone consensus—even if such consensus existed, which it most certainly does not. Jesus ever looked forward and not backward, and there is no hint of fear of progress in His attitude. Christianity is a process, not a result, and can never be understood from any other standpoint.

The persistence of this aspect of Judaism is the justification of the constant taunt of rationalists that religion and progressive thought are antagonistic. Too many religious people regard truth as static rather than dynamic. They prefer fixed creeds, prescribed beliefs, settled ideas. They do not recognize truth in any other form than that which is authoritatively laid down. 'Blessed be God!' says Newman, 'we have not to find the truth; it is put into our hands. . . . The gospel faith is a definite deposit—a treasure common to all, one and the same in every age, conceived in set words, and such as admits of being received, preserved, transmitted.' 'As if'—to quote Dr. Glover again—'as if "the faith once delivered unto the saints" were a set of propositions simple and definite, and lifeless as the multiplication table—as if "faith" were not rather an instinct to explore God, to know the heights and depths of Christ, to track out the great spiritual purpose behind all existence.' It is difficult to see how Newman's position—with all respect to that great name be it said—can be reconciled with the attitude of Christ. Our Lord's outlook is essentially youthful, adventurous, and forward-looking, and the outlook which has for its motto *J'y suis; j'y reste* is at the opposite pole from His. To look only to the past for guidance in religion is inevitably to come into bondage to traditionalism, and traditionalism cannot be reconciled with Jesus. And therefore any community which stands for traditional order

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<sup>1</sup> *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, II., 256, 257. Cf. also *The Idea of a University*, pp. 256, 441.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 287.



and static truth—as the Roman Church with its boast of *semper eadem*—has departed from the standpoint of Jesus.

A recrudescence of this aspect of Judaism—reverence for tradition and implicit belief in the wisdom of antiquity—marked the early part of the nineteenth century, and the resulting ecclesiastical movement, largely associated in its early stages with the distinguished writer just referred to, has been, and still is, influential. As a result of this movement there has been a good deal of emphasis on ‘catholic tradition’ during the last three-quarters of a century, and a good deal of subservience to it. In this we may trace the essential spirit of Judaism—this pathetic belief in the perpetual obligation of the forms and methods of a bygone day. And in the mental lethargy of large sections of all branches of the modern Church, the fear of initiative, the distrust of new ideas, the clinging to authority, the love of the conventional and the stereotyped, we see it again. From nothing more than this does the Church in our day need to be delivered, if it is to fulfil its mission in these critical times of mental and social upheaval, and claim for Christ the new age which is upon us.

A. G. CURNOW.

## KEIR HARDIE, POLITICIAN OR LABOUR EVANGELIST ?

**I**T is Keir Hardie as politician of whom Mr. Stewart has written the life.<sup>1</sup> Above all else, it is Keir Hardie as the founder and leader of the Independent Labour Party who absorbs his attention. No doubt Keir Hardie has a great and almost unique political record. Beginning as Liberal, advancing as trade union organizer, he developed into the first champion of Independent Labour Representation, became Socialist, Internationalist, and creator of the I.L.P. He was also the pioneer and father and inspirer of something vastly greater than the I.L.P.—the Parliamentary Labour Party. This larger Labour Party may become the Party in power; the island of Great Britain, like the island continent at the other side of the globe, may come under a Labour Government; and as the sire of Labour Governments Keir Hardie will be conceded a place of growing importance in the history of this country and of the world.

Of the political progress and achievements of his hero Mr. Stewart has given, I doubt not, a succinct and valuable record. All who desire to trace the story of Labour politics in the formative years 1880–1914 will be grateful for this painstaking narrative. But even in his showing of Hardie's political importance Mr. Stewart, I fear, cannot be acquitted altogether of a lack of balance and perspective. As I have said, Hardie's great historic work was to initiate the Labour Party. But in Mr. Stewart's picture it is not the Labour Party so much as the I.L.P. which stands foremost. Perhaps it is the author's disappointment with the Labour Party over what he considers its apostasy in the Great War that led him to overlook its pre-eminent significance. Certain it is that the main theme of the book is the origin, growth, and manifold perfections of the I.L.P. Keir

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<sup>1</sup> *Keir Hardie*, by WILLIAM STEWART. (Cassell.)

Hardie, as founder, must, of course, have his story told with admiration and enthusiasm; but the heart of the author is more with the I.L.P. than with Hardie. He impresses one with a feeling akin to that aroused by the speeches and writings of some ultra-High-Churchmen—the Church bulks larger in their discourse and emphasis than does the Founder Himself. Not a few of us have been made to feel that for a modern parallel to mediaeval ecclesiasticism, with its sense of supreme virtue, infallible judgement, and its supercilious intolerance toward all outsiders, it would be difficult to beat the I.L.P. There are some who find in it the very Pharisee of modern politics.

This—probably entirely unconscious—obsession has prevented the biographer from doing justice to the man whose life he would narrate. A purely I.L.P. version of Keir Hardie is nearly as insufficient as a conventional ecclesiastical description of the Man of Nazareth. After all, Hardie was a much bigger man than the mere creator of the I.L.P.

We are grateful for the pleasant picture Mr. Stewart gives us of Hardie with children :

His love for and understanding of children was only equalled by the love of children for him. . . . Keir Hardie took them on his knee, or hoisted them on his shoulders, and made chums of them. He could tell them stories, wonderful stories—stories sometimes of the wise pit ponies that were his own chums in the days of his boyhood, or of the ongoings of 'Roy,' the wise collie, . . . or of the Red Indians he had met in America, or, as often happened, a fairy tale made up 'out of his own head' (p. 296).

Other phases of the man's career and character are not given the prominence that is their due and that he would have given them. We are told, it is true, that in his youth he joined the Good Templars and 'became an enthusiastic propagandist in the temperance cause'; it was as a temperance worker he began to take part in public life; and he found his wife among his temperance comrades. But one would gain from these pages a very inadequate conception of Hardie's passion for total abstinence. Mr. Stewart

omits all mention of one of the finest things Hardie ever did—and in his distinctively political career, too—when he induced the Parliamentary Labour Party, whatever their personal views on temperance might be, to pledge themselves to take no intoxicants while in the House of Commons and its purlieus.

The least intelligible and the least pardonable failure in this biography is the scant account given of what Hardie himself declared to be the chief inspiration and driving power of his life. Mr. Stewart has little to say of Hardie's religion. He tells with just indignation of the way the boy Keir was pitilessly dismissed and robbed of a fortnight's wages by an employer who 'continued to be a pillar of the Church and a leading light in the religious life of the city.' 'Henceforward,' says Mr. Stewart, 'the Hardie household was a free-thinking household.' Happily, though rather unexpectedly of 'a free-thinking household,' we are told that in his youth 'he was associating himself with what seemed to him the simplest organized expression of Christianity, namely the Evangelical Union.' Now the E.U. was distinguished above every other Church in Scotland by its passionate evangelical fervour and its revival ardour. And it was these traits, I doubt not, which most attracted Hardie.

Mention is indeed made of his visit to Lille in 1910 under the National Council of Brotherhoods. The sentences in which his burning faith found vent are quoted as making him 'a man of mystery to the scientific Socialists.' 'They could not understand him' (p. 308). But we are not told that he won the thousands of French workmen who hung on his lips to 'cheers for the Sermon on the Mount.' One cannot avoid the impression that Hardie's religious inspirations awoke no deep response in his biographer.

The defect is to some extent remedied in the Introduction by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. He says :

Hardie was of the 'old folk.' Born in a corner of Scotland where

there still lingered a belief in the uncanny and the superhuman . . . born in a time of transition when the heart and the imagination paid homage, whilst the reason was endeavouring to laugh, he went out into the world, with a listening awe in his soul. He used to tell us tales and confess to beliefs in words that seemed to fall from the lips of a child. . . . His whole being lay under the shadow of the hand of the crowned Authority which told him of its presence now by a lightning flash, now by a whisper, and now by a mere tremor in his soul (pp. xvii., xxiii.).

During the later years of his life Keir Hardie was deeply interested in an important development within the Labour Movement. This bore the name of Labour Week. It was a series of meetings held year after year and in different towns, at which evangelic addresses were given by eminent leaders of Labour. It elicited, focused, and diffused the religious inspirations of the Labour Movement. Six of these 'weeks' were held in the beginning of May, 1910-1915, in Browning Hall, Walworth, and twenty-five of the foremost Labour M.P.'s were enrolled in the Fellowship of Followers of Jesus Christ. Labour Weeks were also held in Camberwell, Glasgow, and Cardiff. In these Labour Weeks Hardie delivered four memorable addresses, which evoked far-spread response. His speeches in Browning Hall have been translated into Danish, Finnish, Spanish, German, and Bulgarian. They were welcomed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his Diocesan charge as genuine Christian teaching. They were approved by bishops, moderators, theologians in many lands. Yet of all this there is not a word in Mr. Stewart's biography.

Keir Hardie himself attached very great importance to this religious movement. I conducted two pilgrimages of peace to Germany, consisting of Labour Members of our Parliament. For the second, which took place in 1913 and visited Munich, Stuttgart, and Strassburg, I specially wished to arrange a meeting with the German Social Democrats on Labour and Religion, at which Keir Hardie should be the chief speaker. Hardie heartily sympathized with the

idea, and was quite sure of a great hearing from the German Socialists. I told him that it seemed as if in the providence of God British Labour Members were called to evangelize the working classes of the Continent. His reply was prompt and decisive: 'I haven't a doubt about it.' Hardie, however, did not come with us, and the Conference on Labour and Religion which I did my utmost to arrange petered out into a tedious exchange of political reflections. But Keir Hardie had shown that he felt himself and his cohort of Labour M.P.'s to be a troop of Labour Evangelists for the conversion of the Continent.

The total omission of this phase of Hardie's life appears the more remarkable when we consider the content of his Labour Week speeches. In the first, delivered at Browning Hall and afterwards repeated at Lille, he declared:

I have said, both in writing and from the platform many times, that the impetus which drove me first of all into the Labour Movement, and the inspiration which has carried me on in it, has been derived more from the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth than from all other sources combined. (*Labour and Religion*, p. 49.)

Mr. Stewart quotes these words as spoken at Lille, but only to suggest that Hardie's faith was an utter enigma to the Continental Socialist. Hardie himself said in the same speech:

On the Continent the terms Socialist and Atheist were practically synonymous. But of late years a most remarkable, and to me a most gratifying change, has been coming over the spirit of the entire movement. Great leaders, like Jean Joures in France, and Vandervelde in Belgium, and others less known in Germany, have been discovering that behind Nature there is a Power unseen but felt, that beyond death there must be a Something. (*Labour and Religion*, p. 50.)

Hardie went on to show that science, art, literature, the getting of money, left the human heart unsatisfied; only in religion, and supremely in the religion of Jesus, can its deepest need be met:

For the idea (underlying the spiritual side of Christ's teaching) is

that man has been redeemed from sin, and that we have but to trust in the work done for us by Christ to attain that peace without which life is scarce worth having. This explains why the gospel of Jesus has won to its standard the millions who acknowledge His Kingship. (*Labour and Religion*, p. 58.)

Under this appeal, coming with all the passion of his heart's deepest experience, several men were converted on the spot, as they have gratefully attested years after.

In 1912 Holy Week was Labour Week in Cardiff, and Keir Hardie spoke on Good Friday—just on the edge of the great coal crisis of that year. He told anew the life of Jesus, and said in closing :

It was a life of service and humility on which Jesus proposed to erect the kingdom of God. We are out to make the kingdom of God on earth a reality. In that Kingdom religion won't suffer. For the first time in the history of the world religion will come into its own. (*Gospel of Labour*, p. 15.)

One who at a later time heard Keir Hardie preach to many thousands in the open air in South Wales on 'Thy Kingdom Come !' could only speak of it with intense emotion.

In the Camberwell Labour Week, 1912, which was said to be 'a real revival of religion,' Hardie said :

I am speaking of the worldly side of Christ's teaching. But there is a second side. I have felt the power of conversion to Christ. I know the peace that arises from a sense of sins forgiven. (*Christ and Labour*, Jarrold, p. 90.)

Again, of this valuable piece of autobiographic witness, there is not a word in Mr. Stewart's story.

But the most self-revealing utterance was in Hardie's last Labour Week speech, in Browning Hall, May 5, 1918—before the war, and before the great disappointment which it caused him. The words have been quoted far and wide, and surely cannot have escaped Mr. Stewart's attention. But there is not a hint of them in his book. I will quote them again :

My friends and comrades, I often feel very sick at heart with

politics and all that pertains thereto. If I were a thirty years younger man, with the experience I have gained during the past thirty-five years, I would, methinks, abandon house and home and wife and child if need be to go forth among the people to proclaim afresh and anew the full message of the gospel of Jesus of Nazareth. . . . Brothers, preach anew the kingdom of God upon earth. . . . I know of no ideal so simple, so inspiring, so noble, as the gospel of Jesus Christ of Nazareth.

And so the need of the hour is for a fresh Crusade to restore religion to something like its pristine purity. . . . This Browning Hall Mission, this Labour Week, by bringing Labour men and Christian men and women together, may easily prove the nucleus out of which the real reformation of Christianity may come. (*To the Workers of the World*, pp. 60-61.)

Here is a comprehensive judgement upon his thirty-five years' experience, beginning with his appointment as miners' agent in 1879, and covering all his subsequent political career. Were he to begin life again, it would be not as a politician but as a social and personal evangelist. Even as it was, his hopes for the future were not so much political as religious—'a new Crusade,' 'a real reformation of Christianity,' 'the kingdom of God on earth.'

As he came down from the platform that night, I said to him, 'Why speak of being thirty years younger? You have vigour enough, and I hope may have many years yet before you. Why not do now what you have said you would like to do if you were a younger man?' 'Man Stead,' he replied, 'if you only knew what a temptation that is to me sometimes!' I answered: 'Perhaps in time you will come to find that this is not a temptation but a mandate.'

When he died in 1915 I wrote (*Fellowship*, 1915, p. 180): 'Mr. Hardie was, in fine, a Scottish revivalist of the perfervid type which has left its impress deep on the annals of the religious world. One grieves to think that evangelistic powers of such rare intensity and persuasiveness should have been so largely consumed in political agitation.' Hardie evidently felt this himself. A most intimate friend of his, close to him to the hour of death, wrote to tell me that mine



was the truest insight into the heart of Hardie of all the obituary notices he had seen.

I have reason to know that some members of the I.L.P. did not at all like this self-revealing confession of Hardie's. It seemed to them to pass a cold sponge of disparagement over all the thirty-five years' work in which they gloried so loudly. 'It would have meant no I.L.P., perhaps no Labour Party: only an itinerant evangelist!' It was perhaps a not unneeded rebuke to their somewhat unctuous self-satisfaction. They failed to see that Labour evangelism as Keir Hardie understood it, and would have carried it out, would have been prolific of far vaster revolutions and reorganizations than any they have yet seen.

But whatever party bias may sway the rank and file, the biographer of Keir Hardie ought not to have ignored these self-revelations of the man which I have cited.

Keir Hardie was essentially Labour evangelist, not politician. It was in the spirit of the Labour evangelist that he roused the Scottish miners and organized them; that he contested and finally conquered constituencies; that he roused South Wales, with its deep religious fervour, to enthusiasm for his political and economic projects; and that he made the Parliamentary Labour Party more of a Church than a merely political body. The meeting in Queen's Hall to celebrate the return of the first Labour Party to Parliament was the only political meeting I have ever attended in which the divine Nazarene would have been an entirely sympathetic participator. If only he had been spared, he seemed the one man of all others to go from nation to nation as apostle of the Labour Movement in religion, proclaiming to the proletariat of the world, battered and broken with the wounds of the war, the proletarian gospel of Galilee, the original glad news of the kingdom of God on earth as in heaven.

Where is the man to succeed him?

F. HERBERT STEAD.

## THE RELATION OF SIN AND FATE IN ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE

**T**HE Anglo-Saxon peoples had ideas about the world in common with peoples of all ages and nations. They saw the age-long struggle between good and evil as we see it. They saw the world disturbed by storm and earthquake, the ravages of time and of disease, and it seemed to them, as to many of their successors, that the world was the arena of an unending struggle between opposing forces. 'Thou in the eternal God trustest, in God the Creator, so I set my hope in my father, who is king of hell.' In these words the 'perfidious outcast,' one of the fiends of hell, addresses the martyr Juliana (*Juliana*, 484). The world is the dreary No Man's Land set between heaven and hell, and human history is the record of the battle between God and the devil for overlordship. God, however, knows the end from the beginning. All is fated. 'Weird' presides over all as a subsidiary deity. This word 'weird' survives in our language in the sense of something strange and mysterious. 'Weird' was the god or goddess of Fate. 'We hear the solemn minor dirge-like refrain, "Weird hath willed it"' constantly in 'Beowulf.' I quote from my Introduction to that poem (p. 16). This idea of Fate dominates the Anglo-Saxon literature as it has dominated us to the present day, and never more so than during the Great War. 'Every bullet has its billet' is the modern expression of the same idea.

'God only knows what the winters of the world will bring to him as he grows older. To one it happeneth the wolf, the hoary heath-stepper, shall devour him. And his mother will weep at his going hence. One man hunger will plunder, the other rough weather shall drive away. One shall snow

destroy, and the other shall war cause to perish. One shall ride aloft on the wide gallows tree, swinging to his death. And the raven shall pluck out his eyes, and the fallow-coated bird shall tear out his soul. Nor by any craft can he beat off the loathsome air-scather, and as he hangs on the tree the death mists oppress him. One shall be eaten up of fierce flames, and a woman shall weep when she sees her son amid the burning brands, and another shall be slain in a drunken brawl by some angry ale-sodden and wine-sated man' (*Bibl. Angelsächsischen Poesie*, III., Band 1, Hälfte, 1897). This hopeless view of human destiny survived into the Christian era. Churchmen had no hope of betterment in this world. Aelfric makes St. Cecilia say 'This life is full of toil and continueth in sweat, is weakened by long sorrows, dried up by heat, wearied out by hunger, filled with meats in prosperity, cast down in poverty; lifted up in youth and bowed down in age; broken by sickness, consumed by sadness, and vexed by cares. Then cometh death.' And again in a striking simile:

Every man's might who walketh in pride  
Is verily like a man who sews up  
A bladder and blows it full of wind,  
After he makes a hole, when it is puffed out;  
Then in its greatness its might departeth.

(*'St. Cecilia,'* p. 875, *Aelfric's Homilies*,  
E.E.T.S. iv., Hom. 875.)

The Christian writers trace all this power of 'weird' to the sin of Adam and Eve. As long as Adam and Eve did the will of God 'they knew no lamentation for sorrows. They were dear to God while they held to His holy word' (*Genesis*, 244). Man's original destiny was full of beauty and promise. Before his creation Lucifer had fallen. He was 'like unto the shining stars, and blessed in heaven, but he turned to the worse thing' (*Genesis*, 259), and a similar fate awaits 'every man who begins to strive with his creator.' Thus God's original purpose was perverted and thwarted.

God made youth and the joy of men, 'but men joy in the joys of the world until the measure of winters go past and old age cometh.'

Sin is a 'brewing' which Eve brewed, and this brewing brought death (*Guthlac*, 954), and the good share in the universal doom. Guthlac the saint must die—'days pass by and night shadows gather, for Guthlac must die, as is allotted to all men.'

The 'brewing' of sin in the world brought physical evils upon the world, and penetrated into the mind of man. 'Some are void of understanding, some in pride violently press forward, and immeasurable folly swells within them. There are too many such. He lets hostile arrows break through the wall of the citadel of his mind which God had bidden him guard well. There he sitteth, proud through feasting. You may know such a man when you meet him in the city, that he is the child of the devil, flesh ensnared, and hastening to hell and deserted of God, some hail-fellow-well-met, sitting on the bench where is great joy in drinking' (*Angl. Poesie*, III., Band 1, Hälfte).

There is a striking picture of the deceitfulness of sin in one of the beast-stories so popular in the old days. 'Bestiaries,' as they were called, were common devices for moral instruction. The panther, the whale, the lion, the eagle, were treated allegorically to teach moral, theological, or spiritual truths. Thus we read of the panther. The panther in far lands dwells alone in mountain caves and shineth wondrously, many hued as Joseph's coat. He is steadfast by nature, gentle and well pleasing. Neither will he hurt any creature but the dragon. After feeding, he seeketh repose under the mountains three nights. Then on the third day he riseth up from sleep, gloriously enriched. A secret perfume cometh from his mouth, sweeter than that of woodland flowers, and warriors go forth from cities to look upon him. So is our Lord God. He was enchained in death for three nights, and on the third day He arose from the dead, and sweet

was the perfume of His presence throughout all the world.

