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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1924

A GREAT BOOK ON RELIGION

RUDOLF OTTO, to whose book on *The Idea of the Holy*[1] this paper is devoted, is the occupant of a chair at Marburg as successor to Herrmann. He was born in 1869, and has been known in this country for a good many years as the author of an excellent book in the 'Crown Theological Library' entitled *Naturalism and Religion*. That work showed him to be a thinker of unusual power and sanity, whose knowledge of philosophy and of biological principles could stand examination no less than his familiarity with the essential things in piety. But, good as that book was, it scarcely prepared us for the merits of his later work. Published in 1917, with the sub-title 'On the irrational elements in the idea of the divine and their relation to the rational elements,' it is now in its eleventh edition, and has made a deep mark in Germany. I should be disposed to call it the best book Germany has given us in the last ten years. It is short—only 200 pages, not counting appendices—but each page is rewarding.

We all know that many books professing to treat of religion do not treat of it at all. Their real aim is to show us that religion is something else in disguise, as when prayer is argued to be auto-suggestion. That in religion which makes it to be religion, not morality or art or the like, disappears in their analysis. Otto knows religion when he sees it. The best things in the book are the fruit of pure observation, of looking at religion as it has actually

[1] Now excellently translated into English, under this title, by F. J. Harvey (Oxford: Milford).

taken shape in history, and telling what is there to see. The author is known to belong to a special school of philosophy, but the reader of this work would hardly guess that. He teaches Dogmatics, but you would hardly guess that either. He does formulate things, as every clear writer must; but his formulations are an effort to let religion describe itself, in its surprises as well as its commonplace. We shall see before we are done that he is able to exhibit some of what the Church has held to be the deepest things in Christianity as elements without which Christianity would cease to be a religion at all, and would fall out of line with the whole past of human piety.

He begins by pointing out that what he calls 'rational' predicates of deity, such as spirit, reason, will, are, however indispensable, very far from exhausting the idea of the divine. We rather assert them *of* something else which is not 'rational' at all in that sense. And the first part of the book is a sustained attempt to make us feel what this something is. It is anyhow ineffable and unimaginable, and yet for the believer it is the most real thing in the world. When in a moment of devotion we utter the phrase 'The peace of God *which passes all understanding*,' we are aware of what is meant, and that it is present even in Christianity. We may name it 'the Holy.' The Holy is a category by itself, just as good or beautiful is; it cannot be derived from any other idea, or grown out of it, any more than the idea of the beautiful can be grown out of the merely pleasant. It does not have a simply moral meaning, but is irreducible and indefinable. Yet it can be talked about, and statements about it can be made which religious men understand quite well, and the failure to allow for it has ruined many an able investigation of the history of religion.

For this specific and peculiar element in its most primitive form Otto coins the word 'Numinous,' from the Latin *numen*. The 'Numinous' is the barest form of what Christians mean by the divine. If we reflect on what goes

on in our minds when we are in, say, a mood of reverence, we see that reverence does not consist merely in such things as gratitude, trust, love, and confidence, for all these we might feel towards a very good man. There is something more left over, and that something more is awareness of the Numinous, or the Holy. Looking back on such a mood, we naturally say, 'I was solemnized.'

The presence of the Numinous to the human mind, he goes on, invariably releases certain effects in feeling. First of all the feeling of 'creatureliness,' the feeling of the creature that sinks into its own nothingness before the majesty of That which is above all creatures. We meet with it in Abraham's words: 'Behold, I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, who am but dust and ashes'; or when the prophet writes: 'The Lord is in His holy temple; let all the earth keep silence before Him.' It persists in the apostrophe of St. Paul at the close of Rom. xi. To understand it we must have felt it, and the religion from which it has vanished is no longer true to type.

Looking closer, we find that the Numinous has two aspects; it is a mystery at once formidable and alluring. In Otto's special vocabulary, it is a *mysterium tremendum* and a *mysterium fascinosum*; in the one character it evokes godly fear, in the other it is responded to in trustful self-surrender. These two are found together, in many shades, from one end of religion to the other. 'Fear' is really only an analogy; the right word is 'awe.' The devotee bows head and heart before the object of worship with a sense of creaturely self-abandonment. A very primitive form of the feeling is indicated by the term 'uncanny,' or the phrase 'I stood aghast'; and it is, of course, refined and heightened as religion becomes perfected, but it never quite disappears. Its mystical tremor comes over us as we read the sixth of Isaiah, or the great thanksgiving of Jesus in the eleventh of St. Matthew. It is to this aspect of the Numinous that biblical writers point, for instance, when they speak of the

'wrath of God,' a side of the divine nature which many people have tried to ignore, on the ground that it necessarily means what is arbitrary, fierce, or at least temperamental. But the biblical writers would have felt any such position to be religiously unintelligible, and they would have been right. No doubt 'wrath' is an analogous expression, in which we throw out our minds at that in God which repels the sinner; but *as* an analogy we have no choice but to use it. Otto's contention here is confirmed by the fact that Ritschl, who had a tendency to moralism, protested strongly against the presence of such an idea as divine wrath in Christian thought, whereas I have heard Herrmann, who was on the way to being a religious genius, say that Ritschl's effort to discredit the notion was 'a great sin against the Christian soul.' Another deep religious phrase which points to the same overwhelming and sublime aspect of the Numinous is 'the living God.'

The Numinous, however, is not only formidable and majestic; it is attractive and alluring, or, in Otto's Latin word, *fascinosum*. The sinner hears the words not merely 'Depart from Me,' but 'Come unto Me.' And here once more all shades and stages are found in the history of religious thought, from the lowest to the highest, from purely hedonistic ideas of bliss to that which is indicated by the great words: 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.' The words are negative, yet how infinite their significance, how inexpressible! It is not merely love or trust that is evoked, but something more. The Psalmists and all the great hymn-writers have something in their longing for God that breaks through language and escapes, as when St. Bernard, in his hymn 'Jesus, the very thought of Thee,' after the lines 'To those who fall how kind Thou art, how good to those who seek,' proceeds, 'But what to those who find? Ah! this nor tongue nor pen can show'; or when in 'Jerusalem

the golden' the lines occur, 'Beneath thy contemplation sink heart and voice oppressed.' That is love and trust, of course; but there is also something of which we can only give a sign, by tone of voice or bowed head. It is not even that here the love and trust man feels for man is intensified to the utmost limit; there is a distinction in quality. This is found with great frequency in utterances of an eschatological kind, and in doxologies, which often seem to the natural man absurd and tedious. There is, in short, a good that only religion knows, the thirst for which comes over the soul as a passion, and of which much is left untold when we clothe our premonitions of it in earthly speech. There must be few who have not felt this at the table of Communion. Who can explain what is meant by the death of Christ becoming the life of all who receive Him? The highest, said Goethe, cannot be spoken. Yet it can be shown in act, and, though indefinable, we can make it ours.

The Numinous, as we saw, Otto describes as a *mystery*; a mystery which inspires at once awe and expectation. By mystery is meant that what we are responding to belongs to another world than ours. This, too, started from very low and meagre beginnings, as when primitive men had a sense of the queer or weird. But it also persists to the end, testifying to our being, even as Christians, in the presence of that which is incomprehensible, not simply because of something in us—the limitations of our faculties or the like—but because of something in it, which elevates it to another sphere. In Christian thought, it need hardly be said, we are not confronted by the nakedly or merely incomprehensible. The God whom no man has seen at any time has been brought out to view, says St. John, in the only-begotten Son. Yet the very mark of Christian thinking at its highest is that it grasps together and will never separate these two—the revealed and known and the dimly surmised or the mysterious. For that Otto quotes St. Augustine's *Confessions* very aptly: 'Who is able to comprehend it

(i.e. the Power or Creative Word of God)? Who can declare it? What is that which shines through me, and strikes upon my heart without hurting it? And I shudder and kindle; shudder, inasmuch as I am unlike it; kindle, inasmuch as I am like it.' The mystics lost all self-control, no doubt, when they described this as 'the ineffable Nothing' which lies beyond all being; but they were doing their best; they were reaching out to that which is different from us, and pertains to another world. All words like 'supernatural,' 'supermundane,' 'transcendent' are, as it were, fingers pointing upward. 'My thoughts are not as your thoughts, nor your ways My ways, saith the Lord.' What is as certain as anything can be is that the sense for this unspeakable Mystery at the heart of the world, and above it, cannot be produced by the intensification or refinement of any natural feeling of demonic terror or the like; and Otto has some disdainful things to say about evolutionary fables that have been spun by professedly scientific writers on the history of religion, who have often suggested a sort of evolution by which something grew out of nothing. But it will not do. We pass over into another kind, as Aristotle would say, when we leave magic and enter on religion, exactly as we do in moving up from the useful to the right and good.

All this is copiously and aptly illustrated from the most varied worships of the past and present, but the interest and value of Otto's book lies not merely, or indeed chiefly, in the fact that he can draw evidence for his general interpretation from nature-religions and the like, but rather in the fact that his most striking instances are taken from the Bible. It is the depth and often the sudden piercing insight of his scriptural allusions that we remember best. And not from the Old Testament only, by any means. In the New Testament also, and most of all for Jesus' mind, God is ineffably and unimaginably great, and there is that in Him which repels the sinful as well as draws them to His heart.

Take, for example, the related ideas of sin and atonement, to which Otto now passes on. It has naturally been the custom for Christian thinkers to relate both ideas to the Holiness of God, and it is therefore necessary to mark clearly what precisely Otto means by the Holy in the full sense. The Holy, he argues, is the Numinous shot through and fused with the rational elements which, as a matter of fact, and inevitably, enter into and help to constitute the higher thought of God—such elements as spirituality, or love, or wisdom. The Holy is the complete unity of these two sides. Otto is here calling attention to a problem which is somewhat more important than might be supposed. If we say, for example, that God is Almighty Love, it is evident that the unity of these two attributes or aspects, almightiness and lovingness, is by no means obvious in itself, and that only religious faith, as a matter of fact, can and does unite them. They do not belong together by any logical necessity, for you cannot get to almightiness by analysing love, or *vice versa*. It takes more than hard thinking to combine them; it needs the constraint of revelation speaking to some deep impulse or faculty in the soul which assures us that they must be united if the object to which we ascribe either is to be worthy of the name of God. Similarly, Otto reminds us that in the concept of the Holy there is taken up and carried on, along with the rational, intelligible elements like love or wisdom, the abiding essence of what he had called the Numinous. In the religion of Moses there begins the process of ethicizing the Numinous, which is completed in prophecy and in the gospel. It is this which forms the ground of the claim raised by biblical religion, as early as Deutero-Isaiah, to be the religion of the world; it is this which makes it a higher faith than Islam. But this does not mean that the mystery in God, with its formidable and alluring quality, is gradually being withdrawn or denied. Are we prepared to say, for instance, that when we read in Hebrews, ' It is a fearful thing to fall

into the hands of the living God,' or that when Jesus speaks, 'I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear; fear Him who after He has killed has power to cast you into Gehenna' —are we willing to say that such words point to no reality whatever? Not so; there is something here that lasts on, true and awe-inspiring, into Christianity itself. There is still for us in God that which stops every mouth before Him, which cannot be computed or turned into perfectly intelligible terms; so that, if we have wholly ceased to 'tremble' at God's Word, we have lost touch with the authentic faith of Scripture.

How impossible it is to expel this element of the overpoweringly transcendent and sublime may be seen, Otto declares, by a careful scrutiny of Jesus' message of the Kingdom of God. We must not, he says, turn the gospel of Jesus into an idyll. The Numinous is by no means eliminated. The Kingdom itself is a supernatural reality; it is of another world than ours. The note of wonder is everywhere in the evangelists. The Heavenly Father, Lord of the Kingdom, is not less sacred and unfathomable than in Old Testament faith, but more so; He is exalted as never before, and holy fear must still be found in those who worship Him. Not that Jesus came to teach no more than that God is the Holy One, as Israel had known Him; what He came to teach, and what gives His message its infinitude, is the paradox, all but unbelievable, that the Holy One is our Father. What Jesus gives to men, what Luther in his agony heard and rejoiced in as he laid his ear to the New Testament, is that the Holy God receives sinners. If we leave out the full meaning of 'Holy,' the gospel loses half its marvel. The light of that unapproachable holiness of God hangs over the Garden of Gethsemane, when Jesus offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto Him that was able to save Him from death, and was heard in that He feared.

We must carry with us the same unabridged idea of

Holiness, Otto repeats, of Holiness as perfect ethical goodness but more, and revealing a new quality as compared with the sense of goodness in our human relationships, if we are to understand what the Bible means by either sin or atonement. Always and everywhere the realized presence or nearness of the Holy produces a distinctive feeling of unworthiness, a feeling, too, which is not purely or exclusively moral. The sinner becomes aware that he is a profane person, as if his presence contaminated deity. He feels so about his whole being, not only about single acts. Such a feeling turns a moral offence into sin, impiety, desecration. Otto points out not merely that the natural man has no consciousness of sin, but that the simply moral man has just as little. Here is a passage from Theodore Parker's correspondence in illustration. 'Orthodox scholars say: "In the heathen classics you find no consciousness of sin." It is very true—God be thanked for it. They were conscious of wrath, of cruelty, avarice, drunkenness, lust, sloth, cowardice, and other actual vices, and struggled and got rid of the deformities, but they were not conscious of "enmity against God," and didn't sit down and whine and groan against non-existent evil. I have done wrong things enough in my life, and do them now; I miss the mark, draw bow, and try again.' In such a temper there is no foothold for the felt need of redemption, and no understanding for the message of atonement. These can only appear in a mind which has been stung into passionate and awe-struck concern by the realization of the overshadowing holiness of God.

Support for Otto's argument on this point—which in the main of course is of a quite familiar kind—may perhaps be found in a consideration of the fact that even within the moral sphere itself the idea of violated obligation does not exhaust the standard which is instinctively brought to bear, by a man of living and sensitive conscience, upon a wrong act. The wrongdoing is felt not merely to be forbidden; it is felt to be unclean. The language of the Bible when it

describes moral evil, as it so often does, as filthiness, is in accord with the popular sense that moral evil is a kind of pollution. The man who has done wrong and is sorry for it does not merely reflect that he has disobeyed a law; he reflects that he is soiled. If he is religious as well as moral he will, quite naturally and inevitably, add to this the reflection that his wrongdoing is one of the things which is unclean 'in the sight of God.' And that is at least a stepping-stone to the irresolvable but specifically Christian estimate of sin for which Otto is laying a basis in certain primitive and universal impulses present in religion always and everywhere (cf. Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity*).

It is also a stepping-stone to some of the things he has to say about atonement. If a wrong act defiles, awakening not only penitence but spiritual disgust, it is natural that the idea of washing or cleansing should arise, and this forms an analogy, if no more, to the felt need of atonement or expiation. All that the Bible has to say about 'covering' or 'putting away sin' comes here to mind, and these are ideas, Otto pleads, which it is sheerly impossible to reduce to factors that are exclusively or transparently ethical. The distance between the sinful and a holy God is not lessened in the New Testament, but made absolute; it is indeed revealed as being of such a kind that only He can take upon Himself to abolish it, and the abolition is a grace that outgoes all we could ask or think. He does something for us of an unfathomably paradoxical kind, making possible, making real, what all logic had declared to be out of the question. And what we have to do is not just to understand it and measure it by our rules, but to flee to it and cling to the grace that has interposed.

Otto returns to this subject at various points, and dwells on it by preference. Much later, for example, when he is discussing the faculty or power constitutional to man of discerning and recognizing the presence of the Holy or Numinous—a power to which he gives the name 'divination'

—he expatiates at some length and in an exceptionally impressive fashion on the intuition by which faith perceives and rests in the last and highest manifestation of the Holy at Calvary. If Christ, he argues, is in any true sense the fulfilment of Old Testament presentiments and Old Testament problems, then the threads of irrational or ineffable and of rational or ethical suggestion must all meet, at their highest, in the Cross. Here the eternal mystery of the innocent suffering of the righteous is brought to a climax, and thereby, for the religious consciousness, solved. Christianity is the perfect religion, not because it expels from its thought of God the characteristic of sublime and awe-inspiring Holiness, before which the creature is as nothing, but because it unites that characteristic unreservedly with the ethical attributes, in their loftiest form, of goodness and love. 'In thus mingling,' he writes, 'the revealed with the dimly-divined unrevealed, the highest love with the dread *orge* of deity in the Cross, Christian feeling has made the most vital of all applications of the category of the Holy, and has given birth to the profoundest religious intuition with which we are presented in the entire field of religious history.'

Another instance of the Numinous element in New Testament religion on which Otto dwells for some pages is the doctrine of predestination in St. Paul. To St. Paul God is a Being who dwells in light that no man can approach, and much of what he had to say about the operations of the Spirit reveals a strong sense of the ineffable. But that elusive strain comes more obviously to the surface when he touches on predestination than at any other point. As we might expect, it is just here that the Rationalist feels St. Paul to be most beyond him; predestination is for him the chief rock of offence. For the apostle is not in the least thinking of 'Natural Law,' the inexorable constraint of which the Rationalist is only too ready to accept. What the apostle has in mind is in the first place indicated by the

word election—that is, the prevenient grace of God to which every Christian must gladly and adoringly trace his own salvation. But in the second place there is the sheer fore-ordination taught in the ninth chapter of Romans. What are we to make of this? It is not metaphysics, as it was in Zwingli. It is once more the sense of being in the presence of the Numinous, the sense of utter creatureliness, of nothingness before the Eternal, the lowly confession that God is all in all. It is a feeling entirely compatible even with the assurance of free will. It is as if we heard a voice: 'Will what thou wilt, and as thou canst; plan, choose, make ready; none the less, all must happen as it is determined.' And does such a thought have a place in Christianity; is it not rather the characteristic mark of Islam? Yes, Otto replies; as it stands it *is* akin to Mohammedan fanaticism, for in such a thought the rational and ethical elements in the concept of God have been overborne by suggestions of the capricious, the uncanny, the demonic. But none the less Rom. ix. does point to a real truth. It points to the sense of mystery that wraps about our ultimate subjection to a Higher Will than our own. There are places and times in life when we can do no more than throw up our hands and kneel down before God. Ask those if it is not so who have felt the dread will of God that rends loved hearts asunder, and makes havoc of our plans. What can we make of the mystery that we were ever born at all, that we live in Christendom and not in heathenism, that some we know and honour have lost their reason, that suffering which can never be measured has been appointed for the animal creation? These things confront us, and though, stepping blindly after Christ, we strive to cover them by the faith which He has kindled, they are never on earth finally resolved. It was at that irremovable mysteriousness of our destiny that St. Paul flung out the thought of predestination. It is only an analogy, says Otto; it is an analogy which, if pressed, becomes the ruin of Christian faith. But

to say that it points to nothing at all is to play with words.

Some important pages towards the close of Otto's book are occupied with a discussion of the faculty or power in man which recognizes intuitively the presence of the Holy, the divine. For it is a part of religion everywhere, he maintains, to assume that the divine reveals itself without as truly as within. To this faculty he gives the name of divination. We may neglect what he has to say regarding the more primitive forms of this innate power, and come at once to its higher manifestations in the story of religion unfolded within the Bible. One thing made clear by the progress there displayed is the complete erroneousness of the view taken commonly by Rationalism, to the effect that divination is a quite normal procedure of the understanding. God's presence, it urges, can be logically demonstrated, in ways that will convince every normal and well-conducted intelligence. But this, says Otto, is abhorrent to real piety, and it is refuted by everything that we know concerning the religion of the prophets. The decisive prophetic intuitions were not, in point of fact, within the reach of every well-equipped mind. They came to special souls, gifted, of course, by the grace of God, with special divinatory insight, enabling them to perceive the moving of a higher presence in the facts and events in the life of the individual or the nation. It was an insight accessible neither to any or every chance person taken at random, nor to the undifferentiated mass of the people; but only to those whose spirit God had touched. The *numen* and the prophet are correlative ideas.

When we pass into the New Testament, it is to find that Jesus is not merely the subject but the object of divination. He is capable, that is to say, of discerning the presence and significance of God in a measure beyond comparison even with the prophets, but this is not all; others divine the presence of God in Him. In Him 'the Holy' *appears*. In His presence its reality and its nearness are experienced

directly. We are quick to interpret this as meaning that in Jesus there is presented to the faith of disciples the supreme holiness and love of God Himself, and to that Otto would at once agree; but he points out that in saying so we have left something not wholly unimportant unsaid. In Jesus, it is evident, the disciples felt the touch upon their spirit of something inexpressible. Thus St. Mark writes: 'They were in the way going up to Jerusalem; and Jesus went before them, and they were amazed; and as they followed, they were afraid.' Peter, too, fell down at Jesus' knees with the words: 'Depart from me, for I am a sinful man'; and the centurion sent the message: 'I am not worthy that Thou shouldst come under my roof.' With this we must also take their unquestioning trust in Jesus' power over demons, and their slowly dawning conviction that He was that unearthly being, the Messiah, on whom turned the destinies of heaven and earth. It all means that we cannot state the believing response of the disciples to Jesus, their intuitive estimate of His right place, in purely moral terms. The divine is not a purely moral conception; it contains over and above elements that are *sui generis*, and indicative of what belongs to a higher world than ours. And it was in this ineffable sense that the Holy One was felt to have come amongst men in Christ. And we of to-day are in some ways even more favourably placed for the perception of the divine in Jesus, for we can see that He is no accidental irruption of the Holy into human life. His final manifestation of the Holy grows more luminous to the eye that can also survey the preparation for it in Israel and its after-effects in Christianity.

Unless, then, religion is to be dismissed as mere illusion, the results of our inquiry, Otto adds, must affect our conception of human nature as such. The entire development of religion in history presupposes a fundamental susceptibility for the divine, as a constitutive element of manhood, wherever it is found. The faculty of divination is native to our being; it is capable of being educated, but it cannot

be acquired in the sense of being evolved out of something else. Modern theology has spoken much, and rightly, of the saving impression of Jesus without which specifically Christian life cannot begin; but this impression could not have been made were it not for the presence in the human spirit of that which necessarily predisposes man to recognize the Holy when it is presented. The soul is no mere *tabula rasa*. The impression of beauty, whether in colour or in sound, is unthinkable save where some innate taste for the beautiful pre-exists in the mind as a living and potentially growing power. We have no right to assume that the capacity for religious experience is less widely spread than that for knowledge, or aesthetic perception, or morality. To be religious, if history can prove anything, is as natural to man as to feel and act ethically. In both cases the upward impulse can be stifled, yet in both also it can be submitted to the influences that foster growth. And the history of man as a religious being is the story of the action and reaction between the Holy as manifested and this original and ineradicable endowment of the soul. When the soul by inward nature thus signals the presence of the divine, when the nearness of God in His infinitude peals through our being, that is the *testimonium spiritus sancti*, bearing witness with our spirits that we stand before our Father and our Lord.

So far, for the most part, I have tried to report Otto's views as exactly as possible, without too much interfering with the impression they are calculated to make. But no doubt it would be unfitting to say nothing at all by way of comment. The first criticism I would offer is that the term 'irrational,' which constantly turns up in his exposition, as indicating what he takes to be a vital element or aspect of the religious object, and in a different sense of the interior religious experience, seems to be unhappily chosen. Not that he is original in choosing it; on the contrary, quite a large group of people at the moment are accustomed to speak of

poetry, art, morality, and particularly religion, as belonging to the definitely 'irrational' side of experience. What they mean to bring out by that word is presumably what has better been called the 'alogical' character of piety; they are pointing to the fact that it is not a purely intellectual thing, but rests on, and lives in, the sphere of value, and gives expression to, as well as satisfies, the practical and emotional nature. It almost appears to be hinted, though tacitly and perhaps even unconsciously, that science alone has a claim to be described as 'rational' in the proper sense. But though we admit, and indeed assert, that there is always more in religious experience than can be turned into transparent theory, there is surely a larger sense of reason in which religion is no more irrational than science or morality is. Besides, why call that 'irrational' which, in the judgement of all believers, is the one thing that imparts *meaning*, in the last and highest sense, to all life and history? It must be admitted, however, that Otto sins less than most of his group, for there is nothing he is more careful to bring out, in various scattered passages, than the truth that the full and religiously satisfying idea of the 'Holy' is constituted by rational as much as by irrational factors, and that God in Christ is gracious and holy not less than unfathomable and ineffable.

It is also fitting to ask, I think, whether Otto is not on the verge of committing or recommitting the fault of Schleiermacher in shutting religion up to the single department of feeling. The difficulty here has not to do with knowledge, for even in Schleiermacher it is now becoming clearer that by feeling he means, not a mere emotion, but a mode of apprehending the Infinite. The difficulty is rather about will—whether Otto does not incline to minimize the place occupied in the religious experience by volition. The self-surrender of the soul in an act of worship seems to be quite as essential a part of the mental process which the term 'worship' denotes as the emotional awareness of God. And it surely is quite

inaccurate to describe it as a mere consequence of the other. Correct analysis here is one more safeguard against the danger, into which those who theorize religion have often fallen, of confusing the religious with the aesthetic. Art does not as such claim to rule conduct, whereas religion does, and the definition of piety leaves this obscure unless we bring out clearly the co-ordinate importance of will along with feeling and knowledge.

In conclusion, there are two points of great significance on which we must all feel that Otto thinks and writes worthily. For one thing, there is great force in his argument that religion is not the same thing as morality, and must not be merged in it. Some one said recently that 'a very large number of people at the present time consider that the task of dealing with the moral conflict is the sole legitimate one for religion, and that all there is actually in the higher religions apart from the moral element is an accretion which it is the task of an enlightened criticism of religion to purge away.' We close Otto's book with a deepened sense that this is wrong, and that it gives us very little help in interpreting the most characteristic phenomena of man's religious history. When piety is allowed to speak for itself, it declares unhesitatingly that God is to be loved for His own sake, not merely for the sake of the moral improvement we gain through fellowship with Him. Indeed, we may put it more strongly. No moral improvement at all accrues to the man who is chiefly intent on it in the moment of worship. To make ethical refinement our central aim in devotion would, if it were a psychologically possible attitude, be as monstrous as that of the prig who said that he fell in love in order to improve his character.

In the second place, Otto helps the careful student in an unusual degree, I think, to recover and deepen in his own mind the sense that in religion 'mystery' is a vital factor. There is little in the charge that he tips the balance to the other side, making the mysterious, overawing, and ineffable

too predominant; for he is quite aware that by any such procedure we should lose the Fatherhood of God all over again, and be left face to face with the unknowable. But he recalls us to the truth that a religion which thinks little of the majesty of God, which is not serious and humble in His presence, which is devoid of high and awful and adoring thoughts, which seldom leads us to face our own feebleness and unworthiness, is not only unbiblical in temper, but has fallen out of line with some of the most promising things in the ethnic worships. It may be thought that such a contention is unevangelical, but it is not so. In the presence of God as Jesus made Him known we do not crouch in fear; we bow the head in awe, and under His supremacy feel secure.

H. R. Mackintosh.

A GREAT SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER

General Botha. By EARL BUXTON. (London : John Murray. 1924.)