This is the picture some unknown singer depicts of the deceitfulness of sin. The hue of the whale is like a rough stone, so that the seamen, weary of the waves, suppose that it is an island. Then they fasten the high-prowed ship by anchor ropes to this waste land, and the brave men go up on to the island. And the ships stand by on the shore. And there they rest, nor do they dream of danger. On the island they kindle a fire, and they are full of joy. Now when the evil one feels sure that the sailors are firmly settled there in pleasant weather, then suddenly he goeth down into the sea, dragging the boats with him into the salt depths, and seeketh the bottom of the sea. And there in the halls of death the ships are imprisoned together with the sailors. And such is the wicked plot of the devil. He maketh men seek their joys in the evil one. Suddenly he draggeth them down to hell and its misty glooms, as soon as he knows that they are netted in his ring. Or he emitteth from his mouth a sweet perfume. They are allured like fishes within his wide jaws. Then his grim jaws suddenly clash together upon the booty. So does the devil, the accursed one, draw men down to hell. Nor is there ever any going forth thence (*Angelsächsichen Poesie*, Band 8, Hälfte, p. 167).

In St. Juliana the fiend says, 'I sweeten for man the delights of sin, the wicked desires of the mind, so that he giveth heed to my teachings. I open wide the ramparts of the soul of man' (*Juliana*, 369, 401). 'I care more for the ruin of the soul than for that of the body' (*Juliana*, 414).

The effect of the entrance of sin within the 'ramparts of man's mind' is loss of power. In the ancient poem *Genesis* we read Adam's lament to Eve: 'No lordship in the world is any good to me now that I have forfeited the favour of my Lord.' It creates schism between souls that love. It involves separation of souls. Adam and Eve, when they had eaten of the apple, immediately fall to reproaching each

other most bitterly. Adam wishes he had never seen Eve in her beauty and had never asked God for companionship. And Eve replies that the heart-remorse of Adam cannot be worse than the agony she suffers. Sin narrows life, causes it to shrink and shrivel.

‘Lo ! we now know how trouble came to birth, and earthly misery.’ Because of sin God ‘drove them forth from paradise to a narrower life.’ Have we not in that one phrase the explanation of all our idealisms ? They are memories of the homeland from which sin has thrust us forth into exile. Sin spreads itself like some darnel weeds among the corn. ‘Harmful tendrils, hard and sore, enwrap the children of men—so, alas, they do now !—and from the broad blades of all kinds misery began to sprout.’

It is true that these early theologians and poets lacked inventiveness. Their circle of ideas was very limited. It was only slowly that they shook themselves free of the limited literary stock-in-trade. In *Juliana* the devil says : ‘By many ways I send men to hell ; some by adder’s bite, some sunken in the sea by my devil craft, some on the high gallows-tree, some by beer-drinking, some by sword-thrust, and some unshriven and unblest. I could not tell in a summer’s day all the evil I have worked since I caused Adam and Eve to forsake the good and their bright dwellings, which forsaking has brought sorrow to their children’ (*Juliana*, 475).

And the effect of sin on God is set forth with profound insight and wonderful perspicacity by the author of *Crist*. Jesus says ‘Why dost thou crucify Me more cruelly than when I formerly hung on the cross ? For the cross of thy sins is heavier for Me to bear than the holy rood on Calvary, and on this cross I am made fast by thy sins.’

It is really amazing to find how little we have advanced in the intervening centuries. Men who had witnessed many crucifixions in France and Belgium came back and discredited the efficacy of the cross of Christ. They said, ‘We have seen

men crucified ; we have seen men on the cross. We have seen men suffer as intensely as your Christ suffered.' And we were staggered, and some of us were silent. Cynewulf (if he wrote *Crist*) could have given the quietus to such critics. The cross is an age-long fact. God is still on the cross. God will be on the cross while one soul is in hell. The supreme tragedy is not the agony of man ; the supreme tragedy is the agony of God.

This, then, is the Anglo-Saxon conception of the world disorder. Weird is the vengeful force of retribution, and makes for righteousness. The world disturbance is due to sin. Sin is the Grendel-monster who consumes human victims and drags them down to hell.

ERNEST J. B. KIRTLAN.

## THE SERVICES OF SONG AND WORK

**C**ANON ALEXANDER'S sermon during the summer of last year on the task of the Church in the long-extended season of the present unrest was something more than the performance of a homiletic and pastoral duty dictated by the events, as well as consonant with the temper and tendencies of the time. The discourse, combined with the personality of the preacher, stirred associations of interest equally deep, various, and wide, not less apposite to the season of its delivery than to those conditions of the national life which are to-day much what they were then. The preacher's family name recalls the literary distinctions, alike in prose and verse, achieved by others of his name, though not of his kin, as well as his own pre-eminence, not only in sacred writing, but in the most severely testing kind of secular composition. In 1852 the Duke of Wellington's death created a vacancy in the Oxford University Chancellorship. No one then, or for that matter since living, combined so many of the traditional qualifications for the office as the fourteenth Earl of Derby. He was foremost among the literary classicists of his time, as well as known to be busy on the translation of the *Iliad*, published eleven years afterwards. Equally little doubt could there be that among all Oxford residents none so signally united the gifts for the poetic welcome to the new Chancellor as William Alexander of Brasenose. His name does not appear among Newdigate winners, probably because he was never a competitor for the prize. He had, however, a gift of commemorative verse beyond any academic or most non-academic poets of the time. The inaugural ode in which he celebrated the Duke's assumption of the highest office in the University was not only in the grand epic manner prescribed by the



custom of centuries, but abounded in touches picturesque, pathetic, gentle as well as grave, giving it a new place entirely its own in this sort of composition. By this time Keble had not only ceased to deliver his Latin lectures from the Chair of Poetry, but had left Oxford. In his Hampshire living, Hursley, he read Alexander's ode with approval, noting its combination of the grand manner of Pope with sympathetic and happily expressed condescensions to the temper of the time. Among later nineteenth-century bards on the Isis, the chief instance of a literary blend in any degree recalling Alexander's particular gift was that of Dr. W. W. Merry, rector of Lincoln and a past-master in every form of commemorative or epigraphic expression. Alike in capacity, taste, and method a link between the old school and the new, Archbishop Alexander seemed to many good judges predestined by his combination of gifts for the succession to Keble in the Oxford Poetry Chair. Five years after the Wellington ode he secured his place among the poets of the time by 'The Death of Jacob.'

A comparison between the obligations of the British muse to the Cam and Isis formed a popular subject of literary debate during the nineteenth-century period now recalled. From the Middle Ages onward the greatest of our national singers were connected in different degrees with the eastern counties. Their college days, if any, were on the Cam rather than the Isis. The young gentlemen of France recalled by Arthur in 'King John' as 'sad as night only for wantonness' were neither Cambridge nor Oxford types, but nomadic students, the mediaeval forerunners of nineteenth-century Byronism. The author of the *Faerie Queene* was probably the first poet of his nation or age who so perfected himself in the Cambridge culture of his time as to pass for its representative. The seven years spent by Spenser at Pembroke Hall formed for that period a University course of quite extraordinary length. Half a century

afterwards the son of the prosperous scrivener, also a professional musician, from the school of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and Benjamin Jowett, passed to Christ's, Cambridge. There he seems to have left few memories but those of tutorial chastisement and college rustication. The rule of Laud alone prevented John Milton from taking Anglican orders. John Dryden of Trinity was the first and greatest of pre-Tennysonian Cambridge Laureates. Between those two singers Trinity Hall had sent forth the most musical of seventeenth-century lyrists, Robert Herrick. Wordsworth was a Cambridge Johnian of four years' standing. During the years, therefore, now recalled the poetic balance was greatly in favour of Cambridge. The nineteenth century's opening years had come and gone before the inequality began to be seriously redressed by the life's work of the great, good, and highly cultivated men now recalled.

The interpenetration of English literature by the culture and thought of the two great Universities finds its parallel in certain other associations connecting the national Church 'as by law established' with the communions outside the official Anglican rule. First, however, it is pleasant to know that the Alexander line and name have still their representatives, perpetuating in the twentieth century the accomplishments and literary productiveness which gave them a place among the ornaments of the Victorian age.

Archbishop Alexander's daughter had won distinction with her pen as a contributor to the poetic columns of the *Spectator* before her national services in the way of war-work gave her a place in the dispatches, as well as secured for her the titular honours that she now adorns. Her patronymic implies no family relationship to Canon Alexander, whose appeal on behalf of the national building to which he is attached will receive, as may be hoped, the substantial response necessary for ensuring the safety of the fabric. The Irish primate of the same name as the present Canon

of St. Paul's had indeed at least one son, a student of Christ Church during the nineteenth century's last half. Alexander, however, is a name of not infrequent occurrence in the Oxford calendar, and before Canon Alexander took his degree at Trinity the Archbishop's name, if not family, had been represented on the Isis—I believe at Brasenose. Canon Alexander, as scholar of Trinity, took his first class in the final classical schools in 1887. While still in Oxford residence he acted as philosophy tutor at Keble. Before taking his first curacy (St. Michael's, Oxford, 1889) he had left behind him at his old college the distinguished memory of his Newdigate prize poem on Buddha.

More will presently be said about the place in the *belles lettres* of religion filled by writers of the name or family already mentioned. That position will be the better understood by briefly recalling from an earlier period the progressive stages and their personal landmarks in this development of poetic art. The hymn sung in the Upper Room on the most momentous night of human history is thought to have been formed from the celebration of the divine attributes in the composition known as the great Hallel. 'That sublime ascription of celestial attributes to the Triune Deity' is the character given in Disraeli's last novel, *Endymion*, by the young Anglican priest to the Athanasian Creed. Concerning that everything still seems to be uncertain, except that under no possible circumstances could it have been written by the saint whose name it bears. Before the Biblical canon was fixed the New Testament extracts now given a place in the Anglican Prayer-book were only some among those specimens of prayer and praise in more or less poetic form collected, and indeed edited, for the small and nomadic company known as the Primitive Church. From the time of Ambrose hymns of miscellaneous authorship and various languages had a recognized place in the universal worship of the Christian Church. During the fourth and fifth centuries their popularity was not considered conducive to the

authority of the ecclesiastical rulers; their authorship had ceased to be a sacerdotal monopoly. In the Spanish Church, therefore, their use was entirely forbidden by the Council of Braga (561).<sup>1</sup> The composition could not, however, be so easily dislodged from its place in the ecclesiastical service, and the Braga decree gradually lapsed into a dead letter. Nevertheless, in some reactionary quarters there long lingered a prejudice against any other devotional poetry in public worship than that of the Psalms. From this rule, however, frequent deviations were inevitable, and one by one the earliest mediæval or pre-mediæval Churches set to music devotional passages alike in the Old and New Testaments conspicuously suited to the purpose.

Throughout the nineteenth century's first half the confusion and disputes concerning the musical or poetic portions of the Church of England service resulted in a condition of things so highly the reverse of devotional as to reach the scandalous. The rhymed Psalter of Sternhold and Hopkins (1551) preceded by just a century and a half that of Tate and Brady. The Victorian era was more than half a century old when the Church of England prayer-books ceased to contain as a matter of course the Psalter as versified by these collaborators. The joint composition of these two men has excited many smiles; but Poet-Laureate Tate produced one or two really fine hymns, which may be found in Palgrave's *Treasury of Sacred Song*. His colleague, a nimble-witted and versatile Irishman, till 1702 chaplain to William III, turned the social opportunities he had found at Court to good account by opening, when he held the living of Richmond, a preparatory school for the sons of the nobility and gentry before proceeding to Westminster or Eton. The practical outcome of this retrospect is that from the beginning of their history the English were a musical people, who lost no time in turning to the best account,

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<sup>1</sup> *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 460.

secular as well as sacred, but especially the latter, the instruction given by their teachers first from Ireland, afterwards in a less degree from Italy, in the art of wedding sweet or sacred melody to appropriate and carefully premeditated words. The Gregorian chant had been brought with him by St. Augustine, who, like his clerical companions, was surprised at the thoroughness and facility with which the rude islanders learned their lesson.

Nor did that accomplishment long remain an Anglican monopoly. The strong Protestant feeling of the seventeenth century delayed the adoption by the English Establishment of the Roman hymns which Puritanism could not but admire, and but for their origin might have incorporated in its worship. Here the Free Churches gave the national communion a lead. The seventeenth-century Nonconformists were prevented by no Protestant scruples from introducing into their worship compositions that had crossed the Channel from European monasteries. The seventeenth-century years now recalled produced in Isaac Watts one whom so high an authority as the first Lord Selborne, compiler of *The Book of Praise*, called 'the father of English hymnody.' The Stuart restoration discouraged, but could not replace by the State compositions recognized as orthodox, the hymns adopted from Germany to a large extent by the Free Churches. No veto or persecution prevented the Baptists and Independents of the period from preserving in their services those spiritual verses that to-day link together in prayer and praise all Christian bodies outside the Roman communion. At the point of hymnal development now reached one highly disciplined, well-informed mind is conspicuous among those whose faith, learning, religious judgment, and intellectual industry did more than any of their contemporaries towards stamping the compositions, now so active a feature and force in the entire nation's spiritual life, with the representative character that caused Mr. Gladstone to speak of it as 'the communion of hymns.' This

was Isaac Watts. De Quincey was not as a rule prejudiced for and against the object of his criticism by the accidents of birth, social circumstances, or spiritual denomination; he shows less than his usual tolerance and justice in dismissing as imbecile the results of the secular studies which trained and enriched the robust and meditative intellect of Isaac Watts in those later years that had been preceded by the vigorous and impassioned productions of early manhood.

Entirely of Nonconformist birth, association, and intellectual training, Isaac Watts did full justice from the first to such opportunities of self-improvement in every branch of study brought within his reach. The only logic manual then generally accessible, academically known and used in England, was that of Aldrich. Southampton, where Watts first saw the light and his father kept a school, was then, as now, famous for cheap second-hand booksellers. At a shop still, I believe, existing, in the chief street, the schoolmaster's son picked up a copy of the treatise in which the inspiration derived from much hard reading and liberal consumption of tobacco had moved the seventeenth and eighteenth century Dean of Christ Church to set forth the formal study of the laws of thought. Henry Aldrich also had a place among the smaller bards of the period on the Isis, and had no sooner designed Peckwater Quadrangle than he wrote the once famous glee: 'Hark the bonny Christ Church bells,' which had made him a worthy of the House long before his *Artis Logicae Compendium* became the universal text-book that it remained till and through most of the nineteenth century's second half.

It was perhaps the greatest among mathematicians on the Isis, a tutor as well as censor of Christ Church, C. L. Dodgson, who as Lewis Carroll wrote *Alice in Wonderland* to amuse the Liddell children at the Christ Church deanery. There is some reason for thinking that the infantile lyrics of Isaac Watts may have had a similar origin; in 1696 he had become domestic tutor in the family of Sir John Hartopp, whose

baronetcy still belongs to his descendants. Nothing can be more likely than that the man who put together the logic manual, partly as an effort of self-education as well as for the intellectual discipline of his time, should have been moved, for the good of his juvenile charge, to pen the simple lyrics still recalled from the nursery, if seldom without a smile. The twentieth-century public in all its sections knows that these efforts to which the great hymnodist condescended no more convey a measure of his poetic powers than the intellectual adaptability of the great nineteenth-century Oxford mathematician can be judged from *Alice in Wonderland* or *The Hunting of the Snark*. The most impressive ceremonial witnessed by twentieth-century London at the annual observance of Armistice Day owes not a little of its profoundly solemnizing effect to the singing of Watts's paraphrase of Psalm xc., opening, as he wrote it, with the line 'Our God, our help in ages past,' but now, except in *Church Praise* (English Presbyterians) and *The Scottish Hymnary*, always printed 'O God, our help in ages past.'

'A sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion'—so in the preface to his *Christian Year* (1827) wrote the first Anglican bard—unless Charles Wesley has thus forestalled him—at all comparable with Isaac Watts in accomplishments and intensity of religious feeling. Neither the experiences nor associations, domestic as well as academic, of his life and surroundings favoured the originality, the fire of imagination, and the force of phrase that had made Isaac Watts a poet for all time. Graceful turns of expression, correct and chastened metaphors from Nature, may of course be found in Keble. But the spiritual atmosphere surrounding his most impressionable years was not favourable to force or fire in poetic imagination and language. The Oriel common-room of those days was sometimes said with bated breath to be like heaven. It was certainly the cradle and starting-place of the nineteenth century's chief

spiritual and intellectual movements, but the good and great men who gave the place its character were scholars and thinkers of the severest high-and-dry Oxford type. In their intercourse among themselves they discouraged rather than practised the amenities or elegancies in habits and manner of life and conversation. A corresponding severity, after the approved classical model, showed itself in their thought and language, whether of conversation or writing. The poet of the *Christian Year* studiously avoided cultivating social or conversational graces, even the urbanity of bearing to which his native kindliness might have disposed him had he not been in such a degree the product of the cloister. The Oxford Movement of the thirties presented a complete contrast to the Whitefield and Wesley revival in that at first, and for some years afterwards, its influence and results were confined to the educated as well as largely to the clerical order. There was no appeal to the senses, little even to the imagination. The nineteenth century was completing or approaching its first half before the high-and-dry Anglican teachers and preachers condescended to the display of the decorative ritual that was indeed only the outward and visible expression of the doctrines preached by so advanced a theologian as 'Henry of Exeter' himself.

At the present point of the twentieth century the alleged dearth of hymns and hymn-writers is a complaint periodically rife among all sections of Christendom. Excess of quantity in both these respects, and as a consequence chaotic confusion and difficulty in selection, had been, a little earlier, the evils common to most of the Christian Churches. The Establishment, as its ruling spirits thought, was the chief sufferer. The Wesleys and their successors in the same school of religious thought and literary expression seemed to have gone too near towards a monopoly of the church-going as well as the chapel-going ear. The particular period now recalled produced one sacred singer who, in strains not less imperishable than any among his predecessors, perpetuated at their



highest the beauty and pathos of the spiritual songs which give him a place not below that of the Wesleys themselves. Of Scotch birth, Irish education, and for the most part English residence, the poet of 'Abide with Me' bequeathed to posterity for all time a composition assured from the first of the same spiritual and poetic immortality as 'Rock of Ages.' These two compositions have something of a common element in their personal associations. Mr. G. A. Wills, of Combe Lodge, Blagdon, in the Mendip country, has circumstantially confirmed the tradition of Toplady's poem having been written during a thunderstorm under the shelter of the Burrington Combe rock, running up into the heart of the Mendip range. The most earnest as well as accomplished winner of souls, in parish and pulpit not less than with pen, Lyte seems to have been particularly concerned for a friend whose troubles of physical health coincided with a prolonged period of spiritual crisis; hence the personal experiences that have assured for the verses reflecting them the same immortality as for Toplady's masterpiece. In like manner, more than a generation after Toplady—as Hare's *Memorials of a Quiet Life* enable one to recall—the personal need of a Shropshire clergyman for verses suitable to the diffusion of gospel light in heathen lands seems to have suggested to Heber the most famous missionary hymn in the English language. And, indeed, as Canon Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* suggests, others among Heber's famous compositions were not without a personal element in their inspiration. It is also interesting to recall that his Oxford prize poem, 'Palestine,' had been read and admired by bards and critics so widely different as Sir Walter Scott and Byron. Heber's spiritual and poetic instinct had long been awake to the Anglican poverty of sacred verse suitable for public worship or private use.