AN authorized biography of General Botha is in preparation, and Earl Buxton has therefore confined himself to writing an account of the Botha with whom, as Governor-General of the Union and High Commissioner for South Africa, he had intimate relations from August, 1914, to his death in August, 1919. During those five years he kept very full records of all that was going on in the Union and of important conversations with the Prime Minister, so that he is in 'a peculiarly favourable position to give an account of a great man and an outstanding personality.'

Louis Botha was born in 1862 at Greytown, on the border of Natal. His father was of Huguenot ancestry from Lorraine, and was a sheep-farmer on a large scale. He had six sons and seven daughters. Louis was the eighth child, and from 1881 to 1884 annually trekked with the sheep into Zululand for the winter. In 1884 he and Lukas Meyer established the New Republic, whose capital was the recently laid-out town of Vryheid. Four years later this was absorbed into the Transvaal, of which Botha, who was born a British subject, now became a citizen. He married Annie Emmet in 1886, and became a prosperous farmer near Vryheid. He took an active part in local politics, and warmly supported General Joubert, who stood for progress and reform in the Transvaal in his candidature as President. Paul Kruger was re-elected, though it was popularly believed that Joubert had received a majority of votes. Had he displaced Kruger the whole course of South African history would have been changed.

Botha emerged from the South African War as the trusted leader of his people. A deep and bitter sense of

national disaster lay upon them, and Botha foresaw the tasks that awaited him. He told his staff as he bade them good-bye: 'My days of rest are over. I shall only be able to rest when I am put in my grave.' His house in Pretoria 'became a harbour of refuge for his people, who were in distress and who required help, encouragement, and sympathy. He revived their broken spirit, and showed the Boer people how they might again play their part in the well-being of their country.' 'My most sincere hope,' he said, 'is that it may please the Omnipotent Father to imbue with unanimity all the white inhabitants of South Africa, so that one nation may arise from them fit to occupy a position of dignity among the nations of the world, where the name of Boer will be greeted with honour and applause.' His opportunity came in February, 1907, when he took office as first Prime Minister of the Transvaal, with General Smuts as his colleague and a Cabinet formed of his own party or allies. He attended the Imperial Conference in London that year, and thenceforward threw his weight in favour of the policy which finally resulted in the Act of Union. He saw clearly that the union of the four colonies would not only lead to the national and material development of the country as a whole and raise the status of South Africa, but would constitute a notable step towards the co-operation of the two white races who had been in conflict.

When the Great War broke out Botha and his colleagues decided without hesitation that the British Empire, of which the Union was part, was at war, and that the King's enemies were the enemies of the Union. 'South Africa had been entrusted with self-government, and the Union must, therefore, make itself responsible for its own defence and internal order, and free the Imperial troops for use against the common foe.' Earl Buxton arrived in South Africa on September 8, and next day opened Parliament for a special War Session. Many of Botha's supporters were prepared to give their hearty support in connexion with the war in

Europe, where Germany was the aggressor, but hesitated about an expedition against German South Africa. General Botha's arguments, and those of his colleagues, together with his great personal influence, finally prevailed, and he secured a unanimous vote of his own party, as well as the support of the Unionist Opposition and the Labour Party for an address to the King, which assured him of the loyal support of the Unionist Parliament 'in bringing to a successful issue the momentous conflict which had been forced upon the Empire in defence of the principles of liberty and of International honour.' Botha's frank and courageous speech made a deep impression, and an amendment directed against the German South-West Expedition was defeated by 92 to 12.

The day after the House had risen, Beyers, the Commandant-General, resigned quite unexpectedly. Botha and Smuts left at once for Pretoria, and Earl Buxton followed two days later. It was the first act of the rebellion in the Transvaal and Orange Free States. Earl Buxton feels that the extent and magnitude of this movement, and the formidable danger which faced the Union and the British connexion, were never fully realized in England. The outbreak was a complete surprise to the Union Government, and no preparations had been made to meet it. Fortunately, however, in view of the war and the projected expedition against German South-West, a considerable number of troops were under arms, and immediately available for its suppression. Adequate forces were sent against Maritz, and the rebels in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State were dealt with effectively. The consequences of the rebellion were more serious from the political than from the military point of view. It had been provisionally arranged that General Beyers should take command of the campaign against German South-West. He had secured the appointment of Colonel Maritz as Commander of the Union Force in the northern district of Cape Colony, adjoining German territory. He had

already arrived at a definite agreement of co-operation with the Germans. A meeting was arranged at Potchefstroom on September 15, where it was hoped that the 1,600 men of the Citizen Force assembled there for training might be persuaded to mutiny. Then they intended to seize Pretoria and hoist the old republican flag. General de la Rey had been persuaded to attend this meeting, though he was innocent of any rebellious design and was a special friend of Botha's. Beyers was taking him in a car to Potchefstroom. The police had just been warned that a gang of armed burglars were endeavouring to escape in a motor, and stationed armed police patrols to stop and search all cars entering or leaving Pretoria. Beyers, alarmed by repeated signals to stop, tried to rush the patrols. One of the police therefore fired at a tyre. The bullet ricochetted off the road and killed General de la Rey. That completely upset the conspiracy, ' and by the time that they were again ready to move, Maritz had shown his hand. Martial Law had been proclaimed, thousands of loyal burghers were under arms and available for defence or attack.'

De la Rey's funeral was a critical time. The disaffected attended in force ; the car in which he was shot was bedecked with republican flags ; ugly rumours were put about as to the circumstances in which he met his death, and inflammatory speeches were made. At the grave Botha pronounced a heartfelt eulogy of his friend, which did much to calm the angry feeling. Under this influence Beyers, who spoke next, repudiated the idea that he had any disloyal intentions. It was shortly after announced that General Botha would take charge of the military expedition, and an appeal was made for 7,000 additional volunteers. This appeal to the patriotism and loyalty of the Dutch-speaking section did much to diminish the feeling of antipathy to the expedition. On September 23 Maritz was instructed to move his 1,200 men towards the border in order to co-operate with the Southern Force in its advance. In a long and insolent

telegram he replied that if he were required to cross the border he would desire to have his resignation accepted. His refusal to advance was largely responsible for the disaster that befell a detachment of the Southern Force, which was surprised and badly cut up at Sandfontein, Maritz finally hoisted the Vierkleur and crossed over into German territory. Beyers and de Wet moved freely about the Transvaal and Orange Free States, commandeering men, horses, arms, and stores, and occupying the railways. Botha took the field against Beyers on October 26, and next day dispersed the commandos and captured some prisoners. Beyers made his way into the Free State, where on November 7 his commandos were again badly defeated and scattered. Four hundred prisoners were taken. He was attacked a month later while attempting to join de Wet in the Transvaal. He tried to escape by fording the Vaal river, but fell from his horse and was drowned. By December the rebellion was practically at an end in the Transvaal. General Botha severely defeated de Wet's forces in the Free State on November 12, capturing his camp, wagons, and a considerable number of prisoners. De Wet then pursued the tactics he had followed in the South African War, but those elusive measures were unavailing against forces equally mobile, and familiar both with that mode of warfare and with the lie of the country. He was finally captured by the motor detachment on December 2.

Botha had felt it his duty to take arms against the rebels. 'I have a big following,' he said, 'Beyers and de Wet are strong men in the country. There is no one else I can put in their place just now, so I must go myself.' It was 'an unhappy and indeed tragic ordeal to have to hunt down and fire on men, many of them relatives and many of them friends who were once their comrades-in-arms.' His treatment of the rebels was generous. 'The cause of law and order has been and will be vindicated,' he said. 'Let that be enough. This is no time for exultation or recrimination.

Let us spare one another's feelings. Remember we have to live together in this land long after the war is ended.' The rebels were disqualified for ten years from being Members of Parliament, or holding various offices, and were prohibited from having a licence to possess arms and ammunition. One hundred and seventy were sentenced to various forms of imprisonment; another hundred were fined and bound over to be of good behaviour. In November, 1916, all the prisoners were released on undertaking of good conduct. Botha wanted 'to control those who had been rebels and not to make them desperate and send them to the dogs.'

The rebellion involved serious military operations, and if the position had been less judiciously, promptly, and courageously handled, the whole complexion of the affair would have been altered, and would have been very grave. 'If, moreover, the commandants and the commandos had shown any hesitation in taking the field against their compatriots (as they might well have done); or if Botha, unable or unwilling to rely on his burghers, had attempted to put down the revolt by forces for the most part British, the revolt would rapidly have gathered strength. If (which was quite feasible) Pretoria and Bloemfontein had at the beginning been captured by the rebels, or if there had been defeats or set-backs, the rebellion would have assumed most formidable proportions. The heather would have been alight, the conflagration would have spread rapidly, and would have been difficult to extinguish. But all went well, and the danger-points were gradually passed.' The whole period of the war was one of great anxiety, and both in 1916 and in 1918 the Government was at times greatly concerned at the possibility of further trouble.

The effective campaign against German South-West occupied only six months, which was no 'small feat in a country of vast distances, with deficiency of water, heavy and driving sand, hot and dusty marching.' It was the first time that a military campaign of any magnitude in South

Africa was carried through without the assistance of Imperial troops. One hundred and fourteen men and officers were killed or died of wounds; 318 others were wounded. 'The Germans fought well when they had the opportunity, but they were nearly always faced with superior and mobile forces, and had to retreat before the British advance.'

Earl Buxton has known many big men, but thinks Botha was 'the most human and the most lovable of them all; and he was imbued with that indefinable magnetism and charm which is innate to its happy possessor, but which cannot be analysed nor described.' He was dignified, simple, and natural in his manner, courteous and considerate in his bearing. 'His genial and kindly ways, his winning and encouraging smile, his hearty handshake, dissipated shyness and reserve.' All his dealings were above-board, and his integrity and honesty of purpose were patent. He was both wise and simple, with a refreshing fund of common sense. He felt ingratitude deeply and abhorred pettiness. Earl Buxton says, 'I remember one evening at Pretoria his expressing to me his antipathy to the German Emperor, not only because he had played the Boers false, but especially—and this rankled—because of the Kaiser's discourtesy in refusing to receive President Kruger, an old man travelling on a heart-breaking pilgrimage to Europe, and whom, when it appeared to be to his advantage to do so, he had encouraged and professed to support.' Botha hated petty quarrels and jealousies. Speaking to the Governor-General about a departmental dispute, he said, 'I feel strongly inclined to go down and sjambok the whole lot. They think of themselves and not of those who suffer from their quarrels.' One of his friends described him as the 'most loving man in South Africa.' 'His religious faith was one of simple piety and belief in the guiding Hand of God. It was the bedrock of his existence.' In bidding his men good-bye in German South-West he said, 'When you consider the hardships we

met, the lack of water, the poisoned wells, and how wonderfully we were spared, you must realize and believe God's Hand protected us, and it is due to His intervention we are safe today.' A month before his death, when he returned from the Peace Conference he told the people: 'I have never in my life been so hopeful as I am this morning. God has brought us in marvellous fashion through this war to the brilliant sunshine of victory, and to Him be the honour and the gratitude.'

He was accessible to all, and would allow his visitors to talk for hours if he could get them to think as he did, or remove difficulties and doubts from their minds. The strain involved was great, but he was enabled to keep touch with his people and his party. 'His ambition was for his country and not for himself. He worked always for the general good; he had no fish of his own to fry, and he was only interested in the good cookery of the common meal. Pomps, ceremonies, and entertainments made no appeal to his hereditary and farming instincts; but when he had to undergo them he was most punctilious, and comported himself with great dignity. When on his visits to Europe he did his best to avoid publicity and the limelight; indeed, nothing he hated more than to be treated as a lion and to be expected to roar.'

His wife had immense influence over him, and he greatly valued her opinion and advice. They passed through many vicissitudes with single-hearted devotion to one another. They had three sons and two daughters. Botha was a capital farmer, who knew all his stock by sight and had a keen eye for points. Some French farmers once asked him to pick out as a gift any two rams in a large flock which they had taken him to see, and were not quite pleased when he promptly picked out the two that were much the best of the flock.

His visit to England in 1907 as Prime Minister of the Transvaal was a severe trial to his proud and sensitive

nature. He felt 'tied as a slave to the chariot-wheel.' King Edward sent for him, and they had a long and intimate talk. 'The King began the conversation by telling Botha how perfectly he understood his feelings, and that he realized how painful the position must be to him, in spite of the admiration they all felt for him, and their anxious desire to express their friendship. When Botha came back from the interview he told our friend that the King had entirely understood his position, that a great load had been lifted from his mind, and that his feelings in regard to his visit were entirely changed.' He had a great admiration, almost affection, for Lord Kitchener, and was deeply shocked and grieved at his death. Earl Buxton says Kitchener was a great figure in South Africa, and all sections of the community had the highest respect and admiration for him.

Botha was on terms of affectionate intimacy with General Smuts. 'Nobody,' he said, 'can ever appreciate sufficiently the great work General Smuts has done—greater than that of any other man throughout this unhappy period. At his post day and night, his brilliant intellect, his calm judgement, his amazing energy, and his undaunted courage have been assets of inestimable value to the Union in her hour of trial.' Nor was Smuts less emphatic. At Botha's funeral he bore witness, 'After an intimate friendship and unbroken co-operation extending over twenty-one years, during which we came as close together as it is ever given men to come, I have the right to call him the largest, most beautiful, sweetest soul of all my land and days.'

Earl Buxton found his own office one of no small responsibility, and full of exacting duties. All over the Union he was welcomed with the utmost courtesy, and felt that South Africa had a unique attraction and fascination. For five years he had intimate relations with Botha, who was altogether delightful to deal with. He was full of tact and common sense in his handling of affairs, and was always open to argument. He was proud of the distinguished bravery

which the South African Brigade displayed in Europe, and looked forward with immense interest to his visit to the Peace Conference. He had a wonderful reception on his return to South Africa in July, 1919. He went to rest at his farm, where he had an attack of influenza and was removed to Pretoria, where he died at midnight on August 27. He had been Prime Minister of the Transvaal for three years, and of the Union for nine years. His office in the Transvaal was no bed of roses, and the four years of Union before the war were full of anxieties and burdens, political, administrative, economic, and industrial. He referred in 1915 to these problems: 'I make bold to say that in South Africa, at any rate, no Government had ever taken up the reins in more difficult conditions than my colleagues and I did. To amalgamate four separate Administrations and to bring into effect the new Constitution was a great task. Provincial feelings became stronger on any proposal touching any Province, and no one not having taken part in this work could realize how tremendously difficult the task was, because it was only natural that the inhabitants of each separate Province should be attached to their own interests.' He filled his difficult post with such skill and devotion that on his death a wave of deep emotion spread over South Africa, and every one realized that 'a strong and well-tempered link between the Dominion and the Empire had been broken.'

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC RELIGION

Essays of a Biologist. JULIAN HUXLEY. (Chatto & Windus. 1923.)

IN Mr. Huxley's *Essays* the whole structure of the Christian faith is not merely assailed, but endangered. 'The complete breakdown of the older views about nature and man, of the philosophies and theologies based not on observation, but on authority which is no authority, on unverifiable speculation, on superstition, and on what we would like to be rather than what happens to be so—the breakdown of all the commonly accepted bases for man's view of himself and the universe—has made it necessary to go back to fundamentals if we are to see where we stand.'[1] To put it bluntly, the proposal is that Christianity should be scrapped. Huxley has got past the position of Matthew Arnold, and thinks not merely that man can do without the Christian religion—he thinks he ought to do without it. On the other hand, because 'Humanity will always have some religion' he proposes a new scientific faith. His idea seems to have been borrowed from Lord Morley, and has been shaped upon the conception of Carlyle that the world is God, and that the gods are men; this he modifies so as to embrace Blake's notion that 'All deities reside in the human breast.' He rejects the opinion that man has created divinity; what man is responsible for is the expression of the IDEA of God; and thus, having outgrown the idea as expressed by Christian theologians, he must scrap it and give it a scientific setting. That the expression must be accommodational to some extent is evident, but Huxley's contention is not only fatal to Christianity as the final faith; it renders any final expression of divinity impossible. In other words, we can never 'know the truth'; we can only know approximations

[1] J. Huxley, *Essays*, p. 74.

thereto such as any selected age or individual provides. Huxley is anxious to avoid suggesting that religion and science are in conflict; the conflict is between science and 'a particular brand of religion,'[1] by which he means, of course, orthodox and organized Christianity. 'The whole premiss of God as a personal being, ruler and father and judge,' having become in fact untenable, the whole edifice of Christian theologians is 'toppling down.'[2]

Huxley's book of necessity presupposes a great deal of work done in other fields than that of biology, and that the experts agree in the main with certain conclusions. These conclusions undoubtedly undermine the foundations of the Christian faith. Where they are leading is clear to any one who will carefully ponder the statements, the suggestions, and the inferences of Mr. Huxley's *Essays*. The present writer, however, does not regard some of the more important of these conclusions as being better than scientific 'assumptions,' and in some cases they savour rather of some scientific 'revelation' than of 'experience.' Unfortunately, it is impossible to review the 'evidence'—such as it is—here, but it cannot be denied that there are gaps in the evidence. Professor Arthur Keith, in an address given before the British Association at Dundee in 1912, allows, for instance, that 'the structural hiatus' between man and the anthropoids is wide, although the great authority, Professor G. Elliot Smith, in his presidential address before the same Association, claimed that there is such an exact identity of structure 'in most parts of the bodies of men and the gorilla' that denial of 'the validity of this evidence of near kinship is tantamount to a confession of the utter uselessness of the facts of comparative anatomy as indicative of genetic relationships.' The theologian, however, is not justified in allowing even the facts of anatomy to override psychological and spiritual facts. Manhood is not a matter of

[1] *Id.*, p. 226. [2] *Id.*, p. 224.

bones so much as of soul. It would be absurd to deny what can be certainly proved; but facts of anatomy can be accepted only as far as they go. Inferences from indisputable facts are not, therefore, indisputable. The Christian theologian denies that human nature as we know it is 'almost entirely the resultant of blind chance and blind necessity.' Recalling Osborn's statement that man's ancestors are 'unknown'[1] the scientific theologian must be conceded in his part of the field of inquiry the agnosticism 'save about facts'[2] which the biologist quite unblushingly claims in his section of the same field. Indeed, the theologian has little option in the matter if he is to escape Mr. Huxley's scorn as being 'unscientific,' by which is meant unwillingness to use the intellect to its fullest extent, and it is impossible to do this if you 'rely more on authority than experience, look . . . to revelation instead of reason, to an arbitrary governor instead of to a discoverable order.'[3] We shall hesitate, therefore, before accepting even scientific authority where that cannot be checked by experience, and especially where it comes perilously near to the denial of such experience as we have.

As an illustration of the trend of scientific thought we may quote the remark of Professor Elliot Smith, who says it is 'singularly fortunate for us . . . that side by side there should have been preserved from the remote Eocene times, and possibly earlier still, these insectivores,[4] which had almost become primates, and a little primitive lemuroid, the spectral tarsier, which had only just assumed the characters of the primate stock, when nature fixed their types and preserved them throughout the ages, with relatively little change, for us to study at the present day.'[5] Undoubtedly it *is* fortunate; for the question that springs involuntarily to the mind is, Why did the tree-shrews almost, but not quite,

[1] Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*. [2] Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
[3] *Ibid.* [4] He is referring to the tree-shrews (*tupaiide*).
[5] Presidential Address.

become primates? Why did nature fix these types instead of enabling them to bridge the gulf that separates them from the higher order? The oracle of science being silent, the theologian may suggest that although the idea of an 'intrusion' is abhorrent to the scientist, the problem seems insoluble apart from some 'intrusion' of divine purposefulness. In other words, it seems necessary to postulate something given to a lowlier organism to assure development, otherwise the development cannot take place, and there is no satisfactory explanation intellectually as to why one species of a given genus is higher than another, or why one branch of an organism develops while another remains stationary; and to this something—for want of a better term—I give the name creational-germ. The tree-shrew was not subject to the 'intrusion' of this germ, and thus could not merge with 'the stem of the aristocratic primate phylum'; while the spectral tarsier had no dormant possibility of evolving the higher type.

A number of quotations might be made to show that Smith regards the process of brain evolution, beginning in the lowliest members of the primate series, as continuing, until the brain, by gradual stages, became the perfected instrument of our human mind. 'Man has emerged, not by the sudden intrusion of some new element into the ape's physical structure or the fabric of his mind, but by the culmination of those processes, which have been operating in the same way in a long line of ancestors ever since the beginning of the Tertiary period.'[1] Here we have quite clearly the specialist's bleak disavowal of any special divine interposition in the creation of man. The same savant told the members of the British Academy in 1916 that 'the earliest members of the human family must have been merely apes with an overgrown brain.' When we inquire, however, why some apes came to have such 'overgrown' brains, no

[1] *Idem.*

satisfactory reasons are adduced, but, being confronted with 'the fundamental characteristics of the human mind,' we are expected to assume, without being given conclusive reasons, that the poor, mean, low mentality of the ape has developed into the amazing powers of man, and are informed, because of certain 'circumstantial evidence,' that 'traditional Christian theology' is 'floundering' in the 'quagmire,'[1] and is confronting science in an 'impasse.'[2] Nevertheless 'the properties of the human mind cannot be deduced from our present knowledge of the minds of animals.'[3] Still, it is 'an economy of hypothesis' and 'the proper conclusion' that all mental properties 'are to be traced back to the simplest and most original forms of life.' The development, however, is of such a nature that Huxley (the younger) has to liken it to a kink, 'a critical point similar to that seen at the origin of living from non-living matter.' Where the biologist sees the kink the theologian sees a chink—a chink which permits the workmanship of a divine hand. This, no doubt, is anthropomorphic language; but Arnold suggests that 'men inevitably use anthropomorphic language about whatever makes them feel deeply.'[4] Huxley tells us the term 'God' has an important scientific connotation, yet he seems to desire a less personal term. For 'the one fundamental substance' which 'possesses not only material properties, but also properties for which the word mental is the nearest approach'—for this x, he says, 'we want a new name.' Why not go a step farther back? Why not say that the one fundamental entity possesses not only mental, but also properties for which the word personal is the nearest approach? Why not equate x with God? For one reason, no doubt, because the term connotes definite conceptions which are repugnant to the scientist's mind. Huxley distinguishes between God and the idea of God. The first is compounded of the organizing powers of the

[1] Huxley, *op. cit.*, p. 218. [2] *Id.*, p. 249. [3] *Id.*, p. 242.
[4] *God and the Bible*, Preface.

human mind.[1] God is the product of the manufactory of the human brain. Prefacing his essay 'Rationalism and the Idea of God' are some lines superscribed 'Gods,' in which God is said to be the world 'captive in our thought.' The same idea is rounded off and becomes almost explicit in a couplet prefixed to the essay entitled 'Religion and Science':

> The universe can live and work and plan,
> At last made God within the mind of man.

The universe is God, not, however, as anything tangible, but in the 'idea' of man. Yet, when describing the projection or interpretation of external reality in terms of oneself, Huxley remarks that this anthropomorphism in religion after religion 'has invested the powers of the universe with . . . form, mind, and personality similar to those of men.' It should be noted that the external reality is correlated with the 'powers of the universe.' Inferentially, then, these 'powers' are not a mere abstraction of thought, but have objective reality. That such things should be interpreted within the limits of human experience is surely a truism. The important thing is that the interpretation should be true as far as human experience and knowledge extend. Huxley presumably may agree with this, but it is not always possible to be sure that he is self-consistent. In his essay on 'Progress' are some brief references to religion. Linking together love—presumably human love—intellectual discovery, art, and religion, it is said that herein we 'touch the Infinite or the Absolute,' but by this 'we mean only . . . what is infinite and absolute in comparison with our ordinary selves.'[2] It is not easy to escape the impression that this infinite or absolute is regarded as subjective only. Huxley is fond of ringing the changes upon the thought of 'projection.' 'If we look into the history of religion we find over and over again man has taken something from his own mind and projected it into the external

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 262. [2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 62–63.

world. . . . And there is no reasonable doubt . . . that man has organized his idea of external power after the pattern of a personality, and has then ascribed this type of organization to the external power.'[1] Referring to the interpenetrative power of personalities which is illustrated by the ability of one person to grasp a new idea imparted by another, their minds having 'obviously interpenetrated,'[2] we are told that 'by organizing our knowledge of outer reality after the pattern of a personality, we make it possible for it to interpenetrate our private personality.'[3] Noting again the reference to outer reality, we must submit that Huxley's obscure language appears to mean in plain English 'Having an idea'—we have an idea; we project our idea, and *it* becomes personal; it then 'interpenetrates' the mind of our 'ordinary' personality. This logic is too fine-spun for men of the 'Western Civilization,' and they are not likely to put an exaggerated value upon such an idea of God. As to the idea of God, it was not evolved; it emerged, rather, 'when the human type of mind first came into being.' How did this come about? The alternatives are not many. It must either have been 'revealed'—and of course this is intolerable to science—or it must have resulted from experiences that were 'sublimated' by reflection; in which case, of course, it will be difficult to maintain Huxley's thesis. Huxley's attempt to unravel the mystery cannot be regarded as successful. The biological explanation of man's becoming savours too much of the ingenuous story of the golden calf,[4] with 'blind and unconscious forces' substituted for the 'fire,' and to our wonder there has been produced, not an inanimate calf, but living and conscious and intelligent man. This is the fairy-tale of the modern scientist, and it is this view of nature which makes 'a personal creation of the world . . . meaningless.' Moreover, if there be a Creator His plan 'appears to our intellect as

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 279. [2] *Id.*, p. 283. [3] *Id.*, p. 284.
[4] Exod. xxxii. 24.

unreasonable, and indeed stupid.'[1] Similarly, if God is a Ruler, either He is without power or 'He is the universe.' There is no reason whatever to admit that personality is a genuine characteristic of any knowable god, but every reason to suspect that it is, as a matter of hard fact, merely another product of this property of projection so strong in the human mind.[2] Yet, curiously enough, Huxley does not rule out absolutely the possibility that God may possess personality,[3] and, in any case, personal qualities do not inhere in the earliest 'idea' of God; they belong to that stage of development when man learned to project 'the idea of that active agency he knew best—human personality—into his idea of cosmic powers.'[4] Yet, even denuded of the personal qualities, such 'idea' of God as existed must be accounted for, and it is not difficult on the evolutionary hypothesis to show that there must have been a time prior to which there can have been no idea of God. When Huxley says, 'The people of a tribe . . . find themselves all unconsciously caught up in the system which they and their forefathers have made,' he apparently intends us to understand that the said forefathers having 'compounded' something suspiciously like a bogy-man from their 'everyday thoughts and attributes,' their successors, quite irrationally and foolishly forgetting that He was merely the 'reflection of their tribal ideas,' began to regard Him as real, and, more surprising still, to invest Him with qualities representative of some of their abstract ideals. We cannot here investigate the very interesting and important question as to how such ideals grew up in what must have been at first, and for unknown ages afterwards, ape-society; we must leave the matter at the point where the people had—to use Elliot Smith's word—'devised' their deity, merely remarking that it is difficult to think that Voltaire 'the irrepressible' can have been right in saying 'Man created

[1] Huxley, *op cit.*, p. 16. [2] *Id.*, p. 222. [3] *Id.*, p. 267.
[4] *Id.*, p. 211.