No contributor to our national hymnology forms a closer link with a greater variety of the immortals in English song than Heber. Byron, in his 'Hebrew Melodies,' acknow-

ledged his indebtedness, both as regards subject and cadence, to the Oxford singer whose 'Palestine' had won the Newdigate (1808). Walter Scott, visiting the Isis at the time of the poem's recitation in the Sheldonian Theatre, made a suggestion incorporated into it. Reginald Heber's half-brother, Richard, took the bard of *Marmion* to breakfast in the historic Brasenose rooms immediately after their owner had been declared the Laureate of the year. The successful composition was read to the illustrious visitor, who remarked to his host: 'In what you say about Solomon's temple, you are silent as to the fact of no tools having been used in its erection.' The author retired to the corner of the room, presently to return with his famous couplet:

No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung;  
Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung.<sup>1</sup>

The classical influences dominating English hymnody throughout, and even after, the poetic period whose chief lights have now been recalled began in the early Victorian age to be varied by the spiritual influences of German melody and thought. That, of course, was due in some degree to the associations of Queen Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert in 1840. The more serious portion of the English public was thus prepared to derive all the profit, artistic or devotional, which it could gain from Catherine Winkworth's *Lyra Germanica* (1855). The appearance of that selection in England had the effect of inspiring other evangelical singers like E. H. Bickersteth with an entirely new interest in the devotional songs and lyrics that were the ornaments of German Protestantism. The national Church, meanwhile, still remained without any hymn-book specially its own, reflecting those distinctive doctrines or thoughts which Anglo-Catholicism considered its special heritage from Greek and Latin Christendom. From the Anglican, as from every other branch of Christian communion,

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<sup>1</sup> Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Vol. I., p. 874.

the reproach of sterility had been removed. *Quot homines, set hymni*. Not only every Church, but each division of that Church, seemed at times to have its own devotional Laureate. It was during this period that Mrs. Alexander seems first to have felt the poetic afflatus, and that Bishop Bickersteth, Archdeacon Churton, Hugh Stowell, and Dean Alford enriched evangelical song with contributions that still live. Most of those now mentioned wrote for public worship. Dr. Neale, with some others belonging to a later part of this period, addressed themselves less to congregations than to individuals. Meanwhile, the spiritual and poetic spirit of the time not only put forth constant signs of increasing activity, but explained as well as encouraged a growing conviction that some hymnal birth of an entirely new order could not now long be delayed.

The revival of Convocation and the Gorham judgement in 1852, two years later Archdeacon Denison's prosecution, the *Essays and Reviews* judgement in 1864, the first Lambeth Conference of 1867, and the first ritual prosecutions a few years afterwards, invested the second half of the Victorian age with the importance of an epoch in religious history. As the sixties approached the heats of religious controversy died away, and the representatives of theological thought were prepared to take an interest as deep as it was calm in considering and supplying an old and universally admitted need in the conduct of national worship. The occasion was admittedly of an importance that might excuse the comparison of the first meeting held by the *Hymns Ancient and Modern* compilers to the work of those scholars who translated the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek Septuagint. The far-reaching importance of the occasion that collected the nineteenth-century compilers was realized through all parts of the world connected by ties of fellowship or sympathy with the English Establishment. That sentiment showed itself powerfully in the impulse given by the progress of the

English collection to undertakings of a similar kind on the other side of the Atlantic as well as throughout Europe. The transoceanic interest in the movement producing *Hymns Ancient and Modern* had been prepared for by a United States clergyman, afterwards distinguished among American prelates, of Nonconformist birth or associations, and, as was afterwards done by Dean Gregory in England, personally linking Anglican orthodoxy with the liberalism of Free Church antecedents. This was Arthur Cleveland Coxe, a son of the Presbyterian manse, a Baltimore rector (1854), and a year later the western New York diocesan. The author of *Christian Ballads and Poems* had seen several editions of his little volume published between 1840 and 1865. He was in close touch, as well as personally potent and popular, with all supporters of Anglican prelacy on both sides of the Atlantic. Without prominent association by name with them, he came to be regarded as *amicus curiae* in several among the great clerical movements of his time. *Hymns Ancient and Modern* fulfilled his notion of a representative Anglican collection, and may well have owed not a little of its beyond-seas acceptance to his personal initiative and efforts. Nothing like those world-wide elements of success were commanded by Bishop E. H. Bickersteth's counterblast to the earlier manual, *The Hymnal Companion* (1870). Sacred song, it will thus be seen, formed a seasonable and highly useful preparation for the Pan-Anglican Synod at Lambeth (1867). That assemblage met from the last week of September till within a fortnight of Christmas.

Other assemblies of the same kind followed. All owed something of their sectarian cordiality and practical success to the harmonizing influences of the service of song.

Thackeray, when collecting materials for his pen-and-ink portrait of Washington in *The Virginians*, asked the then head of the London Library to help him in his quest. 'Not,' he explained, 'Washington's politics or war-making, but

something that will tell me the colour of his waistcoat.' The novelist not only found all he wanted, but a good deal more, throwing a new light upon the great man whose statue—a gift from the dominion of Virginia—to-day looks down upon the Thames Embankment. Another United States founder has also in his counterfeit presentment, Abraham Lincoln, found a place at no great distance from his eighteenth-century predecessor. These are the men whose reserve, piety, as well as earnestness of character, unbrokenly through the generations which have followed them bequeathed to their national descendants, were the true founders also of the quiet, genuine, and enduring religion of the American character. Among the Washington discoveries to which the London librarian guided the great novelist was an order issued by George Washington in 1778 at Valley Forge: 'The Commander-in-Chief directs that Divine Service be performed every Sunday at 11 o'clock in each brigade which has chaplains. Those brigades which have none will attend the place of worship nearest to them. It is expected that officers of all grades will by their attendance set an example to their men. While we are duly performing the duty of good soldiers, we certainly ought not to be inattentive to the highest duties of religion.'

The spirit of that edict has found its twentieth-century revival in an order from the United States War Department that no marches except in cases of necessity be made on Sunday, when opportunity should be provided for religious services, conducted by the chaplain or through community co-operation, announced with due dignity and notice beforehand. That order of the day shows at least that the spirit of the Washingtonian initiative still survives as an active force nearly a century and a half after its first manifestation.

'Register, register, register!' was Sir Robert Peel's prescription for Conservative majority at the polling-booths. An equal virtue is attached by many well-meaning promoters of Christian reunion to the healing and cementing virtue

of organization, all, of course, excellent in its purpose, and sometimes effective in its results. It is, however, permissible to recall that at no point in the world's history was organization ever so much in demand or carried to such a point of perfection as in the records of classical Rome, when the empire itself was dying of atrophy. In spiritual matters the amalgamation of the Protestant Churches is what confederation has always been to the component and widely separated parts of the Empire. When events are ripe for it, and there has been no scamping of the preparatory processes, confederation is nigh at hand. If artificially hastened or prematurely attempted, the result will not only be delay, but the unavoidable interposition of fresh difficulties in its path. That in secular matters is what followed the historian Froude's South African reconnaissance during the nineteenth century's last quarter. His informal mission to the Dark Continent, coming when it did, only a few years too early, provoked the internecine jealousies of Colonial vestrymanship, and dwarfed a great scheme of Imperial amalgamation into an Enabling Bill. Anything in the nature of formal reunion on the journeys of Protestant Christendom must be, like all great movements, not only slow, but for the most part advancing by degrees almost imperceptible to the contemporary observer.

The Central Hall, Westminster, the Wesleyan head quarters, supplied during the late spring or early summer of last year a notable instance of the tentative and, as must often seem, even timid beginning and progress of movements that gradually acquire a national importance, and lead to results not less enduring than extensively beneficent. The foundation of a Christian order of industry and commerce was the occasion that brought together men of light and leading in every department of Church and State as well as those representing industry, trade, and commerce in every department of contemporary enterprise. The Churches had their delegates in the Primate, the Bishop of Peterborough,

Principal Garvie, Dr. J. C. Carlile, Dr. F. B. Meyer, Dr. Clifford, and Mr. Thomas Nightingale. Among those who stood for the great commercial interests and employments were Mr. Seeböhm Rowntree, Mr. J. H. Whitley, M.P., and the colossus of twentieth-century bankers, Sir Richard V. Vassar-Smith. To elevate, as far as may be to spiritualize, the motive of industry and commerce in the national interest was the object which these earnest and distinguished men put in the forefront of their programme, and to which each of them has given his special attention ever since. The leaders of this movement are, it will be seen, quite the reverse of visionaries; practical, hard-headed business men, with their finger on the pulse of commercial and industrial feeling, as well as personally interested in economizing the industrial energies and resources of town and country, provincial as well as metropolitan. They are, therefore, the last persons in the world to be the dupes of any mere theory or idea. The summer blue cloaks and the winter blue gowns, the mediaeval badges alike of town and country apprenticeship, went out with the Middle Ages or very soon afterwards. The system of which these were the outward and visible signs may have fallen into desuetude, but legally and constitutionally still exists. The Education Committee of the London County Council agrees apparently with the new body whose formation has just been described in thinking that the revival of the old arrangement will go some way towards dealing with the most pressing of twentieth-century programmes. Apprenticeship, therefore, accommodated in its details to modern conditions, is not the scheme of mere doctrinaires, but is now engaging the most practical of business brains, provincial as well as metropolitan. The system of technical and industrial scholarships already exists. The training for these, with the combination of mental and manual discipline, justifies the expectation of great results. It is not ability or aptitude in which, on any social level, English lads are wanting to-day. Their great necessity is a

habit of concentration and the resolution to 'stick it,' however irksome the drudgery of the earlier stages may prove. The Dean of St. Paul's, an Etonian himself, as well as an old Eton master, has had the opportunity of watching the good results, mental, manual, moral not less than physical, of the workshops which a head-master of his time, Dr. Warre, did so much to establish and encourage. The social, political, and industrial life of our Greater Britains to-day has been called a prophecy of what the Old Country will become to-morrow. The service of song, after the fashion already described, unites not only the religious denominations of the motherland, but brings them into communion with its kin beyond sea under every sun.

So, too, with the service of work. The English public-school boy makes, it has been universally found, a good emigrant. Why? Not only because he has been trained in a school whose most useful life-lessons, self-control, self-sufficiency, and independence of help from others, have developed and strengthened his moral as well as physical fibre, but because he has learned a manual dexterity enabling him to cook his own and his fag-master's breakfast, to saddle and manage any quadruped he can get to bestride, to light a fire that will burn up without waste of paper or wood, as well as, above all, to extract the maximum of accommodation from the minimum of space. Upon no grade of families and no order of men has the war, especially in its after-effects, told more heavily than upon the manse. Electric bells, electric lights, and all the other domestic accommodations of science can be installed at a moderate price, but require afterwards as close and continually-recurring attention as a young child or an invalid. In these domestic matters, as in others, it is the unforeseen which chiefly arrives, at a moment and in a neighbourhood barred against the possibility of external help by the ever-expanding dinner-hour or the half-day, when industry strikes with religious punctuality



at noon. College rooms, a curacy in the wilds of Arcadia or at the East End, fortunately for his household have trained the incumbent or his representative into another William of Deloraine, good at need, whether the emergency be that of making a coalless fire burn, of putting to rights a lock that has gone wrong, or of repairing a window-sash whose chronic disorder invites a current of north-east wind beneath every part of the roof, and threatens the head of the family, disturbed in the preparation of his sermon, with the need of finding a substitute for his Sunday pulpit. Such are the troubles and trials that have floated into too many households on the ground-swell of the war. The calm, uncomplaining courage with which these trials are met, and in the midst of them the parish or pulpit work done, has lately filled with admiration a clerical visitor from the United States who has but recently recrossed the Atlantic. The tranquillity with which, amid all these trials, the pastor in the Old Country pursues the uneven and disturbed tenor of his way, impressed the American cousin in the same degree as the spiritual and social atmosphere, the prevailing reverence, spontaneous and unmistakable air of devotion inhaled by the stranger beneath every sacred roof he visited. A transition period like the present cannot but be a blend of good and evil. It is well, therefore, at such a time to be reminded of those things that strike the stranger as standing to our exclusive credit, and to watch the active combination of the different thankworthy agencies now, as here reviewed, active among us, and all tending towards the creation of social, moral, and spiritual agencies likely in the fullness of time to permeate the whole body politic. T. H. S. ESCOTT.

# Notes and Discussions

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## PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND SIN

THE riddle of the universe is perpetually being solved and perpetually eluding solution. Every generation has its seers and pseudo-seers, who announce modestly or blatantly, according to their temperament, that they at last have discovered the secret formula which reconciles the contradictory facts of good and evil. Afterwards, when we quietly analyse their contribution to the everlasting discussion, we find their solution is either an evasion or else mostly a restatement in fresh language of the old arguments and the old fallacies, with little fresh enlightenment. Haeckel belonged to the generation before the present one. He solved the problem by eliminating God in a kind of geometrical progression backwards from the soul of man to protoplasm—ingenious, but deception. The Transcendentalists solved the problem by gradually transforming evil into good with a splendid optimism—a creed not without noble phases, but sure to crumple into impotence in collision with the base and brutal facts of life, which often refuse to be sublimated into processes towards good by any fine fervour of the intellect. So we might multiply illustrations of this perpetual hope perpetually disappointed. To the ultimate question of the universe and human destiny there is an answer, but we may not know it yet. There is nothing for us in the meantime but faith.

One of the major prophets of this generation is Sigmund Freud, the Austrian psychologist. His investigations into the operations of the mind have been of very great value. Certain details and phases of his theories may have to be modified or discarded in later progress of psychological knowledge, but without doubt he is one of the greatest of scientific discoverers in mental phenomena and his works have begun a new era in psychology. So much must be insisted upon to avoid misunderstanding, for it is not Freud but some of his ostensible disciples, not his purely scientific expositions but versions of them by others, more or less garbled or unjustifiably extended, which have put forward psycho-analysis, with a capital initial, as the final and conclusive answer to the world-old riddle, the riddle which tormented Job, and has tormented every thinking man before and since Job—the riddle of evil.

So many have studied Freud's works, or interpretations of his theories by other writers, or the dangerous popular explanations, and, impressed by the obvious truth of a great part of Freudism and the probability of much of the rest, have ventured to believe that at last they have found the answer for which, being human souls, they have been consciously or unconsciously searching all their lives. Some have been impressed by the wide recognition Freud and his theories have received from other creditable authorities. To those who thus mistake the nature of Freud's achievements,

who think to find in his hypothesis a satisfying reply to the insistent query continually levelled at the intellect of man by every fact of human suffering and sin, to such this should be said as emphatically as may be: Do not believe it. It is not so. Do not think that after all the ages of the quest for knowledge, after countless centuries and in each countless men scanning the universe and probing their own souls for an answer, this man, for all his extensive learning, his acute observation, his powerful reasoning, has in these latter years unveiled the great secret which has baffled all the ages, all the philosophies, all the creeds. In this the wisest, the only justifiable attitude, is Agnosticism, a confession, 'We do not know'; not that which is termed Agnosticism in the schools—a sterile contentment with an unknown and unknowable—but the Agnosticism of faith which continues the confession, 'We do not know, but we trust.' Know, in the sense of intellectual comprehension, we never shall, but by the direct vision of the soul comes faith, the culmination of wisdom, and the only sure guide to action.

The main ideas of Freudism may be stated in simple, non-technical language. It regards the life of man as a continual conflict between two principles—the pleasure principle and the reality principle. In life a man finds it necessary to suppress a great many desires because he has no means of gratifying them. These are driven out of his consciousness, with the result that they gather below the threshold, forming 'complexes' in the unconscious, and often influencing his conduct without his being aware of the origin of the influence. There is a conflict between the conscious and the unconscious strata of the mind; the conscious endeavours to control the total activities of the human being in conformity with social training and the restraints of civilization; the unconscious endeavours to find an outlet, a 'substitute gratification,' for primitive tendencies which have been wholly or partially suppressed.

What is this but a statement or restatement in scientific terms of that ancient dogma—which, correctly interpreted, remains for ever true—of original sin? We may call it a dogma, because it is usually so described, but without involving any of the prejudices induced in some minds by the word. A dogma is but the statement in theological terms of a truth gained by direct contact of the soul, not by the logic of the mind. The truths of original sin and free will are but different aspects of the same truth. It is utterly false to suppose that original sin means that a single human being is condemned of necessity to commit a single sin, and it would have been better had the words 'original sinfulness' come into use, for that phrase is closer to the meaning of the dogma. The 'primitive impulses' of the Freudian psychologist are the 'original sin' of the theologian. We ought to know very well, for all the great religious teachers from Moses down to these present times, all the seers from ancient prophets among forgotten nations to Walt Whitman, have taught us that there exist, within a man's soul, hidden often in the unconscious, currents which may drag him down beneath the brutes.

We live, every one of us, in a haunted house, haunted by ghosts of the past. 'Haunted,' writes Dr. Kelman, 'that is the word for this world into which we have entered. . . . The atmosphere is

everywhere that of a haunted earth, where strange terrors and beauties flit to and fro—phantoms of spectral lives which seem to be looking on while we play out our bustling parts upon the stage. They are separate from the body, these shadows, and belong to some former life. They are an ancestral procession walking ever behind us, and often they are changing the course of our visible adventures by the power of sins and follies that were committed in the dim and remotest past.' So Walt Whitman pictures man emerging 'stuccoed all over with reptiles and quadrupeds.' So Stanley Hall writes: 'We are influenced in our deeper, more temperamental dispositions by the life-habits and codes of conduct of we know not what unnumbered hosts of ancestors, which, like a cloud of witnesses, are present throughout our lives, and our souls are echo-chambers in which their whispers reverberate.'

The fact of original sin, in the true meaning of that phrase, has been altered not a whit by Freudism, but rather emphasized. As for the fact of actual sin itself, that remains as before. Not all the scientific investigation in the world can ever rob the human soul of responsibility. There are some—and this is the great peril of Freudism—who seek in the scientific doctrines of psychologists an excuse for others for their evil thinking, feeling, and doing, and a quietening draught for their own uneasy consciences. But no jargon of 'primitive impulses,' 'complexes,' and 'palaeo-atavistic qualities' will lighten by the slightest shade the guilt of the smallest sin. Sin remains sin, a blot upon the soul, a hateful ugliness, a corruption of the spirit's life, and it can never be explained away. The peril of Freudism is that some may believe that in some fashion moral evil has been explained as the result of inevitable inheritance. Rightly interpreted, Freud's teaching means, of course, nothing of the sort. It does not, it cannot, nothing can deny the human will, the greatest thing in the universe. Amid Niagaras and towering mountains, among countless worlds at inconceivable distances, it remains the supreme reality. All the events and movements recorded by history it caused; all the art and literature of all the lands and all the ages it created; civilization is its handiwork. God as Ineffable Love, as Infinite Knowledge, is often preached, but perhaps too seldom we preach Him as Omnipotent and Eternal Will, to whom our wills are akin.

Sin remains sin, because 'primitive impulses' need not be obeyed. An impulse is not a sin, but a temptation. It does not need a Freud to tell us that in the very texture of our minds temptations are, as it were, embedded; to tell us that there is continual conflict within our hearts between good and evil. What difference to the reality does it make whether we call it a conflict of the conscious and subconscious strata or of God and the devil? For scientists exact terminology is important, but for us it is the victory in the conflict which is fraught with infinite consequences. And it is a fact that though science can analyse and describe the conflict, it seems impotent to offer any help in the conflict, except the old ways of help our fathers knew.

For what are the warnings and remedies suggested by psycho-analysis but the familiar truths of religion clothed in scientific

language? When Freud warns solemnly of the danger of mere suppression of undesirable impulses, resulting in hysteria and neurotic distortions of the mind, he is but putting into scientific language what others call the dangers of legalism. Christ taught, and all His followers have believed, that to have a perfect system of law, and render perfect obedience to it, were it possible, is not enough; that there inevitably arise from mere repression such distortions of the moral nature as hypocrisy, Pharisaism, a cold, unlovely life of habit, or feverish fanaticism. Christ taught, and all His followers have believed, what Freud tentatively suggests—that the evil impulses of humanity must be sublimated to higher ends, that the temptations of the flesh and the mind and the soul must be made means of grace, that the force which works awry in wickedness must not, cannot, be destroyed, but must be guided aright, that there is not a physical, mental, or spiritual capacity of man which may not be used for evil or for good.

When the means of alleviation employed in psycho-analysis are examined, they too are found to be familiar truths in a new guise. The basis of Freud's method is the process of investigating the nature of the impulses which are disturbing the mind, and by gradually bringing the suppressed material into the consciousness, the patient understands his mental conflict, and in that knowledge the symptoms disappear. Conviction of sin the Christian religion has always held to be essential. It has always taught that a man must see the conflict within himself clearly, must know the sinfulness and the sin of his own nature before he can regain his soul's health. The symptoms disappear, say the psycho-analysts, when the patient understands the conflict within himself; but science will never transform that 'when' into 'because.' It is not knowledge alone which emancipates, yet knowledge must precede salvation. It is because understanding of the internal conflict is an essential preliminary to the further processes of repentance that the conflict is stilled after understanding comes.

In conclusion, let us note that psycho-analysis is largely a pathological science, and tends to emphasize the mental evil. But there are 'inherited impulses' to good not less powerful, and in each generation becoming more powerful—the fruit of strivings of men through the ages, the evolution of humanity in righteousness.

Religion calls this truth the fact of natural religion, the possibilities of faith innate within us. Psycho-analysis and religion alike teach the terrible cumulative force of evil in each life and in the life of humanity. They both ought to teach also the cumulative force of good, which moves the soul of man and the race of humanity slowly nearer to the ideal.

ANTHONY CLYNE.

### MAPS AND MAP-MAKERS

THOUGH intended, in the main, for the use of teachers, Sir Henry George Fordham's interesting volume *Maps, their History, Characteristics, and Uses*, recently issued by the Cambridge University Press, will find a welcome from a much wider public. Though small in

bulk, and easily to be read from cover to cover at a single sitting, this most fascinating little monograph is rich in information, and information of a kind which is not otherwise very readily accessible. It contains, moreover, an excellent series of illustrations which do really illustrate the text, and afford no small assistance to the reader who seriously wishes to make himself familiar with the historical development of cartography, a subject which has received but scant attention in non-technical literature.

So far as our information goes, the earliest extant examples of cartography are due to the Egyptians. Many of these are mural, though maps and plans have been discovered in the papyrus rolls. The Babylonians divided the ecliptic into twelve signs, and later into 360 degrees. These, like the further divisions of the degree into minutes and seconds, and that of the day into twenty-four hours, were the outcome of the sexagesimal system of enumeration in use among the Babylonians.

‘Adopted by the Greeks and Ptolemy, the scientific elements necessary for the astronomical determination of geographical position became available, and cartography at once advanced to the certainty of a science.’ Among the cartographical achievements of Greece, one ought to mention the world-map of Hecataeus of Miletus (c. b.c. 500), and to note the epoch-making labours of Eratosthenes of Cyrene (b.c. 276-196), the founder of scientific chronology and geography. Eratosthenes ‘recognized the spherical form of the earth, and was the first to make a rational geodetic measurement for the purpose of determining its size.’ The result attained by this great investigator seems to have been approximately correct, but unfortunately, Posidonius, some half-century later, revised the conclusions of his predecessor, diminishing his meridian arc by one-third. This false estimate was later accepted by Ptolemy, and the longer axis of the Mediterranean was, in consequence, exaggerated by one-third, thus distorting the whole littoral—an error which was perpetuated in cartography until so late as A.D. 1700, and this despite the fact that it had been corrected in the Mediterranean compass charts of the Middle Ages.

Ptolemy, a native of Egypt, was astronomer and geographer both, and he applied the former science to the task of determining points on the earth’s surface for the drawing of maps. His principal contribution to geographical science was not so much that of a cartographer as of a purveyor of data essential to successful cartography. His abiding reputation is due to the discovery, in the fifteenth century, of his *Geographia*, of which a Latin translation was printed in 1475. The maps compiled from Ptolemy’s data, and issued in atlas form, are the foundation of cartography as a modern science.

The Romans were map-makers, but their interest was mainly practical, and their activity in this direction was limited to military, topographical, and administrative purposes. They added nothing to the exact knowledge of cartography. The one example of their work which has survived is the famous *Tabula Peutingeriana*, now at Vienna, ‘a curious, distorted, and diagrammatic representation of surface, in the nature of a road map in twelve sheets, forming one long strip.’ It is of little real cartographic interest.

So far as the history of map-making is concerned, from Roman times onward, a long period of something like 1,200 years is, to all intents and purposes, a blank. But from the later years of the thirteenth century it did witness some real progress in map construction of a specialist kind which stands somewhat apart from the general course of cartographic history. I refer to the so-called Portolan charts of the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of Europe. By the aid of the compass and observation of coast lines, the seaman who plied from port to port succeeded in delineating with considerable accuracy the Mediterranean Sea, and as they passed beyond its limits ultimately included the coast of the Brasils. The Portolan are of course mariner's charts, concerned with coast-lines only, and exhibiting no details of the land. The oldest dated example is of 1311, though it is certain that charts existed at least half a century before this date, and possibly earlier still. They undoubtedly form the most interesting feature of this 'blank' period.

The earliest printed map known to us is dated 1460. But the number of cartographers now rapidly increased. Indeed, when in 1570 Ortelius (1527-98) published his famous *Theatrum*, the first systematic collection of maps, he could count nearly 100 known cartographers, while in a later issue his list included no less than 170 names. In the meantime, Gerhard Kramer (1512-94), better known as Mercator, had also been at work on a similar collection. Together with the foregoing, the Dutch school of cartographers, including the three families of the Hondins, the Bleaus, and the Jansons, issued atlases on the grand scale, some of them running to eleven or twelve volumes. This school was extremely prolific, but died out rather abruptly after a century's existence. The French school, founded by Sanson of Abbeville, then held the field for rather more than a hundred years, from before the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. It included, in addition to the Sansons, the Jaillots and the de Vaugondys.

Turning to our own land, the first engraved map of England and Wales was the work of a Welshman, Humphrey Lhuyd, and was published in 1569, though the MS. of a large and accurate map of the British Isles, by Mercator, has recently been discovered at Brealau. It is dated 1564, but has never been engraved. In 1579 Christopher Saxton published a series of thirty-five provincial or county-group maps of this country, the individual sheets of which had appeared at various dates between 1574 and 1578. Saxton was followed by Norden (1548-1625), who issued maps of Middlesex (1598) and Hertford (1598), inserting the roads. In 1607 a folio edition of Camden's *Britannia*, with maps, came forth from the press, and in 1611 appeared Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*; this was followed by the same author's *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*—a general atlas.

Near the end of the seventeenth century, Ogilby's *Britannia*, a set of folio drawings of England and Wales, was the starting-point

<sup>1</sup> A reprint of Speed's map has been issued by the Fine Art Society, certain sheets of which may be obtained for a few pence each from Mr. H. J. Glalsher, 55 Wigmore St., W.; a capital investment.

of the long series of road-books which continued to appear until about the middle of the nineteenth century, when traffic was largely diverted from the roads to the rapidly developing system of railways. In the early part of the eighteenth century many atlases were published in this country, and in the latter part large scale county maps, published by subscription, with the encouragement of the Royal Society, were drawn from original surveys. Towards the end of the century John Cary began his long career of cartographic achievement.

In France, meanwhile, considerable progress had been made; and notable work was done by the two de Lisle, d'Auville, the Vaugondys, and Julian, who mark the transition from empirical cartography to that based upon exact observation and the fixing of points by triangulation.

This brings us to the modern period, that of triangulation and exact cartography, which may be regarded as beginning with the great work of the two Cassinis, Caesar Francis (1714-84), and his son Jacques Dominique (1748-1845). This was nothing less than the complete triangulation of France, a labour of forty-five years (1744-89). The first sheet of this map appeared in the middle of the century, just fifty years before the publication of the first sheet of our own one-inch Ordnance Survey. The triangulation of the British Isles began, it may be added, in 1784.

Map-making had now become an exact science, very much indeed what it is at the present day, and little more need be said. This brief historical sketch cannot, however, be concluded without reference to a great enterprise which, when completed, will mark an epoch in map-making—the World or International Map, in 2,084 sheets, on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000. The project was first suggested in 1891; at the Geneva Geographical Congress of 1908, it was decided that arrangements should be made to standardize the map; and the technical details were finally settled by an International Committee in London in the following year. Although all the civilized nations have expressed their willingness to co-operate, progress has been slow. At the Dundee meeting of the British Association in 1913, five sheets were reported as being actually on sale, and Great Britain, U.S.A., Italy, Hungary, and Spain having others in preparation. Since that date the cartographic activities of the leading nations have, for the more part, been devoted to meeting the demands of war, and the great project has incurred inevitable delay. But now perhaps we may look for better things. Among notable services which the preparation of the world-map may render will perhaps be the general recognition of a single initial meridian. That of Greenwich has been accepted by all parties so far as this particular enterprise is concerned—a step, at all events, in the right direction. The sheets of the map are arranged in gores, so that when complete they will form a globe one millionth of the earth's actual size, or about 42 feet in diameter. One sheet, at any rate, of this great map should be exhibited in every public library in the country.

In view of the great number of scales adopted in maps issued by the various governments, and the differences of initial meridians in use, it is a notable point gained that the members of the International Committee have sunk their differences so far as the world-map is



concerned; and if this process of simplification could be carried still further, it would be of great advantage to the science of cartography. There is much else in Sir G. H. Fordham's little volume it would be interesting to refer to, but our space is gone, and it must suffice to commend it very warmly to all those who are interested in maps and map-making. The study of this little volume can be made still more fruitful and interesting if the reader at the same time provides himself with the Army Manual of *Map Reading and Field Sketching*, and the descriptive pamphlets dealing respectively with the large scale and small scale maps of the Ordnance Survey.

W. EARNEST BEET.

### HOW TO TEACH PHILOSOPHY

FROM the time of Thales down to that of Hegel, philosophy has been as closely related to science as to literature, art, or religion, though we moderns have confined it to the domain of literature. Plato permits only geometricians to enter his school; Bacon theorizes on the method of physical science; Descartes starts with metaphysics in establishing mathematical physics; Kant, in one half of his philosophy, presents a theory of science; and yet we expect to understand the teachings of these giants of thought and to walk in their footsteps by confining ourselves, some to the realm of mind, others to the world of external things!

Philosophy is no more literary than it is scientific. It is the bringing of things before the mind; reflection upon the meaning, value, and reality of what man knows and does. It is founded on the twin pillars of science and literature; if one is pulled down, the entire structure crumbles to the ground. The mind comes to birth and develops by means of religion, poetry, and art, the intellectual, moral, and political life. Through science, strictly so called, is revealed to man the existence of a nature distinct from himself, with its own laws and development, a nature in comparison with which he would appear to be nothing more than a fleeting product, an accident. From the clash of these two issues philosophy. Thus is it born and incarnated in new systems whenever some new attitude of mind or a fresh aspect of nature throws discredit upon all that has gone before.

In a university organized after the natural affinities of knowledge, one common faculty of literature and science, embracing all purely theoretical studies, would run counter to special faculties where theory is placed at the service of practice; and in this common faculty, comprising as many institutes as there are natural groups of theoretical knowledge, the philosophical institute would represent the reflection of the human mind on the whole field of instruction.

True, philosophy is not the business of the youth of a country in the way that other branches of knowledge are. No doubt it is more suitable to mature age, when, through experience of life and the application of his powers to social realities, man has acquired a store of concrete ideas upon which to reflect. Still, it is good to acquire the ability for reflection and examination at an early age. Youth is the time for laying a foundation for the things that merit

development in after life; consequently, the awakening of the philosophical faculty forms part of a perfect all-round education.

Some go farther than this, and would regard it as the end and goal of one's study. This seems to me an exaggerated point of view. Philosophy is not the goal of education, for reflection and creation are essentially different things. It is quite true, however, that man was not satisfied with the tree of life; he also tasted of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Neither experience nor malediction has prevented him from reflecting, and the philosophical faculty has become an essential part of the human mind. Moreover, philosophy reacts beneficially on the various forms of activity it takes for granted. It teaches us to be exacting as regards proof, and at the same time to seek for some element of truth in every human conception. Hence it guides and moderates within us both the critical sense and the instinct of affirmation, the need both to conserve and to change. In all things it compels us to seek the essential and the higher; hence it helps us to introduce justice and harmony into all our knowledge and activity. The result is that philosophy, though not the end of our studies, is their crown, and it is in this sense that it should be included, along with literature and science, in a liberal education.

There should also be methodical gradation. The mind does not benefit by skimming one mountain peak of knowledge after another; it must proceed from the easy to the difficult, and be sure that it has thoroughly mastered one step before proceeding to the next. The teaching of philosophy ought to be on a high level, giving to the youthful student the impression that he is holding converse with some of the world's greatest thinkers, who will reveal to him the ripest fruits of their meditations. This instruction ought also to be accessible to the average cultured intellect, provoking reflection, and aiming less at being complete in itself than at moulding and fashioning both mind and soul. It should therefore deal thoroughly with a few important points of average difficulty rather than simply skim the surface of a great number.

The rise of any one philosophical system is no isolated or chance phenomenon; it is determined by the difficulties and omissions found to exist in former systems, by the progress of knowledge, and by the genius of the philosopher himself. A considerable degree of erudition, attention, and intuition is needed for mentally reconstructing the genesis of so elaborate a system as that of Kant. The tendency at the present time is to plunge headlong into modern philosophy. Nevertheless, ancient philosophy is that simple natural philosophy which is within the scope of the reflecting individual, free and spontaneous, almost unaffected by the exigencies of science or religion. It is far more difficult to keep pace with modern philosophy, with the innumerable shoals along its track, compelled, as it is, to take into account so many externally imposed necessities. Its inventions become ever more subtle and complicated, whilst their meaning and import are of necessity missed by the man who fails to consider the conditions under which it has grown and evolved.

EMILE BOUTROUX.

(*Authorized Translation by FRED ROTHWELL.*)

# Recent Literature

## THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

*Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion.* By Baron Friedrich von Hügel, LL.D., D.D. (Dent & Sons. 15s. net.)

THESE essays are dedicated to the immortal memory of Dante, 'in lively gratitude for inspiration and support throughout some sixty years of spiritual stress, from the writer, his fellow Florentine.' The Baron says modestly, 'There is, assuredly, not a paper here which does not raise more questions than it solves; nor a piece which should not be improved considerably even by myself. But life is short at sixty-nine, and my remaining strength is required for larger tasks.' The first four papers deal with religion in general and Theism; the next three with the teaching of Jesus and Christianity in general; the last four with the Church and Catholicism in general. They were delivered before secretaries of the Christian Student Movement, at the Summer School meeting at Woodbroke, before the Birmingham Clerical Society, the Religious Thought Society in London, and to a gathering of young men at Liddon House. A beautiful letter on the facts of suffering, faith, and love was written to a lady who had lost a daughter of eighteen months old after a long illness, and asked 'how such suffering could be permitted by a God said to be all-good and all-powerful.' It is no small pleasure to find a Roman Catholic so broad-minded as Baron von Hügel. There are a few autobiographic touches here and there which help a Protestant to understand his spiritual outlook. He was first trained in the spiritual life by a Dutch Dominican friar at Vienna. 'What a whole man that was! One with all the instincts of a man, yet all of them mastered and penetrated through and through by the love of Christ and of souls.' To a French secular priest he says, 'I owe more than to any man I have ever known in the flesh.' He holds that, 'like their great predecessors, Aquinas and St. Francis, they required the height of celibacy from which to shine and to rain down upon the just and the unjust amidst their dearly loved fellow men.' One address deals with 'The Essentials of Catholicism.' It argues that there can be no question of abandoning the 'magnificent sense of the Transcendent and Infinite, and of the Immanent and Redemptive Light, Life, Love, God—of levelling down to mere naturalism. . . . We must have the Real God, and must have the Real Christ, the Real Church.' Another paper brings out 'the convictions common to Catholicism and Protestantism' such as the essential givenness of Religion, its appearance in the society of believers, the keen sense of the historical, concrete, contingent, unique

character of the Jewish-Christian Revelation. Protestant Nonconformists regard religion as a work of man; a deliberate, lifelong, methodical renunciation, and self-discipline. The 'detachment from the world appears here with force and vehemence, even though mostly without any sense of affinity to the Catholic, monastic celebrate ideal, and indeed, mostly with an angry prejudice against this form of asceticism.' Early Protestant sects held that man, even in his present earthly condition, can, through God's grace, attain to a real, not an imputed sanctity. 'Later on these positions were systematically developed, even alongside of other doctrines of an intensely Puritan and anti-Rome kind, by the Society of Friends, and, less picturesquely, but here associated with teachings of a more or less Catholic kind, by John Wesley and a considerable proportion of his followers.' The third point, the Baron holds, common to Protestantism and Catholicism is that the Church is free; the visible Society of Believers is distinct from, and independent of, the State.' Baron von Hügel claims that 'everywhere there is *some* truth; that this truth comes originally from God; and that this truth, great or little, is usually mediated to the soul, neither by a spiritual miracle nor by the sheer efforts of individuals, but by traditions, schools, and churches. We thus attain an outlook, generous, rich, elastic; yet also graduated, positive, unitary, and truly Catholic.' There is much more in the volume that will provoke thought and discussion, and which makes one thankful that such a mind is guiding and influencing Catholic opinion and feeling.

*The Origin of Paul's Religion.* By Professor J. G. Machen, Princeton College. (Hodder & Stoughton. 15s.)

The devout reader of the New Testament will naturally consider that while an inquiry into the origin of St. Paul's religious beliefs is an interesting, it is also a very simple and straightforward process. Students know how determined has been the effort of modern criticism to explain away the supernatural element in the 'origins of Christianity,' to analyse the simple into the composite, resolve the divine into the human, and to present the Christian religion as a cunningly devised amalgam of heterogeneous constituents. They have not succeeded, but they are still at work. As in biology, life escapes the keenest scalpel and the anatomist murders to dissect. The account of St. Paul favoured by such critics is that he was the real founder of Christianity, that he proclaimed a gospel of which Jesus the Galilean knew nothing, that he was indebted partly to Jewish traditions, but very largely to superstitious pagan ideas, the inclusion of which in his theology greatly helped to secure its success.

To all who are concerned carefully to study the origin and significance of what Paul called 'my gospel,' though Christ alone was its centre and inspiration, Prof. Machen will prove an excellent guide. He is scholarly as regards attainments and habit of mind. He is thoroughly informed in the literature of his subject, down even to 1921. He is a fair and frank controversialist, giving his opponent full and fair play, and never taking an unworthy advantage. He is patient and thorough in his investigations, and may well prove too

patient and too thorough for some readers. His eight lectures, covering three hundred closely printed pages, contain a well-nigh exhaustive account of Paul's early years, his relation to Jesus, his Jewish environment, the religion of the Hellenistic age, and kindred topics bearing upon his main theme. The writings of critics, from Wrede, Wernle, Bousset, and Reitzenstein to Kirsopp Lake and Bacon, are fully and candidly examined. Without any rhetoric or literary 'frills,' he is content to cover the field of inquiry and argument, and he brings us at last to this: 'Modern reconstructions are all breaking down. The religion of Paul was not founded upon a complex of ideas derived from Judaism or from paganism. It was founded upon the historical Jesus. But the historical Jesus upon whom it was founded was not the Jesus of modern reconstruction, but the Jesus of the whole New Testament and of Christian faith; not a teacher who survived only in the memory of His disciples, but the Saviour who after His redeeming work was done still lived and could still be loved.'

Let no one say that such elaborate inquiry to establish such a familiar thesis is a waste of time and energy. There is a fundamental difficulty in explaining the origin of Paulinism and its place in the development of Christianity. Rationalistic critics for two generations have been trying to explain it away on naturalistic principles. If they are right—or one of them out of a host of rival competitors—'Christianity' is undermined and its end is near. Prof. Machen has contended, and gone far conclusively to prove, that they are wrong. But we are disposed to think with him that the orthodox, 'supernatural' conclusion to which he brings his readers was 'never so unpopular as it is to-day.' That is to say, among the *intelligentsia*, the 'wise and prudent,' who know everything about religion except its reality. We hope that Dr. Machen's work will be widely read on both sides of the Atlantic, and we heartily thank him for his able, searching, and triumphant exposure of the insufficiency of theories which would sap the very foundations of New Testament religion.

*Recent Theistic Discussion.* By W. L. Davidson, LL.D.,  
Professor of Metaphysic in the University of Aberdeen.  
(T. & T. Clark. 7s. 6d.)

In the twentieth series of Croall Lectures, Prof. Davidson takes a somewhat unusual course, marked out for him by the Trustees. He passes in review the various series of Gifford Lectures down to 1919, drawing special attention to the work of four lecturers—Driesch, Balfour, Fraser, and Pringle-Pattison—and characterizing in a general way the work of thirty years produced on the Gifford Foundation by the lectures before the four Scottish Universities. The work was well worth doing, and Prof. Davidson has at least made a contribution towards its accomplishment. Lord Gifford's bequest opened the way for a stream of literature on the greatest of metaphysico-theological problems, the Being and Nature of God. The extent, scope, and variety of more than a hundred courses of lectures has proved how inexhaustible was their theme and how much ground of reverent inquiry is still untrodden. If we cannot by searching find out God,

yet 'the measures of man's mind' are indefinitely extended by such inquiries, and a brief survey of results is timely and useful. Dr. Davidson has already published a volume on *Theism as Grounded in Human Nature*, and he uses the opportunity again to dwell upon the side of the Theistic argument which appeals most to him. But he recognizes the importance of other aspects of the many-sided approach to God, and illustrates the variety of results reached by 'schools' of thinkers represented in the Gifford Lectures. For example, as exponents of the growth of Religious Beliefs are found the names of Tylor, Lang, Max Müller, Tiele, and James; the Philosophical Development of Religion has been set forth by the brothers Caird, Gwatkin, Pfleiderer, and Wallace; Religious Philosophy among Ancient Peoples has been described by Sayce, Adam, E. Caird, Warde Fowler, and Dean Inge. Amongst the lecturers who dealt more specially with high metaphysics are numbered James Ward, Royce, Lord Haldane, Bosanquet, Watson, and Alexander. Theism proper has been discussed by Stirling, Balfour, Pringle-Pattison, and Sorley—not to mention other high and distinguished names.