God in his own image'; it would rather seem in Huxley's view that he created God in the image *of his own ideals*—a very different thing; for such an idea of God by no possibility can have emerged when the human type of mind first came into being, and is not, therefore, the inevitable product of biological evolution. Indeed, in its ultimate form it constitutes a stinging rebuke to man as he is, as also an insistent and inspiring challenge, not alone to men of the baser sort to reform, but to men on the 'upper level of attainment' to be perfect. As to evil in man, Huxley is vague. Apparently it is social rather than individual, in so far as it is an offence. The sense of sin is relegated to the category of irrational fears. It is long ago now since Dr. Dale said that 'one of the chief reasons why men do not trust in Christ to save them is that they do not believe that there is anything from which they need to be saved.' Nevertheless, we might be edified if we could listen to the auricular confessions with the man-within, which one of the moderns who is not worrying about his sins probably makes in the morning before he gets out of bed![1] Whether Huxley himself is entirely satisfied with 'the account made possible by a radically scientific view of the universe' may be doubted. In that extraordinary—almost abnormally clever—essay entitled 'Philosophic Ants,' he imagines the thought of 'Mercaptan' to have become 'intensified' by some curious telepathic sense, until the world began to be perceived as a single Being, with all its parts in interaction.[2] He could 'half see' the shadowy lineaments of this Being, but 'strive as he might he could not see its real likeness.' 'Mercaptan' was striving to achieve the impossible. 'He wanted to know—to know whether this phantom were a reality'; but in vain he strained all his faculties. Is it not pathetic, this modern instance of the wisdom of this world proving itself incapable of attaining to the knowledge of God? We

[1] Adapted from a letter of Carlyle to Jane Welsh.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

remain persuaded that from eternity He 'resolved to save believers by the "sheer folly" of the Christian message.'[1] We need not follow Mr. Huxley to the somewhat banal ending of his essay, but may suggest to him that when he looked upon a face and saw—'Ah, what indeed?'—we see Jesus. The almost entire disregard of the Lord Jesus in these essays is surprising. A man who goes as far as Huxley goes cannot leave the matter in suspense:

> Who this is we must learn, for man He seems
> In all His lineaments, though in His face
> The glimpses of His Father's glory shine.[2]

As Dean Inge has said, 'If Christ was God as well as man He has revealed to us what the character of God is,'[3] and a great many other inferences follow.

As regards the form which the 'new-moulded religion' is to take, it is laid down that 'fixed and rigid dogma is impossible,'[4] but at this point 'real faith enters.' Faith, so to say, is still necessary to salvation, but it is a 'relying alone' on what the scientist, and especially the biologist, tells us from time to time. The priests of the new religion are to be poets, philosophers, and men of science, yet the high-priest of the new faith cannot even discuss the thing of all things that men most desire to know; he cannot bestow one joyous thought

> To friendship, weeping at the couch of woe.

How thrilling is the Christian assertion, 'We know that if our tent—that earthly body which is now our home—is taken down, we have a house of God's building, a home not made by hands, imperishable, in heaven.'[5] The Christian approach to the subject of immortality is through the resurrection of Jesus. Upon this rock God has built the

[1] 1 Cor. i. 21 (Moffatt).
[2] *Paradise Regained*, bk. i.
[3] *Speculum Animae*, p. 19.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 289.
[5] 2 Cor. v. 1 (Twentieth Century New Testament version).

Church. The most deadly heresy is the denial of any real resurrection of Jesus. This is the deposit of the faith once for all committed to us, and for which at all cost we must contend. For 'if Christ be not raised' the whole position of Christianity is undermined. We may conclude with three quotations: When we come face to face with what Professor Sollas calls 'that mystery of mysteries, the problem of evolution,' that authority declares roundly that 'no ingenuity, however great, has yet furnished a solution. Natural selection . . . may accomplish much, but it creates nothing.'[1] Moreover, it is rather amusing to find Professor Smith declaring that 'the history of man will be truly interpreted, not by means of hazardous and mistaken analogies with biological evolution, but by the application of a true historical method.'[2] Finally, we may follow Huxley when he says 'that part and those aspects of the universe which have been grasped by us may prove to contain the key to many of our difficulties; meanwhile we can only be humble.'[3]

CLEMENT ASHLIN WEST.

[1] *Ancient Hunters.* [2] *Primitive Man.* [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

AS OTHERS SEE US

Exit Homo, and *The Divine Tragedy*. By A. St. John Adcock. (Selwyn and Blount.)

IT is for our good that from time to time we should be shaken out of our self-complacency, and be forced to see ourselves as others see us. It is not a pleasant experience; and few will read these poems without wincing, or possibly without gusts of indignation at what seems to be injustice to the Church, its aims and its achievements. No satirist is ever absolutely fair, for he confessedly is concerned with phases, not with wholes; and Mr. Adcock is in these poems pre-eminently the satirist. But he is not the satirist who lampoons for sheer sport. He is the realist who is ever bent on forcing others to face realities too, and to act in accordance with them. He satirizes and scorches unreality and pretence; but there are plenty of signs that show he knows there is another side. The value of such criticism to the Christian disciple lies in its effective challenge to self-scrutiny.

It was 'to the memory of Edward W. Roper' that Mr. Adcock dedicated his *Exit Homo*; and the title—which must not be viewed as a parody of another more famous title—derives its significance from the fact that the poem grew entirely out of the intercourse he had with Mr. Roper in the closing days of the latter's long life. There is somewhat of the Latin *pietas* about it, in that it was an act of homage to one whose courage and intellectual honesty seemed altogether admirable, even to one who could not assent to his views on life, and God, and destiny. Moreover, the fact that Mr. Roper desired Mr. Adcock to act as his literary executor—a plan which failed to materialize—made the latter the more ready to make his appreciation of his friend in part an exposition of his views. Apart from the setting of the situation, which is vividly described in Mr. Adcock's

characteristic verse—so euphonious, so thoughtful, so charged with purpose—the poem falls into two sections. In the first the departed critic of religion speaks with vehemence and sometimes bitterness; in the other Mr. Adcock appraises his criticisms, and for the most part deals with those facts in modern living which give a measure of justification for the indictment; and then sums up.

The whole poem, therefore, has its value to us, not because the poet thinks that orthodox Christianity is assailable on these grounds—he may or he may not; that is not the question—but because in a serious, earnest fashion the Christian is reminded how his short-comings and failures work out to the detriment of the gospel which he would fain commend to all. What, then, was the nature of the indictment put forward in the name of his departed friend?

(i.) The Christian is untrue to his creed when he shrinks from death. Roper himself enjoyed life, and has no fear of death.

> It neither grieves
> Nor fills me with dismay
> That I must lie at last with last year's leaves,
> And all the placid dust of yesterday.
> I ask no more, my day's work being done,
> Than sleep and darkness now at set of sun.

That being so, his ire is roused by the spectacle of

> You Christians that protest
> Your lives are in God's hand,
> Who knoweth what is best
> Until His plans thwart yours, and then you plead
> That He will match His purpose with your need.
> . . . . . .
> Why do you shrink from slumber dark and deep?
> How harmless, how beneficent is sleep!
> Why fear whatever waits
> Beyond Death's secret gates?
> Whether you sleep or wake in heavens above
> All's well if you are sure your God is Love;
> If you are not, and doubt His words and ways,
> Why flatter Him with the incense of your praise?

This is searching, and it is sound; but when Wesley asserted that 'our people die well,' he was putting forward a valid claim; and it is unquestionably true that where the grip of Christian truth is a matter of real experience and spiritual appropriation, there is nothing of that craven fear of death which Roper justly indicts as unworthy of the Christian, and as giving the lie to his creed.

> Rejoice for a brother deceased!
> Our loss is his infinite gain!

embodies the true Christian conception of death—as a human, social loss to those who are left behind, and yet at the same time a glorious translation for the 'brother deceased.'

(ii.) He indicts Christian people for their defective allegiance to the law of love, in respect, for instance, of war and of commercial immorality. This is familiar ground, and nothing more need be said here than that no Christian would defend what is here indicted. To engage, however, in a war of self-defence cannot fairly be brought under the category of sins which he denounces; and in the field of commercial intercourse his strictures are equally unbalanced, and therefore unconvincing.

(iii.) The same is true of his condemnation of Christian worship. The aspects of worship which rouse Mr. Roper's indignation and contempt are not those in which Nonconformists take any stock; but in common fairness we must point out that his representation of the religion of symbols is little else than a caricature; and the religion of experience does not seem to have come within his ken. But while we characterize his presentation of the case as unfair, we must at the same time take a share of the blame on ourselves if one so transparently honest has acquired so false a conception of the Christian religion. And there we leave him, Agnostic to the end, convinced that by a 'first inscrutable decree,' It—that is the best he knows, and it is a poor best—

Assigned my place to me,
My part in Its inscrutable endeavour
Once and for all—for ever and for ever.
Nor any priestly doubting can abate
This faith in which I close my eyes, and wait.

When we pass from the Agnostic to Mr. Adcock we are conscious of a subtle change of viewpoint. He refuses to blame or eulogize, but proceeds to arraign certain aspects of life as he sees it. But when he touches religion it is not Christianity that he attacks, but such nominal believers as fail to 'adorn their doctrine.' His satire is sometimes biting and even cruel; and usually—not always—it would be possible to present another side of the case, and put in a plea for mitigation of sentence.

Church, State, Literature, Art—all come under his lash, and seldom are his strictures baseless, even when excessive.

Here Church and State walk closely hand in hand;
Even atheist Premiers, prompted from on high,
Create new Bishops when the old ones die,
And priests but take these titles for reward
To seem more Christlike when they're called 'My lord'!

The incongruity noted in the second line is undeniable; but one would be sorry indeed to have to accept the last two lines as representing facts in one case out of a hundred. He indicts 'the minds of kings' because they

can wear
Their glory with a grave, superior air
And never ask what quality have they
To lift them so aloof from men of clay.

He trounces the law because it

Has eyes for little thefts but not for large,

which is much more true than one likes to think, and he remembers that

the smart lawyer, thriving by man's fall
In wealth and honour, may out-glitter all
Except those masters of finance sublime
Who rob by law but never stoop to crime.

Under such an order we have no right, in his opinion, to expect science, art, and literature to be other than commonplace, unreal, unworthy. Hardy, Galsworthy, Wells, Barrie, Bernard Shaw, and Alfred Sutro all receive sincere and succinct words of appreciation; but only as a reminder that they

Play second fiddle for the general crowd
To rampant melodrama or the loud
And schoolboy humours that our Robeys use,
And all the fuddled farce of the revues.

The editor of the *Bookman* is alive to those temptations which are bound to beset the men who follow the craft of the literary critic, rather

To head the crowd in any path below
Where it was going and would pay to go,
Than to be left unpopular, benighted,
The friend of genius that his readers slighted;
Better it seemed to back a winning cause,
And so be safe to share in the applause
Than to proclaim, on water and a biscuit,
Nothing but truth of every book, and risk it.

In order that he may make more pointed his indictment of the unreality and hypocrisy which he sees so rife he focuses it all in a picture of Clotho, who

Indulged no sin before the human eye,
And married money most respectably,
Rented a roomy pew in church, and there
Was seen each Sabbath, twice, in praise and prayer,
Dropped his donations freely on the plate,
Subscribed the woes of others to abate;
And, lest there should be none to prove his pity,
Sweated his clerks and shopmen in the city;

> And that no graceless critic might condemn,
> Shared with his Maker what he filched from them.
> . . . . . .
> One day a week he furnished joy in heaven,
> But pleased himself the rest of all the seven;
> He sang of how he yearned, his cares laid down,
> To be an angel and to wear a crown,
> But really pined, deflected by Debrett,
> To be a peer and to wear a coronet.

One cannot escape the feeling that Mr. Adcock has been up against religion at its worst, and that his biting satire is the result. How else could he assert that 'More ill from good matures than good from ill'; or convince himself

> How few the flowers that spring from Christian seed,
> How many are the weeds and poisonous shoots
> Which suck what life they have from Christian roots?

It is needless here to argue whether Mr. Adcock's indictment is sound or not. That such monstrosities exist no one can dare to deny; though Mr. Adcock must pardon us if we strongly dissent from his conclusions just quoted above, in respect of the relative proportions of flowers and weeds from Christian roots. It is not to religion that the 'poisonous shoots' are due, but to the lack of it, to the dispositions which, in Wesley's phrase, 'use religion as a screen,' consciously or otherwise. What does concern us here is that we should have so sadly failed to make clear the nature and virtue of the Christian religion that high-principled, fair-minded men like Mr. St. John Adcock—to say nothing of Mr. Hamilton Fyfe (in *The Beacon*) and Mr. H. G. Wells (in *Pearson's*)—should have acquired so distorted a view of it. It is no good being angry over the mistaken picture presented, as though it were due to sheer ignorance, perversity, or malevolence: it behoves us rather to face such an indictment as is afforded by *Exit Homo*, and in humility learn to see ourselves as others see us.

When we turn to *The Divine Tragedy* we are dealing with

another aspect of the same accusation; but it is presented along the line of a narrative centring in the return of Jesus as a working man, and the reception accorded Him; and, although equally caustic, it has a more limited sphere of application. It is very far from being the first time that criticism of human society has been couched in that form, and the writer's own views been sheltered under the assumed authority of Jesus. But though Mr. Adcock is not the first to adopt this method, we are inclined to say that no one has done it better; and that conviction becomes more pronounced after the fifth reading than after the first. Four considerations contribute to this conviction: (1) The skilful conception of the central situation of the poem; (2) The vividness and variety in the characterization of the main actors in the drama, and the absolute freedom from what is overdrawn, unreal, and preposterous; (3) The spiritual validity of the estimates and emphasis throughout, even when the abnormal is treated as though it were the universal; (4) The gift which Mr. Adcock has for writing forceful verse which at the same time is euphonious, smooth, and varied. Whether the criticisms embody his own views of the religious situation, whether he really thinks that the picture he has drawn fairly represents normal Christianity, and not simply a travesty which, alas! has its counterpart in fact to some degree; on these questions we have no right to pronounce an opinion. It is sufficient that this gifted and experienced man of letters has given us a thought-provoking indictment of dispositions and views of life which is so searching that it may well drive the Christian reader back upon his inner self with a humble 'Lord, is it I?'

The prelude, entitled 'The Outcast,' prepares the reader for what he is to expect.

Lord Christ was walking lonely,
For no one went His way;
And He came to London city
All on a Christmas Day.

What He met with in various fields is depicted in restrained but caustic language, until

> beneath an archway
> Half shielded from the snow,
> He found three sinners crouching
> Around a charcoal glow.
> They saw His face and hailed Him:
> 'Though we have nought to spare,
> Since you are poor as we are
> Come, sit and eat your share.'
> So while His churches echoed
> With chanted praise and prayer,
> Christ sat among the outcasts
> And made His Christmas there.

No one who knows the facts would admit that this prelude is a complete presentation of the picture; but no candid person can deny that the specific charges laid have sufficient substance in fact to constitute a challenge to organized religion to search and see whether the outward has not lorded it over the inward; whether the Church has not been in danger of identifying the wellbeing of the Cause with the preservation of her own status to such a degree as to put second things first. God only knows how far this is true; but let us heed the challenge to self-examination.

The drama opens in the home of Sir Pomphrey Gauden, who has risen to rank and wealth in war-time trade, and has remained simple and unspoilt through it all. The same, however, cannot be said of his pushful spouse, Lady Flo, who has ambitions to be a leader in Society, and drags her husband in her train. To this strangely assorted pair one evening there comes the Vicar in hot haste, bearing the momentous news, 'Christ has come again.' The reception of the tidings by the two is eminently characteristic. Sir Pomphrey, first puzzled, then ashamed of being surprised at prophecy come true, declares at last, 'I think the Man *is* Christ.' Lady Flo, on the other hand, is agitated by three quite distinct and not mutually exclusive impulses. She is contemptuous towards anything suggesting that religion is to

be taken seriously, and pronounces the Man to be a fraud. She is apprehensive lest, if it be true, it will be the death-knell of her social desires. She is quick to see that so unwonted an incident *may* be manipulated to make her the

Most talked-of hostess in the town!

If such be the attitude of the laity, what is that of the clergy, as represented by the 'dear Vicar?' He cannot but admit 'some occult gift,' but he writes it off as 'spurious mysticism,' and His works of healing as sleight-of-hand; and yet on his own showing he can find no motive manifest other than sheer benevolence. In this scene Mr. Adcock is amazingly clever in his characterizations, and most delicate in his handling of sacred situations. But he is also most disquieting. Can it be that this is an adequate picture of what our attitude would be to a returning Christ?

Lady Flo's social venture cannot be described in a few words. To be appreciated it must be read in all its wit and audacity. But we cannot pass by the scene where the Vicar, 'bewildered quite,' asks, with timidity and a 'nervous, deprecating smile,'

O sir, I pray
Forgive me if I ask, do those who say
That you are Christ speak truth?'

and receives an answer truly Johannine in its flavour:

'Who for these many years has been your guide?
Judged by the rites and creeds His servants use
There are more Christs than one for them to choose;
If I were He you chose and follow yet,
Would you not know your leader when we met?'

Could any question be more searching? And how many of us would, like the Vicar, sigh and say, 'I do not know'?

The only one in this company who sees the light is Sir Pomphrey, who not only avows his faith in the Man but is prepared to accept the implications of his faith, even to the point of homelessness and poverty. But he had reckoned without Lady Flo, who is in no mood to forswear her social

paradise for any city of God in the heavens; and while her husband is instructing lawyers as to the disposition of his property, she, with the aid of the Vicar, the family doctor, and the mental specialist, is plotting for his removal to a private asylum!

The end of it all is a foregone conclusion; but before Mr. Adcock reaches it he paints three pictures of terrific force and suggestiveness. The first is a 'dolorous Canon of St. Paul's' who writes to the papers lamenting the sadness of the decline of the great county families! The second is of a Cabinet Minister who, at night and disguised, seeks out the Man at His workshop in Bethnal Green, and is told at once,

> I know you, who you are and why you came.
> . . . . . .
> If but your vision stay with you
> You might, for He would not withhold His aid,
> Remake the world as He would have it made.

A Cabinet Council claims him on the following morning; and there once more

> He feinted, fenced, and dodged with nimble wit,
> Playing that false was true to save a split.
> Then, left alone, his prestige well maintained,
> Flushed from the petty conquests he had gained,
> He suddenly remembered with a start
> How he had meant to choose the loftier part,
> Recalled that wiser men than he had said
> No modern Cabinet could be driven or led
> With adages exclusively supplied
> By old-world teachings too beatified;
> And, being busy, let the subject lie
> For full consideration by and by,
> Retired that evening curiously depressed,
> Wearing his laurels with a vague unrest.

No critic of our social order, not even A. G. G., has framed a more damning judgement than that. Whether it is true

is known only to Omniscience. Between these personal arraignments is one of another kind—of London:

> London, the slut disguised in old renowns,
> The richest, poorest, worst, and best of towns;
> . . . . . .
> That crushes petty rogues with righteous touch
> And gilds the dens of thieves who steal too much;
> That sins, and loves the life its sins supply,
> But worships God because it fears to die;
> That in the West has built its paradise
> Where all may enter who can pay the price;
> And in the East a hell where they must go
> Who cannot buy a happier lot below.

In the end this Preacher of Righteousness suffers the lot which always comes on those who witness unpleasant truths to their generation, and He is apprehended as a teacher of sedition. But next morning, when the gaoler seeks Him, the cell is empty; no tidings can be heard concerning Him; and in the end the nine days' wonder is forgotten and the world goes on very much as before.

Mr. Adcock's poem is a trenchant challenge to us to face the issues and implications of our religion. Can we dare to face a

> living Christ whose truth intense
> Pretends to no belief in our pretence,

or would we prefer 'A wooden Christ upon a wooden cross?' Many will doubtless say that Mr. Adcock's summing up does less than justice to organized Christianity; that he has seen a part, and writes as though it were the whole. Possibly that is so. As has already been said, no satirist is ever perfectly fair; and just for that reason. But even if that be so, his indictment remains for us a searchlight into the reality of our own allegiance to Christ, in all its implications; lest, in the controversies and speculations and ritualisms of the twentieth century, there be left no more place for the Christ than there was at the Bethlehem inn of long ago.

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON.

TROELTSCH ON THE RELIGIOUS VALUES OF HISTORY

Der Historismus und seine Probleme. Erstes Buch: Das logische Problem der Geschichtsphilosophie. Von Ernst Troeltsch, Dr. phil., theol., jur. Cloth, 80 francs (Swiss). (Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen.)

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. 5 vols. Redigirt von Troeltsch (Dogmatik). (Verlag von Mohr, Tübingen.)

The Sufficiency of Christianity: an inquiry concerning the nature and the modern possibilities of the Christian religion, with special reference to the religious philosophy of Dr. Ernst Troeltsch. By R. S. Sleigh, M.A., Ph.D. (James Clarke & Co., Ltd. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Christian Thought: its History and Application. Lectures written for delivery in England during March, 1923. By the late Ernst Troeltsch. Edited by Baron F. von Hügel, LL.D., D.D. (University of London Press. 5*s.* net.)

THE preface to Volume IV. of the late Professor Troeltsch's *Collected Writings* (*Gesammelte Schriften*) contained the welcome announcement of his intention to publish a volume summarizing his researches in the history of the evolution of the modern mind. The hopes aroused by this statement will never be fully realized, for his last book, entitled *Historism and its Problems*, was published shortly before his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, and it is only the first part of the work as designed by the author. He explains that in carrying out his intention, he discovered that the theme was not simply historical, but demanded at the outset concentration on the main problems in the history of philosophy. He therefore decided to publish two volumes. The first discusses, in nearly eight hundred pages, *The Logical Problem of the Philosophy of History*, under the headings: 'The Revival of the Philosophy of

History,' 'Criteria for Estimating Historical Events and their Relation to Present-day Ideals of Civilization,' 'The Conception of Historical Development and Universal History,' 'The History of European Civilization.'

It is greatly to be regretted that this *magnum opus* must now remain incomplete, for in the first volume Troeltsch frequently refers to his widely scattered writings and makes it plain that his purpose was to show that in them a system may be traced, though he is content to describe his work in its entirety as preliminary—the first step towards a new philosophy. In his judgement it is vain to look for any system that deserves to be called original more than once in several centuries. In this connexion the value of the lectures included in the volume entitled *Modern Thought* may be pointed out. Those on 'Ethics and the Philosophy of History' are rightly described by Baron von Hügel as 'anticipations of what was to have been the central theme of the second volume of this work,' and as 'especially helpful in their steady and penetrating discrimination between the Morality of Conscience and the Ethic of the Cultural Values.'

Dr. Sleigh's *The Sufficiency of Christianity* is indispensable to the student, as it is 'the first general or comprehensive study of Troeltsch in the English language,' and contains an almost complete bibliography. Attention was directed to this work of outstanding merit in the April number of this REVIEW; fuller references might with advantage have been given to German criticisms of the religious-historical school of which Troeltsch was a leading representative, but it is an admirable and most sympathetic statement, both of his religious philosophy and of his spiritualistic theology. Troeltsch wrote at length on many important subjects in the great encyclopaedia on the history of religion entitled *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. As one of the co-editors he was responsible for the department of 'Dogmatics.' In this article the abbreviation *R. G. G.* will indicate references to this standard work.

In *Christian Thought* two translations are given of the word 'Historismus,' namely 'Historical Standpoint' and 'Historical Temper.' The meaning which Troeltsch himself attached to the word historism may be inferred from the highly instructive contrast between naturalism and historism which is drawn in the first chapter of the work that bears this title. These great scientific conceptions are creations of modern thought, and were unknown in ancient and mediaeval times, when metaphysics flourished. Vico recognizes this, and distinguishes between Cartesian naturalism and the *Scienza Nuova*, or historism. According to Descartes, modern philosophy is a philosophy of consciousness; that is to say, it is an analysis of the states of consciousness and a statement of the laws by which they are determined. The boundary lines between the philosophy of nature and the philosophy of history need to be carefully drawn. Metaphysics must supply the final solution of the problems which arise when this differentiation is attempted; meanwhile it is possible to distinguish two main tendencies, for at the present time there are developments both of naturalism and historism which are menacing. The tendency of naturalism is to make life appallingly materialistic and desolate, whilst historism sometimes inclines to scepticism — not absolute, but relative, and involving doubts as to the validity of knowledge and the meaning of history. In neither case are these uses of the words true to their essential significance. Troeltsch holds that there are evidences of movements from both sides which encourage hopes of a synthesis. The natural sciences need a philosophy of nature, embodying in a world-view the magnificent discoveries of modern science; and there is a corresponding need of a philosophy of history unifying the mass of historical material now available, and combining it in a cultural synthesis.

From the revival of interest in the philosophy of history Troeltsch expects great results; much light will be cast on historism and its problems; the way will also be prepared

for a new philosophical system. By such studies he hopes that the solution of many practical problems will be hastened. At this point it seems fitting to refer to his own exemplification of this principle in his activity as a publicist and politician during and after the war. He entered Parliament as a representative of the democratic party to the Prussian Landtag, and in 1919 became Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Public Worship. The majority of his countrymen realized that it was an immense advantage for German science to have in the Ministry at such a critical time not only Becker, a former professor, but also an active University professor of high standing. It was an even greater gain for the Evangelical Church that alongside the Centre party there should be a pronounced Protestant to care for the interests both of Church and State. Professor Martin Dibelius of Heidelberg, in expressing his own appreciation of the services which, in this official capacity, Troeltsch rendered to his country, complains that neither from ecclesiastics nor from scientists did he receive the due meed of gratitude. It is probable, however, that the dissatisfaction in certain quarters was not with Troeltsch himself, but was aroused by his adhesion to, and prominent support of the new Government. In his politics Troeltsch was before the war 'free from all Chauvinism,' and observed 'the increasing hostility to England with pain and deep anxiety.'[1] After the war he insisted that the actual conditions must be frankly faced; his mind was occupied with the problem of democracy, and after the Revolution he persistently urged that the task of German democracy was to defend and develop the things of the spirit, for 'intellectual culture and moral progress were threatened by the dark volcanic substratum of human follies and passions of animal ferocity, of confused and conflicting interests difficult to reconcile.' These and like considerations pressed so heavily upon Troeltsch's sensitive spirit that he was constrained to add to his already enormous

[1] Baron Von Hügel in *Times Literary Supplement*, March 29, 1923.

literary output a series of widely-read articles, dealing with present-day problems, outspoken yet conciliatory, and contributed at first anonymously to the *Kunstwart*. These articles on current politics have been described as 'saturated with history,' and are admirable illustrations of Troeltsch's unrivalled skill in giving a practical application to his studies in the history of religions and in the philosophy of history.