The subject as defined in Lord Gifford's will has been, as he intended, very widely interpreted, and it would be difficult to find a parallel to the fruitful results produced by his munificent bequest. We agree with the author of this survey that the results have proved that the study of Natural Theology is not—as at one time might appear—rigid and sterile, but is 'living, progressive, and expansive.' If rightly handled, it is inexhaustible, always provided that the human mind is progressive and expansive, and that religion and theology are not allowed to stagnate and decay. Dr. Davidson's volume, if it has not furnished an original contribution to the study of a great theme, will prove of real service to those who are pursuing it for themselves.

*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* Edited by James Hastings, D.D. Volume XII. Suffering-Zwingli. (T. & T. Clark. 85s. net.)

In the preface to this volume Dr. Hastings gracefully expresses his gratitude to the many scholars whose help has enabled him to complete this *magnum opus*. Every student who uses this incomparable *Encyclopaedia* also realizes constantly his indebtedness to its accomplished and skilful editor, and will welcome the assurance that an Index Volume is in course of preparation. Of exceptional value is the erudite and lucid article on 'Theism,' by Professor A. E. Taylor, of St. Andrews. It is really a condensed historical and philosophical treatise (26 pages) conclusively proving that in Europe 'the general trend of philosophic thought, even independently of the influence of positive religions, has been theistic, at least from the time of Plato to our own day.' The last section, modestly described as containing 'brief observations on certain types of objections which are often quite sincerely raised against a theistic interpretation of the world' is as remarkable for the clearness of its logical refutation of non-theistic theories as for its fair and even sympathetic statement of the views shown to be defective or erroneous. Another article of

outstanding merit is that by Professor W. P. Paterson on 'War.' Whilst optimistic as regards the eventual abolition of war, Professor Paterson recognises that 'there are many antitheses which, in addition to the legacies of hatred from the past, disturb the present and menace the future.' Seventeen women contribute to this volume, amongst them Dr. Elizabeth Haldane on 'Voltaire,' Miss Alice Gardner on 'Superstition,' Mrs. Besant on the 'Theosophical Society.' Of the composite articles may be mentioned 'Worship' (14), 'Sun, Moon, and Stars' (17), 'Symbolism' (6). Of special interest to many readers of this REVIEW is the article on 'Tongans,' by the late Dr. James Egan Moulton. Dr. Workman writes on 'Wyclif,' Dr. Ryder Smith on 'Theocracy,' Dr. Geden on 'Upanishads,' &c., Rev. R. Martin Pope, M.A., on 'Western Church,' Rev. W. Bardsley Brash, B.D., B.Litt., on 'Wesley,' and Rev. J. F. Edwards, of Bombay, on 'Tukaram.'

*Belief in God.* By Charles Gore, D.D. (John Murray. 7s. 6d. net.)

Bishop Gore has set himself to produce in three volumes an ordered and reasoned statement of his faith as a Christian. He calls this a 'Reconstruction of Belief' and makes his appeal to the ordinary educated reader. The argument is positive and individual, stating the reasons which seem to the writer convincing. Dr. Gore speaks in his Preface of the influence of Ewald's views of the Old Testament on his own mind when preparing for ordination. He has always felt that the only difficult dogma of the Church was the dogma that God is Love. 'But deeper than any difficulty has been the feeling that at the roots of my being I am confronted with God, from whom I cannot get away, and that the God who confronts me there is the living God of the prophets and of Jesus Christ.' The first chapter dwells on 'The Breakdown of Tradition.' Dr. Gore does not, through the loss of the argument from design in its old form, and from the conclusions of criticism, think that anything like religious recovery on a large scale is likely to occur at present, but he is persuaded that the best way to prepare for it is to clarify one's own mind. The larger reconstruction must be based on such a process in the minds of small groups of men and women. The conditions for this reconstruction are freedom from the passions bred of antagonism and disappointment; a real determination to reach, if possible, a provisional decision; and a frank recognition of the manifold grounds and methods of certainty. Faith in God is in some sense a rational necessity, but the immanent God of philosophy is unsatisfying. 'Our minds turn longingly to the God of our Hebrew prophets and the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' It is hard to resist the conviction that the prophets and Christ were in touch, as other men were not, with the real God, and that He was really communicating to them the truth by which men could live, both about the divine nature and purpose and about human nature. The religion of the Old Testament Dr. Gore holds to be historical, though it 'depends upon no particular incident which critical science is tempted to deny.' That is not the case with the New Testament, and though criticism has shown for 'some three generations an even violent aversion to

miracle,' a survey of the New Testament makes us feel that we are on very sure grounds of history and that miracles as there presented are 'not arbitrary violations of the world order, but rather divine acts done for the restoration of an order which sin had too grossly violated.' The great miraculous events in our Lord's story, such as the Virgin birth, the resurrection and ascension, seem to be so supported that 'nothing short of dogmatic *a priori* assertion of their impossibility, or at least incredibility—an assertion which we cannot make—could justify the refusal of it. And accordingly we are bound to accept these miracles as real occurrences.' We have found the whole statement eminently reassuring, and are persuaded that it will be a real aid to the faith of others. It is marked by absolute loyalty to conviction and perfect readiness to test every argument for Christianity by the fullest light of reason.

*The Religion of Plato.* By Paul Elmer More. (Princeton University Press. \$2.50 net.)

In his volume on *Platonism* Mr. More said that his purpose was to lay the foundation for a series of studies in the origins and early environment of Christianity and on various modern revivals of philosophic religion. His plan has now taken shape in the project of four volumes, of which this is the first. The second is to deal with the Hellenistic philosophies, principally Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Neoplatonism; the third will be on Christianity; the fourth on fundamental questions raised by the studies that have preceded it. Mr. More believes that Greek literature from Plato to St. Chrysostom and to the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. 'is essentially a unit, and follows at the centre a straight line.' He styles this body of thought the Greek tradition because 'the main force in preserving it intact while assimilating large accretions of foreign matter was the extraordinary genius of the Greek speech. The religion of Plato is regarded as part of a great spiritual adventure of the ancient world which covers eight centuries and a half, from the death of Socrates to the Council of Chalcedon. Greek has no expression for the general term religion, but it is rich in distinctions, such as philosophy, theology, and mythology. Philo was the mediator between classical and Christian writers. To him the Hebrew mystics of his day were in possession of a higher truth than the wisest of the Gentiles had been able to reach by their uninspired philosophy. Socrates said that 'a life without criticism, or reflection on its meaning, is unworthy of a man.' That is the approach to religion by way of philosophy; it was Plato's way. St. Basil illustrates the Christian's mythological way of approach: 'For if to live for us is Christ, it follows that our conversation ought to be about Christ, our thought and our conduct should hang upon His commands, and our soul should be formed in His likeness.' Not the smallest of Plato's merits is that he 'holds to the distinction between philosophy and theology and between theology and mythology, while at the same time he sees how they flow one into the other to form a single body of spiritual life.' The various positions are sustained by extended translations from *The Republic*, *The Laws*, and the *Timaeus*. Mr. More thinks that Socrates, and is sure that Plato, did not really



doubt the immortality of the soul, any more than they doubted the existence of God. Under 'Philosophy' Mr. More considers Plato's teaching as to justice and the soul; under 'Theology' he studies his views as to the being of God and providence and justice; under 'Mythology' we approach the subjects of the creation and the problem of evil; and under 'Religious Life' we see his teaching as to the worship and the ideal world. Mr. More says that 'Platonism may soar into regions dim and remote, but it never vanishes away in the abysmal Absolute of metaphysics or the equally abysmal Person of Pantheism. The mythology of the *Timæus* has room for a world-soul as for the individual souls of men, but these are kept for ever apart from the Supreme Deity, while the Orb of Ideas, spread before the gaze of God and men alike, maintains its manifold identity without dissolving into a pale abstraction.' Mr. More recognizes as the special note of Platonism that it can rise to a high level of spiritual contemplation without abandoning the sense of distinctions. He is persuaded that Pantheism and metaphysics are a perversion of spiritual truth, which can be explained by the difficulty of maintaining distinctions in the dizzy flight of the soul upwards. He has also come to believe that 'the way of mysticism, even when it denotes a genuine effort of the spirit and however fine its fruits may appear, is a way perilous to the soul's health, and misses still at the end the balance and measure and steadfastness, the tranquil happiness, in a word, of a sounder religious experience.' John Wesley would have emphatically endorsed this conclusion.

*The Book of Job. A Revised Text and Version.* By C. J. Ball. (Clarendon Press. 25s. net.)

Professor Burney says in the preface to this volume that Dr. Ball was well known as an accomplished Hebrew scholar when he was himself in the nursery. 'He guided my first steps in the study of Hebrew; and throughout my life I have been and still am his pupil, gaining from him a store of knowledge and inspiration for which it is impossible adequately to express my obligation.' Professor Burney dwells on the originality and freshness of this commentary on the most difficult book in the Old Testament. Dr. Ball's profound knowledge of Babylonian language makes his volume a storehouse of material for the enrichment of the Hebrew Lexicon. The introduction points out that in this book we move in a different atmosphere from that of the generality of books in the Hebrew canon. Amid all diversities of style and statement, one doctrine appears to have dominated the minds of legalists, historians, prophets, and psalmists alike—the doctrine that material prosperity is the reward of obedience to the Divine Law, while misfortune of every kind is the direct penalty of sin. Suffering was always an infallible indication of guilt. Job's three friends were obsessed by this doctrine, which he boldly and vehemently controverts. The author of the book did not believe that suffering was always retributive, and he was evidently satisfied with the *dénouement* of the story, when Job's fortunes are restored and multiplied. Dr. Ball thinks the original work has evidently been much interpolated by

later editors, who were left unsatisfied by the poet's own solution of the moral difficulties raised by the story, and were doubtless as deeply shocked as many modern readers have been by the angry outcries and protests of Job against the apparent injustice of the Most High. The speeches of Elihu, which make an unnatural break between Job's final appeal in ch. xxxi. and God's response in ch. xxxviii., seem to be a manifest interpolation, though the section is an interesting record of the criticism provoked by the original work. The Book of Job is original in the highest sense of the word. That does not mean that the author invented either the persons or the plot, though he may be responsible for the religious colouring of his drama. Job's name was known to Ezekiel as that of a person famous for exceptional sanctity. An old Babylonian poem which glorifies Merodoch as a healer and saviour, and seeks to attract sufferers to his temple in hope of deliverance, has been thought to present a sort of parallel or prototype of the book of Job. In it a king relates how he was stricken by a terrible malady which baffled magicians and soothsayers, till Merodoch answered his prayers, expelled the evil spirits, and restored him to perfect health. Dr. Ball gives the text of this remarkable work, with a translation. He thinks that the book of Job was written in the Persian period, about the time that Zechariah prophesied. Dr. Ball's translation of the work is followed by masterly notes on the text and its meaning. In ch. xix. he renders vv. 25-27 :

For I, I know my Avenger ;  
At last He will come forward on earth,  
I shall see, yet living, El's revenges,  
And in my flesh gaze on Eloah !  
I myself shall behold Him, not Another—  
Mine eyes shall look upon Him, and no Stranger !  
My vitals are wasted with wailing  
Until my hope shall come.

The extended note on this famous passage is of great interest. The ancient versions diverge from the Hebrew text and from each other. Dr. Ball thinks that the clue is to be found in the words 'see God,' which were fulfilled before the poem closed. That is new light, and, whether it is a satisfactory solution or not, it shows the importance of this scholarly commentary.

*The Septuagint and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins.* By H. St. John Thackeray, M.A., D.D. (Humphrey Milford. 6s. net.)

The Schweich Lectures for 1920 are dedicated 'To the memory of Henry Barclay Swete, in grateful recollection of guidance and inspiration in Septuagint studies.' Dr. Thackeray's own work as Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint has prepared the way for the present volume. The first lecture gives a sketch of Septuagint origins, paying special attention to the various translators. After this the extent is traced of the influence on the text of lessons and Psalms appointed for the Feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles. The last

lecture discusses the relation of the Book of Baruch and the Feast of the ninth Ab. The results of prolonged and careful research are presented in a most instructive and interesting form. The origin of the traditional number of the translators has been traced in the LXX itself, in the narrative of the law-giving. The Greek Bible of the third century B.C. comprised only the Law. The translation of Prophets and 'Writings' followed in the course of the next two centuries. There are indications in the prophetic collection 'of a second company, analogous to the pioneering body responsible for the Greek Pentateuch. This second instalment was also, it seems, in a large measure, a semi-official production.' The 'Writings' or Hagiographa were treated as national literature, but not yet as canonical. The Psalter, at the head, was the one book in their category which the translators treated with respect. The Alexandrian Bible thus appears to have been gradually built up, the second stage in its history beginning towards the end of the first century of our era. Dr. Thackeray thinks that the liturgical use of Scripture in public worship is a factor in exegesis which has been unduly neglected, and on that he has much to say that is fresh and illuminating. The lectures will be of special value to students of the Septuagint.

*The Solution of the Synoptic Problem.* By Robinson Smith. Second edition, re-written. (Watts & Co. 10s. net.)

The first line of this work lays down a highly disputable proposition as a basal argument: 'The earliest known Gospel is the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*.' It is held to be superior to the four canonical Gospels in a number of textual matters. It was written, we are told, 'about 80 A.D.,' and the second Gospel—our Greek Mark—'written about 105 A.D.,' is based upon it. But the secondary character of the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* is maintained by a consensus of scholarly opinion, whether it is regarded as based on oral tradition (Zahn and Harnack), or as dependent on one or more of the Synoptics (Wernle and Meyer). Another dictum of the author is that 'our Greek Luke . . . was written about 145 A.D.' and that one of its sources was the fourth Gospel, dated about 140 A.D. From these and similar premises conclusions are drawn which recent research has often refuted, as, e.g., that Luke 'knew very little of what he was writing about,' and the fallacy that even though the sources of some of the Gospel narratives could be traced with certainty, the Gospels themselves are thereby proved to be 'falsified accounts.'

*Proceedings of the Fifth Ecumenical Conference.* With Introduction by Rev. Dr. Workman and Dr. H. K. Carroll. (Methodist Publishing House. 20s. net.)

The Fifth Methodist Ecumenical met in the Central Hall, Westminster, September 6-16. This report covers nearly five hundred pages, and gives the papers and speeches made at the Conference and its public meetings. The portraits of the delegates, which come out with wonderful distinctness, form a fitting frontispiece. The Introduction claims justly that 'the Conference throughout tried to face the facts of life and thought, and to fit the new outlook into the

old *continuum* of faith and order which was its sacred heritage from the past.' Not less important was the happy opportunity given to Methodist leaders from all parts of the world to consult together and to meet one another face to face. 'Methodism began in the interchange between two continents of men of faith and burning love; any severance of intercommunication and fellowship would be disastrous.' The previous Ecumenical Conferences have done much to bind the Methodist Churches of the world together in larger sympathy and more practical co-operation. The Fifth Conference has drawn them still more closely together, and the papers and addresses in this crowded volume will be studied with profound interest both by those who heard them and the wider circle that will now have the privilege of perusing them. Every subject seems alive. Theology, social science, missionary work, the place of women in the Church, the demands for denominational literature, the care of the young, and other pressing questions are here discussed in the most suggestive and helpful way.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is rendering valuable service to students by its *Translations of Christian Literature*. Dr. A. J. Mason has edited *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian* (15s. net). Macarius was born about 300 A.D., and Palladius says he lived to the age of ninety. He spent sixty years of his life in the desert, where 'at the age of forty he received the grace of conquering evil spirits, and of healings and predictions.' The evidence for ascribing the Homilies to him rests in the manuscripts and the internal evidence which they present. They were addressed to monks and have a strange aloofness about them. Their one object is to bring souls to God in perfect self-subdual and absolute devotion. He insists on the greatness of the soul and on the freedom of the will, which nothing can take away. The Homilies are a real aid to holy living. 'God's face is turned away from souls that are not clothed with the raiment of the Spirit in full assurance, from men who have not *put on the Lord Jesus Christ* in power and reality.'—Another Greek text, edited by Herbert Moore, is *The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of Chrysostom* (8s. 6d. net). This is the best authority for the life of the great preacher, and the more carefully we study it, 'the more lovable the man appears, and the more conscious we are of our debt to him for the noble standard of devotional, ministerial, and intellectual Christian life which he so fearlessly, faithfully, and outspokenly maintained, and bequeathed to us.' Much information as to Palladius and his work is given in the Introduction, and the notes are somewhat fuller than in other volumes of the series with a view to the needs of other readers than students of theology. The denunciations of Chrysostom's enemies show the sympathy of the writer for his master, and the dialogue makes the tragedy of the bishop's banishment and death really live before one's eyes. It is a translation that many will be grateful for.—*Some Account of the Penitential Discipline of the Early Church in the First Four Centuries*. By R. S. T. Hailehurst, B.D. (5s. net). This study begins with discipline in the Old Testament, then it dwells on the words of Christ Himself, the apostolic and sub-apostolic age, the statements

of Tertullian and Origen, and at last reaches St. Basil. Our information as to discipline in the fourth century is much fuller than for any of the preceding three, owing to the rise of councils and the promulgation of penitentiary canons. The conflict with Novatianism and Donatism has a chapter to itself which traces the line of argument between Catholics and Novatians. Augustine and Optatus used much the same arguments to meet Donatism. It is a piece of scholarly research into a subject which has been little dealt with save in encyclopaedias since Marshall wrote *The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church* in 1714.—*The Tractate Berakoth (Benedictions), Mishna and Tosephta* (6s. net) is now added to the valuable *Translations of Early Documents*. Dr. Lukyn Williams has translated it from the Hebrew, with Introduction and Notes. The Mishna or oral teaching was probably compiled by Rabbi Judah, the prince and the saint, who was born in 185 A.D. and died about 210. It deals with the practical side of life, and is a compendium of the practices of the Jews, as ordered by earlier scholars, and as adopted by the leading traditionalists at the close of the second century. Dr. Williams thinks the Tosephta was written not long after the Mishna and elucidates it. One extract will show the nature of the work and its peculiar interest for readers of the Gospels. 'The School of Shammai say: They tidy the room and afterwards wash their hands, but the school of Hillel say: They wash their hands and afterwards tidy the room.'—*The Doctrines of the Twelve Apostles* (8s. 6d. net) gives the translation of the *Didache* by the late Dr. Bigg, with a new Introduction and revised notes by A. J. Maclean, D.D. Dr. Bigg assigned the work to the fourth century. Bishop Maclean holds that it belongs rather to the early part of the second century. Dr. Bigg's arguments are given, with the reasons for modifying them which later research has supplied. It is an edition which can be strongly recommended to students of the *Didache*.—In the Indian Church Commentaries the *Epistles of St. Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and Philemon* is edited, with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Firminger, Archdeacon of Calcutta. The work is based on that of the best English commentators, 'with such references to eastern religious thought and life as may make them serviceable to both Christian and non-Christian.' This certainly adds to the interest of the commentary for the English reader. It is a careful and scholarly piece of exposition which deals thoroughly with the problems of both letters.—*The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*. By P. N. Harrison, M.A., D.D. (Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.) This essay was accepted by the Senate of London University as the thesis for the degree of Doctor of Divinity. It seeks to unlock the secret of the authorship of the Pastoral Epistles by a study of the words used in them. Dr. Harrison thinks that in anything like their present form the Epistles cannot be the direct work of St. Paul. He finds in them certain passages which are thoroughly Pauline in vocabulary, idiom, and style, and a considerable number of unmistakably Pauline phrases which could perfectly well have been taken from the ten Pauline Epistles by a diligent student. He says 'it is psychologically inconceivable that the real Paul should have addressed the real Timothy and Titus in many of the terms, or in the general

tone adopted by the Paul of these Epistles.' 'His was an altogether different type of spirit from that which burns and throbs in every page of the genuine Paulines.' Dr. Harrison concludes that the real author of the Pastorals was 'a devout, sincere, and earnest Paulinist, who lived at Rome or Ephesus, and wrote during the later years of Trajan or (? and) the earliest years of Hadrian's reign.' That is the theory here worked out with the utmost care. It does not commend itself to our judgement. It is only a theory, and though much learning and research are lavished upon it and the results set out in a remarkable appendix where the Greek text is given with marks which indicate all the sources suggested by the theory, we take it that the verdict of scholars will be that it is scholarly and ingenious but not proven.

*The Spiritual Outlook of Europe.* By Rudolf Eucken. (Faith Press. 8s. 6d. net.) This is a penetrating study which will repay close and repeated reading, though its idealism is discounted by the author's own failure as revealed in his autobiography. Professor Eucken dwells on the great revolution in the position of religion which has marked the last few centuries. In the days of mediaeval scholasticism the world with which religion deals was constantly called the 'true native land,' the *patria* of mankind. From the beginning of the modern period thought and feeling have been turned more and more 'towards the world of sense—experience—and the root of man's endeavour has been transplanted thither. The relations of religion to nature and to the world of sense leads to an acute critique of Positivism and Socialism. The right of religion to exist is pronounced indispensable. 'It is only with religion that the life of the spirit makes its position firm and assures its ascendancy in the universe.' It is only with naturalism which treats sensible nature as if it were the whole of reality that religion has to fight. If that is done religion and natural science 'can live together in harmony and in mutual helpfulness.' The pages on culture have special interest. Religion alone preserves it from becoming ever more senile and stereotyped. The widespread ruin which has come into the world order is far too fundamental to be made good by the slow progress of culture. Nor is the Indian religious idea of self-redemption admissible. Endless obstructions lie in the path of Christianity, and it can only conquer by employing to the full the world-creative and world-transcending power which lies within it.—*Christian Philosophy.* By J. Gurnhill, B.A. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.) Canon Gurnhill groups together the three topics of absolute values, creative evolution, and religion, showing how the first goodness, truth, beauty, love, lead to the contemplation of the nature and attributes of the Divine Being, the one and only Absolute. In creative evolution He manifests Himself in countless forms of beauty and goodness, and calls into existence spirits like Himself capable of bearing His image and responding to His love. Religion comes naturally into view when we consider the relation between the Creator and man, who is the very climax of the *Élan Vital* and the *chef d'œuvre* of the Creator's works. The last part of the treatise inquires whether the religion of the Incarnation conforms to and

harmonizes with the demands of the spiritual philosophy. The study is marked by freshness and grasp. It is wonderfully clear, and will be very helpful to many who are seeking a firm foundation for religious belief and confidence.—*Buddhist Psalms*. Translated from the Japanese of Shinran-Shōnin. By S. Zamabe and L. Adams Beck. (John Murray. 8s. 6d. net.) Mr. Beck says in the preface to this new volume of *The Wisdom of the East Series* that Buddhism has developed in each land that it has influenced along the lines indicated by the mind of that people. Mahayana Buddhism compared with the teaching of Gautama Buddha is like the growth of a sacerdotal system from the simplicities of St. Mark's Gospel. The author of these psalms was born near Kyōto in 1175 A.D. and gained enlightenment from the great teacher Hōnen. He did not accept the Buddhist monastic rule, but married and had a son. The orthodox Buddhists persuaded the Emperor to banish him at the age of twenty-nine, and after a period of seclusion he became a Buddhist evangelist. 'His teachings to-day are spread far and wide in the land of his birth, and are an inspiration to millions within and without its shores.' One extract will show what a note these psalms strike: 'Take refuge in Him who is Holiest of Holy. Sun and moon are lost in the ocean of His splendour. Therefore is He named the Infinite in whose radiance sun and moon are darkened. Before whose divine power even that Buddha made flesh in India himself faltereth in ascribing praise to the majesty of His true glory.'—*Homiletics; or The Theory of Preaching*. By Joseph Gowan. (Elliot Stock. 6s. net.) This volume is the outcome of thirty years' study of the art of preaching. Mr. Gowan has read widely on the subject, and has analysed the sermons of noted preachers and sought to discover the secret of their success. He lays stress on the moral and spiritual as well as the general and special preparation for preaching, and gives useful advice as to reading and writing. Illustrations are dealt with in a way that will be appreciated by students. It is a wise and broad-minded study of an art which was never more important than it is to-day. Mr. Gowan feels the greatness of the work, and makes his readers feel it also.—*Impasse or Opportunity? The Situation after Lambeth*. By Malcolm Spencer, M.A. (Student Christian Movement. 8s. net.) This is the work of a Free Churchman who has had special opportunity of estimating the possibilities of reunion. He sees how much turns on Episcopacy, and says, 'Episcopacy without qualification is, in my view, quite unchristian and untrustworthy; but equally do I think that Church government without an element of episcopal authority is as defective in theory as it has proved to be unsatisfactory in use.' Mr. Spencer holds that the Lambeth 'demands are capable of such modifications as might bring them (without contravening either the spirit or letter of the bishops' statement) within our reach.' He proposes that some Free Church ministers might 'qualify for the special ministry of the United Communion Service and others who do not.' Those who wished to qualify for the wider ministry might be willing to accept the method of episcopal ordination in some form as the bishops have proposed. That, it seems to us, would introduce division among Free Churchmen which would be a greater evil than any benefit that

would be secured.—*Notes on Daily Bible Readings for 1922.* (By J. P. Coates, M.A. Student Christian Movement. 6d. net.) These readings 'illustrate the development of a primitive belief into the world-conquering Christian faith.' They begin with the creation of man and pass from 'Idealistic Tradition' to Early Hebrew Thought, The Prophetic Period, The Jewish Church, and on to Jesus Christ. The course thus furnishes suggestion for a scientific study of Hebrew religion.—Messrs. Longmans send us two valuable pamphlets of the Liverpool Diocesan Board of Divinity. Kempthorne's lecture on *The Place of the Laity in the Administration and Work of the Church* (1s. 6d. net) says we shall fail miserably if we submit to the ancient heresy that the clergy are the Church. Its work can only be done when the whole Church takes its part in witness, in work, and in prayer. The bishop describes the position taken by the laity in the New Testament and in the early Church, and shows that clergy and laity alike must fit themselves by self-discipline, by knowledge, and by devotion for the great service to which God has called them, as His fellow workers.—Canon Storr's subject is *The Moral Argument for Theism* (2s. net). The review of 'non-theistic ethics' is valuable, and the conclusion is reached that Christian ethics views the natural and moral order as 'united in the movement of a divine love, which, co-operating with man, is working out a vast spiritual process which has goodness as its source and goal.' 'When reason can go no further, the whole spiritual nature of man rises up and demands that the ground of all reality shall be a Being who can satisfy the needs of that nature, One in whom those natural values are eternally realized which we, in our best moments, feel ought to be realized.'

*The Story of Job.* By Minos Devine, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.) This study is intended for general readers, but some critical questions as to the date and teaching of the Book of Job are dealt with in the Appendix. Mr. Devine says that no part of the Bible requires more sympathetic reading. 'If ever a book revealed a man, the beatings of a warm human heart, it is in this story of Job. It is one of those great dramas of the soul which prove that the fountains of life and passion are not in any outward forms, but within.' The Introduction is admirable, and leads up to eighteen chapters which expound the leading thoughts of the book in the light of history and literature. It begins with 'Piety on earth and Debate in Heaven' and ends with 'The Vision of God' and 'The Conclusion of the Whole.' Those who have gained much from Mr. Devine's volumes on Ecclesiastes and on the Beatitudes will find their debt increased by this rich study of what Carlyle called 'all men's book.'—*Peace and Happiness.* By the Right Rev. H. L. Paget, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 8s. 6d. net.) The Bishop of Chester has written this book as the Lenten Study of the diocese of London. Seven years ago his *Day of Battle* had a very wide circulation; now he expounds the familiar words in the prayer for Parliament: 'Peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety.' Such a message is peculiarly needed in these days when national events are exercising all our thoughts, and Dr. Paget brings out their significance in the most impressive way. 'Civilization is not self-supporting, self-maintaining; it cannot be trusted; it cannot save itself; it decays,



it pollutes, it defiles itself; it sees corruption. It needs the salt of Christian morals; it needs the inspiration of Christian hope.' The earnest expectation of the creation waits, as St. Paul said, for the manifestation of the sons of God.—*The Meaning of Suffering in Human Life*. By the Rev. Buchanan Blake, D.D. (Paisley: Gardner. 6s.) Dr. Blake hopes that this book may bring the comfort to many mourners which it has brought to himself. He considers various solutions given of the problem of suffering and finds them wanting. Then he turns to our Lord's teaching on the subject. There we find how God suffers for mankind and see that the Church is called on to make its sacrifice for the spread of the kingdom. Every sick and suffering person is a challenge to us all to use those methods of prevention and healing that lie to our hand. We are to lose our lower and selfish selves and to find our truest good in voluntary self-sacrifice to secure the good of others. Thus we come into fullest line with the divine purpose of good for all mankind. It is the work of a true and enlightened Christian thinker, and cannot fail to accomplish the writer's purpose.—*The Proletarian Gospel of Galilee*. By F. Herbert Stead, M.A. (Labour Publishing Co. 2s.) There is a wide and deep sense of gratitude for the work Mr. Stead has done for twenty-seven years as Warden of the Browning Settlement, and this little volume will show what deep religious conviction has prompted and moulded that service. The Introduction appeared largely in this REVIEW. The eight chapters which follow show that Jesus was an artisan who roused Palestine by His message 'The kingdom of God is at hand.' It was a realm of peace, justice, kindness, humility, inward law, and it was Spirit led. His teaching laid stress on the social contrast which we are to overcome, not by class conflict, but by class co-operation, by strengthening the spirit of brotherhood and Fatherhood. It is a message that the world never needed more than it does to-day.—*Mountain Pathways*. By Hector Waylen (Kegan Paul & Co. 8s. 6d. net.) We welcome a third edition of this 'study in the Ethics and Psychology of the Sermon on the Mount.' We noticed the first edition in 1909, and are glad to find a valuable Appendix now added which deals with many critical questions, such as non-resistance, spiritualism, and divorce, in a way that will be of service to students. It is a thoroughly good piece of work.—*Aspects of the Holy Communion*. By the Rev. R. L. Pelly, M.A. (Student Christian Movement. 1s. net.) The writer has found it best to concentrate attention on one subject at Holy Communion. He here dwells on seven such themes as 'The Master of the Feast,' 'The Saviour of the Body,' 'The Bread of Life.' The tender and suggestive little papers will help many to gain new blessings at the Lord's Table.—*The Expository Times*. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Vol. xxxii. (T. & T. Clark. 12s. net.) This journal grows more and more valuable. It covers a host of subjects on which a preacher wants guidance, and does it with so much brightness and good sense that every number is assured of a welcome. The Notes of Recent Exposition are wonderfully varied and the notices of new books are always vivacious and discriminating. Such papers as Principal Garvie's 'The Hebrew Prophet and the Christian Preacher' will suggest many themes to preachers, and Dr. Hastings has secured

valuable contributions from Rendel Harris, Principal Griffith Jones, and other experts. It is a volume which sets a high standard for preachers and teachers and spares no pains to enable them to reach it.—*Stories of the Love of Jesus: Devotional Studies*. By Jesse Brett, L.Th. (Longmans. 8s. net.) The sevenfold glory of the Love of Jesus is here described from His Incarnation, His Ministry, His Passion, His Risen Life, in Heaven, in the Blessed Sacrament and in His Saints. It is a beautiful set of studies, which will appeal to Protestant readers, as well as to those of the writer's own communion, though there are points in the chapter on the sacrament which do not altogether accord with their view. Is every Christian called to the supernatural love displayed by the Saints? 'The prevailing acceptance of a lower standard of Christian practice tends towards a mistaken and false view of spiritual obligation. People are not eager to become Saints. They regard such ideals as too high, and in fact unnecessary. But our Lord calls us to take up the Cross.' That brief quotation shows the tone of the book.—*Prayers in the Presence*. By F. W. Drake. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. net.) The Rector of Kirby Misperton's guide to private devotion at the Eucharist is arranged under such headings as Adoration, Thanksgiving, the World, the Church, Home, &c. A short introduction to each section is followed by brief sentences of prayer and two or three longer prayers. It is just the help that many need, and it is marked with deep spirituality and true insight into the human heart.—The two new *Fellowship of the Kingdom Pamphlets* (Epworth Press, 8d. net) are *The Imitation of Christ* (Thomas à Kempis), by E. J. Ives, and *John Wesley's Quest*, by J. Arundel Chapman, M.A. They are beautiful bits of work, full of thought and practical suggestions. We hope they will be widely read and bear much fruit.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

*The Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird, LL.D., D.C.L., F.B.A.* By Sir Henry Jones, LL.D., and John Henry Muirhead, LL.D. (Maclehose, Jackson, & Co. 25s. net.)

THE Master of Balliol has been happy indeed in his biographers. Professor Muirhead has been responsible for the last chapter of the 'Life' and all the chapters on the 'Philosophy' save the first. He has also edited the 'Letters,' which appropriately come between those two sections of this comprehensive volume. It is the record of a thinker. His friends have not had to describe many striking events or to deal with any large amount of correspondence. Edward Caird's father was partner and manager of a firm of engineers in Greenock, but he died when Edward was three years old, leaving his widow with the care of six sons, of whom the eldest was not eighteen years old and the youngest was an infant. Four of the boys entered into business and prospered. The eldest became one of the most powerful preachers of his day and Principal of Glasgow University. Edward thought of becoming a minister, like John, of the Church of Scotland, but decided that he could do better service as a layman. His health was not good as a student, but after his course at Glasgow he was elected to one of the Snell Exhibitions at Balliol in 1860. He was older than the other freshmen and was already a philosopher. Mr. Strachan-Davidson says he was never really an undergraduate in the ordinary sense of the term. His most intimate associates were found chiefly among the Fellows of Colleges, who welcomed him at once as one of themselves. He took a First Class in Classical Moderations in 1862, and a First Class in the Final School next year. He was soon in demand as a coach in moral philosophy and logic. In 1864 he was elected Fellow of Merton after an examination in which he showed unprecedented 'ability, originality, and literary style.' He became tutor at once. Two years later he was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. He thus succeeded to a chair which had been filled by Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid, and during his twenty-seven years of office he abundantly fulfilled the prophecy of an old friend that he would 'be one of the best teachers as well as one of the most eminent of the Professors who had ever filled it.' There was something Socratic in the relation between himself and his students. 'The Master's work was a spiritual exposition of life, and the disciples' acquisition was a spiritual point of view.' His duties as Professor were exacting, but he took a keen interest in the affairs of the city and earned Sir George Adam Smith's tribute as 'one of the greatest citizens Glasgow ever had.' On Jowett's death in 1898 he returned to Oxford as Master of Balliol. Nothing save a unanimous call to the College of Jowett and Green could have drawn him away from Glasgow and his brother, the Principal, but he felt that in his new sphere he would have his hand on the heart of England.

Some pleasing glimpses of his life there are given in his letters to his intimate friend, Miss Talbot of Clifton. He retired in 1907 and died at his house in Oxford on November 1, 1908. The chapters on his philosophy are of special value. The unity of his teaching was 'no less dominant than that of a poem, and it was much more in evidence.' He gave of his best unstintedly, and the singleness and wholeness of his doctrines made them impressive and new in his class-room. In his idealism he set himself to combine and reconcile the work of Kant and Hegel. His philosophy attempted to do justice to the subjective idealism, which, 'with its sceptical corollaries, had infected English philosophy from the times of Berkeley,' and 'the Realism or Naturalism which sought to eliminate the element contributed by the subject and to explain everything in terms of nature conceived of as a mechanical system and held to be not only the one thing that could be known, but the ultimate reality of things.' After Green's death he became the acknowledged leader of the brilliant group of writers who made this new synthetic philosophy dominant in England, Scotland, and America. His philosophy of religion is described in a valuable chapter. Caird held that the 'combination of a knowledge of the worst with faith in the reality of a principle which over-reaches and overpowers it gave its unique character and power to the religion of Jesus.' Jesus based His 'confidence on the love of God to man and in His own unity as man with God—these taken together make up a faith beyond which religion cannot go, except in two ways, namely, in the way of understanding them more adequately and of realising them more fully.'

*Essays on the Latin Orient.* By William Miller, M.A., LL.D.  
(Cambridge University Press. 40s. net.)

Unassuming as is its title, Dr. Miller's massive and sumptuous volume is a treasure indeed. Very few living English historians, if indeed there is a single other, could have done for us what Dr. Miller has achieved in these very learned papers, written at various times, but now happily brought together within the compass of a single volume, and worthily issued by the Cambridge Press in this convenient and permanent form. The story of Greece during the classical period is, to a certain extent, familiar to thousands; but that of the long centuries which lie between the close of the classical period and the present day is to the great majority absolutely and utterly unknown. This ignorance of a very striking chapter of world-history is not altogether a matter for wonder. The literature of the subject is scanty, and such works as are available are in some cases not quite all that could be desired. In Dr. Miller's volume we have at last a history at once adequate and compact. Here, within the compass of one delightful volume, the reader may follow the story of Greece from Roman times down to its breaking from off its neck the Ottoman yoke. The story is entrancing, abounding in vicissitude, full of light and shade, and changeful as an April day. We are told how Athens, long a stronghold of pagan learning, became a Christian see, and the Parthenon itself, as 'Our Lady of Athens,' a cathedral church; how, as a result of the Fourth Crusade, and the

establishment of a Latin Empire at Constantinople, Greece became organized on feudal lines, with its greater and its lesser vassals, dukes and counts and lords bearing classical titles, and all the paraphernalia of feudalism. Wave after wave of immigrants, lordly and otherwise, flowed in from the west, Franks, Burgundians, Genoese, Venetians, and others too numerous to name. Sometimes allies, sometimes rivals, now co-operating together, and anon intriguing against each other, the ever-varying mutual relations of the newcomers presents a picture which is never monotonous. With the coming of the tidal wave of Ottoman aggression a new era opens, big with interest. Enough perhaps has been said to indicate the richness of the treasure-house of historical learning which Dr. Miller sets open before the reader of his noble volume. It will bear reading and re-reading; it opens up a line of research which will be new to many, but which, in respect alike of its intrinsic interest as a story and its world-importance, is worthy of far greater attention than has heretofore been accorded to it. We congratulate Dr. Miller upon having made a contribution of permanent value to historical literature, and we cordially thank him for giving us a most entrancing book.

*Jacques Bénigne Bossuet.* A Study by E. K. Sanders.  
(S.P.C.K. 15s. net.)

This volume deserves to be set beside Miss Saunders's studies of *Anglique of Port Royal*, *Vincent de Paul*, and *Ste. Chantal*. Recent admirers of the classic French preacher have thrown new light on his character and shown it full of surprises. He was 'the tool of contradictory impulses. When he wrote, glorious visions of men's possibilities of holiness inspired his pen; but when he left his desk the interests of the world submerged his aspirations. The standards behind his teaching were worthy of a saint, but his relations with his fellow men do not display the marks of sanctity.' Admiration for his genius and his portentous industry is increased by our study of the man himself. At Metz and Paris the aim of his preaching was the conversion of his hearers and the extension of the kingdom of God. When he felt the call to labour for reunion, that mission filled his life. His sense of vocation governed his whole course. His own faith was unwavering and unalterable. He was intent on imparting those essentials of belief which he regarded as the sure foundations for conversion to the heedless throng to which he preached in Paris. He knew that they had no desire for his teaching; nevertheless he held that the grace of God might use some fragment of his message against the intention of those who listened. In his struggle with Fénelon he allowed 'his temper to get the better of him, until those who most revered him marvelled at the strange perversion of his natural kindliness.' That is a lasting blot on his character. He was a great lover of books and a profound student of his Bible. The last glimpses of him show us 'a trembling figure, forlorn in its isolation. And yet, though the darkness may have been full of terrors, in the midst of it he found his way to peace.' It is a fascinating study of one who holds a position in France akin to that which Shakespeare holds in this country.

*Collected Papers of Sir A. W. Ward.* Vols. III.-V. (Cambridge University Press. 85s. net each.)