On the sociological aspects of Christianity Troeltsch had already written much, especially in the first volume of his 'Collected Writings,' entitled *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches and Sects* (1911). Dr. Speight has lucidly summarized the contents of this 'magnificent volume'; its main thesis is that the sociological idea of Christianity has 'externalized itself in the three types of religious fellowship in its commerce with history—the Church, the sects, and the mystics.' Although these different types of social philosophy are regarded as unable to cope with the modern situation, Troeltsch thinks that a *via media* may be found which will 'include the best elements of the Catholic and the Free Church solutions and of modern political thought in a fruitful reconciliation.' The ultimate conclusion to which his investigations have brought him is that 'every personal judgement about Christianity resulting from a conscientious survey of the religious values of history vindicates the supremacy of Christianity.'

The chapter in which Troeltsch estimates the value of the contribution which Methodism has made to the solution of social problems furnishes abundant evidence of careful though not extensive inquiry, and of a genuine desire to be impartial in judgement. There are, however, misunderstandings due to the limitations of his researches; he has not been as successful as was Loofs in the 'excellent' article on 'Methodismus' in the Hauck-Herzog *Real-Encyclopaedia*—which is one of the principal authorities cited. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* is apparently the English authority which has been consulted; probably

to this work may be traced the stricture that Methodism is opposed to culture. Its rise is described as 'one of the most important events in the history of modern Christendom,' for it anticipated the nineteenth-century religious movement on the Continent, and helped to render England immune from the influence of the French revolutionary spirit. When, however, Methodism is defined as 'the revival of orthodox Christianity in an entirely individualistic direction,' the statement must be interpreted in the light of the admission that the effect of Wesley's work amongst the mining population and the industrial classes was the ennobling of the spiritual personality, and that the social results of the movement included the extension of the franchise, the abolition of slavery, as well as 'philanthropic activities'—a general term, not expounded in detail. Of the three types into which religious communions are divided, namely churches, sects, and mystics, Methodism is assigned to the sects, as from Troeltsch's point of view was to be expected. The divisions are obviously not mutually exclusive, and true insight is shown when Methodism is said to occupy a midway position between a strictly controlled society requiring unconditional obedience, and a free organization owing its origin and continuance to the voluntary adherence of its members. In Methodism 'both the sociological forms which are characteristic of the sect-type are combined.'

To Wesley himself, in two aspects of his many-sided personality, full justice is done. He is described as 'an indefatigable and undaunted missionary like Paul, and a masterful organizer like Ignatius Loyola.' But of Wesley as a thinker no mention is made. Dr. Rigg's chapter on 'Wesley's Intellectual Powers' in *The Living Wesley*, or Dr. Workman's exposition of 'The Place of Methodism in the Life and Thought of the Christian Church,' in *A New History of Methodism*, would have supplied information which would have prevented a critic as fair-minded and as open to correction as Troeltsch from emphasizing the

opposition of Methodism to modern education, science, and art, and from asserting that 'this opposition, though modified, still exists in modern Methodism.' On some other points his statements are either inaccurate or incomplete, as e.g. he writes as though rejection of baptismal regeneration implied a belief that conversion takes the place of infant baptism; he also instances as a change in Methodist polity the admission of laymen into what he calls 'the famous hundred'! On a more important matter he disagrees with Loofs, who closed his able article by declaring that in Germany the times were ripe for the appearance of another Wesley. Troeltsch holds the strange opinion that the social democrats—who would 'recoil from such sermons as Wesley preached'—are doing for Germany to-day what he did for England in the eighteenth century. This statement is difficult to reconcile with the emphasis laid on the individualism of early Methodism. Loofs, with clearer insight, chose 'fellowship' and 'evangelism' as the essential elements of the movement, and certainly he was not thinking primarily of sociological reforms, but of spiritual revival, when he gave expression to his longing that in his own country another Wesley might appear.

One of the difficulties which confront the student of Troeltsch's writings is the frequent hyphenation resulting in the formation of doublets, triplets, and occasionally of quadruplets, as, e.g., when the nineteenth century is described as 'democratic-capitalistic-imperialistic-technical'! Karl Barth, commenting on the recurrence of such compounds as 'evangelical-sociological,' etc., objects to the ominous hyphen. He would write the words separately. In reply it is fairly urged that if the hyphen is condemned as a uniting sign, it may be approved as a separating sign, ensuring that the two words shall not be written as one. 'The ideal is to give it first a separating force then a uniting.' Troeltsch, who is a synthetic theologian, gives the hyphen a synthetic significance, and already in German 'religious-historical'

and similar combinations have become one compound word.

The 'religious-historical' school is so named because the starting-point of its investigations is that the multiplicity and variety of *religions* is an *historical* fact. The study of religions may, however, be either historical, critical, or comparative; therefore the subject may be assigned either to theological or non-theological professors. Strange to say, it was regarded in Holland and in Switzerland as a department of theology almost thirty years before it received the same recognition in Germany. As recently as 1907 the proposal that it should thus be recognized was strongly opposed by Harnack in his rectorial address; but in 1910 he co-operated in the appointment of Eduard Lehmann as Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, his special subjects being the history of religions and the philosophy of religion. Lehmann, however, was a Dane, and Söderblom, appointed in 1912 to a similar position in Leipzig, was a Swede! Dr. Martin Rade has called attention to the indisputable fact that Harnack himself is one of the involuntary founders of the religious-historical school (*R. G. G.*, iv. 2186). The majority of its representatives are his own students, as might be expected from his increasing opposition to the one-sidedness of literary criticism. He maintained that 'in history and not in literary criticism lay the problems of the future,' and insisted that 'an outline of the distinctive character of the religious experience and piety of every period should form the basis for the understanding of the development of doctrine.' Rade expresses his regret that more use is not made of researches into the history of religions in the practical training of missionaries. But he is aware both of the difficulties and dangers involved in the study; *inter alia* he mentions too early generalizations, the assumption that resemblance implies dependence, materialistic interpretations of the records of intellectual religions, the acceptance and application of a false doctrine of evolution,

and above all prejudice in favour of one's own theory.

Dr. Sleigh states fairly and clearly Troeltsch's teaching concerning the supremacy of Christianity as the 'highest historical religion of absolute personality, of which Jesus is the greatest abiding creative source and centre.' But it is a fundamental principle of the religious-historical method that 'just because Christianity is an historical phenomenon, it is not possible to bring forward any theoretical proof that it must remain the highest religion for ever, with no possibility of its being surpassed.' The implication that Christianity may be superseded is not, however, a legitimate inference from any facts which the comparative study of religions has brought to light; moreover, among the historical phenomena to be accounted for are the facts of our Lord's life and the facts of personal religious experience from the apostolic era to the present day. For diverse reasons Troeltsch's teaching on this subject has failed to commend itself to scholars who are in general sympathy with him. In the encyclopaedia of which Troeltsch was a sub-editor an important article on 'Absolutheit des Christentums' is contributed by Dozent Lic. Steinmann of Gnadenfeld (*R. G. G.*, i. 126 ff.). At the outset Steinmann defines the meaning of absolute and relative, as the words should be used in discussions concerning the truth of Christianity. 'Relative truth is a statement of knowledge which contains elements of truth, and in comparison with other statements is, to that extent, on the side of truth, and not of error; but the truth is somehow combined with what is erroneous, it may be by one-sided over-emphasis of basal truth. Absolute truth, on the other hand, meets every demand which may be made on any statement of knowledge; it needs neither addition nor correction.' A religion is, therefore, relatively true in so far as it contains elements which differentiate it from subjective illusion, though truth may be only part of its contents; but religious truth is absolute

when it is not only an unambiguous expression of what distinguishes religion from human illusion, but is also a complete statement of realities in so far as this is attainable. Absolute implies finality and comprehensiveness. Yet when Christianity is said to be absolute, this claim does not imply that nowhere else is truth to be found, for theology is not universal knowledge. Nor does it imply that in non-Christian religions there are no traces of revelation, however blurred; but the idea of revelation, and, to that extent, the conception of the Christian religion as absolute truth, is endangered when Christianity is placed on the same level as other religions. From one point of view Christianity is the climax of the historic evolution of religion, but from another point of view it is the completion of the self-revelation of God. In brief, Steinmann's position is that to guarantee the absolute truth of a religion more is needed than a religious view of the world, even a real relation to God, and this implies a revelation that can be understood. It is, however, a duty to find new modes of presenting religious truth, if the old statements cannot be maintained in the light of modern knowledge. 'The possibility of the rise of another religion to supersede Christianity seems to be an altogether gratuitous speculation, entirely due to an unwarranted and exaggerated estimate of the idea of evolution, as though it were a final and all-comprising metaphysical truth.'

In the most sympathetic estimates of the value of Troeltsch's manifold and copious contributions to history, philosophy, and theology, it is acknowledged that in his writings the historic interest is dominant. Professor Heinrich Hoffman of Berne says[1] that when Troeltsch was transferred from theology to philosophy there was no breach in the continuity of his thought, for the value of his researches into the history of religions is not that they furnish prolegomena to systematic theology, but that they supply materials for

[1] *Theologische Blätter*, April, 1923.

a philosophy of religion which must now remain incomplete. Professor Bornhausen of Marburg, in his appreciation of Troeltsch (*R. G. G.*, v. 1860 ff.) recognizes the great importance of the task he undertook in his inquiries into the rational development of religion in history, and the significance of his invariable conclusion that as an historical religion Christianity is relatively of the highest value. But the conjecture that, in the future, it might be superseded is regarded as resting only on a metaphysical basis. It is pertinently urged that the goal of Christianity can be determined neither by philosophy, nor by history, but by theology. 'Metaphysics passes on the problem to dogmatics.'

On the three great subjects upon which Troeltsch lectured and wrote at length, Dr. T. B. Strong has recently published an illuminating booklet,[1] as remarkable for the compactness of its thought as for the lucidity of its style. From the point of view of the Christian religion the world is seen as 'an historic process through which God expresses Himself, through natural law and moral right imperfectly and provisionally, through the Incarnation completely and finally.' This affirmation, which Troeltsch is unable to make, is established by a well-ordered and convincing argument, the gist of which is that 'there is a real distinction between the province of scientific research and that of metaphysical speculation and that of religion. There is room within the historic conception of the world characteristic of Christianity for all that science and metaphysics can possibly claim; there is not room inside natural science and metaphysics for the claims of Christianity' (p. 76).

J. G. TASKER.

[1] *Religion, Philosophy, and History:* Four Lectures by Thomas B. Strong, Bishop of Ripon (Oxford University Press).

A GUILD FOR THE PROTECTION OF PARSONS

IT is strange to find amongst the London Guilds one for the Protection of Parsons (Unwin's *London Guilds*). The protection they sought, amongst other things, was to secure themselves against the intruding friars and the way in which they upset the influence of the parish clergymen. Their oneness with the people in homely style, and all freedom from the stiff traditions of the Church and its lifeless forms, gave them an influence that not only won their hearers, but reflected severely on the shortcomings of the clergy. As Bishop Leighton puts it: 'Sometimes the clergy of the Church of England are tempted to think that if they could be as the parish priests were before the Reformation, and were free of the presence of the dissenting minister, they could get on very well. Never was there a greater delusion. The friars were far more destructive to ecclesiastical jurisdiction than any Nonconformist body could be at the present day to the influence of any sensible clergyman.'

Over the friars not only the parish parson, but even the bishop himself, had no authority. They were exempted from all episcopal control by the express authority of the Pope. They were at liberty to go wherever they would, and to conduct their services in their own fashion. Think of them coming into a town where strangers were few and far between—in themselves a curiosity—and causing the stir and excitement of methods such as the place had never known.

When the friars came into a village (says Canon Jessopp), and it was known that they were going to preach, you may be sure that the whole population would turn out to listen. Sermons in those days were very rarely delivered in the country. There were no pulpits in the churches then.

A parson might hold a benefice for fifty years and never once have composed a sermon. A preaching parson would have been a wonder indeed, and thus the coming of the friars was all the more welcome because the people had not become wearied by the too-frequent iteration of truths which may be repeated so frequently as to lose their vital force.

Of this absence of preaching we find a story in the life of Hugh Latimer. He tells us that he arrived at some place where was much ado because at his coming they did not ring the bell, whereupon they explained 'that the bell it won't ring for that it lacketh a clapper.' Then did one fellow with readier wit than the others cry out, 'My Lord Bishop, we have a parson in the parish that fetcheth out of it so many a pounds a year, but he never preacheth. Wilt thou make some ado and *get the clapper put into that bell.*'

So came the friars, rousing the people by the familiar homely style such as had never been heard before, preaching a living gospel, with illustrations drawn from the daily life of the crowd, and often lit up by bits of humour. 'Their preaching,' says Creighton, 'was of the same kind of thing that goes on at a Methodist revival in an English village—strong denunciation of sin mixed with stories that the people could understand.'

This analogy with early Methodism is carried much farther by Canon Jessopp in his *Coming of the Friars*: '*St. Francis was the John Wesley of the thirteenth century, whom the Church of Rome did not cast out.* Rome has never been afraid of fanaticism. She has always known how to utilize her enthusiasts. The Church of England has never known how to deal with a man of genius; he has been regarded with timid suspicion, shunned by the prudent men of low degree, and by those of high degree has been—*forgotten.*' (Perhaps the Canon would have modified this opinion to-day.) But to return to the analogy of the friars with early Methodism.

'I have called St. Francis the John Wesley of the thirteenth century. The parallel might be drawn out into curious detail, if we compared the later history of the great movements originated by one or the other reformer. The new order of friars were to the old ones what the Separatists among the Wesleyan body are to the old Connexion. They had their grievances, real or imagined. They loudly proclaimed against corruption and abuses; they professed themselves anxious only to go back to first principles. *Rome* absorbed them all. It found a place for the dreamiest mystic or the noisiest ranter. Their very jealousies and rivalries were turned to good account.'

There are traditions of similar men of simple mind among the early Methodist preachers. There is one of them who could stand for at least two men that I knew. Bishop Creighton tells the story of the Brother Juniper, who was noted for his simple mind. The brother was one day praying alone in the church when a poor woman entered and begged of him. The good brother had nothing to give her, but, looking round him, he saw that the high altar was vested in its finest altar-cloth, and that the frontal was adorned with little silver bells. So he went up to the altar, tore off the bells, and gave them to the woman. The sacristan, happening to return soon afterwards, was aghast at the sacrilege that had been done, and denounced the poor brother to the Superior. The Superior was exceedingly indignant, and he sent for Brother Juniper and scolded him so long and so angrily that he became quite hoarse. Brother Juniper, who was not conscious of any wrongdoing, was greatly concerned that he should be the unwilling cause of the Superior's hoarseness. Accordingly he went into the city and got him a sort of gruel—a mixture of flour and butter. He returned with his gruel when it was already night, and, finding that the Superior had gone to bed, Brother Juniper knocked at the door of his cell, and said, 'My father, to-day, when thou didst reprove me for my

faults, I saw that thy voice grew hoarse, wherefore I bethought me of a remedy, and let make this mess of flour for thee. Therefore I pray thee eat it, for I do assure thee it shall ease thy chest and throat.' The Superior, naturally enough, was extremely indignant at being awakened out of his sleep for such a cause, and bade him begone with his mess of gruel. Then Brother Juniper, in his blessed simplicity, seeing his entreaty availed him nothing, turned to the Superior and said, 'My father, if thou wilt not take it thyself, wilt thou at least in thy goodness hold the candle for me and I will eat it.' Then the Superior, seeing that he could not otherwise be rid of Brother Juniper, turned to him and said, 'Come then, since thou wilt have it so, let us eat it, thou and I together.' And so did they make their peace with one another, and there in the dead of the night sat and finished the gruel between them.

But with these friars there was one point at which they cease to resemble those grave and proper Methodist preachers of the early days. They were genial and jovial. Their services ended, they sat at the door of the alehouse and entertained the company with such news as they gathered in their wanderings—news of the King and Court; the gossip concerning the great folks whose names were known in the localities with which the people were familiar; stories of robbery and murder, which are so largely the literary condiment of the masses to-day. They brought tidings of the war, and there was generally one somewhere to tell of. And there was a humour—rude, perhaps, such as were the times and the people—and stories with many an outburst of laughter. 'The friar was, in fact, the newspaper as well as the preacher of those whom he visited.'

'The stories told about them,' to quote Bishop Creighton once more, 'show their exceeding light-heartedness, even in circumstances of great privation. There was once so little to be had that one of them ran out to beg food, and came back with a jug of beer. They sat down and tried

their best to behave as if the table were tolerably well furnished, until at last the humour of the situation struck them so forcibly that they all burst into shouts of laughter.

More characteristic still is a beautiful epilogue by a friar who, when ill, saw his guardian angel enter the room and seat himself by his bedside. After him came two devils, who accused the friar of all the things that he had done amiss in his life. At last one of the devils said to the other: 'Besides, he is so frivolous; he laughs and makes jokes and cuts all manner of capers.' Then the guardian angel rose up and said to the devils: 'Begone. So far you have spoken the truth, but now you find fault with his cheerfulness, and if you make out religion to be a sad and gloomy thing, you will drive his soul into the recklessness of despair and strangle his spiritual life.' And, so saying, the guardian angel drove forth the fiends. It is little wonder that such men gathered the crowds about them wherever they went.

All this was enough to vex the resident parson of the parish, but yet remained an offence far more terrible. When the preaching was done they set up in the street a plain, portable altar for the purpose of hearing confession and for the celebration of Holy Communion. As a matter of fact, the parishioners preferred making their confession to a wandering friar, who knew nothing of their lives, to going to their parish priest, who knew everything. It was easier to obtain absolution. 'So,' says Creighton, 'the result was the entire destruction of the discipline of the Church. The organization of the parish fell to pieces, or was cut to pieces, by the friars.'

The analogy of these friars and the early Methodist preachers is set forth in a book written in 1749 by Lavington, the Bishop of Exeter, entitled *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared*, in which each is attacked with the utmost bitterness. Two extracts must suffice. (The italics are the Bishop's.) 'Oh, how good and *Saint-like* it is to go *dirty*, ragged and slovenly! And how *piously* did Mr

Whitefield take care of the outward man! "My apparel was mean. I thought it unbecoming in a Penitent to have *powdered hair*. I wore *woollen gloves*, a *patched Gown*, and dirty shoes."' So far the Methodist. Then follows the Papist. 'A certain *Jesuit* was so holy that he had a hundred and fifty *Patches* upon his breeches. Another had three hundred *Patches*.' And the Bishop tells how after the Jesuit's death these muchly patched breeches were hung up to the public view as an incentive to holiness.

'Again,' says the Bishop, 'Mr. Wesley tells us "Our bed being wet I laid me down on the Floor and slept soundly till Morning. And I believe I shall not find it needful to go to Bed, as 'tis called, any more."' That was in the storms that he met on the voyage to Georgia in 1736. Again the Methodist story is followed by that of the Papist. 'St. Francis once happening to use a *Pillow* on account of illness, the *Devil* got into the Pillow and made him uneasy all night. But on ordering the Pillow with the *Devil* in it to be carried away, he presently recovered.'

And here we return to the Guild of the Parsons, gathered, let us hope, at a banquet—for they needed cheering—to consider the difficult question, past all suggestion of remedying, how they could protect themselves from the encroachment of the friars.

BASIL ST. CLEATHER.

THE NEW IDEA OF EMPIRE AND WHERE IT CAME FROM

THAT which we call the British Empire is a new venture; there has never been anything like it before. It is not the inheritor of the tradition of Babylon, Rome, and Spain, rather it is the first of its kind. Its great hope, therefore, lies not in the things which it shares with the dead empires, neither in its vast territories and its treasures, nor in its armies and fleets, but rather in the things which are new in its experience. It is an experiment in the ordering of human society which had no parallel in previous history.

The resurgent nationalism that marked the Renaissance period shattered once and for all the mediaeval empires, but it had scarcely done so when new and unconquered worlds were brought to light by the voyages of Columbus and Vasco Da Gama. Forthwith a new era of imperial expansion opened, with three fairly clearly-marked periods. The first period began about the time of the Papal Bull of 1493, when Pope Alexander VI divided the New World between the kings of Portugal and Spain, prohibiting any others, 'although of imperial or regal dignity, from trading or travelling without special licence of them, under the pain of the sentence of excommunication.' At this period everything—even religion—was made to subserve purely political ends. The second period starts about a century later, when Drake sailed forth in defiance of the religious imperialism of Spain. The exploits of the daring voyagers of this time were carried out with the object of breaking through the Spanish prohibitions to tap the commercial reservoirs of Cathay, the Indies, and the Spanish Main. This period is marked by the decadence, and almost complete absence, of the religious impulse, and by the predominance of the commercial motive. The great sign and symbol of that

régime of exploitation is to be found in the iniquities of the slave trade, whereby several different nations in succession set themselves to make enormous profits by transporting negroes to the New World and selling them there. It was probably the most lucrative form of trade in which any people have engaged. Liverpool and Bristol built up their strong commercial position very largely upon this. They exchanged textile goods, muskets, and cheap spirits for cargoes of 'prime negroes, branded as per margin.' Throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century this was regarded as a perfectly legitimate operation. As time went on it became difficult to differentiate between commercial and buccaneering enterprises, between trade and piracy. The third period began about 1800, when so many of the great philanthropic and missionary enterprises were launched. A new objective was deliberately chosen by these organizations—the good of the people to whom they went. This was a new and fructifying notion in world politics. Slowly it took root and grew, and to a very large extent it has found expression in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Taking the Pacific as a concrete instance, it will be found that these three periods are roughly true of the last five centuries. During the first period everything—Church, State, and Commerce—was subordinated to political interests. Magellan 'set up at the top of the highest mountain a very large cross *as a sign that this country belonged to the King of Spain.*'[1] Even Roman Catholic priests acquiesced in placing the Blessed Sacrament in a secondary position to the flag of Spain. Quiros, in describing to the Spanish King the capture of Espiritu Santo, wrote, 'First, sir, we erected a cross and built a church in honour of Our Lady of Loretto. Then we . . . made a solemn procession and observed the

[1] J. D. Rogers, *An Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, 1907, vol. vi., p. 7.

feast of the Blessed Sacrament, the which was carried in procession, your banner being displayed and marching before it, through a great circuit of countries which were honoured by the presence of the same.' At this stage religion was not allied with politics; it was absorbed by it.

In the second period, if there was any religious motive at all it was made subservient to the commercial. The builders of empire were merchant venturers, from Drake and Hawkins to Tasman and Cook. These men had no interest in the religious beliefs of the people whose lands they discovered.

They pursued one end—the securing of booty and the opening up of new markets. Captain Cook, for instance, was commissioned by the King to advance 'the honour of this nation as a maritime power . . . and the trade and navigation thereof.' It never crossed the mind of these men that their actions ought to be dictated by the needs and interests of the peoples of the newly-discovered lands. It is not to be wondered at that the Pacific became the happy hunting-ground of the blackbirder and the beachcomber, and that the child-races that live upon its shores have largely died out before the ruthless commercialism of the white trader.

The end of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a new principle in the Pacific. In 1796 the first Christian missionaries landed at Tahiti, and they made it clear from the outset that they were there, not in the interests of their country or its trade, but solely for the advantage of the people of the island; they came not to get but to give, not to enslave but to serve. Unlike the Spanish navigators and the British and Dutch traders, their supreme loyalty was to their faith. Within the limits of that loyalty they were ready to serve their nation and its commerce. One missionary, John Williams, introduced the banana into the islands of the Southern Pacific; while another, Marsden, introduced wheat into New Zealand. But such things were always secondary to the one great object to which their

lives were dedicated—the highest good, materially and spiritually, of the islanders. In a word, Williams and the rest were in the Pacific, not as Christian Britishers, but as British Christians. They had a message to give and a service to render. The history of the Pacific makes it abundantly clear that these men set up, not merely for themselves, but for all Britishers there, the principle, not of dominance, but of service, with the result that it is to-day the meek who inherit the Pacific. 'John Williams,' says a recent historian of the Pacific, 'is the first of the new patriots—those who point their nation to the glory to be achieved by giving instead of acquiring.' Had missionaries not opened up the Pacific when they did, traders would have done so, and the history of the Pacific would have resembled that of Mexico and Peru, and the fate of the Pacific islanders would have been that of the Incas. Happily the missionaries were there first, and they gave not only tone and character, but also a new principle of colonial administration.

It would therefore appear that no estimate of the Empire could be complete without some attempt to show what the Christian energy of this nation, released along a multitude of lines, has done in every land within the Commonwealth. This energy has changed the face of whole countries, and has made no small contribution to the development of British imperial policy. This is not to say that the missionary enterprise has been the handmaid of Empire; nothing could be further from the case. No people have withstood imperialism more stoutly when the need arose than the agents of missionary societies. The mere recital of the names of Dr. Philip and Mary Slessor in British Africa, Duff in India, Chalmers in Papua, Fison in Fiji, and John Smith in British Guiana is sufficient to prove this. The missionary can never be the agent of any one nation. He is a servant of a kingdom that has no frontiers, in which the barriers of nationality and race are unheeded. When Cecil Rhodes invited Coillard to be the first Resident in Barotseland

the missionary replied, 'I cannot serve two masters'; and when Vanderkemp was required to send Hottentots to work for Major Cuyler, the magistrate, he replied, 'To apprehend men and force them to labour in the manner proposed is no part of my duty. The Hottentots are recognized to be a free people, and the colonists have no more right to force them to labour in the way you propose than you have to sell them as slaves. My commission is to preach the gospel to every creature, and I will preach the gospel to every one who chooses to hear me. God has sent me, not to put chains upon the legs of Hottentots and Kaffirs, but to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison-doors to them that are bound.'

There have been occasions when missionaries have resisted the representatives of Empire, but in such cases their action has always been dictated by their conception of the highest interest of the native peoples. When John Smith landed at Demerara, Governor Murray, with characteristic downrightness, said, 'If ever you teach a negro to read and I hear of it, I will banish you from the colony immediately.' It is not surprising that Smith soon found himself in prison, where he died a martyr in the cause of negro education. There was a time when Mackenzie in South Africa, and Chalmers in Papua, offered resistance to what they considered the undesirable aspects of British imperial policy. That that policy was purified, and that in place of it there was adopted the attitude of trusteeship—that it is the duty of the strong race to protect the weak and not to exploit it—is due in no small way to these very men. As Ramsay Muir says, 'They, and the powerful religious bodies at home which support them, did much to establish the principle that it was the duty of the Government to protect the rights of native races.'[1] This, of course, was merely the outworking, in terms of politics and administration, of the message

[1] *The Character of the British Empire*, p. 29.

entrusted to every emissary of the gospel—that he is greatest whose service is most complete.

At the beginning of its expansion the British Empire had no defined policy in regard to the peoples who lived under its aegis. The traditional imperial policy, inherited from empires of the old kind, was that all subject peoples were fair game for exploitation. This tradition was taken over, not by the official representatives of Empire as such, but by the less worthy type of trader, who followed hard upon the heels of the explorer. The new ideal in the theory of Empire was that the protection and development of the native races is the duty of the more powerful people. This ideal represents the antithesis alike of the idea of colonial 'possessions' and of the old Spanish and Portuguese doctrines of economic exploitation in the interests of the home Government. Trusteeship implies the dawn of a new epoch. It means that government is to be always in the interest of the governed. The fact is that this new idea of Empire was sponsored by missionaries. By their intimate knowledge of the people, by the confidence they obviously enjoyed, by their influence upon colonists, administrators, and even the home Government, they were able to mould imperial policy in accordance with this ideal. No one can read the history of South Africa, Rhodesia, Nigeria, Uganda, Polynesia, and Malacca without finding the influence of missionaries on every page. The British Commonwealth of Nations has given to this new ideal of Empire a local habitation and a name.

This is no small claim to make. Yet it is so true that the histories of the Pacific and of Africa are meaningless apart from the influence of missionaries, who pointed their nation to the glory to be achieved by giving instead of acquiring. Their national loyalty did not take the form of a desire to see the British flag triumphant in the Pacific, but rather to see its islands filled with British subjects, who should be the noblest their country could produce. Their

views were not anti-imperialist, but rather the expression of a vision of a new imperialism.[1]

The expansion of the British Commonwealth is the story of a struggle between two conflicting ideals—the new ideal of the nineteenth century and the old worn-out motive of the eighteenth. The missionaries realized by their knowledge of native languages, folklore, and customs, and by their intimate association with the native peoples, that the onrush of European civilization upon unprepared and primitive peoples could have only one result—their speedy demoralization and their eventual extinction. They accordingly strove to modify the conditions of that inevitable culture-contact in such a way as to make the impact as little hurtful as might be, and where possible to make it beneficial and stimulative. The good of the native was their object. That idealism is precisely the distinguishing characteristic of British administration in every part of the Empire to-day.

The extent of the debt that the British Empire owes to the missionary enterprise is little realized. It is the missionary who to a large extent opened up the world to us; to him we owe a great deal of our knowledge of the language and literature of the peoples within the Empire; he it is to whom we are indebted for much of the peace that prevails; the order, civilization, and good understanding that exist; for a considerable period it was upon the missionary that we depended for happy diplomatic relations with the princes and chiefs of peoples now within the British Commonwealth of Nations. 'It practically amounts to this,' says Sir Wm. Macgregor in *British New Guinea, Country and People* (p. 92), 'that the missionaries are indispensable. It is not known to me that any officer that was responsible for the well-being and development of a primitive race ever entertained any other opinion.' His successor in the Governorship

[1] See *Christianity and Civilization in the South Pacific*, by W. Allen Young.

of Papua, Sir George Le Hunte, writes in the same strain: 'In New Guinea the missionaries were the pioneers of British administration. . . . The missionary societies keep a watchful eye upon the interests of the natives, and are prompt to offer advice, sometimes protest, to the Government in matters of legislation or executive action which they may consider to be either advantageous or detrimental to those interests. They are sure of a sympathetic hearing and careful consideration.' While an American writer, Professor Coupland, in his recent biography of Wilberforce says: 'In so far as the conduct of the British Government towards the native races in their charge was to be inspired through the coming century (i.e. the nineteenth) by the ideals of trusteeship, the honour of creating that tradition rests with them' (the missionaries) (p. 383).

In specific instances areas have been annexed and protectorates undertaken at the direct and urgent suggestion of missionaries. It was their constant endeavour to avoid anything that would make them appear the agents of any particular power, yet circumstances often compelled them to urge the British Government to undertake responsibilities and establish protectorates in order to save the subject peoples from the mischievous inroads of contending forces, irresponsible Europeans, slavery, and exploitation. It is fairly certain from documentary evidence that Bechuanaland would not now be a British Protectorate, nor Papua a part of the Empire, had it not been for the words and deeds of agents of missionary societies. It was their agitation that compelled Britain, though with great reluctance and much misgiving, to establish the Nyassaland, the East Africa, and the Uganda Protectorates. The actuating cause was no unworthy land-hunger; rather it was a case of seeing native peoples threatened by tribal disintegration and moral disaster. It is worth noting that in all the tribes where, e.g., the Livingstonia missions preceded Government, and had, therefore, an opportunity of erecting standards

and shaping policies, no military expedition was ever necessary. The Tonga, Henga, Tumbuka, and Angoni were quietly settled without a single display of force.

This must not be construed to mean that missionaries were consciously subserving British imperial interests. Their action was dictated by their belief that the only justification for European expansion was not the exercise of any rights but the performance of certain duties. It was their hope to train up the native races until they grew into Christian nations; but the method which they adopted, though adequate when there were only primitive peoples to be controlled, proved utterly unsuitable when white men came in numbers on the scene. It was the coming of the unscrupulous white trader and concession-hunter into Bechuanaland that was feared, and it was in order to control the actions of conscienceless 'civilized' white men that a petition for a Protectorate was pressed. Similarly, in the case of Papua, the missionaries were driven by force of circumstances to demand that 'the British Government ought to assume control in order to keep the traders in order.'[1]

The real significance of missionary influence in colonial expansion is to be seen, not in the fact that the missionaries themselves urged territorial expansion, but in the character which they gave to it. Their civilizing work among the native peoples made many lands which were hitherto unsafe for the white man now comparatively safe for traders and adventurers, in this way encouraging the coming of precisely the people whom they were most anxious to exclude. In view of this new situation they first made an attempt to exclude the immigration of undesirables, but when that policy failed, as it was bound to do, they were compelled to urge that the British Government should accept responsibility. From the moment of that acceptance

[1] Ramsay Muir, *The Character of the British Empire*, p. 29.

the aim of the missionaries was to mould imperial policy, and set up imperial traditions, as nearly as possible in conformity to the standards of their own previous attempts. They opposed the trade in fire-arms among native races; they endeavoured to secure policies in regard to land and liquor which should be both wise and generous to the natives. They deliberately set themselves to the task of native education. In many cases this has been done in the teeth of white opposition. Slowly Governments have followed in the wake of the societies, and undertaken in some more or less serious way the education of the people themselves. Yet the fact remains that ninety per cent of the education given to Africans to-day is given under the auspices of missionary societies. In his great book *The Dual Mandate* Sir Frederick Lugard says, 'In the chapter on education I pointed out how great a debt the secular Governments in tropical Africa owe to the efforts of missionaries.' Missionaries have not only been the pioneers in native education; they have also established principles and traditions from which it will not be easy for any responsible authority to depart. The recent appointment of a Standing Committee on Native Education at the Colonial Office, on which representatives of missionary societies have a prominent place, is a recognition of this fact.

These varied attempts by missionaries in many parts of the Empire have met with a measure of success, particularly in the South Seas and in certain parts of Africa. This result was achieved not so much by any direct interference in political matters by missionaries—though they have not hesitated to do that, as we have seen, when they felt the circumstances demanded it of them—as by their insistence in season and out of season on certain great principles, viz. that the rights of the native peoples must receive consideration before all else, and that it is a moral obligation upon the stronger races to protect the weaker and more backward. Such a policy inevitably brought its sponsors into collision

with those traders whose one concern was to 'get rich quick,' and with 'mean whites,' blackbirders, beachcombers, and all their tribe. The result in many parts of the Empire has consequently been, as an official report once put it in regard to the South Seas: 'Throughout the Pacific for the past twenty-five years there has been a constant struggle between missionaries and merchants.' It was a war of ideals, and upon its result depended, not only the welfare of the native peoples, but the whole character of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

That principle, first sponsored by Christian missionaries, and now part of the British imperial policy, has lately found expression in Art. 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations: 'To those colonies and territories . . . which are inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization.'

A. M. Chirgwin.

PURITANISM: ITS HISTORY, SPIRIT, AND INFLUENCE

IT would be safe to say that the name 'Puritan' implies to most people to-day a type of person of a forbidding and unattractive character, one who was in the main opposed to a healthy and natural enjoyment of life, and whose code of morals was usually associated with the 'thou shalt not' of the Decalogue. To sum him up in popular phraseology, we think of the Puritan as a stern, typical 'kill-joy,' and if we are interested in history we recall the era of Puritan ascendancy and power with a sense of repulsion, or at least with a sigh of relief that we live in freer and happier days.

There is no doubt that there were distinct eccentricities and idiosyncrasies about the genuine Puritan which have lent a measure of truth to these impressions, and which very easily enable him to be caricatured and held up as a butt for scorn and ridicule; but to dismiss Puritans in this contemptuous manner is to display a criminal ignorance of history, and wilfully to shut our eyes to the profound influence which the Puritan movement has exerted on our national life and character. A little knowledge of its history, spirit, and influence would soon rescue the name from obloquy, and demonstrate the great debt which we owe to the movement.

The name 'Puritan' was first applied in derision to those more advanced reformers who, in Edward the Sixth's reign, contended for what they considered an absolutely 'pure' Scriptural form of worship, purged entirely of all popish usages and superstitious practices. In its extreme form it involved a rejection of all forms and ceremonies in worship not *expressly commanded* in Scripture. Consequently the 'nonconforming' clergy in Elizabeth's reign, who refused to wear the surplice and square outdoor cap, which they

described as 'rags of Anti-Christ' were styled 'Puritans' and they soon gained an unpleasant notoriety as factious and irreconcilable disturbers of the peace of Church and nation. Half a century later, through the influence of Archbishop Laud and his party of Arminian Churchmen, the connotation of the term was widened to include all the *conforming* clergy of Calvinistic opinions (and up to this time these had formed the large majority) who opposed Laud's ecclesiastical reforms, so that the name 'Puritan' soon stood for those clergy and laity who were opposed to Arminian or 'High' Church doctrines and principles, both in Church and State. The party, therefore, which supported the Parliament in its struggle against the absolutism of the King, and in the course of this struggle, largely through force of political circumstances, overthrew Episcopacy in favour of Presbyterianism, was pre-eminently *Puritan*.

But if such is its history, what were the main principles and ideals which inspired the Puritan party? For, in spite of its accidental divisions into a conforming and a non-conforming section, in its outstanding religious principles it was one party. We may safely affirm that its fundamental principle was that it is righteousness alone which exalts a nation, and the great aim and ideal of the Puritans was to make England a 'holy nation,' a people conspicuous for purity of life, doctrine, and worship. For this standard of purity they looked to the Bible alone. In common with all the reformers, their great appeal was to the Scriptures as the sole rule of faith and practice. Their ideal was to frame and fashion their lives and conduct according to the primitive purity and simplicity of apostolic times. They rigidly applied this standard, too often forgetting that conditions which were suitable and helpful for an infant struggling society of believers were not necessarily the best for the life of a settled historic Christian nation. We must remember, however, before criticizing the Puritan ideals, what a tremendous revolution had been inaugurated through

the translation and free circulation of the Scriptures. Before the Reformation the *English* Bible was almost an unknown book, and the ignorance of the Scriptures, even by the clergy, was deplorable. Those few people who secretly possessed a copy of Wyclif's Bible were in constant danger of persecution as heretics. It was the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndale and Coverdale which had done more than anything else to destroy the papal power and such unscriptural mediaeval doctrines as transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, and it was the Bible alone which created Puritan England. There was, we must remember, very little other English literature, and the Bible was therefore the one book which all Englishmen read. It was a new book, and came to them with a freshness and charm which it is impossible for us to imagine. In the well-known language of Green, 'England was the people of a book, and that book was the Bible.' The Puritans were pre-eminently the people of the book. It transformed their characters and moulded their lives. It inspired them with a passionate zeal for purity and righteousness, and with a seriousness of purpose which led to a stern opposition to everything which savoured of a godless frivolity and levity in conversation or conduct. The moral effect produced by the Bible was, as Green says, 'simply amazing'; 'a new moral and spiritual impulse spread through every class' (*Short History*, p. 449).

In their theological opinions the Puritans were evangelicals, and definitely Calvinist. They held strongly the doctrines of conversion, personal assurance of salvation, justification by faith, election, and often reprobation. They had—what unfortunately we lack to-day—a deep, and, it must be confessed, sometimes even a morbid sense of sin. Thus they often deplored as heinously sinful what were frequently but the natural and harmless instincts and desires of a normally healthy mind. John Bunyan thought that his passion for bell-ringing and for sport and games were leading him straight to hell. In their consuming zeal for holiness they

were in danger of regarding all recreations, however innocent, other than prayer and meditation on God's Word, as inimical to godliness of life. They were too eager to denounce their early careers, before the conscious, vivid realization of the work of God's Spirit in their hearts, as having been passed in utter darkness and godlessness. 'Oh, how I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light,' says Cromwell of his early years of boyhood, when probably he had never indulged in anything seriously wrong. It would be easy to multiply examples of the excesses and extravagances of the Puritan creed and conduct. The Puritans were undoubtedly narrow and one-sided in their outlook on life; they possessed very little sense of humour or of the relative value and proportion of things. They were usually over-serious, stern, severe, and often most intolerant. But many of these characteristics were faults common to their age. Intolerance was a legacy of the Middle Ages, and religious toleration was condemned by all parties as dangerous to the peace of the State. The early Puritans, especially, shared this belief, and even the second generation never fully broke free from it, as the painful records of their persecution of the Quakers in New England abundantly testify. But we may safely affirm that it was the better and more enlightened spirits amongst the Puritans, and especially the Independents, who first advocated, even if imperfectly, the principle of freedom of conscience. Cromwell courageously refused to ban people for civil offices because of their religious convictions. 'The State,' he declared, 'in choosing men to serve it takes no notice of their opinions.' In 1655 he issued a proclamation for religious liberty which foreshadowed the Toleration Act of 1689. Certainly these Puritan pioneers for liberty of conscience were sometimes humorously inconsistent. Cromwell, in his 'Instrument of Government,' denied liberty of conscience to the adherents of 'prelacy' and 'popery,' and when requested by the Governor of Ross to grant it to a surrendered Irish garrison, he replied, 'As to what you say

touching liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience; but if by liberty of conscience you mean liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it expedient to use plain dealing with you and to tell you that where the Parliament of England have power that will not be allowed of.'

But we may fairly say that the faults and foibles of the Puritans were largely accidental and temporary, and were far outweighed by their outstanding virtues, which have been the beneficent legacy that has so largely moulded the character and conduct of English-speaking people to the present day. They were conspicuous, not only for their love of the Scriptures, but for their integrity of conduct and their fidelity to their conscientious convictions. What has often been derisively described as the 'Nonconformist conscience' is a distinct Puritan heritage.

The Puritans were also remarkable for the piety of their home life. In the humble cottage of the peasant, as well as in the more luxurious and spacious abodes of the upper and middle classes, God's Word and name were honoured. The family altar was regularly erected both morning and evening, and by example as well as precept children were brought up 'in the fear and admonition of the Lord.' It is to the Puritan that we owe not only the persevering industry and the dogged tenacity of purpose, but also the real virtue and uprightness of character which still are the conspicuous features of the typical English family life to-day. Green well says that 'Home as we conceive it now was the creation of the Puritan.'

But still more are we indebted to the Puritan for our reverence for the Lord's Day. Mr. Gladstone declared that the English character owed almost everything to the English Sunday and the English Bible, and both these influences are in a real sense Puritan legacies. It may be granted that the extreme Puritan was often far too rigid and pharisaic in 'Sabbath' observance, but it was the courageous stand which the Puritans made to uphold the sacred obligations

of the weekly day of rest which has given us an *English* in contrast to a *Continental* Sunday, a precious heritage which too many to-day seem determined to destroy. The Stuart Kings endeavoured to perpetuate the mediaeval conception of Sunday as largely a day of amusement and recreation, but the Puritan clergy strongly condemned the *Book of Sports*, in which James I outlined the various games which might be lawfully indulged in on Sundays. They refused to read the Royal proclamation from their pulpits, although a few may have adopted the device of the cautious yet courageous minister who, after complying with it, declared, 'Now, brethren, having delivered to you the commands of man, I will read to you the command of God,' and proceeded to recite the fourth commandment! It is perhaps a sad sign of the times that our modern advocates for Sunday sport do not trouble themselves to excuse their aim under such specious pleas as were employed in the seventeenth century, when Sunday games were urged for fear that 'the common and meaner sort of people would be prevented from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war' (Tatham, *The Puritans in Power*, p. 20). We should not forget that the author of the well-known couplet, 'A Sabbath well spent,' &c., was the great Puritan Lord Chief Justice, Sir Matthew Hale, who, in spite of his exacting public duties, never travelled on Sundays, or missed attending public worship on that day for thirty-six years.

In spite of their passionate zeal for righteousness, their love of a pure, primitive, and simple worship, and their hatred of forms and ceremonies and outward display, and their seriousness of purpose, it is a mistake to regard the Puritans as a body as gloomy, austere, and morose fanatics, who despised all culture, learning, and art. They may have rigorously excluded from their churches all pictures, images, or monuments calculated to encourage superstitious worship or to distract the spirit of the worshipper, but they still had a love for the beautiful. It is manifestly unjust to condemn

a whole party on account of some excesses committed by its more extreme or fanatical members, and certainly a sour and joyless asceticism was not the characteristic trait of the pre-eminent leaders of the movement. Cromwell was fond of hunting, good music, cheerful society, and a good table. Colonel Hutchinson, another regicide and prominent Puritan, was conspicuous for his patronage of art and learning. The memoirs which his wife has left of him give us a picture which is peculiarly attractive and fascinating, and they prove that amongst the upper classes there were Puritans who combined true piety and godliness with a love of nature, mirth, and innocent amusement. He fenced, rode, hawked, and was a good linguist and a skilled musician. 'He spared not any cost for the education both of his sons and daughters in languages, sciences, music, dancing, and all other qualities befitting their father's house. He was himself their instructor in humility, sobriety, and all godliness and virtue, which he rather strove to make them exercise with love and delight than by constraint' (*Memoirs*, p. 349). Yet he was the sincere and humble Christian in belief and conduct, for 'in matters of faith his reason always submitted to the Word of God, and what he could not comprehend he would believe because it was written,' while with true Christian charity and humility 'he never disdained the meanest or flattered the greatest.'

We should also be wrong if we regarded all the Puritan theologians as hopelessly narrow, uncharitable, and censorious in their creed. No doubt there were many who held a hard, cold, and unlovely faith, especially as they lived in a dogmatic and intolerant age, but there were conspicuous exceptions. Probably we can find no more typical Puritan divine than the well-known author of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*. Richard Baxter, with his chequered career of ill-health and cruel persecution for conscience' sake, might well have cultivated a bitter, harsh, and narrow outlook, especially as naturally he had a love of controversy; yet

those who have read his striking *Self-Review* get many surprises at the charity, breadth, and liberality of his sentiments. 'I am much more sensible than ever,' says Baxter, 'of the necessity of living upon the principles of religion which we are all agreed in, and how much mischief men that overvalue their own opinions have done by their controversies in the Church, how some have destroyed charity and some caused schisms by them, and most have hindered godliness in themselves and others.' In our struggles and aspirations towards Christian unity to-day we have not improved on these wise reflections. 'Now,' says Baxter, 'it is the fundamental doctrines of the Catechism which I highest value.' The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments 'furnished him,' he declares, 'with the most acceptable and plentiful matter for all my meditations'; but he adds, 'That is the best doctrine which maketh men better and tendeth to make them happy' (Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biography*, pp. 482–4).

But it is well to say a word as to the great influence which the Puritan movement exercised on the life of its day. Its main principles had a direct effect in moulding the political ideals and convictions of the men of that generation, and in so doing they moulded the course of our national history. It was not only the religious but the political convictions of the Puritans which brought about the Civil War, the emigrations to America, and later on the revolt of the American colonies from the motherland. For their political principles were the direct outcome of their religious convictions. It was only natural that the doctrine of the royal priesthood of all believers, the equality of prince and peasant in the sight of God, the sense of the Christian brotherhood of the elect as 'the Lord's free people'—tenets which were peculiarly precious to the Puritans—should affect their conception of civil and political liberty, and lead them to offer a strenuous resistance to claims for the divine right of kings to rule in an arbitrary and absolute manner over the

Lord's redeemed people. Their sense of the great value of the human soul led them to a new conception of social equality and to the assertion of the individual rights of citizenship. The implications of their belief may not have been fully realized at first; it is taking centuries to work them out under the new names of democracy, or 'liberty, equality, and fraternity,' but they were sufficiently understood to constitute the Puritans the champions of civil and political freedom against the tyranny and despotism of Stuart kings or Caroline ecclesiastics. It was the hatred of the tyranny of Laud and the bishops in Church government which led the Puritan 'Church party' to espouse the Parliamentary cause in the struggle with Charles I, which resulted in the temporary overthrow of monarchy and episcopacy. Thus, as Canon Flynn well puts it, 'Wherever we can trace the democratic spirit in the State—the principle that the will of the people must prevail, and the prominence of the lay element in the Church—there you have Puritanism' (*Influence of Puritanism*, p. 44).

The establishment of the Commonwealth saw the high-water mark of Puritan power and triumph, and it is sad to relate that the opportunity of their unfettered authority was also in the main the period of their failure. Those who had suffered and fought valiantly for constitutional freedom against arbitrary government in their turn resorted to despotic and tyrannical acts when they possessed the reins of power. In the end most people would have preferred the Royal despotism, which had been overthrown, to the military despotism of the Puritan régime. The rule of 'the saints' was certainly not an unqualified success. With their earnest insistence on the depravity of human nature, it was singular that the Puritans made so little allowance for it in their attempt to govern a nation of fallible human beings.

But the Puritan régime was a time of national security, and also a time when, owing to the brilliant victories of Blake, the Puritan Admiral, and to the vigorous foreign policy

of Cromwell, England's prestige was greater than it had ever been abroad. But it was not a time of liberty, for peace and tranquillity were based on the sword. England was held in check by the hated military rule of Cromwell's major-generals.

It seems a curious paradox to say that the fall of Puritanism saw the beginning of its real triumph, but it is true nevertheless, as Green well expresses it, that when 'it had laid down the sword' it ceased from the long attempt to build up a kingdom of God by force and violence, and fell back on its truer work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men. 'It was from the moment of its seeming fall that its real victory began' (*Short History*, pp. 582–6). The influence of the Puritan spirit and ideals on moral and national righteousness from that day to the present would be difficult to overestimate. How can we measure the extent of the influence, not only on our literature, but on the religious life and character of our people, of such two pronouncedly Puritan books as Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*? We should also remember that the sufferings and persecutions which the early Puritans endured proved in the end a divine blessing on other lands to which they were driven. The Pilgrim Fathers, although not Puritan in name, were mainly so in their spirit and religious ideals, while the large emigration of Puritan exiles to New England in Charles the First's reign not only laid the foundation of the future United States, but, in spite of the modern infusion of numerous peoples of other races and religions, it stamped a Puritan character on the laws, literature, and religion of America which it retains to this day.

If we consider the history of our country for the last two hundred years we have not to look far to discover the prominent part played by the Puritan spirit and ideals in all the beneficial reforms which have been effected. The spiritual torpor, the Latitudinarian, deistic, and infidel opinions which were so rife in the first half of the eighteenth

century, were met and largely overcome by a religious revival which was essentially Puritan. Not only was Wesley's ancestry definitely Puritan, but his decidedly evangelical conversion in 1738, which really inaugurated the Methodist Revival, attracted to his side all the clergy of strong Puritan convictions, and these remained the life and soul of the movement. The practical results of this revival were seen in the formation of the great missionary societies at the end of the century, such as the Baptist, the London, and the Church Missionary Society. These, as well as such kindred societies as the Bible Society and the R.T.S., were all due to the spiritual zeal, energy, and self-sacrifice of men of Puritan evangelical convictions. When we turn to the more purely humanitarian efforts we find that it is the Puritan who is again the pioneer. The great leader and champion of the anti-slavery crusade, William Wilberforce, was an evangelical Churchman converted through reading the Puritan Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*; while his stalwart henchmen and supporters, like Thornton, Clarkson, William Carey, and Thomas Scott, were all men of strong Puritan convictions. It was mainly the same men again who were the supporters of Hannah More, the evangelical Churchwoman, in her pioneer efforts for village schools, while we only have to come down another generation to find that it was the Puritan Churchman, Lord Shaftesbury, whose noble efforts were successful in overthrowing the worst evils of a system of industrial slavery which existed in our mines and factories. Coming to modern times, we see the Puritan spirit of righteousness exemplified in a strenuous opposition to all forms of injustice and evil. The agitation for the protection of the native races against European cruelty and exploitation, the crusade against the opium traffic and the drink traffic, have all been carried on mainly, although not exclusively, by Puritan evangelicals, both Churchmen and Nonconformists. They have been the pioneers, even if others have loyally aided their efforts.

Certainly Puritanism as an organized and definite political party system no longer exists, since all parties now contain men of Puritan principles, but its spirit and influence remain and are far reaching. Its ideals of purity and righteousness lie at the basis of all our social reforms. Could we find a better standard for a truly Christian democracy to aim at than that contained in the advice Cromwell gave to the Parliament after the Battle of Dunbar: 'Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of the poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions, and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth' (*Letters and Speeches*, p. 217).

It may be that at the moment, as a reaction from the horrors of a world war, an anti-Puritan spirit of materialism, indifference, and mere selfish pleasure seeking is predominant; but this should only constitute an urgent call to rally the forces making for righteousness to mould and influence our national life, and especially our great political parties. It should constitute a call for another Puritan revival without the narrowness of the first, for it is the strenuous, serious, godly spirit of the Puritan which will always be the leaven that will purify and preserve our national character. Such a revival should naturally begin by a real union of all Christian forces and Churches, and especially of those possessing a common Puritan ancestry, whose fundamental principles were first enunciated, or rather reasserted, at the Reformation. Puritanism still lives in this twentieth century, and will always continue to live so long as pure, primitive, Scriptural Christianity lasts. It lives, to quote Canon Flynn's fine description, as 'a great force for righteousness, not because in thought and speech and garb it resembles, or is a replica of, the Puritanism of three hundred years ago, but because it has outgrown all these, and adapted itself to the modes and requirements of a new age.

C. SYDNEY CARTER.

SEVENTY-TWO YEARS AT THE BAR

Seventy-two Years at the Bar. A Memoir. By ERNEST BOWEN-ROWLANDS. (Macmillan & Co., 1924.)

IN 1883 the writer of this Memoir was at home for the holidays from Shrewsbury School, and was taken by his father to the Central Criminal Court, where he was introduced to Montagu Williams and to the 'Sleuth-hound of the Treasury,' Harry Bodkin Poland, whom he regarded with admiration slightly tinged with awe. When he visited him at 28 Sloane Gardens on June 18, 1923, Sir Harry told him, 'This day seventy-two years ago I was called to the Bar.' He appeared then as he had always been; 'Perhaps a trifle whiter on the temples, a little whiter of hair, but otherwise altered scarcely at all. When he rose to fetch a book he stooped more than was his wont once upon a time; but by a very slight effort of imagination I could see him in the well of the "Old Court," calmly, fairly, and without the waste of a single word, weaving the fabric of a conviction against the prisoner at the Bar.'