Some months ago we had the pleasure of offering a cordial welcome, in the pages of this REVIEW, to the first two volumes of the *Collected Papers* of the Master of Peterhouse. Three further volumes have now appeared, and with their issue this really remarkable work has attained completion. Of these volumes the third and fourth, which are separately indexed, consist of papers dealing with literary topics, while those comprised in the fifth and concluding volume are of a more varied character. This last volume has an excellent frontispiece portrait of the author. The work as a whole will serve as a noteworthy memorial of the wide range of the writer's learning, and of the length and the industry of his most successful literary career. The first two volumes of *Collected Papers* were historical in character. The papers in the third and fourth volumes differ widely in interest and permanent value, but open up many an interesting literary by-path, and the lover of good literature will find in these volumes a mine of unfailing delight. The last volume, 'Travel and Miscellaneous,' is the most varied of the five. Not the least interesting papers are the biographical essays on Jacob Grimm, Karl Ritter, Ernst Curtius, E. A. Freeman, Canon Ainger, and Dr. J. W. Donaldson. There is a brief paper bearing tribute to the splendid services to historical learning of the late Lord Acton; but the reader is left hungering for more, and one could wish that this paper had been a good deal longer. Some burning University questions of a long generation ago, such, for instance, as that of establishing a University in Manchester, are very interestingly brought to the reader's attention in the form of contemporary contributions to the discussions which preceded action.

*Paris and its Environs.* Edited by Findlay Muirhead and Marcel Monmarché. (Macmillan & Co. 12s. net.)

The value of this compact and convenient guide is much increased by the fact that it is based on the *Guide Bleu* recently issued by M. Monmarché. The material has been re-edited and re-arranged from the point of view of English-speaking travellers, to whose practical needs the greatest attention has been given. The accounts of the collections in the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Chateau of Chantilly have had the special oversight of Mr. Maurice Brockwell, and other specialists have lent their assistance to perfect various sections of the guide. It begins with an historical sketch of Paris and a mass of practical information as to the way to Paris from England, hotels, conveyances, amusements, and everything a visitor needs to know. The itinerary begins on the right bank of the Seine, which is the most important part of Paris for business or for pleasure. The guide itself covers four hundred and eighty pages, and the Appendix, which can be detached from it, adds fifty pages more of information as to cabs, omnibuses, tramways, underground railways, and river steamers. There are sixty maps and plans in this splendid guide to what is one of the most interesting cities of the world and one which has gained added prestige through

the terrible ordeal of war. It has the advantage of being so compact and handy that it can be easily slipped into a bag or a pocket. It is as reliable and workmanlike as its three predecessors, and there are no finer guide-books in the world.

Mr. Batsford sends us two books of very special interest. *Everyday Life in the Old Stone Age* (5s. net) is by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell, to whom we owe the delightful *History of Everyday Things in England*. They are now busy with a series of volumes which seek to fill in the long space before the coming of William the Conqueror. The present volume begins with the A B C of archaeology, and then describes the men of the Old Stone Age, the cave-dwellers, the artists, and the end of the age. It puts the results of the latest research in the most attractive way and lights all up by clever drawings. The old painters' skill in catching the very spirit of the animals they drew on the walls of their caves is surprising. 'To-day we can snapshot a horse while galloping, and the resulting photograph will not convey the sense of motion that the Palaeolithic artist has obtained.'—*Homework and Hobbyhorses*, No. VI. of the *Perse Playbooks*, gives a set of new poems by lower-form boys of the famous Grammar School. Mr. H. Caldwell Cook has edited them and written an Introduction. His colleague, Mr. F. G. Hambleton, has drawn the design for the cover and written music for three choice little carols by boys of eleven and twelve. Mr. Cook says it has been his 'happy experience to discover that nearly all boys under thirteen can write short lyrics without taking very great pains. The likelihood of a boy's producing good poetry after early adolescence is a very different question.' The Introduction is full of hints for teachers, and the poems are often fresh and vigorous.—*The City of London*. By P. H. Ditchfield, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 4s. net.) This is a welcome addition to *The Story of the English Towns*. It has needed much compression, but Mr. Ditchfield knows his subject so thoroughly that he has been able to put it into compact shape and has brought out its most interesting features with literary skill and grace. The history of London in its successive stages is told, and special descriptions are given of St. Paul's Cathedral, The Tower, and other notable buildings. The book is well illustrated, and every chapter confirms Mr. Ditchfield's opening sentences: 'London is the most wonderful city in the world. There is no other place like it.'—*Bibliographie Thomiste*. Par Mandouet, O.P., et J. Destrez, O.P. (Le Saulehoir, Kain.) Much has been written on St. Thomas Aquinas, and this bibliography will be of great service to students. It also gives a brief life, and a list of his authentic writings and his unfinished works. The bibliography supplies names of authors arranged according to subjects dealt with, and titles of their books, with a few descriptive details. The history of St. Thomas, historic sources, lives, critical studies, personality and culture, reliques and cult, are some of the divisions of the subject. Recent books are cited, and careful indexes add to the value of a piece of work which brings out the far-reaching influence of the great theologian of the Roman Church.—*Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*. By C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, M.A. (Seeley, Service & Co. 12s. net.) Major-General Dunsterville describes his

friend, with whose work he has been familiar for many years, as 'An apostle of cheerful and happy Christianity.' That is the impression which his book makes on a reader. It begins with his first impressions as he goes out to take charge of the C.M.S. School in Kashmir, and gives vivid descriptions of a plague of locusts, of native character, of panthers prowling round after dogs, and of the lovely scenery of the country. Mr. Biscoe cannot say much for the people, who are cowards and liars. That is largely to be explained by the terror under which they have lived for generations of despotism. Mr. Biscoe's school motto, 'In all things be men,' has begun to make an impression on those for whom he has been at work for thirty years, and the majority of his staff and boys leave the school having learnt to live lives more nearly following the teaching of Christ than those of many professing Christians. The book is full of incident and not a few adventures told with humour and spirit. It describes the splendid work done by the Kashmir Medical Mission and the Mission School. It is beautifully illustrated, and makes one proud of the workers who are seizing every opportunity to inspire a nobler spirit and awaken consciences to the life of service for others.

*Schwartz of Tangore.* By Jesse Page, F.R.G.S. With eight Illustrations. (S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. net.) Henry Martyn's passion for the conversion of the heathen was kindled by Schwartz's journals and letters which he read at Cambridge. His personality 'was unique. He seems to have combined, like Gordon, a singular tenderness with heroic strength of purpose—a man of action with a strain of mysticism, a very Bayard in purity and honour in an age when reputations in India suffered loss.' Mr. Page shows how Christianity came to India, and gives due place to Ziegenbalg, the great Danish missionary. Then he describes the call of Schwartz to the field, and his wonderful influence over Brahmins and rich Europeans, who all trusted his sincerity and wisdom. It is a great missionary story, told with sympathy and skill.—*Baltasar Gracian.* By Aubrey F. G. Bell. (Milford. 5s. net.) This attractive little volume is one of a series issued by the Hispanic Society of America. Gracian was a Jesuit Professor who became Rector of their College at Tarragona, and died in 1658. His longest and best work, *El Criticon*, is a Spanish *Pilgrim's Progress*, which brought him into trouble with his superiors. He was deprived of his Chair of Scripture and ordered to retire to Graus. It is the life-story of Critilo and Andrenio, father and son, who go on a pilgrimage, visit the great fair of the world and examine its wares, such as Silence, Experience, and Patience. They discuss famous poets and philosophers, search for Virtue and True Happiness, and at last reach the ruinous palace of Old Age, and are transferred to the Island of Immortality. The work is in three parts, each better than the former, and is one of the masterpieces of Spanish literature. Gracian is a keen satirist, and an ingenious thinker and humorist, and this little book will be read with interest on both sides of the Atlantic.—*Margaret Fuller. A Psychological Biography.* By Katharine Anthony. (Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d. net.) This is an attempt to 'analyse the emotional values of an individual existence, the motivation of a career, the social transformation of a



woman's energies.' Margaret Fuller was identified with the inception of the woman movement in America, and with Mazzini's revolutionary struggle in Italy. She was a modern woman who died in 1850. Her father imposed mental tasks upon her as a child which impaired her health, but that strenuous training prepared her to take rank as 'one of the best equipped, most sympathetic, and genuinely philosophical critics produced in America prior to 1850.' Miss Anthony throws light on the various stages of Margaret Fuller's life, and shows how wide her influence was as the fearless and sagacious literary critic of *The Tribune*. Horace Greeley gave the full critical sway of the most influential newspaper in America into her hands, and she spoke her mind freely as to the work of Lowell and Longfellow. Lowell lampooned her fiercely as 'Miranda' in his *Fable for Critics*, but Longfellow bore the criticism in silence. Miss Fuller came to Europe in 1846, where she visited the Carlyles and met Mazzini, for whom she conceived the warmest regard. Her life in Italy, with her marriage to an impecunious young Italian Marquis, and the tragic story of the shipwreck in which husband, wife, and child were drowned, all live before us in Miss Anthony's pages. It is a moving picture of one whom the *History of American Literature* describes as 'An exceedingly able, sensible, and admirable woman.'—*Some Political Ideas and Persons*. By John Bailey. (Murray. 6s. net.) All of these articles appeared in the Literary Supplement of *The Times*, save the essay on Queen Victoria. They include four illuminating studies of 'The Political Life of Benjamin Disraeli,' essays on Henry Fox, Lord Grey, Lord Randolph Churchill, and six other studies which range over such subjects as Political Prophecies, Internationalism, and Optimism after the War. Disraeli's 'gift was intellect and imagination.' 'He could compel his hearers to listen to him; but he himself stood aloof, more perhaps than Mr. Buckle allows, catching opportunities for impromptu illustration or repartee, but seldom or never catching, or allowing himself to be caught by, any of those waves of emotional inspiration which, coming from the hearers, continually renew the speeches of the very greatest orators. That loneliness is also the final impression left by the man.' The study of Queen Victoria shows that she came to hold a kind of religious impression. 'She was at once the appearance and the reality, all that the flag is and all that it cannot be, the sacramental unity, visible and embodied, of the British race and Empire. Her pathetic daily industry did not very greatly modify either home or foreign policy, but whilst thus toiling she was, all unaware, becoming a legend. Her name was a word of veneration all over the earth.'

The writer of *Down Thames Street*, reviewed in our last number, is Mark Rogers, R.B.S., not Mark Knowles. The book grows upon us the more we turn its pages.

**GENERAL**

*Anglicanism.* By Herbert Hensley Henson. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.)

BISHOP HENSON delivered these lectures in Upsala on the Olaus Petri Foundation. He rejoices greatly at the improvement of relations between the Church of England and the Church of Sweden. The Lambeth Conference is likely to draw the two churches still more closely together, and these lectures will do much to make the Anglican position clear to its Swedish friends. They deal with 'Historic Conditions of Modern Anglicanism,' 'The Church of England,' 'Puritanism,' 'The Roman Controversy,' 'Episcopacy,' 'The Establishment and the Lambeth Conference.' Bishop Henson knows his own mind and never hesitates to express it, so that there is abundant material for discussion in these lectures. Every point is forcibly put, and there is a refreshing breadth of view throughout the survey. Dr. Henson regards the Enabling Act of 1919 as tending to denationalize the National Church. 'The newly created National Assembly is a merely denominational body, elected (so far as its lay members are concerned) by a fraction of English citizens, and almost confessedly hostile to every feature of the Establishment which implies and secures the authority of the nation in the ecclesiastical sphere.' He says that 'everywhere the numbers entered on the rolls are surprisingly small, so small as to make the retention of the national character, and (as some would add) the continued possession of the ancient fabrics and endowments, a highly anomalous circumstance.' Dr. Henson holds that the Anglo-Catholic Movement is gaining ground within the ranks of the clergy. 'It appears to have captured the English Church Union, and possesses representatives on the Episcopal bench who are energetic, courageous, and popular.' If he understands 'their public declarations rightly, the Anglo-Catholics hope to Romanize the Church of England so effectually that the whole difference between the Anglican and the Roman version of Christianity will be narrowed down to the two points—the Pope's infallibility and the validity of Anglican ordinations.' Dr. Henson thinks that in the future, as in the past, Anglicanism must justify itself on the principles of the Reformation, and that 'the religious crisis of our time can only be handled successfully in the spirit, at once conservative and courageous, which led the English Reformers to bring the established mediæval system of faith, worship, and discipline to the test of the New Testament.' Dr. Henson is not altogether flattering to Free Churchmen. He holds that 'Non-conformity has been saved by its wrongs. Its theology was already obsolete in the seventeenth century. Its improvised politics, based on ill-understood texts from the Bible, have not been completely successful. Its bald Judaic worship has little attraction for educated men. Only as waging a manly warfare for political liberty has it justified its continued existence. Here, indeed, it is difficult to over-estimate the value of its services to mankind.' Dr. Henson, however,

points out that the rapid extension of the Oxford Movement 'had the effect of transferring to the Dissenters the principles of the Reformation. The Tractarian Movement has rapidly developed in a Romeward direction; Anglicans have been accustomed to dissociate themselves from Protestant interests and to dislike and even repudiate the Protestant name. It has followed that Nonconformity has acquired a new *raison d'être*, and now commands the sympathetic interest of all Englishmen who regard the Roman version of Christianity as unfavourable to political liberty and international character.' The lecture on Episcopacy states the opinions of Lightfoot, the writers of the volume edited by Dr. Swete, and the Bampton Lectures of Dr. Headlam. Three views of Episcopacy are held within the Anglican communion. The third, which is taken by 'an increasing number of Anglicans, including the majority of historical students,' regards it as 'the oldest, most elastic, and most widely extended, and therefore probably the most efficient, but having no other title to the acceptance of Christians than its proved serviceableness for the purpose of ecclesiastical government—viz. the edification of the Church and the evangelization of the world.' If that view prevailed a host of difficulties that beset reunion would vanish.

*Report of the Commission Appointed by the Government of Palestine to Inquire into the Affairs of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.* By the Commissioners, Sir Anton Bertram, M.A., K.C., and H. C. Luke, M.A. (Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

The Chief Justice of Ceylon and the Acting Governor of Jerusalem were appointed in 1921 to inquire into the controversies between the Orthodox Patriarch and members of his Synod and to advise the High Commissioner on certain questions involved. Their report deals first with the situation in general. The Patriarch was accused of arbitrary and autocratic administration. These charges are considered, and it is thought that now that the obvious defects in their own proceedings have been explained to the accusing bishops and that the Patriarch has been shown that the trouble between him and the majority of the Synod was to some extent due to mistakes in defining his own position, that matters will be adjusted and the sitting of the Synod resumed. The second part of the report is devoted to a consideration of the question whether the Orthodox Eastern Church provides a competent authority for the adjudication of disputes in particular churches. The history is studied and the conclusion reached that the churches of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Cyprus, and Greece are entitled to take a warm and lively interest in the historic Patriarchate of Jerusalem, but are not entitled to assume the authority of a judicial tribunal over its internal affairs. The third part of the report is headed 'Financial.' To liquidate the debts of the Patriarchate there are considerable assets. At the time of the military government a return showed six hundred and thirty-one properties of various sizes and classes in Palestine alone. The undeveloped suburban lands in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem

have special value and are urgently needed for the development of the city. It is believed that these lands would provide sufficient funds to meet all debts which are pressing, and the report suggests the appointment of an official commission of liquidation and control. The report should help materially in bringing in a better state of things in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem by its sympathetic and practical suggestions.

*The Foundations of Aesthetics.* By C. K. Ogden, I. A. Richards, and James Wood. With seventeen illustrations. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.)

This is an attempt to present the accredited opinion on the subject of aesthetics and to relate those views to the main positions from which the theory of art criticism may proceed. It aims to allow separate theories their own sphere of validity. This tolerance leads to a more catholic view of many subjects. The writers hold that if the word beauty is to be used consistently in some one field, the definition in terms of equilibrium is most worthy of consideration. Quotations are used to give concrete illustrations of some critical point, and typical pictures are chosen to illustrate the theories discussed. The views that art is essentially imitation, that it is the product of genius, and that its end is illusion, are considered, with the uplift doctrines of the late Victorian moralists. Croce's expressionist view of art is criticized, and the definition of art in terms of psychological effect which came particularly into prominence with the evolutionary theories of the seventies. The theory of equilibrium, in which aesthetic impulses are experienced together, commends itself to the writers because it brings all the faculties into play. 'The ultimate value of equilibrium is that it is better to be fully than partially alive.' The study is one that will attract all lovers of beauty and will help them to clear their own conception of the whole subject.

Messrs. Nelson & Sons send us three handsome volumes. *The Parents' Book* (10s. 6d. net) is a revised edition of a book which answers children's questions. Sections on 'The Great War' and 'Who's Who in the Great War' have been added to those on 'What the World is made of'; 'The Animal World'; 'The Garden'; 'Travel,' &c. It will be invaluable for parents; indeed, every one who gets it will find continual pleasure and profit in consulting it.—*Great Hours in Sport*, the John Buchan Annual (7s. 6d. net) deals with fishing, big game hunting, mountaineering, hunting, racing, small-boat sailing, boxing, cricket, Rugby football, rowing, sport, and literature. There is not a dull page in it. The writers were either responsible for the exploits or had the good fortune to witness them. Text and illustrations are both alive.—*The Wrinkle Book*, by Archibald Williams (7s. 6d. net) supplies 10,000 hints on 1,000 subjects, with 1,000 illustrations. Its thirteen sections include cookery, mechanics, medicine and hygiene, legal and business hints, games and sports. The subjects are handled in the most compact and instructive way. The more the volume is used the more it will be prized.—The Salvation Army sends us *The Founder's Messages*

to *Soldiers during Years 1907-8* (8s. 6d.). These vigorous messages were written by General Booth in 1907 and 1908. They are eminently practical, clear, and direct, and are divided and applied in a way that fastens them on the memory. William Booth had a horror, as his son says in the Preface to this volume, of a religious life which is not carried in its fullness into the daily relationships of those who profess it. Every message bears witness to the truth of that estimate.

*The Salvation Army Year Book, 1922* (1s. 6d.). A great deal of information is packed into this Year Book. It describes the principal Army events for 1921, shows the principles and government of the Army, has its own 'Who's Who,' and an account of the work done by the Army in many lands.—*The Laxson Girls*. By Noel Hope. (8s. 6d.) These girls have both been spoiled, and it is not easy to make them patient and loving, but the wonder is wrought and the sisters both owe it to the wise and loving care of the Salvation Army.—*Crotchets and Quavers*. By Noel Hope. (8s. 6d. net.) A really vigorous and lively story of a set of boys who were the plague of their corps. The way in which they were turned into musicians by the tact and skill of their band leader is told with real insight into boy nature, and the interest of the reader never flags.—*Bessie Binney*. By Ramsay Guthrie. (Holborn Publishing House. 5s. net.) The young Primitive Methodist minister finds a true home with Mr. Binney and his daughter. Bessie had been cook at Remington Castle and felt it no small responsibility to have Ernest Masterman under her wing. He is a fine fellow and does credit to the loving care lavished upon him. The book will delight homely folk. It is full of North-country fun and good spirits, and enthusiastic in its devotion to every interest of Primitive Methodism.—*Poems of Home and Overseas*. Compiled by Charles Williams and V. H. Collins. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8s. net.) The poems are arranged in five groups: 'In Praise of England'; 'Merry England'; 'The English Land'; 'Places'; 'Overseas.' The arrangement is very happy, the pieces are brief as a rule, and old favourites blend with choice selections from modern poets like Edward Thomas, Hilaire Belloc, Sir Arthur Doyle, Sir H. Newbolt, and Walter de la Mare. Such an anthology is no mean school for patriots, and it will be a delight to all lovers of poetry.—*Poems of a Riper Experience, Devotional and Reflective*. By William Hall, M.A. (Swarthmore Press.) The writer is now in his eighty-fourth year, and his fifth volume is the ripe fruit of long and devout meditation on life and immortality. There is sunshine in the poetry, and hope. 'Ebenezer' strikes a grateful note in the survey of the past. 'Weep not for me' finds no gloom in death. The Christian outlook is here, and the full assurance of faith and hope.—*Uganda Pie* (C.M.S. 1s.) gives stories and articles by nine persons who have lived in that country, four of whom are ladies, and striking pictures by eight contributors. It is a racy book which will charm young readers and give them a real insight into the daily life of the people and the work of the missionaries. The puzzle stories are particularly enticing.—*Juvenile Immigration, 1920*. (Ottawa: Ackland.) The report of Mr. Smart, Supervisor of Juvenile Immigration, states that on March 31, 1921, there were 1,188 boys and 552 girls under inspection.