He was born in London in 1829, educated at St. Paul's School, and from 1851 to 1895 had a large practice both in the criminal and other courts. From 1865 to 1889 he was Counsel to the Treasury and Adviser to the Foreign Office. For many years he was the chief authority on 'Licensing' and 'Rating,' Standing Counsel to the Bank of England and to the London Bankers' Protection Association, and for twenty-seven years Recorder of Dover. Mr. Bowen-Rowlands many times suggested that he should publish his reminiscences, but was always told: 'Certainly not, at present; probably not at all; perhaps when I am old.' Recently, he told the veteran of the material he had collected from their conversations, and said he intended to publish it. Then he asked whether Sir Harry would not help him

to make the book 'worthy of the subject, and useful to those who can derive benefit from the story of the past.' At first he refused to have anything to do with such a book, but at last he promised that out of personal regard he would answer any questions put to him.

When he entered the Middle Temple as a student in 1848 there was neither Embankment nor Holborn Viaduct; there was no telephone nor electric light. Oil lamps were still used at the Temple. Three steamers plied from Hungerford Bridge to London Bridge at a halfpenny fare. On his call to the Bar Mr. Poland attached himself to the Central Criminal Court, where his uncle, Sir William Bodkin, had a large and leading practice. The Judges used to come on Wednesdays and Thursdays in each session, and on Wednesdays, when the Court rose, a dinner was given by the Sheriffs which was attended by the Judges, members of the Bar, and others.

The early chapters of this Memoir will make a strong appeal to criminologists and to those who are interested in ancient courts and procedure. Before long Mr. Poland acquired a substantial practice at the Old Bailey. His uncle's influence helped him, but his success was almost entirely due to his own industry, ability, and devotion to the cases entrusted to him. The trial of Sir John Dean Paul, in which he appeared for the Crown with the Attorney-General, Sir Alexander Cockburn, brought him into prominence. The bankers—Strahan, Paul, and Bates—received bonds from their clients for safe custody, but realized them for their own purposes to the extent of about £100,000. When they had weathered the storms they bought similar bonds and put them in the place of the original bonds. They knew, as the law then stood, that if they first disclosed any frauds under compulsion in a Court of Bankruptcy they could not afterwards be prosecuted for those frauds. They therefore got a friendly creditor to cross-examine them in the bankruptcy proceedings which had been taken against them, and

fully disclosed the frauds they had committed in respect of bonds which they had bought to replace the first set they had converted. 'This was clever, but it was not quite clever enough; they made the one mistake that people who depend upon their cunning usually made—their minds were so much focused upon the particular charges against them that they ignored the misappropriation of the first set of bonds. Consequently we indicted them for the fraudulent misappropriation of the first set of bonds, as to which they had made no disclosure.' The three partners were convicted and sentenced to be transported for fourteen years.

Sir Harry was appointed Counsel to the Treasury at the Central Criminal Court in 1865, and resigned in 1888, when he 'took silk' in order to devote himself to his large rating and licensing business. The prosecution of Sarah Rachel Leverson, in which he took a leading part, made a sensation. Madame Rachel's business was a combination of confidence trick, blackmail, procuration, and exploitation of the credulous vanity of women—and of men. It had 'a moral lesson which is ever being taught but is seldom productive of any good result. For persons who are urged by some very strong desire, and who set their whole minds upon its realization, will generally set at naught the teachings of experience and pursue their object at any cost to themselves or others.'

At one time Madame Rachel prowled about the London theatres in order to gain money by luring young women into a life of disrepute. When she first came within the law she was established as a perfumer in Maddox Street. Her advertisements set forth that she had the power of making women beautiful for ever. A widow lady, Mrs. Borrodaile, fell into her clutches, and to secure 'beautification and marriage gave to Madame Rachel much money, including a sum of £2,000 in specie, £600 worth of jewellery, and a bond over property for £600. Indeed, to such an extent was Mrs. Borrodaile in the power of the beautifier that the

latter, when all Mrs. Borrodaile's considerable fortune had gone, had her arrested and imprisoned in Whitecross Street Prison on a charge of failing to complete certain pecuniary obligations for which she had made herself liable.' Her friends then intervened, and Madame Rachel was charged at the Old Bailey with obtaining £600 by false pretences and with conspiring to defraud her of £30,000. She was sentenced to five years' penal servitude, and afterwards returned to her old practices. A lady whose face she professed to improve by washes and enamels found that these caused an eruption, for curing which Madame Rachel demanded £1,000. This she reduced by easy stages to £100. She was sentenced to five years' penal servitude, and died in prison. Mr. Bowen-Rowlands says, 'That is the story of a woman who, for purposes of gain, used, and for a time successfully used, the whole armament of criminal artifices. Her career may paint a moral, but at all events it places her pre-eminent among those criminals who have traded upon the weaknesses of human nature.'

Sir Harry appeared as counsel for the defence in various stages of the case of Governor Eyre, in the later stages of the Tichborne case, and in perhaps all the Fenian trials. He also acted with Hardinge Giffard for one of the defendants in the Overend Gurney trial. 'The defendants showed that they were ignorant of the state of the business, which was carried on by the manager and other officials, and that as soon as they became aware of the position they sold their own private estates to make what compensation was possible.' These sales gave the public the first indication of the unsoundness of the business. The defendants were all acquitted of the charge of fraud, and the Judge disallowed the costs of the prosecution on the ground that some of the defendants ought not to have been charged.

Sir Harry regards 'The Bank of England case' as the most interesting in which he ever took part. Four Americans plotted to defraud the bank of £100,000 by means of

extensive forgeries. Their scheme was so well conceived and so thoughtfully executed that, but for an accident, it would have been entirely successful. They came from America with £8,000 and opened an account with the branch of the Bank of England in Burlington Gardens. They pretended to be carrying on a great business, and paid in some genuine bills of exchange which they had bought, and which were duly honoured on presentation. This method was continued, and forged bills were paid in, with those that were genuine. When they had thus defrauded the Bank of over £100,000 one of the gang went to Havana, another to New York, and a third to Scotland, whilst the fourth, Noyes, was left to settle affairs in London. One of the bills had no date. This the bank took to the alleged acceptor and asked him to date it. He at once repudiated his signature; Noyes was arrested; and evidence was given by the engravers who had prepared plates, and by the mistresses of three of the accused. All the four were arrested and sentenced to penal servitude for life. Sir Harry says, 'It was a capital instance of misapplied genius; one feels inclined to reiterate the old sentence of the Judges in passing sentence on clever tricksters, and say that if he (i.e. Austin Bidwell, who conceived the scheme) had only bent his talents in the direction of honest work, he might have obtained legitimate fame; as it was, he only achieved the distinction of a place in the list of great criminals.' The conclusive proof of the guilt of the gang was obtained in the lodgings of the man who actually forged the notes. The detective who searched them found nothing to help him, and was just giving up the search as a bad job when he noticed some blotting-paper lying in the grate. It was summer, and he thought it could not have been left from the lighting of a fire, but must have been thrown there. He ironed it flat, and discovered blotted on it the contents of a forged note! An oversight thus led to the discovery of the fraud, and an oversight made their conviction sure. The men

probably had other accomplices, for a vain attempt was made to rescue them from prison during the trial and to bribe three of the warders at Newgate.

Many particulars are given of the Great Turf Fraud of 1877 and its sequel in the conviction of three Chief Inspectors as conspirators. One chapter deals with crimes committed by women. The position taken is that their connexion with crime is neither more nor less intimate than that of men. Sir Harry is as certain as he can be that Dr. Gully had no part in the death of Charles Bravo, but holds that some one in the house poisoned him. Other notorious crimes are dealt with in a way that shows how the criminal's cunning failed, and he paved the way for his own detection and punishment. As to Roger Casement, 'who adhered to the King's enemies and gave them aid and comfort during the last war,' Sir Harry feels 'that if any man ever deserved his doom, that man was Casement.'

Sir Harry's fairness to a prisoner is illustrated by the case of Willoughby, who was charged with a serious assault upon a young man, who later identified him as a thief of chickens from outhouses which abutted on a canal. His defence was an alibi, but two important witnesses were not present to give evidence in support of it, and Willoughby was sentenced by Sir Henry Hawkins to ten years' penal servitude. Sir Harry was not satisfied that the evidence for the alibi was false, and it was finally decided to put the prisoner on trial for stealing the chickens. Sir Harry called the former witnesses to prove the case for the Crown, and when this was done Mr. Justice Field informed the prisoner that now was the time to establish his alibi, adding that as he was not represented by counsel, perhaps Mr. Poland might be induced to examine his witnesses for him. The prisoner said, 'Much obliged to you, sir,' and the two witnesses who had not appeared in the previous trial conclusively proved the alibi. 'The prisoner was acquitted, and received a free pardon for the crime of which he had been

convicted. This is believed to be the only case in which a counsel has conducted both the prosecution and the defence in one and the same trial. If it hadn't been for the vanity of Hawkins, who thought he saw guilt in the prisoner's previous convictions, the man would not have been convicted. I am rather proud of that case,' said Sir Harry.

He conducted the prosecution of Mr. Stead and others for the abduction of a girl named Armstrong, but states emphatically that 'there never was the slightest evidence that Stead had acted otherwise than from good motives. The fact was that he and the other social reformers wanted to prove to the world that a virtuous young girl could be procured, seduced, and sent out of the country with comparative ease. They thought that in that way they might compel legislation to be passed for the protecting of girls.' Mr. Bowen-Rowlands intervened to express his opinion that had it not been for the series of articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 would never have been passed, and the traffic in young women would have been unabated. He added, 'Had it not been for the pleasure that the recollection of his "martyrdom" gave Stead, I should have much regretted his imprisonment. He was one of the best men I have ever known. But every year, on the anniversary of his conviction, he used to dress himself up in prison clothes and hold a reception, and that was a lasting satisfaction to him.'

Chancellors and Chief Justices have their own chapter. Bethell was a master of vituperation who spared no one. He was a good equity lawyer, and a good speaker anywhere. Sir Harry is sure that he was not guilty of corruption, though he had allowed his son to recommend unsuitable persons for public offices, and had confirmed these appointments. With Hardinge Giffard, afterwards Lord Halsbury, Sir Harry shared chambers in the Temple for fifteen years. 'He was a wonderful man; a kindly, cheerful friend, ever with a jest on his lips; a fine lawyer, a great advocate, a

classical scholar and an immoderate reader of novels. He "saw into" a case as soon as he had read the brief. He knew his man every time. I never knew his equal at cross-examination—and he was ahead of Ballantyne, who closely approached him in that difficult art.' Sir Harry was often engaged with and against Russell of Killowen, whom he describes as 'a really hard-working man, a first-rate advocate, and a powerful speaker.' Lord Reading was once one of Sir Harry's 'devils.' He congratulated him when he was made Viceroy. Lord Reading 'thanked me pleasantly enough—he was always a well-mannered man—and said, "Throughout my life at the Bar I acted upon the rule you laid down for me when I devilled for you: 'Never come to the Temple later than 10 a.m. and never leave it before 6 p.m.'" Of course, he was right. For I put it to you, what chance of success has a barrister who strolls into the Temple about 11 a.m. with a great cigar in his mouth, lounges about till luncheon time, and then takes himself off to a club, or what he calls "home"? "None," I answered.'

Sir Harry is very fond of the Inner Temple, where he passes a good deal of his time, especially in the Library. He is interested in every detail of its life, and thinks that there is much yet to be written about both the Inner and the Middle Temple. 'Do you know,' he said, 'that both are governed by a charter which was granted by James I, who thereby confirmed them in their property? In that charter they are described as two of the four most famous colleges in all Europe—and they have a Trust. Lincoln's Inn and Gray's have no Trust; their property was bought out of the money of the individual members, and was not granted by the Crown; this was established by the Report of the Royal Commission in 1855. However, all the Inns of Court have jurisdiction over all their members; and they have complete discretion as to the appointment of Benchers The existing Bench of each Inn can co-opt whom they

please; and their decision as to refusing to "call," or disbarring, is only subject to review by the Judges in their characters of visitors of the Inn.'

Sir Harry has large experience as a swimmer, and contributed an article on 'Summer Bathing' to the *Daily Graphic*, in which he gave young people the benefit of his expert knowledge. The dinner given him by the Bar when he 'took silk' was presided over by his old friend, Lord Halsbury, who spoke of him as one who had never swerved from the straight line of fairness, and whose whole life was an honourable record. A public luncheon was also given him at Dover, where he had been Recorder since 1874. He told his friends there that he did not mean to give up the Recordership, but that he felt he had done enough work at the Bar. He said 'he had never been able to read many books he wanted to read, or to do many things he wanted to do, and his work had ceased to become a pastime, and from the simple way in which he lived he was enabled to maintain himself comfortably for the future.' His friends asked him, 'You're so accustomed to work, what will you do?' He replied, 'Well, if necessary I'll get into mischief. I won't do any more work.' He was then in full swing of practice, and had the prospect of a great deal more to do. He told Mr. Bowen-Rowlands that he remembered the way in which his nurse used to light a farthing rushlight. She would strike the flint with a metal until a spark fell on the tinder and set it alight. She used to get angry when she failed to get a spark at once. Then the veteran went on, 'I am old; but I am well enough; I have worked hard and I have lived plainly. Carefulness has prevented me from knowing the pinch of want; and, thank heaven, I am a confirmed bachelor.'

His biographer told him how his father said: 'Poland is always fair, and he never misses a point; hence his deadliness.' Sir Harry said that he appreciated the compliment, and added, 'To my mind the essential qualities of a good

prosecuting counsel are accuracy, clearness, moderation and common-sense. In the thousands of cases I conducted for the Treasury, I always bore in mind the dictum in Holchester's case that a prosecuting counsel is part of the Court, and is a minister of Justice filling a quasi-judicial position? Mr. Bowen-Rowlands himself regards Sir Harry as fit to stand among the great lawyers of this or any age. He always keeps to the point of fact. 'One thing at one time—and verify your references,' was his counsel. When he had to get up a case, he dealt with every fact and every proper deduction from fact. 'He hazarded nothing. He never made a mistake. He was fair to an opponent or a prisoner, not only because of his natural kindness of heart, but because "unfairness" was not part of the equipment of one who was concerned with facts. He was the best of all Counsel for the Crown, but he did not attain excellence as an advocate for the defence because such an advocate is primarily a distorter and not a presenter of facts.' His character stands high. 'He has never stooped to meanness or stained his record by questionable conduct. He has lived his life in the glare of publicity and all that is known of him is good. And that is why Sir Harry Bodkin Poland has entered his ninety-fifth year in full possession of the respect and goodwill of his fellow countrymen.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH?

Bishop Gore has completed his trilogy on the Reconstruction of Belief. To his previous volumes on Belief in God and Belief in Christ he has now added a third dealing with *The Holy Spirit and the Church* (Murray, *7s. 6d.* net). His work has received a hearty welcome from different quarters, and high appreciation has been expressed of the combination shown in it of devout loyalty to Christian tradition with the candour which should characterize all free inquiry into truth. Dr. Gore is no obscurantist. He knows that whoever would in these days maintain an intelligent hold of Christian doctrines must do so in the full and searching light cast on them by modern knowledge. During the last half-century immense progress has been made in the study of such various subjects as biblical criticism, archaeology, history, physical science, speculative philosophy, psychology, and comparative religion. Dr. Gore would not profess to be an expert in these and kindred subjects, but his reading has been wide and various. He is a scholar, and, as he says, 'The vocation of a scholar requires that he should think freely—he must be free to go where the argument, duly weighed, leads him.' The text and notes of these volumes testify to the diligence and ability with which Dr. Gore has endeavoured to meet objections raised against the truth of Christianity in the multifarious departments of modern knowledge. In this respect he has laid all sections of the Christian Church under obligation. Educated young people of to-day, who may be disposed to disparage traditional Christian teaching, or even to regard it as obsolete, can have no right to do so, unless they have carefully considered the arguments here so ably marshalled in its defence.

At the same time, the work remains essentially an apology, not a reconstruction. The author's goal, when reached, coincides with his starting-point—his own firmly held creed declared in previous publications. He has given to the world a reassertion and revindication of the theological and ecclesiastical positions accepted by the Anglo-Catholic section of the Church of England. To say this is not to disparage this latest exposition of Dr. Gore's doctrinal views. He writes as one who has subjected his own opinions to closest scrutiny, and we can but honour the consistency and fidelity of so loyal a son of the Church. But readers must not expect to find any 'reconstruction' of ancient creeds in deference to modern knowledge. The writer of these volumes believes that he has a well-defined 'deposit' of truth, which he has been commissioned

to guard, and he is disposed—to use a phrase of John Wesley's, employed in another connexion—'not to mend our rules, but to keep them, for conscience' sake.'

This characteristic is most marked when Bishop Gore comes, in his third volume, to the subject of the Church, and to kindred topics on which Christians are sharply divided. His chapters on the Holy Spirit are in the main excellent and all too short. We should have preferred to dwell chiefly upon these, but, in connexion with the authority of the Church, crucial questions are raised upon which for the moment attention must be concentrated. What is meant by 'The Church of to-day?' What authority does it possess? Who gave it this authority? Is the sacred name of the Lord Jesus Christ to be invoked as sanctioning the necessity of episcopacy to the very existence of a Christian Church in the twentieth century? If so, what is the strength of the several links in the long chain of argument leading to such an inconceivable conclusion? These are questions to which Dr. Gore here gives characteristic, but far from satisfactory, answers. Some of them may conveniently be summarized in his own words: 'The only recognized sphere of the Spirit's action is the Church of the believers in Jesus as the Christ and Lord.' Jesus did not so much 'found the Church' as 're-found' it, equipping it with 'officers' of His own appointing and 'a priestly ministry appointed to teach and to safeguard divine mysteries.' 'The New Covenant, like the Old, is with the community, not with separated individuals. . . . We cannot become united to God in isolation or in a merely self-chosen society.' The apostles were chosen by Christ, not merely as teachers, but as rulers of the one visible society which Jesus established as the exclusive channel of divine grace. He inaugurated a rudimentary organization, but 'left it in the main to organize itself under the guidance of His Spirit.' That which 'the Church' thus accepts and enjoins may claim the authority of its Head and Master. The 'principle of the apostolic succession in the ministry of the Church was one of its most uncontested principles from the middle of the second century downwards,' and 'ordination from above' was established, so that 'the officers of the churches always received their commission from those who had not only the authority themselves to minister, but the authority also to appoint others to the ministry.' Christianity implies a sacramental Church, and sacraments avail *ex opere operato*; i.e. 'a real change of spiritual status is wrought in all cases through the visible rite.' At the Reformation in the sixteenth century 'certain fundamental principles of the Catholic Church'—the appointed and only authorized exponent of the mind of Christ through the working of the Holy Spirit—'were violated,' and 'unless these principles are recognized and restored, there can be no reunion among Christians.'

There is, of course, nothing new in the ecclesiastical theory thus briefly sketched. But there is something very significant in its repeated and emphatic rehearsal by a respected and liberal-minded

writer, who is supposed to be stating the essentials of the Christian faith, that he may commend them to the generations of to-day. In propounding it, Dr. Gore speaks, not for Christians as a whole, nor even for the whole Church of England, but for an influential section of it, which in recent meetings of the Anglo-Catholic Congress has aroused the enthusiasm of some and the vehement dissent of others, amongst the Anglicans of to-day.

Christians of the Free Churches challenge at more points than we can mention the questionable positions implied in the Anglo-Catholic theory of the Church. In the Gospels the appeal of our Lord is distinctly to and for the individual, not to or for an organized community. He referred to the 'Church' only once or twice—in passages the meaning, and even the authenticity, of which has been keenly contested—and He never mentioned the subject of its organization at all. It is difficult to suppose that the Saviour of the world contemplated a revived and purified Judaism, with 'officers' and a hierarchy so exact that a slight variation in it would imperil the existence of the Church itself. In the Ecclesia of the time of St. Paul and St. John organization appears but faintly in the background; the New Testament would have to be rewritten if the being, or the wellbeing, of the Church had then depended on its machinery. No uniform organization in the Churches scattered over many countries was attained for a hundred years after Pentecost. By the end of the second century episcopacy—not diocesan—was generally established, and in the age of Cyprian, about the middle of the third century, the ecclesiastical theories of sacrifice, priesthood and absolution, of episcopacy, ordination, and channels of grace, as described by Bishop Gore, were put forward and more or less adopted. Ere long the process of development culminated in the establishment of the Papacy, which has dominated the Western Church for much more than a thousand years. But Bishop Gore does not acknowledge the Pope, and the Pope does not acknowledge Anglican bishops, and the Orthodox Church of the East looks askance at both. Modern Christendom is, alas! what every one knows it to be, and men ask, Where is 'the authority of the Church'? Surely there are not many candid observers who can believe that, as regards organization, the Christendom of to-day is what Christ intended His Church to be, or that 'Catholics' of any description can claim His authority for much that they have done, and are doing, in His Name?

It may be said that it ill becomes any of the diversified sects of Protestantism to complain of a divided Christendom, or to criticize communities which were venerable before they were born. We quite agree. Mutual recrimination among Christians is worse than futile, and we are not inclined to take part in it. But Bishop Gore's attitude at this time of attempted reunion among Christians points an unwelcome moral, and presses afresh upon our attention the grave mistake of over-emphasizing the importance of ecclesiastical organization. Ecclesiastical uniformity is not Christian unity. If

by a wave of the hand all the Christians on the face of the globe could to-morrow be united into one episcopally organized community, the great problem would not be solved, no glorious consummation would have been reached, and the result might easily prove a great disaster to the cause of true Christianity.

Baron von Hügel a while ago wrote wisely of the three 'elements'—modes of apprehension or outlook—that belong to all religion—the Institutional, the Rational, and the Experiential or Mystical. Each of these may in practice be overrated, or underrated, in relation to the other two, and then mischief follows. A crucial question for to-day is whether reconciliation can be effected between 'Catholic' and 'Evangelical' Christians—good men who make the institutional element in Christianity all-important, and others, quite as good, who make everything depend upon experience. We may say in passing that Canon O. C. Quick has recently written on this subject with marked insight and judgement. The Lambeth Appeal was intended to prepare the way for fuller mutual understanding, and already has gained a measure of success, though what its ultimate issues will be none can say. Bishop Gore writes of English Free Churchmen and Scottish Presbyterians, 'I desire to acknowledge with all my heart the wonderful and continuous evidences of the work of the Spirit of God among them; and to express the gratitude which thousands among us feel for theological and spiritual help received from them.' The Lambeth Conference of 1920 spoke in similar terms, and it had been earnestly hoped by devout Christians of various types that a real *rapprochement* was being effected. But on the lines of Bishop Gore's last book no reconciliation between divergent elements in modern Christianity is possible, and we greatly regret that it has been necessary to dwell upon this fact.

It is pleasanter to turn to aspects of the authority of the Church in which we are heartily at one with the Bishop. He points out very wisely that this authority is strictly limited (at least in theory) by the necessity of appeal to Scripture; that nothing should be promulgated which in substance is either beyond, or contrary to, 'what is written.' And, further, 'it is an authority which seeks to stimulate and guide, not to drug or suppress, the judgement of the mass of Churchmen.' We heartily agree that this ideal should be everywhere maintained. And we are especially grateful for the paragraphs which enforce with warmth and earnestness 'the primacy of the *moral* appeal in the message of the Church,' which, Dr. Gore says, 'has been lamentably forgotten, or in its nature lamentably distorted.' He points out how again and again, in times of keen theological controversy, 'the average standard of living in the Church declined with astonishing rapidity.' Ecclesiastical zeal cannot atone for moral apathy. Christ's followers have in all generations been prone to forget, and in some periods have scandalously forgotten, to put first things first, and to keep matters of twentieth-rate importance resolutely down in the twentieth place. Dr. Gore shall express his view of the results in his

own words: 'Thus the vast organization of modern industrial society grew up—almost without protest from the Church—on a basis which can only be described as frankly anti-Christian, and the accepted relations of nations, in what still called itself Christendom, hardly retained a trace of Christian principle.'

These trenchant words indicate a field which may well be occupied—and in C.O.P.E.C. and the 'World Alliance' is already being occupied—by Christians working heartily together, though still ecclesiastically separated. Let the tone and temper of modern society be morally and spiritually Christianized, and it will soon make short work of theories which set ecclesiastical genealogy above the spirit of the New Testament.

W. T. DAVISON.

AFTER THIRTY YEARS

OXFORD UNIVERSITY gave its honorary degree of Doctor of Letters to Professor Robert William Rogers on June 19, 1928. It was a fitting tribute to a Methodist Orientalist who had for thirty years been Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in Drew Theological Seminary. He was born in Philadelphia on February 14, 1864, and came to Drew in 1898 after six years' work at Haverford and Dickinson College. His works include *Two Texts of Esarhaddon: Inscriptions of Sennacherib: History of Babylonia and Assyria: The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria: Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament: The Recovery of the Ancient Orient:* and a *History and Literature of the Hebrew People*. In a little pamphlet the Professor says, 'For full thirty academic years have I been teaching the Old Testament in Drew Theological Seminary, and if I had my life to lead again I should wish to do the same thing!' He came to his work 'in a time of sore trial and anxiety, for it was in the day that the massive structure of the splendid Presbyterian Church trembled beneath the embattled forces arrayed for and against Professor Charles Augustus Briggs, and the Methodist Episcopal Church was already preparing for a similar tragedy in the sacrifice of poor Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell. I was under suspicion at once, and needed stout defenders like James Monroe Buckley to keep my footing in perilous places.'

He says that by a sort of instinct rather than by preternatural wisdom he focused attention on the great essential messages of the Old Testament, and thus prepared the minds of his students to deal with critical problems a little at a time. 'Many of those earlier classes had far more instruction in these problems than ever they dreamed, and ten years after graduation must have found themselves strangely able to meet problems that arose in preaching or teaching without knowing whence the attitude was derived. *O sancta simplicitas!*' Dr. Rogers always laid emphasis on scholarship, for he had been trained as a scholar, and he never let a class pass out of the seminary without extolling the glories of learning, and its value in and for itself, apart altogether from any practical use or end.

He says, 'It has always been difficult to keep men at the hard

things, and scholarship is a stern mistress and keeps ever the hard things before her gleaming eyes. When I am asked, as often I have been, how the students of to-day compare with those of yesteryear, the answer is always the same—that, different though they be, they are yet the same. There were giants in the early days, and there is an occasional surviving example in these days, but the mass are, as before, still human, and not averse to finding an easy way and a light burden.' The elective system has 'spread its languorous vapours over the high schools in one direction, and the theological seminaries in the other.' If college authorities have not made up their minds as to what students ought to study, it is not fair to expect young men to decide for themselves. Some of these subjects are easy, and promise to furnish what may be immediately available in pulpit or pastoral work. 'Nobody,' says the professor, 'has suffered so much from this as have I, for Hebrew has long had the evil reputation of being "hard," and many have been the expressions of desire somehow to escape its toils. Here natural inclinations and apparently superior attractions have united, and disaster impends. I have no trouble in finding students to attend courses of lectures on history, archaeology, and palaeography, but the classes that face the forms and syntax and the exegesis of passages in Hebrew are steadily dwindling, and must, it would seem, soon reach the point of being quite negligible. This is a personal tragedy for me, and I make no secret of my pangs of pain. This matters nothing, of course, if others hear or see or care not. I am but an individual cog in a big machine, and my personal predilections cannot be weighed or counted, and ought not to be. But somebody who has no such interest as mine ought soon to consider what is going on, and face squarely the issue.'

The Bible is still our only basis. The great preachers have all been preachers whose message was squarely founded on, or sprang directly from, Holy Writ. 'From Chrysostom to Cadman the great preachers have thundered Sinai and pleaded Calvary. It is absurd as well as silly to seek another way, and they who do are goats and not sheep, not feeding in sweet meadows on lush grass, but picking at wild hedges or poisoned cacti. The Bible has the story, the whole satisfying story, of God's revelations to men, and they who know it and preach it shall not want hearers, or their hearers comfort in their sorrows and guidance in their doubtings. But the Bible is a very big book, and they who have really begun to know it have spent a long time upon its riches.' Those who glean in the libraries written to explain every word of Scripture become 'preachers of wealth untold. The others may attempt to feed their diminished souls on the last novel, the newest speculation, but the search is vain and the result a trifle.'

When that is granted the case for Hebrew and Greek is won. No one ever learned the rudiments of these languages, and so completely ceased their use as to have no profit of them. 'They find use in remote and almost unseen ways, as a man reads commentaries or big books which have grappled with the intense questions, the pressing

issues.' Even were this use not made of them they 'have left a precious residuum in the mind, and have added colour to the thought, a figure of speech, a flower fragrant and beautiful for the diction. Precious beyond all measure are the rewards of those who have applied themselves to the toil of winning for later years an inheritance pleasant and comely of a little learning.'

Professor Rogers feels that the Bible needs a new emphasis in the theological seminary. Drew needs more teachers of the Bible in Greek, Hebrew, and English. He regards it as stupid waste for himself to have to teach so much English Bible as he does, though very few men in like positions do so little. 'I should be doing nothing but Hebrew. Let those who will not take Hebrew go without whatever of enthusiasm, life, or learning I have to impart.' To do that would involve 'more endowments for the Bible, for the Bible alone and only, the Bible first and last. Who wants biblical preaching let him see to it that the preachers of to-morrow are to-day filled, saturated, steeped in the Bible. They will preach it as no others need be expected to do.' Libraries would have to be enlarged, but no great laboratories or expensive apparatus would be required.

Dr. Rogers has known most of the theological controversies of his time. 'In my childhood it was geology, in my youth evolution, in the earliest days of my ripening maturity it was higher criticism. I have survived them all with a smile. I have made my acceptances of the newer learning without a qualm, found ways of reconciliation, taught them eagerly, saved men's faith many a time and oft, as they have gladly witnessed, and here I am looking backward as well as forward, and the Bible is more precious and more sure than ever.' The preacher must be trained to make this precious revelation known, and the theological seminary is the place where his training must be given. Strengthen the Bible there and Professor Rogers has gained his cause.

'DIE CHRISTLICHE WELT'

Dr. Ludwig Stein, foreign editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* of Berlin, has been visiting the United States on an extended lecturing tour under the auspices of the Carnegie foundation. He contributes to a recent number of the *Literary Digest* an informing article entitled 'Literary Germany coming through Deep Waters.' During the war Dr. Stein never renounced his Swiss citizenship, and maintained strict impartiality. He is exceptionally well qualified to describe the present condition of literary Germany.

An arresting statement, expanded in detail, is that 'German students are suffering an intellectual famine quite as acute as that of rations.' Owing to financial considerations affecting output, the supply of technical works, formerly abundant, has been cut off or greatly reduced. 'Thirty scientific journals, running the entire gamut of technical research, from abstract mathematics to applied psychology, have been forced to cram their contents into one single issue. And this composite journal is fast waning, since the cost of

publishing one number amounts to more than its contributors' combined salaries for five years.'

Few research students will deny that an international loss is the result of the cessation of the publication of many German journals, which appealed to specialists in various departments of science, philosophy, and not least in theology. To mention only two magazines that have not been published since the outbreak of war: the *Theologische Rundschau* and *Religion und Geisteskultur* had made for themselves a place which has not been filled.

Under present-day circumstances it is, therefore, a welcome announcement that *Die Christliche Welt*, edited by Professor D. Martin Rade, will henceforth appear fortnightly, enlarged from sixteen to twenty-four pages. This influential journal has a distinguished staff of broad-minded contributors. Its increased circulation in this country would promote international goodwill. English students of German literature may be glad to know that it is to be had direct from the publisher (F. A. Perthes, Gotha), and that the quarterly subscription is *8s. 2d.*

An interesting feature of the issues this year has been the publication, in sections, of the outlines of Herrmann's *Dogmatik*, as dictated to his students at Marburg. The editor has been able to make use of seven sets of notes taken in different years, the first in 1886, the last in 1915. The comparison shows that to the last Herrmann was 'unweariedly revising and improving.' The entire series will be an important contribution to the understanding of the ripest thought of this widely influential teacher.

In a recent number the longest article, entitled 'A Newly-discovered Life of Jesus,' is by Professor Adolf Jülicher. It is a scholarly estimate of the value of the Dutch Harmony of the Gospels, which has been published as 'A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron,' with a preliminary study by Dr. Plooij (IV) and an introductory note by Dr. Rendel Harris. In Professor Jülicher's opinion, this Liège manuscript is of exceptional value, though he does not agree with Dr. Plooij that it is a Dutch version of the original text of Tatian's 'Diatessaron.' The discovery does, however, prove that, two and a half centuries before Luther's Reformation, a mediæval scholar—who would probably never have ventured to translate a New Testament book into the vernacular—had courage and grace to give lay readers a version of a Harmony containing the principal passages in the Gospels. Whoever he was, he prepared the way both for Wiclif and for Luther.

Social aspects of Christianity and industrial questions have a prominent place in *Die Christliche Welt*. Widespread interest was aroused by the frank discussion of 'The Problem of the Hours of Labour' by Dr. Georg Wünsch of Marburg. Cogent reasons are given for holding to a working day of eight hours, on grounds of productivity, humanity, and religion. The Editor's leaderettes and notes are always timely and high-toned in their appeal. Professor Bornhausen of Breslau is a frequent contributor; a subject

on which he writes with special knowledge is 'Fundamentalism in America.' Amongst the Book Reviews, which are always by specialists, is an interesting appreciation, by Professor Otto Baumgarten, of a book entitled *England after the War*, by Herr Werner Picht, who visited this country in 1922 to obtain information concerning Settlements and Higher Education. On account of its genial recognition of aspects of English life which encourage the hope of better relations between the two peoples, the circulation of this work in Germany, 'from hand to hand,' is recommended as an antidote to the psychic results of the war.

J. G. TASKER.

THE INNER LIGHT AND MODERN THOUGHT

MR. HIBBERT, the head master of Ackworth School, has chosen this subject for the Swarthmore Lecture (Swarthmore Press, 2*s*. 6*d*. net), at this Tercentenary of George Fox. He builded better than he knew when he made his appeal to 'that of God in every man.' He identified this divine principle with Jesus Christ, the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. After three centuries Mr. Hibbert feels that this was so true and fundamental a message, so faithful a recapturing of the spirit of Christ and so adequate a reinterpretation of the New Testament—that he has set himself to state some of its implications in modern terms. Man's social sense inhibited the anti-social instincts, and led him on from step to step. That was the Light within, and though the early Friends could not go so far along that line as we can go to-day, it is marvellous how far they did go. 'They recognized that God had been manifest in the world long before the time of Christ. They saw in conscience something of the Divine Light flooding the soul.' Mr. Hibbert lays stress on the debt that Quakerism owes to Plato, the first of the Western Mystics. The lecture shows how Fox's message stands in the light of to-day. 'The tendency of modern thought and present-day psychology is all to confirm the fundamental Quaker position of the Inner Light when rightly understood.' Friends have based their whole polity, worship, and social life on the belief in the Inner Light. 'It is the reason for our meeting for worship on a basis of silence, for our emphasizing the universal priesthood of all believers, for our form of Church Government, for our respect of personality, and for our enthusiasm for Social Reform.' The lecture closes with a practical appeal. Friends have been busy enough in practical good deeds, but there is need for a little clear thinking and restatement of the fundamentals. If the Society could live out its beliefs, it would light again the candle of the Lord. Friends place their reliance on experience rather than on creeds, and if the note of challenge to the existing order should ever die out of their message, the glory would have departed.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Decalogue. By R. H. Charles, D.D., Archdeacon of Westminster. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THE subject chosen for the Warburton Lectures 1919–23 could hardly have been better selected, and Archdeacon Charles has embodied them in a volume which should secure a wide circle of readers, for in it are combined elements too often disjoined—a competent critical study of the text by a first-class scholar and a wise moral and spiritual discussion of difficult subjects by a pastor and theologian. We get the criticism and we get the sermons, but we do not often get the two blended wisely and well together.

It was quite time that the text of the Ten Commandments should be handled by a scholar in such a way as to make the Church in general understand the position. Dr. Charles shows that the Decalogue 'existed in various forms—at least five—its earliest dating from the close of the fourteenth century B.C. and its latest from the close of the third.' In the earliest form each Commandment 'consisted of one brief, crisp command,' and this 'comes from the great lawgiver, Moses.' In the course of centuries various accretions were added, which Dr. Charles considers were on the whole in keeping with the spirit of the originals, 'save in the case of the Fourth as it is transmitted in Exod. xx. 11.' It can be proved that there was 'a steady though sporadic growth of explanatory additions from the eighth to the second century B.C.' but the Decalogue itself, in a terse and telling form, is presupposed by documents of the tenth century, and 'there is no outstanding personality to whom the original Decalogue can be ascribed other than Moses.' It is important that these results should be widely read and apprehended for two reasons: first, in order to establish the Mosaic origin of the Ten Commandments; and secondly, to make clear the distinction between the laws themselves in their simplicity and power and the subsequent additions they have received, the cause of much controversy and misunderstanding. Another important feature of Dr. Charles' work is his attempt to ascertain 'the meaning and measure of obedience' which the Ten Words received in the history of Israel and Judah. It is one thing to command, another to secure obedience. The argument from silence is always precarious, and most of all when it is contended that because a law is not obeyed or not referred to by historians, therefore it did not exist. Dr. Charles' examination of difficult questions, relating especially to the worship of graven images and the observance of the Sabbath in the times before the Exile, is scholarly, sound, and instructive.

But we are Christians, not Jews. Are these Commandments binding to-day? How did our Lord deal with them—severally and as a whole? How has the Christian Church understood them and sought to apply them, and what measure of obedience has been secured? If binding, how ought they to be applied in the twentieth century A.D.? Here are questions which interest a wider public than those concerned with the readings of Hebrew MSS. and the stages of development in a legal code. And it is no small gain that the latest Warburtonian Lecturer is a man equally qualified to deal with ancient laws and modern instances. Some of his readers will be startled, almost incredulous, when they read Dr. Charles' account of the way in which the Roman Catholic Church has attempted to suppress, or at best to explain away, the second Commandment in the interests of image-worship. Others will be surprised to find how little support the history of the Fourth gives to the extreme Sabbatarianism of Puritan and other Christian communities. Others will rejoice to find an explanation of the difficulties that have gathered round our Lord's words in Matt. v. 22 concerning 'Raca' and 'Thou fool' in His spiritual application of the Sixth Commandment. And few, we think, can read without profit Archdeacon Charles' grave and earnest words as he urges the present-day importance of observing in spirit, as well as in the letter, the third, fifth, and seventh of these venerable divine commands. Ministers of religion will do well to study afresh under Dr. Charles' guidance the obligations of Christians in these matters to-day if their righteousness is to exceed that of 'scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites'!

We have pointed out all too briefly some of the excellences of a timely and valuable book. It deserves study in all its parts. It may help to release some Christians from needless Jewish bondage; it ought to awaken multitudes to the imperative need in modern society of obeying in their spirit old-world precepts at which many people are never tired of sneering. The observance of one of these great Ten Words would have prevented the Great War; laxity in heeding another is imperilling modern civilization.

The Pharisees. By R. Travers Herford, B.A. (Allen & Unwin. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a wholly new study of the subject handled in *Pharisaism, its Aim and its Method.* Recent works have enabled the writer to understand Pharisaism more fully, and to present more fully the position taken in his earlier work—the whole meaning of Pharisaism as a factor in the religious development of the human race. He traces its history from the time of Ezra down to the defeat of Bar Cocheba, which left the Pharisees as 'the only guides and teachers who had a word for the people; and they, and none others, saved from the ruin of the Jewish nation all that could be saved, and spoke to the stricken hearts of their countrymen the words of comfort and hope. The Judaism which has come down through the centuries is essentially

Pharisaism.' The fundamental principles upon which their whole conception of religion and life was founded were Torah and tradition. They regarded the Torah, the divine revelation through Moses, as the supreme gift which God had bestowed on His chosen people. They were the devoted friends and the animating spirit of the synagogue, where all the lessons of the Torah were taught. The Pharisees were all at one in their belief in the One God, the Supreme Lord, who had called them to His service and given them in the Torah the revelation of His nature and His will. Their place in Apocryphal literature and in the New Testament is brought out in two important chapters. The preparation which Judaism made for Christianity depended largely, though not wholly, upon Pharisaism. The rabbis worked out more fully what the Pharisees had begun, and 'through the labours of both Judaism was safely carried down the ages.' . . . To have begun the preparation for that "far-off divine event" is the true significance of Pharisaism.'

The Apocryphal New Testament, being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses. With other narratives and fragments newly translated by Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10*s*. net.)

Hone's *Apocryphal New Testament*, published in 1820, was the first book on the subject which fell into the hands of the Provost of Eton, and, though he now regards it as a very bad book, it exercised a fascination over him which has never lost its hold. His own volume gives a comprehensive view of all that is meant by 'the apocryphal literature of the New Testament.' The best external test of the canonicity of a writing is whether or not it was read in the public worship of Christian congregations which were in communion with the generality of other Christian congregations. The best evidence as to this, apart from definite statements by early writers, of which there are not many, is furnished by the oldest manuscripts of the complete Bible made for public use. The Codex Sinaiticus includes the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas; the Codex Alexandrinus adds the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which we are definitely told was read in many churches. It also gives his Second Epistle, which is really a sermon by some unknown person. These facts are given in a very instructive preface. The only books which had a real chance of being included in the Canon of the New Testament were the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas, the Revelation of Peter, and the Shepherd of Hermas, and we may be thankful that the Church decided against them, for the Epistle of Clement is the only one among them that we should find tolerable now. Dr. James puts first the remains of the Secondary Gospels and the lost heretical books, then the fragments of Gospels in MSS. recently discovered, and the Agrapha. The Infancy and Passion Gospels are then introduced by a few explanatory notes. The legend of the death

and assumption of the Virgin precedes the Acts of John, Paul, Peter, Thomas, &c., and these are followed by the few Epistles and Apocalypses. The translation is in the style of the Authorized Version. The volume runs to 614 pages, and has indexes of apocryphal writings, of writers cited, names of persons, places, and subjects. The work represents years of close attention to literature which has left its 'mark upon our beliefs, our poetry, our romance, our sculpture, and our painting, of which few realize the extent and depth.'

Christian Ways of Salvation. By George W. Richards, D.D. (12*s.* net.)

Christianity and Social Science. By Charles A. Ellwood, Ph.D. (8*s.* net.)

Seeing Life Whole. By Henry C. King. (7*s.* net.) (The Macmillan Company.)

Dr. Richards' Auburn Lectures seek to set forth the ideals and principles which control the process of salvation as that is conceived by the various pagan and Christian groups. The fundamental difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is to be found in the way of salvation. Pre-Christian ways are briefly passed in review, and then attention is drawn to Christian ways, beginning with the way of Jesus and the apostles, and broadening out into a survey of the ancient Catholic, the Roman Catholic, and the evangelical ways as represented by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. Man has an unquenchable striving upward, and God is always seeking to impart Himself. Salvation is more than a free gift; it is also a divine task. 'Through the conversion of the individual God works with men for a new order of life—domestic, industrial, political, national, and international—a new humanity. Salvation completes itself in the transformation of nations into the Kingdom of God.' The survey is one of vital significance. Dr. Ellwood dwells on the new hope which has come into the world—that science may unite with religion in the work of redeeming mankind. He holds that if we will boldly harness together our science and our religion we may turn back the flood of barbarism, which now threatens our civilization, and put a fresh impetus of faith into all our work for human progress. The trend in the social sciences at present is strongly towards the patterns perceived and taught by Jesus. The principles of socialization, service, love, and reconciliation are unfolded in a striking way, and the problems of religious education and leadership are discussed. We need only a synthesis of the knowledge given by science and of the spirit of Jesus in the lives of the men and women who lead the Christian cause. *Seeing Life Whole* seeks to furnish a Christian Philosophy of Life. The approach is sixfold—the scientific, psychological value, personal and ethical, philosophical, biblical, and Christian. Close study of these leads to the conclusion that religion is the culmination of our best thinking along many lines, and that Christ's answers in the

wilderness temptations supply the most significant illustration of seeing life steadily and seeing it whole. We cannot get nearer to the secret of humanity than in the spirit of Christ. The argument is timely and convincing.

Authority and Freedom. By A. J. E. Rawlinson, B.D. (Longmans & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These are the Bishop Paddock Lectures, delivered at the General Theological Seminary, New York, in 1928. The first shows that a true authority must be compatible with freedom, and is followed by a lecture on Romanism which proves that 'there is no remedy in a régime of authority without freedom for the spiritual sickness of mankind.' Some one has said: 'The Protestant Churches may have lost their hold, but the hold of the Roman Church of to-day is a hold that strangles.' 'The Reaction against Authority' occupies two lectures. Protestantism aimed at substituting the authority of God for that of man. The Ritschlian theology of faith is considered at length as 'the clearest presentation of the implicit theology of Protestantism generally, wherever it has abandoned its reliance in the old-fashioned sense upon the letter of the Bible.' Freedom must not be separated from authority. 'There is need of the authority of corporate historical tradition—the tested and criticized experience of the past. There is need, in an even more vital sense, of the authority of revelation.' That authority is carefully considered. The Christian Church lives by her faith in Christ incarnate, and in the continuous revelation of the Spirit. 'In the last resort, she must be content to preach and to proclaim, rather than intellectually to demonstrate, her gospel, of which she is nevertheless confident, that it is in very truth "the power of God unto salvation."' Sacramental and institutional religion is a normal, and in general a necessary, means to the indispensable end—the increase of love towards God and man. Mr. Rawlinson believes that the religious hope of the future lies in a genuinely free and evangelical presentation of Christianity as the Catholic religion of mankind. In such a Church the truth of God will be proclaimed with the authority of revelation and of corporate tradition, and in free allegiance to it the world might one day be religiously made one, and civilization be made Christian. Those who cherish that hope will be grateful for such a luminous discussion of the whole subject.

The Three Religions of China. By W. E. Soothill, M.A. Second Edition. (H. Milford. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Professor of Chinese in Oxford University delivered these lectures to students designated for mission work in China. The first issue was exhausted during the war, and the lectures are here revised, especially that on Buddhism, and are presented as a fair and generous statement of the religious beliefs of China. The

history of the three religions is given in the early lectures. Confucianism is spiritually pulseless and unemotional; Taoism has adopted all that it could from Buddhism except the higher elements; Buddhism, as a non-Christian Chinese writer says, 'abandons the world. Christianity would redeem it. A great contrast!' The position of the three religions as to the idea of God, man's approach to the divine, and other vital questions, is clearly brought out, and Prof. Soothill closes his masterly survey by assuring missionary workers in China that they go where they are greatly needed and where their message is the crown of human life and glory, and their opportunity unequalled.

Catholic and Protestant Elements in Christianity. By Oliver Chase Quick, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6*s*. net.)

The terms which Canon Chase uses in his lectures do not represent in any full or adequate sense the religious systems which have historically borne those names. They are 'ideal conceptions,' and the Canon hopes that his treatment will assist a fuller understanding and appreciation of the facts. Protestantism appealed to origins against developments, from the Pope to the Bible, from what was recent to what was primitive. It also laid stress on individualism, holding that a true Church can never be more or other than an aggregation of individually converted and inspired souls. Modernism has emphasized the essential importance of developments at the expense of origins. It has criticized both Pope and Bible. Protestantism is in a sense the salt of Christianity, and if content to remain within the many-sided system which it criticizes it might combine with a Catholicism which could endure that criticism to conquer the world. The relation of the two elements in Christianity to a system of worship and to religious experience and the kingdom of God is brought out in subsequent lectures. Protestantism, Canon Quick maintains, has the defect of Platonism. 'History does not matter.' Catholicism has always refused to belittle the ultimate importance of what happens in time. 'It sees in history, whether of the individual or of the race, or of the whole world, a succession of divine acts achieving a divine purpose, acts which use outward and earthly things as their instruments.'

The Ideals of Asceticism. By O. Hardman, M.A., D.D. (S.P.C.K. 12*s*. net.)

This is an essay in the comparative study of religion, which uses Christianity as a means of co-ordinating, interpreting, and estimating other phases of religion. It makes 'a reasoned appeal to the practice of a strenuous Christian life; for the world of to-day stands in sore need of true ascetics in every land, men and women of a generous enthusiasm, eager loyalty, and disciplined strength.' It sums up ascetic practices as renunciation, suffering, and toil, not necessarily characterized by severity, surveys the place of asceticism in the

history of religion, and treats more fully the asceticism of the Cross; the mystical ideal-fellowship; the disciplinary ideal-righteousness; the sacrificial ideal-reparation; and closes with a chapter on 'Christian Asceticism and the Social Order.' The imposing list of works consulted includes Dr. Simon's *John Wesley and the Religious Societies*, and Dr. Hardman says 'noble philanthropy and humanitarian zeal also were to be found, especially among the Methodists who, under Wesley's leadership and afterwards, endeavoured to deliver the masses both from their sufferings and from the coarseness of their lives.' The study is one of vital importance, for, as Dr. Hardman says, when the Church is able to leaven the world with Christians who faithfully practise its threefold rule, fasting, giving, and praying, in discharge of their spiritual citizenship, the ills of society will begin to be done away, and the kingdom of God will come apace.

L'Avenir du Christianisme. Par Albert Dufoure, Professor University of Bordeaux. (Paris: Plon-Nourit. Première Partie. 12 fr.)

After a brief but vivid and comprehensive survey of the history of religion, this striking work, which has been crowned by the Paris Academy of Moral and Political Science, argues powerfully from the past to the future, and shows the superiority of the Christian to every other form of religion, and its peculiar adaptation to the crying need of the race. It alone is capable of realizing the unity towards which in so many ways mankind is visibly and manifestly being urged and led. The author's faith is that 'the aim of history is the realization of a consciousness common to humanity,' and that 'Christianity is to be the form of that universal conscience.' The unification of the world is proceeding at an ever-increasing rate. Its various peoples are emerging from their age-long isolation and developing that solidarity which will eventually bind them into one great family under the Father in heaven. The work is one of immense erudition, and is written from a liberal Catholic point of view and in the largest Christian spirit. It promises, when complete, to furnish a valuable and timely manual of well-sifted and suggestive facts.

Messrs. Longmans publish three volumes which are real aids to devotion. *The Life Purposeful*, by the Rev. Jesse Brett, L.Th. (5*s.* net), seeks to lead to a more purposeful spiritual life, exalted to the standard presented by the nearer vision of divine love which has been granted to us. It deals with penitence, grace, service, prayer, sacrifice, love realized, and peace. It is a piece of work such as we have learned to expect from this gifted Roman Catholic writer. 'The reward of the saints is love; and in perfect love is perfect peace.' Protestant readers will find much help from a book that seeks to make religion a real force in life.—*Roadmending by the Sacred Way*, by J. C. Crum (6*s.* net), is a study of the Synoptic Gospels in the light

of modern criticism. 'Christ's Life is there in human history. There we have seen, in the human heart and face and form, something which is self-evidently spiritual and eternal.' The history of what Christ is is still making itself. Mr. Crum leads us along that length of the Sacred Way which is covered by the Synoptists, and shows how they throw light on each other. The simplicity and originality of St. Mark are brought out; the miracles and sayings are studied. The chapters on Q and the Q Portrait and on St. Luke are fresh and suggestive. Such a treatment of the Sources will be a boon to many.—*Follow the Christ*, by E. Vera Pemberton (*4s. 6d.* net), is the record of a year's Bible-class study with boys of sixteen. Forty lessons on the Apostles' Creed are outlined in a way that will greatly help teachers, and there are 'Six Talks on the Blessed Sacrament' intended to guide young communicants. The riches here of thought and experience are well shared with other workers.