The demand for these British boys and girls exceeded that of the previous year by over 8,000. One thousand four hundred and twenty-six were sent from this country; 19,841 were applied for. The report has a photograph of a party of boys going out from the National Children's Home for farm apprenticeship in Western Canada. Unlimited possibilities await persevering and industrious children.—*A Travel Book for Juniors*. By Helen P. Hanson. (Abingdon Press. \$1.25 net.) The small boy goes with his uncle from America to England, Palestine, and Egypt. It is a journey of wonders, and Miss Hanson makes each stage of it a real pleasure for young readers. The illustrations and lists of 'Things to Find Out' add greatly to the zest with which one studies this lively record.—*Analecta Bollandiana*. Tomus 89, Fasc. 3 and 4. This number includes the Passion of S. Felix de Thibiuca; the Ibéro-arménienne version of the autobiography of Denys the Areopagite; a study of Cyprian of Antioch and Cyprian of Carthage; a Syriac version of the Passion of St. Diacore; a catalogue of the Greek hagiographical codices in the Alexandrian Patriarchal Library, and a bulletin of recent hagiographical publications. It is a number which shows more clearly than ever the learning and industry of the Bollandists.—*Two Arabian Knights*. By M. E. H. Griffith. (Church Missionary Society. 2s. 6d.) The Arab boy and his little aunt who is cured by the missionary doctor make a pleasant pair, and many dainty drawings add to the zest with which one turns these pleasant pages. Life in the desert is described by a skilled pen.—*Day Spring in Uganda*, by Albert B. Lloyd (C.M.S. 8s.), gives a clear account of the land and the people, the founding and progress of Christianity, and the problems which now face the missionary leaders. The great evils are immorality and drunkenness. 'Plurality of wives and concubinage are everywhere, and the whole Church is riddled with this sin, while drunkenness follows in its train.' The only hope lies in 'more intensive Christian service and sacrifice on the part of European and African alike.'

*Glimpses of Persia*. By M. M. Wood. (Church Missionary Society.) The history, manners, and customs of Persia are well described in this bright survey of things Persian. The people are the French of the East, sociable to their very finger-tips. Types of missionary work are described, and a strong appeal made for workers. The Governor of Shiraz offered to put a tax on the city if the C.M.S. would restart work there, but no one has gone. At Yezd the doctor has waited twenty years for a colleague and is still waiting.—*Philip's Handy Volume Atlas of the County of London*. Eighth Revised Edition. (G. Philip & Son. 7s. 6d. net.) We welcome this revised edition of an atlas which has often been in our hands and has rendered us good service in finding our way about London. The colouring of the maps is improved, and everything is brought up to date. It has fifty-five sectional maps of the County of London on a scale of three inches to the mile, and includes plans of St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, maps of Richmond and neighbourhood, the Thames from Kew to Oxford, Epping Forest, and other important features. It slips easily into a pocket, and is light and clearly printed.

—*A New Gospel to all Peoples.* By Marie Carmichael Stopes. (Humphreys. 2s. 6d. net.) Dr. Stopes is an authority on questions of physiology, but here she fills the rôle of prophet. Her message came to her, she says, as an inspiration in her Surrey woods, and was privately printed and sent to each of the bishops in the Lambeth Conference. It deals with questions of sex, which she thinks are treated by the Church with a lack of insight and true reverence. God through science has revealed the powers and the value of marriage. That is her message, given with manifest conviction and much plainness of speech.—*The Drink Problem in Relation to National Health and Economic Aspects of Temperance*, by J. Alfred Sharp, are two sixpenny pamphlets issued by the Epworth Press. They deal with many sides of the subject, bringing in the latest facts and figures and putting the argument for temperance as only an expert could present it. They deserve very wide circulation and very careful study.—*The Heart of a Slave Girl*, by Anthony Armstrong (Stanley Paul and Co. 7s. 6d. net), is a tale of Rome in the days of Nero, which has caught the spirit of the scene and makes it vividly alive. Revia, the slave girl, becomes a Christian, and sacrifices herself for the man she loved. The story is told with much power, and the interest is well sustained throughout.—We do not like much in *The Atheist*, by J. A. T. Lloyd (Stanley Paul and Co., 7s. 6d. net), but there is power in it, and the semi-Jew shakes off his atheism before he dies. That, however, does not reconcile us to much in the conduct of the Irish heroine and her lover, nor to the heartless step-mother and her children.—*Bulletin of the John Ryland's Library* (January). The librarian's account of the laying of the first stone of the new Library building at Louvain last July is of great interest, and shows how warmly the gifts of England and America are appreciated. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred on Mr. Guppy, and every reader of the *Bulletin* knows how well it has been earned. 2,600 volumes have been added to the Ryland's Library in 1921 by purchase and 5,604 by gift. Important articles are included in this number on The Philosophy of Virgil; Autobiography on the *Divina Commedia*; Stoic Origins of the Fourth Gospel by Dr. Rendel Harris, and other subjects.

# Periodical Literature

## BRITISH

**The Edinburgh Review** (January).—Vivian Gabriel, in 'The Troubles of the Holy Land,' urges that concessions should be made to the Arabs whose terms are strictly in conformity with the Covenant of the League, but who refuse to have any official dealings whatever with the Zionists. It is an important article. 'Foreign Exchanges' and 'Politics and Unemployment' need to be read with attention. Mr. Marriott's 'The Tory Tradition' deals with the life of Lord Salisbury. Professor Strahan, who wrote in October on 'Byron in England,' gives us in 'Byron in Italy' another tragic study of intense interest. Mr. Ashby writes with authority on his own subject of 'Production in Agriculture.' There is an interesting article on 'The Protection of Wild Birds.' Belgium, Hungary, and Asia Minor have articles to themselves, and 'A Naval Partition' deals with the Washington Conference. It is a varied and most instructive number.

**Hilbert Journal** (January).—Prominence is given in this number to the Modernist movement in the Church of England and the Cambridge Conference of Modern Churchmen, which has attracted much attention and almost led to a trial for heresy. The first article is by Dr. Foakes-Jackson, formerly of Cambridge, now of Union Seminary, New York. It contains a thoughtful, informing account of the movement of which Professor Foakes-Jackson is one of the leaders. Rev. H. D. Major, another leader, in the second article distinguishes between 'modern churchmen' and Unitarians, while yet a third survey of the movement, by P. H. Bagenal, sums up thus: 'To revalue old traditions, to demand new methods of interpretation in creeds and Scripture, to make the Universal Church a reality by reunion—these have been the elements of its action. May it not be said they are in all humility worthy of Him who said, "Behold I make all things new"?' Two articles appear on occultism, one by Edward Clodd, who contends that everywhere 'the area of a spurious supernatural' is shrinking; the other, by E. Wake Cook, prophesies the advent of a new spiritual religion to unite all men in one brotherhood under the Fatherhood of God. Dr. Lachlan Watt writes with appropriate enthusiasm of 'Columba, Saint, Statesman, and Poet.' Many will turn to the characterization of a prominent living figure by Rev. W. J. Ferrar, who describes 'The Gloom of Dean Inge.' As might perhaps have been expected, the writer describes the 'gloom' as but a 'twilight of the gods' and the Dean himself as really an optimist, who believes in life as 'a continuous out-going, a constant march onwards, an unwearied quest of the real Truth, Beauty, and Goodness.' Other articles in a very interesting number are 'Logic and Imagination,' by L. A. Reid; 'The Nature of Man,' by Dr. C. J. Keyser; and 'Education for Internationalism,' by W. W. Davies.



**Journal of Theological Studies** (October, 1921).—The leading article on Dante, by W. H. V. Reade, pleads, over against Croce, for due consideration of the matter, as well as the form, of the *Divina Commedia*. Rightly to understand its masterly poetic art, as an expression of the poet's inmost nature—the point on which Croce insists—one must have some knowledge of the theology, the condition, and the allusions with which the *Commedia* is loaded, and, some would say, overloaded. Without steeping oneself in the atmosphere of the Middle Ages one cannot appreciate fully even the *beauty* of this great poem. Amongst 'Notes and Studies' may be specially noted Professor Burkitt's learned and suggestive answer to the question, 'Is Ecclesiastes a Translation?' also 'Some Hebrew Roots and their Meanings,' by G. R. Driver, and 'Notes from Papyri,' by Professor Dodd. Dean Armitage Robinson writes on the lives of St. Cungar and St. Gildas, and Dr. A. Souter on 'Further Contributions to the Criticism of Zmaragius's *Expositio Libri Comitis*.' Amongst the Reviews there is a specially interesting one of 'The Book of Job' (S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray), by Dr. W. E. Barnes.

**Holborn Review** (January).—This Review maintains the high standard given to it under the editorship of Dr. A. S. Peake. The first article on 'The Birth of the Nineteenth Century in England,' by T. C. Snow, was written as long ago as 1886, but it was well worth reprinting, not only as a fine specimen of the work of Dr. Peake's former teacher, but as containing lessons which some in the twentieth century need greatly to learn. Professor Humphries writes on 'Vital Forces in the Early Church in Relation to Theological Speculation,' a paper first given at Swanwick last year. Rev. James Harrison's article on 'The Ethics of Jesus in Relation to War' is intended to promote a dispassionate study of the mind of the Master upon a difficult, burning question. 'The Belief in Immortality: its Reaction on Thought and Conduct,' by Rev. E. Fisher, deserves careful reading, and many will be interested in the description of the *Odes of Solomon* given by Mr. Vacher Burch, under the title of 'The Charles Wesley of the Early Church.' Other articles are on 'Christianity and Labour,' 'The Man Napoleon,' and 'The Japanese No.' Dr. Peake's Editorial Notes and Reviews of Books greatly increase the value of the number.

**Expository Times** (January).—The Editor's Notes deal suggestively with Baron Von Hügel's new book of essays, with Rev. W. R. Maltby's explanation of the meaning of resurrection, and with one of Dr. T. R. Glover's essays on the 187th Psalm as 'An Ancient Hymn of Hate.' Dr. Ross Stevenson, President of Princeton Seminary, contributes a brief but high eulogium on the late Professor Warfield. Under the heading of Recent Foreign Theology, Dr. Tasker gives an interesting account of 'Evangelical Catholicism' in the notice of a book by Dr. F. Heiler, now Professor of the Comparative History of Religion in the University of Marburg. It adumbrates the coming of 'a synthesis of mystical and evangelical religion, but in the centre there will be not mystical conception but gospel truths.' Mr. E. E. Kellett, of the Leys School, uses his versatile

pen to put forward a theory of his own on 'The Prodigiously Long Ages of the Patriarchs.' The numbers form a baffling problem, and Mr. Kellett's solution is at least ingenious. Dr. Griffith Jones's article on 'The Man at the Other End of the Sermon' contains a homily for preachers as vigorous as it is kindly, and his practical suggestions are full of timely and helpful advice. This and the varied February number furnish good specimens of the Editor's well-known skill in catering for his readers.

**Church Quarterly** (January).—Professor Headlam, in 'The Modernist Christology,' quotes from a paper read by Dr. Foakes Jackson at the Cambridge Conference and says, 'Here are Dr. Lake and Dr. Jackson, quite second-rate scholars, who come over to this country and tell us that we are indifferent to the cause of truth, that we work only for edification, that we are only eager to promote the cause of our particular churches. They it is who care for truth, they and German commentators. People in England are quite indifferent to the cause of truth.' Dr. Headlam asks, Who are the people attacked in this way? and answers, They are Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Swete, and others, 'to whom as scholars there have been few equals, either in this or any other country.' He describes Mr. Major's paper as 'among the ablest pieces of Christian apologetic adapted to the thought of our time which we have come across,' but thinks that Dr. Bethune-Baker and Dr. Rashdall's representation of the doctrine of the Trinity 'evacuates that doctrine of the whole of its religious and philosophical meaning.' It is a paper that deserves close study.

**Constructive Quarterly** (December).—The Rev. J. O. F. Murray, Master of Selwyn College, writes on 'Du Bose and the Problems of To-day.' Du Bose approached the problem of Christology in the first instance from the side of soteriology, and in the solution of the soteriological problem he grasped from the first the central significance of the human consciousness of Jesus. He conceived the Incarnation as a gradual progress not complete at Bethlehem, or Calvary, or even in heaven. 'It must work onward and outward until the whole race is raised to the full height of its high calling in Him. And in the meanwhile Christ is Himself here on earth, in the midst of us, working to that end, in and through His Body, the Church.' In 'The Free Churches and the Lambeth Appeal,' Principal Selbie shows what steps have been taken by the Free Churches in response to the bishops' appeal, and holds that 'the shortest way to the only kind of reunion that is worth having—would be to seek for a real revival of religion.'

**Cornhill** (January and February).—'Ovington's Bank,' by Mr. Stanley Weyman, is a story of early railway times, with much clever delineation of character in the banker and the squire and some happy portraits of the young folk about them. Mr. Weyman has not lost his skill as a story-teller by his period of retirement. Mr. Martin's account of Sir Arthur Pearson is altogether delightful, and both these numbers are rich in good things.

**Science Progress** (January).—Recent advances in science are chronicled with great care in the first section. Messrs. Salisbury and Turner have shown that the *Quercus Sessiliflora* woods of the Malvern area, some of which occur on soils derived from highly calcareous strata, are not therefore inconsistent with the normal occurrence of this tree in Britain, since the surface layers in which the seedling is rooted at the critical periods are almost completely leached, and even on the soils derived from the Wenlock limestone may exhibit an appreciable acidity. There are important articles on 'Soil Reaction' and 'The Story of Transits.'

### AMERICAN

**Journal of Religion** (January).—The first article deals with the 'open forum,' an institution to enable the Church to 'reach the masses,' which has been very successful and taken root in some parts of the United States. It gives opportunities for open discussion which the conventional 'sermon' does not admit. It is not easy to define the 'fundamentals' of Christianity. Dr. Moehlmann, of Rochester Seminary, in a paper on the subject, is not satisfied even with the Apostles' Creed, and comes to the conclusion that all fixed creeds should be dispensed with. The subject of the 'Leadership of the Ministry in Industrial and Social Life,' which has been much debated of late in American periodical literature, is here discussed by W. C. Keirstead, who can hardly be said to remove the difficulties he admits and adduces. 'Law and Ritual in the Psalms,' by J. M. Powis Smith, sheds light on the place of the Psalter in relation to Jewish religion generally. Professor G. Birney Smith essays to answer the question, 'What shall Protestantism do with Modernism?' while Professor D. C. Mackintosh expounds Dr. Alexander's new (and difficult) Gifford lectures on 'Space, Time, and the Deity.' 'Glimpses of the Religious Life of New Japan' and 'The Mission of Reform Judaism' are the titles of two other interesting and well-informed articles.

**Methodist Review** (New York) (January and February).—Dr. G. Elliott, the present editor, has infused great energy and ability into the management of this excellent Review. The present number offers a good specimen of its interest for various readers. In the first article Professor Macchiolo, of the University of Naples, writes on Dante as the most perfect representative of the spirit of Catholicism, which he is bold enough to describe as 'at the foundation, paganism.' He says that 'to Protestantism is given the function of preparing the future for absolute Christianity.' An interesting article by Professor Edwin Lewis, of Drew Seminary, shows the importance of making theology a living science by modifying its expression from time to time in the light of contemporary thought. Professor E. S. Brightman, of Boston University, writes well on the important subject of 'Truth and Value in Religion.' The relation between truth and value greatly needs such careful investigation as is here given to it. Another subject which needs treatment from various angles is Personalism, and it receives a partially humorous but very

sensible handling from V. H. Wachs in his paper 'The Bald-headed Man; or Why I am a Personalist.' We heartily welcome an appreciation of Francis Asbury from the pen of Dr. J. R. Joy, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*. The value and distinction of Asbury's pioneer work are too little known on this side of the Atlantic; Dr. Joy portrays him not merely as evangelist and organizer, but as 'a founder of the American nation.' The 'Thirteenth Labour of Hercules,' by A. W. Hewitt, describes with thorough knowledge and graphic power the task of the country pastor. The writer uses very free colloquial language, but he knows what he is writing about and puts his points forcibly. Dr. Elliott does a service by reprinting in revised form an article of his on 'The Pauline Gospel,' which is to introduce a series on that important subject. Other features of interest in the Review we are compelled to pass without mention, but we heartily congratulate the editor and his reading public on the ability manifested in its successive numbers.

**Princeton Theological Review** (January).—Professor Caspar Hodge, recently appointed to the theological chair at Princeton Seminary, publishes here his inaugural address, on 'The Significance of the Reformed Theology of To-day.' It is an able production, little as we can agree with some parts of it, and well maintains the deserved reputation of three previous members of the distinguished Hodge family of Dr. Warfield, whose loss has recently been deplored here, as well as in America. A fundamental feature of Dr. Caspar Hodge's article is echoed in the paper that follows it, 'The Christian Way of Life and the Supernatural,' by S. G. Craig. This emphasis on the supernatural is rightly maintained by what may be described as the Princeton 'school.' The veteran Professor H. C. Sheldon criticizes with great ability some of the assumptions of that fashionable science, 'The Psychology of Religion.' An interesting and inspiring article on 'Brainerd, Edwards, and Martyn' commemorates types of saintliness which ought not to be forgotten. Professor Machen sounds a fighting note in his article, 'Liberalism or Christianity?' He thinks that evangelical truth is in great danger from 'Liberalism' in the Presbyterian and other Churches of America, and he seeks to rally its forces both for defence and aggression. The whole number is a good one, and greatly gains by its provision of a greater variety of shorter articles instead of the more elaborate lucubrations which used to appear in this excellent and valuable Review.

**Bibliotheca Sacra** (January).—Professor Wishart asks, 'Is the Ideal of a League of Nations to enforce peace Christian?' He says the objections which devoted Churchmen often make to schemes for social reform, for national improvement, or for international friendship, make little impression upon him except one of astonishment and bewilderment. Dr. Walker, of Shanwu, China, holds that 'a Supreme Righteous Ruler was the faith of Confucius in the eighth century B.C.' 'One God and Father of mankind revealing Himself in divers ways is the one adequate explanation of the Hebrew worship of Jehovah and the Chinese worship of heaven.' There are other articles of great interest to Bible students.

## FOREIGN

**Calcutta Review** (December).—S. K. Maitra writes on 'The Teaching of Rabindranath.' He has always stood for man in the totality of his qualities and functions. His whole philosophy can be summed up in the words 'complete man.' 'All water-tight compartments, whether in education, culture, or politics, are alike repugnant to him.' He cannot march with those who would avoid everything. Western politics divorced from science and science divided from philosophy can never serve as a guiding principle of life, and humanity is crippled if East and West are divorced.

(January).—Portraits are given of the savants who have been honoured by Calcutta University. The Prince of Wales received an honorary degree, and in his speech, which is here quoted, expressed the hope that it would form a real bond of union between him and the University. There is an important article on 'The Message of the Gita' and another on 'The Development of Chemical Industries and its Necessity.' Sir A. K. Jamal, the Rice King of Burma, founded the Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., from which his annual income is now larger than those of many native chiefs. He was probably also the first man in the whole of India to venture into the cotton-seed oil industry.

**The Hindustan Review** (November).—'Tagore and Gandhi' describes the Hindu poet's criticism of the experiment which Gandhi is carrying on in India. Tagore holds that non-co-operation is an 'unspiritual movement,' and the writer of this article agrees with him. 'Tagore says that if you desire Swaraj for India, do not pay any sort of attention to the British ruler, but quietly engage yourself to organize it in the country. He censures both the Moderates and the Nationalists for not doing so.' He 'refuses to fight the foreigner like the Nationalist, but seeks to circumvent his authority by a roundabout process of nation-building.'

**Reformacja W. Polnos** (No. 2).—J. Fijalek gives an account of Jean T. Batocki, the first Protestant in Samagitie Lithuania and Lutheran apostle in Prussian Lithuania. He was a Catholic priest who became impregnated with the doctrines of Luther, left his parish in 1586, took refuge in Prussia, and became a preacher at Insterburg, Angerburg, and Engelstein.—No. 3 describes the Hussite movement in Poland and its influence on Polish literature. At the Council of Constance the Poles intervened in favour of Hus, and his disciples proclaimed publicly in Lithuania the injustice of his condemnation. The article refers to the influence of the Wiclif Movement on Bohemia.