Interpretations New and Old. Dr. Geden has put his ripest thought and learning into a volume with this title just published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark (*7s. 6d.* net). Seven of the studies are based on the Old Testament, six on the New. The opening chapters on 'Divine Creation' and 'Jehovah God' show that the infinite God has infinite presentments of truth for the diligent and sincere seeker after truth. From Ps. xxiii. 4 we get 'an example of courage in adversity and trust in God, which will never be out-dated or grow old.' 'The Attraction of the Risen Christ' and the other New Testament studies deal with great spiritual truths in a way that is both stimulating and practical. It is a book that will be greatly prized by devout readers. —*Recent Psychology and Evangelistic Preaching.* By W. L. Northridge, M.A., Ph.D. (Epworth Press. *2s. 6d.* net.) Some of the leading factors in Evangelism are here set forth in the light of modern psychology. A clear account is given of recent developments in psychology, especially the stress laid upon the unconscious. The evangelistic method is discussed, and the conclusion reached that where the evangelist is so hidden that the Cross and the Holy Spirit are allowed to have their way, the new personalities that may be born will also be improved ones, moulded according to the Spirit of Jesus. The subject is handled in a way that will give much-needed guidance to those who are seeking to promote a deep and widespread revival of religion.—*Studies on God and His Creatures.* By Joseph Rickaby, S.J. (Longmans & Co. *7s. 6d.* net.) These studies bear on Father Rickaby's translation of St. Thomas's *Contra Gentiles*, published in 1905. After the first chapter on 'Faith' they take the form of dialogue, in which Sosias on the whole represents the author, and Eumenes the kind reader. 'Proofs of the Existence of God' are criticized, and there is an interesting chapter on Averroes, one of the Arabian commentators against whom St. Thomas directed his *Summa contra Gentiles*. He was court physician to a Mohammedan prince. The problem of evil, the immortality of the soul, God transcendent and immanent, and miracles, are considered in a way that

will make a special appeal to those who accept the Romanist doctrine of the captivity of thought under the guidance of the Church in matters of faith and morals.—*The Birth and Growth of Religion.* By George F. Moore. (T. and T. Clark. 6*s.* net.) Professor Moore delivered these eight lectures at Union Theological Seminary in 1922 on the Morse Foundation. They set forth, in brief, opinions formed about the evolution of religion during many years' occupation with the subject. The universality of religion suggests a motive universal, supreme, perpetual, and this will be found in the impulse to self-preservation as against powers upon whose behaviour towards him his well-being is in manifold ways dependent. From among the horde of spirits some rise above the rest as gods, and every transgression or neglect of the laws of which they are looked on as guardians and vindicators comes to be regarded as an offence against God. Morals thus acquire the authority and sanction of religion. The lecture on 'Religions of Higher Civilizations' shows that advancing civilization has done much to civilize religion. The cultus is enriched and aesthetically refined, inhuman rites are made harmless or are symbolized. But such improvements may go too far or too fast for the masses, and may lead to a revival of little gods in whose presence the small man feels more at home, and of rude rites such as he is accustomed to, or to similar appropriation from abroad. The lecture on survival 'after death' will appeal to many. It is followed by two lectures on 'Ways of Salvation' and 'Salvation: Religion and Philosophy.' The characteristic of the mystery religions was that they found the assurance of a blessed immortality in becoming divine through union or identification with a divinity. As a way of salvation Christianity superseded all the mysteries and philosophies. Its specific difference from Judaism is faith in Christ. His death was not the refutation of His claim to be the Messiah but the proof of it. Christianity alone among the rival salvations of the time offered not merely a way of salvation, but a philosophy of salvation. The clearness and sustained interest of the lectures is greatly to be commended.—*The Human Parson.* By H. R. L. Sheppard. (Murray. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) This little book gives an insight into a parson's life and work which will be welcomed by both ministers and laymen. It contains the substance of lectures on Pastoral Theology delivered at Cambridge, and is so frank and practical in its treatment of preaching and parish work that it will be of great service to other workers. The greatness of the Church's opportunity and the chapters on 'Intimacy with Jesus'; 'His Values and our Values'; 'Working it out in Daily Life'; and 'The Sphere of Men and Women,' are full of good sense and true vision. It is a small book, but it is stimulating and helpful from first to last.—*The Town Parson; His Life and Work.* By Peter Green, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6*s.* net.) This edition of Canon Green's Pastoral Theology Lectures has a new Preface which deserves attention. He grows daily more and more convinced that next to the influence of home there is nothing so vital to the religious life of a nation as pastoral work. 'By it the Church

as a whole daily lives and grows.' He thinks that day in and day out pastoral work is not done as it was a generation ago, and that, 'with all the perfection of our organization at the top, there is grave danger of the Church dying from the roots upward.' An adequate supply of clergy is needed; the laity must be more trusted and used; and the younger generation must have a new vision of the worth, the dignity, and the happiness of pastoral work. It is not too much to say that they will get it from these lectures.—*The Headsprings of Life, and Other Sermons.* By William Wakinshaw. (Epworth Press. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. Wakinshaw's third volume shows the same freshness and variety as its predecessors. The divisions are good and the illustrations effective. Much thought and reading and a keen interest in the life of to-day has gone to make up a vigorous and timely volume of sermons.

Messrs. Skeffington & Son publish some good books for devotional study. *The Great Mystery,* by F. Fielding-Ould, M.A. (8*s.* 6*d.* net), is a contribution towards a fuller understanding of the Eucharist, which 'strengthens our resisting power and confirms our faith.' Its spiritual meaning is clearly brought out in these suggestive and helpful chapters.—Mr. Emtage's *Addresses on the Six Gethsemane Commands* (2*s.* net) are devotional and practical; Mr. Craigie's seven sermons on *The Foolish People of the Bible* (2*s.* net) are both fresh and timely; Mr. Buckell's six sermons on *The Book of Esther* (2*s.* net) open out 'The Romance of the Human Soul.' 'God is not asleep when He is silent.' That and other lessons of the book are vividly set forth.—*Strong in the Lord,* by H. L. Ingham, D.D. (1*s.* net), gives five addresses to young communicants. They are simple but full of wise counsel.

Some *Permanent Values of Judaism.* By Israel Abrahams. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) The Reader in Talmudic at Cambridge devotes his four lectures to the The Permanent Value of Primitive Ideas, of Apocalypse, of Philo, and of the Talmud. The lecturer feels that 'this Bible of ours, wherein is enshrined the beauty of holiness, has an assured immortality among the lovelinesses of heaven and earth.' He owes much to Sir J. G. Frazer, but cannot accept some of the conclusions reached in *Folklore of the Old Testament.* The second lecture says, 'Apocalypse stresses the Messiah, the rabbi, the work; but each requires and desires both; the actual and the ideal; the present age and the New Age.' Philo's permanent value was that he harmonized his Judaism with his Greek surroundings. He taught that 'Jewish life can be lived in any environment.' The Talmud is 'a moving sea, on which sail the ships of living men.' For long intervals it was the chief means by which the Jew cultivated his mind. The value of the lectures lies in the view they give of the Jewish mind. They are primarily addressed to liberals, but are not unsympathetic to conservatism.—*Reality and Religion.* By Sadhu Sundar Singh. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) These twenty-seven brief meditations on God, Man, and Nature will appeal to all

who wish to see how the Indian mystic looks on such subjects as prayer, love, perfection, the Cross, free will, and Christ our Refuge. Canon Streeter's Introduction gives some details of his friend's life since he left England in May, 1920. His adventure with brigands, his joy in the family circle, and his preparation of these meditations, make an interesting story. There are many suggestive passages. 'Men of prayer attain the right to become sons of God, and are moulded by Him after His own image and likeness.' The miracles by which children of bad parents turn out to be good 'prove the existence of a great hidden Power which breaks fetters and sets men free from the bondage of sin, and converts sinners into new creatures. This is the new birth. The great hidden Power is the Holy Ghost, who works for the salvation of those who repent and believe in Christ.'

—*The Whole Tithe.* By P. W. Thompson, M.A. (Marshall Brothers. 6*s.* net.) The first part of this volume is a history of systematic giving as set forth in the Old Testament and the New. A fresh and informing study of the tithes and free-will offerings of the Jewish State leads up to St. Paul's collection for the poor of Jerusalem, which was an immense labour of love. The care for the poor was only one of the claims which St. Paul's converts would have to satisfy. 'Out of their tenth, or whatever amount of their income almsgiving absorbed, Jerusalem would call for a liberal share.' The second part of the book is headed 'Practical.' Mr. Thompson urges the necessity of preaching insistently upon the subject, and cites many outstanding examples of systematic giving from the lives of William Law, John Wesley, and others. He closes by a catena of passages from Scripture as to the duty of giving. The book has a special claim to attention as the work of a financial expert who is deeply interested in the subject, and has carefully thought it out in all its applications.—*The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools.* (Cambridge University Press. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is a scheme drawn up by representatives of the Church of England, the Free Churches, and the teaching profession. It provides a Syllabus of Religious Instruction and Observance which it is thought would be acceptable to all religious bodies, and would form an integral part of the educational system of all scholars. The report dwells on the remarkable interest of school-teachers in religion. 'Schools have proved that they can be the ideal nurseries of the new biblical learning.' It is felt that the Bible should be a school's favourite book for its beauty and its interesting story, but it is also great history. The syllabus aims to rouse thought over the unfolding, the onward widening sweep of doctrine within the story of the New Testament. It provides for infants, children of seven to eleven, eleven to fourteen, fourteen to sixteen, and sixteen to eighteen years. It gives hymns and prayers, notes on pictures, and lists of selected books. It is a notable piece of work, and cannot fail to be a really helpful guide to teachers.—*The Little Children's Bible* (Cambridge University Press, 2*s.* net) and *The Children's Bible* (Cambridge University Press, 4*s.* net) have been arranged by Dr. Nairne, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, and T. R. Glover,

M.A., and are based for the most part on the Report of The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools. The first selection is intended for children from five to seven years of age. It begins with 'The Story of Christmas,' and passes on to 'Stories that Jesus would learn from His Mother,' 'The Baptism,' 'Kind Deeds of Jesus,' 'Stories told by Jesus,' 'The Death and Resurreetion of Jesus,' 'God the Father and His World,' 'The New Heaven and the New Earth.' The selection for children of seven to eleven years of age is divided into 'The Story of the Lord Jesus,' 'The Story of His People,' 'The Song-Book of the Lord Jesus,' and 'An Epilogue on the New Creation.' The bold type, the section headings, and the blue and green cloth covers make them very attractive volumes. They are sure to have a very warm welcome.—*The Spirit of Man.* (Allenson. 5*s.* net.) This second series of forty-nine selected essays from the Saturday papers in *The Times* has been arranged by Sir James Marchant under three headings: Character, Morals, Religion. They bear re-reading and pondering over, for they deal with subjects that exercise many minds, and do it in a way that helps to form the judgement and shape the conduct. We owe no small debt to a great newspaper for making us think every week about such themes as moral perfection, purity of motive, and the eternal gospel.—*A Layman to his Sons.* By F. Hanan. (Dranes. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.) The writer's ideas are the outcome of years of strain and stress, and are written to help others in a similar time. He says, 'Love God as "One altogether lovely," not as a superhuman. Love your neighbour as representative of One altogether lovely. Be identified with the idea of One, and thus be rid of the plague of self.' That is the sum of the teaching of the book, and we do not find it comparable to that of the New Testament.—*The Local Colour of the Bible.* By C. W. Budden, M.D., and the Rev. Edward Hastings. Vol. II. (T. & T. Clark. 8*s.* net.) This volume covers the books from 1 Kings to Malachi. We soon find ourselves studying the subject of dreams, then we pass to Hebrew buildings and masonry in connexion with the Temple. There is a wealth of valuable information, and it is put in the clearest and most readable form. The book will be of great service to preachers and teachers. The New Testament will be treated in the third and final volume.—*The Messiah and the Son of Man.* By Arthur S. Peake, M.A., D.D. (Manchester: University Press. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) This study is reprinted from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Professor Peake shows that Jesus believed Himself to be the Messiah, and that the Church from its earliest days so regarded Him. The consciousness which Jesus attained at His Baptism was that of a unique sonship. In His refusal to do homage to Satan for the sovereignty of the world the Messianic element in His vocation is most clearly implied. It was 'a striking proof of His spiritual insight that He refused to compromise with a lower ideal, and remained steadfast in uttermost obedience to what He knew to be the will of God.' Our Lord's application of the term Son of Man to Himself is well brought out in the latter part of the study.—

Time and Eternity. By F. R. Dean, D.D. (Skeffington. 5*s.* net.) This is a study in eschatology which puts within reasonable compass what may be legitimately believed as to the life beyond. Death, judgement, purgatory, the resurrection of Jesus Christ and of the body, are some of the subjects treated. The belief in immortality is traced in heathen customs and Greek philosophy, the Fathers are quoted, and the whole subject is presented in a way that will provoke thought even where it does not always carry conviction. Such a frank discussion will be welcomed by many readers.—*Some Favourite Hymns.* (Skeffington. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.) By H. E. Langhorne, M.A. Twenty-two Sunday evening sermons which will be read with pleasure. The story of each hymn and its author is told, and the teaching of the several verses is brought out in a popular and practical style.—Eight more pamphlets have been issued in the 'Anglican Evangelical Group Movement' (Hodder & Stoughton. 3*d.* net.) The subjects are *The Highway of the Cross; Bible Study; Prayer as a Problem; Christian Worship; The Christian Ministry; Recreations and Amusements; Fatalism in Free Will?; The Unity of Faith and Science.*' The writers are experts. It is a great advantage to have such questions clearly handled in a dozen pages.—*United Free Church Sermons.* Edited by Hubert L. Simpson and D. P. Thomson. (Thomson & Cowan. 5*s.* net.) These twenty sermons are an introduction to twenty Free Church pulpits, and show what rich and practical teaching they give. They are clearly divided, well illustrated, and brought home to everyday life. The subjects are well chosen; the exposition is sound; and there is abundant variety in this attractive volume. One of the sermons makes effective use of Mr. Boreham's homily on David Livingstone's text.—The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has added to its *Texts for Students* the *Texts Illustrating Ancient Ruler-worship.* The first of the sixpenny pamphlets gives the Greek and Latin passages arranged in order of date, the second contains translations and notes by the editor, C. Lattey, S.J., M.A. The study of the subject is essential to a proper understanding of Hellenistic culture and of Imperial Rome and early Christianity, and the material here drawn together will be of very great service.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

The East India House: Its History and Associations. By William Foster, C.I.E. (John Lane. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume embodies the result of forty years' intimate acquaintance with the Company's records, and is enriched with thirty-seven illustrations of the buildings and of the men who played a distinguished part in the conduct of its business. The area concerned covered about an acre and a half of the ward of Lime Street. Within the walls of the building the councils were held by which a chain of trading posts developed into a vast dependency. The great soldiers who served the Company, from Clive to the Duke of Wellington, and the heroes of the Mutiny, came here, as did all the Governors-General from Warren Hastings to Dalhousie and Canning. Charles Lamb served here for thirty-three years, James Mill and John Stuart Mill, Thomas Love Peacock, and other distinguished figures in English literature, were among its officials. Carlyle and John Stirling were among the visitors. Mr. Foster gives much valuable information as to the buildings, the early courts, and the staff in the seventeenth century. Charles du Bois, appointed Cashier-General in 1702, lived at Mitcham, where he reared exotic plants and collected dried specimens of all kinds of flowers. He left his collection to the University of Oxford. When rebuilt and enlarged, the East India House took high rank among the 'sights of London.' Its library and museum were special attractions. The chapter on Charles Lamb will be read with much pleasure. In his time tea and indigo, drugs and piece-goods, poured into its warehouses, and were sold by auction in its sale-room. The accounts passed through Lamb's department, and we find him busy at a tea-sale, with the entry of notes and deposits. James Mill gained great influence and authority with the Court of Directors. His senses and mental faculties were always on the alert, and he carried decision and energy of character into all he did. John Stuart Mill's ability and devotion won him the high esteem of the Court of Directors, and in 1858, when the Company's rule ceased, he retired, after thirty-five years' service, at the age of fifty-two, with an annual pension of £1,500.

Letters Written During the Indian Mutiny. By Fred Roberts. (Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

It is a happy stroke of fortune that has preserved this bundle of letters. They not only show us one of our greatest soldiers in the making, but they help us to see the Indian Mutiny through the eyes of a young officer who had a full share in its anxieties and perils. There are thirty letters, written to his father, mother, and sister, and overflowing with affection and longing for the time when he should get back to England and share the joys of home. His daughter

has edited them with no little skill, and her Preface shows how fuller knowledge modified some of his criticisms of men and actions. He was twenty-four when the Mutiny broke out. The first letter, dated 'Peshawar, May 14th, 1857,' gives news that the Native Infantry had been disarmed at Lahore, and that a Council of War at Peshawar had decided to separate the Native Infantry, sending them to different forts and outposts, where they could not do much harm. He was in high glee at the thought of service, whilst wishing most sincerely that it were in a better cause, and not against our own soldiers. We read grim incidents of sepoys blown from the guns, and watch the stern fighting round Delhi. Roberts escaped with one wound, which might have been much more serious had not the leather pouch checked the bullet. The torture and massacre of English women wrung the young officer's heart. He cannot bear to send home details of the tragedy at Cawnpore. He has such a feeling of horror that he 'would undergo cheerfully any privation, any amount of work, living in the hopes of a *revenge* on these cruel murderers.' His praise of John Nicholson, 'our best officer by ten thousand times,' and his sorrow over his death, his delight in the Taj, his rejoicing when he wins the Victoria Cross, stand out in this set of letters, and make us feel what a splendid young soldier Roberts was, and what an asset to the whole Empire.

Love Letters of Great Men and Women from the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day. By C. H. Charles, Ph.D. (Stanley Paul & Co. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These are authentic love-letters drawn from many sources, and edited with care and skill. Dr. Charles prefaces his collection with some facts about each of the sections in which he has arranged them, and with a brief discussion of the 'essentials of the Ideal Love-Letter,' leaving his readers to settle which is the ideal love-letter in the volume. Tho choice is not easy, for, as he says, 'There is something of the Promethean spark in them all.' We begin with 'The Age of Good Sense.' That is the classic period in England, marked by urbanity, love of good sense and moderation, instinctive distrust of emotion, and invincible good breeding. Pope's letters to Teresa and Martha Blount are followed by a selection from Dean Swift, which bears out the criticism that there is nothing in all his love-letters to show that he had much feeling. The German letters of 1718–62 show a return to naturalness. Lessing gives his fiancée a lively account of a wedding he had attended. 'Nothing was wanting; and twenty things were there of which no one would have dreamt.' Then we come to Dr. Johnson, with his letter to Mrs. Thrale, who is about to marry Piozzi; to John Churchill, with his loving letters to his wife and to the ladies of the French salons and their admirers. Nelson and Keats, Shelley and Browning—we are able to look into their hearts and see how they felt and wrote to the ladies they loved. It is a subject that has never-failing interest, and Dr. Charles has brought out its many treasures with taste and skill.

Johnsonian Gleanings. By Aleyn Lyell Reade. Part IV. The Doctor's Boyhood—Appendices. (London: Arden Press. 21*s.* net.)

There is no doubt that this volume of the *Johnsonian Gleanings* is, as Mr. Reade puts it, 'rather solid fare,' but it contains a mass of information most diligently and carefully brought together to throw light on Johnson's boyhood. It gives a frontispiece portrait of the Rev. William Baker, Vicar of St. Mary's, Lichfield, from 1681 to his death in 1782. 'In all probability he baptized Samuel Johnson in 1709, and he certainly had ample opportunity of moulding the boy's theological opinions, for the Johnsons had a pew at St. Mary's, and were regular churchgoers.' The deeds of Johnson's birthplace are given, and Mr. Reade manages to get much out of them that is of human interest. On the night when a mortgage on the property had been effected Johnson bids his 'dearest Tetty' spend a guinea in securing the best medical advice for an injury to a tendon of her leg which confined her to the house. He tells her she need not fear parting with that sum, for he can send her 'twenty pounds more on Monday, which I have received this night.' Further light is thrown on Andrew Johnson, the doctor's uncle, and his family; on the Fords, his mother's family; and on the Hickmans, Marklews, Chambers, and various Lichfield families, including the Levetts, who are linked to Johnson. Interesting details are given as to Charles Howard, a proctor in the Ecclesiastical Court at Lichfield, whose great-aunt, Mrs. Wilson, the mother-in-law of Dr. Sacheverell, 'left £80 towards putting him out in the world, in 1710, in part recognition of the Howards' kindness to her in her long illness.' Johnson was nearly three years younger than she, and they probably were together at Lichfield School. Johnson was always welcomed at the Howards' house as a boy, and had a high regard for Charles Howard's professional character. When the younger Charles Howard came up to Charterhouse his father wrote him to call on Dr. Johnson, who received him with great courtesy, and presented him with half a guinea. The boy's sister Mary married Erasmus Darwin, and became the grandmother of Charles Darwin, who gave her name to his son, Sir George Howard Darwin. There is much more to be drawn from these valuable Johnsonian gleanings, and a word of praise must be given to their very full index. Every lover of the old lexicographer will be grateful for Mr. Reade's unstinted and scholarly research.

The Present State of Germany. By J. H. Morgan. (University of London Press. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Brigadier-General Morgan served for four years on the Military Disarmanent Commission in Germany, and had to visit and report on the condition of every State. He gave this lecture last November, and has prefixed to it an Introduction of unusual importance. He found that the mood of arrogance was passing, and the sense of guilt

giving place to a sense of wrong. In his lecture he shows the steps by which the German national consciousness had reached the conviction that the Allies have sought, and still seek, her annihilation. The militarist and monarchist party has encouraged and exploited this conviction. 'A future generation may yet describe the period in which we are living as an armistice, during which the war was continued by other methods than rifle and howitzer, only to be resumed in all its carnal horror after the lapse of a few ambiguous years.' The German Republic suffers by being administered by men who do not believe in it. The inflation of the mark has ruined the middle classes and impoverished the workers. That suicidal policy has undermined the political bases of the republic and concentrated all real power in the hands of the great industrialists. They control the banks, the news agencies, and a large proportion of the Press. It is they, not the Government, who tax the people. As to the Ruhr, whoever holds it holds the keys of the German arsenal; yet whoever holds it by force reawakens the whole spirit of militant patriotism in Germany. General von Kluck says that the creator of the British Expeditionary Force alone made it possible for the Allies at the outset not to lose the war. If international asperities and high-handed acts keep alive international hatreds, what, short of an armed occupation of the whole of Germany, is going to keep Germany disarmed and demilitarized? Such a survey as this deserves the closest attention.

Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan. Edited by Albert F. Clay. (Oxford University Press. 18*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is the fourth part of a series which seeks to make the cuneiform inscriptions of the Pierpont Morgan Library accessible to scholars. It deals with 'Epics, Hymns, Omens, and other Texts,' giving the transliteration and translation of many of the texts. Several of the inscriptions were published in the conventional Assyrian script, or simply in transliteration, before they came into the possession of the library. In these cases it has been found possible to improve readings. The larger part of the volume is devoted to facsimiles of the Autographed Texts. These take up fifty plates, and six plates are added showing a bronze statuette of Ur-Engur, and some other objects of interest, such as votive offerings of Kurigalzu and Nebuchadnezzar, and five terra-cotta bullae of the Greek period in the size of the originals. Most of the bullae are covered with seal impressions; one contains no less than forty. They were lumps of clay which had been pressed upon a light cord, encircling some reed-like object. After they had served their purpose they were baked and preserved as a record. Brief introductions give much information as to the various texts. An early dated Hebrew deluge story was copied in 1966 B.C. from a still earlier inscription. It is the only dated deluge story that has been discovered. Divination by means of the viscera, &c., are included in the texts; there is a

bilingual hymn in honour of Ishtar; multiplication and mathematical texts; a building inscription of Nabopolassar, who says, 'The hoe and spade I caused to be borne by the people of the upper and nether land, with which forces Nebo and Marduk filled my hand. The sons of Babylon in a restful dwelling-place truly I made dwell.' It is a fine piece of work, edited with great skill by the Professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature in Yale University.

Saint Vincent Ferrier (1850–1419). By Matthieu-Maxime Gorce. (Paris: Plon-Nourit et Cie. 12 fr.)

The saint was born at Valence, and early gained distinction in Catholic circles, both as scholar, theologian, and orator. M. Gorce helps us to see what the education of a Dominican monk meant in those days, and gives a clear account of the influence Ferrier exercised as Confessor on Benedict XIII at Avignon. He left the Papal Court to undertake a mission for the reform of Christendom, and during his last twenty years exercised an extraordinary apostolate in France, Spain, and parts of Italy. Thousands flocked to hear the man, who seemed to speak God's message direct to each member of his congregation. For him Christendom was the social order of his epoch—Christ realized on earth. Ferdinand of Aragon was raised to the throne by him, and he was one of the principal artisans of Spanish unity. He played a leading part in re-establishing the unity of the Church. To that end he deposed Benedict XIII, and enjoyed the confidence of all the Church leaders and Catholic princes in a wonderful degree. Many miracles are, of course, ascribed to him, but the real miracle was his own zeal for the salvation of the people and the way in which he sacrificed everything for that end. He died at Vannes, in Brittany, on April 5, 1419. Historians have not had much to say of him, but M. Gorce has lavished research and skill on this biography, which does much to light up a great stretch of the Middle Ages.

The Autobiography of James Lindsay, D.D. (Blackwood & Sons. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Our much esteemed contributor finished this record about a year before his death in March, 1923. He intended to publish it on its completion, but his long and fatal illness supervened, and his widow has collected and arranged the material, making no change or addition. It breathes the spirit of his 'Song of Soul-Dedication':

> This life, O Lord, no temple made with hands,
> I dedicate to Thee.

He had written a fuller work, dealing with both his intellectual and spiritual development, but finally resolved to present only the intellectual side, touching on the other no more than was barely necessary. That is naturally a loss to the volume, for Dr. Lindsay always sought to make his spiritual development even-paced and symmetrical with his mental growth. He was born near Airdrie,

in Lanarkshire, and passed nearly all his life in Ayrshire. His father was a noted educationist in the West of Scotland, and there was not a book in his library which his son did not read and know. Before he went to college he had passed, after the deepest anguish and heart-searching, through a spiritual crisis. The soul had found its Father. Principal Caird spoke of the student's 'wide intellectual interests,' as shown at Glasgow University. He read omnivorously in Theology, Arts, and Science, and after leaving Glasgow devoted ten years' assiduous study to philosophy, especially to modern German philosophy. In 1899 his University conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in recognition of his philosophical and theological works. Dr. George Matheson described him as 'the most accomplished scholar and the most deeply philosophical thinker in all the Scottish Churches.' The same year he gave the Hugh Waddell Lectures in Queen's University, Canada, achieving a success that far exceeded his most sanguine expectations. God and truth became the aim and goal of all his work. To that ideal Dr. Lindsay was always faithful. He was essentially a theistic philosopher, and his work has illumined other minds and thrown light on not a few of life's problems.

The Relations Between Arabs and Israelites Prior to the Rise of Islam. By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., D.Lit. (H. Milford. 6*s.* net.)

Professor Margoliouth divides his Schweich Lectures into 'The Pre-Biblical Period'; 'The Biblical Period,' and 'The Early Christian Centuries.' The Arabs furnish a remarkable example of persistence between race and soil. Ethnologically the population of Arabia has remained the same through the ages. Israel, on the other hand, offers a rare example of persistence of ideas amid local instability. Monotheism became dominant in Israel near the time of the first exile, and proved a bond for the scattered communities such as they had not required before their separation. The first lecture shows that Hebrew is traceable to Arabia; the second deals with certain links between Arabia and various portions of the Old Testament. The third lecture points out that the Qur'an consists largely of material taken from the Old Testament or the Jewish oral tradition. Dr. Margoliouth has collected and interpreted the information which Arabian epigraphy supplies for the relations of Israel with Arabia, and his lectures will repay careful study, even where the material for forming a judgement is yet incomplete.

Messrs. Longmans & Co. issue new editions of *Wheel-Tracks*, by E. Oe. Somerville and Martin Ross (12*s.* 6*d.* net), and *Streaks of Life*, by Ethel Smyth (6*s.* net). Ireland has no living interpreter like Miss Somerville, and though her cousin and colleague is gone from her side, some of her articles and letters are included in this volume. We see the scenes in which the writers moved. Drishane, the old

house looking west by Cape Clear to America and the little village of Castle-Townshend, the Somervilles and their neighbours, the hunt and its lovers, the quaint sayings of the natives and the charms of Kerry—this book is steeped in them, and round them plays a kindly humour, which adds to the pleasure with which one turns these pages. Miss Smyth has a broader canvas. The Empress Eugenie fills a large place in it. Her character was a baffling conundrum. In some ways she was the kindest person Miss Smyth ever met, yet she was capable of a curious hardness that would amaze and puzzle. The whole study, based on intimate knowledge, is of the deepest interest. Nor is the account of the Kaiser and Count Bülow less interesting. Miss Smyth was in Berlin during the time of the Boer War, when the hatred of England was intense. Bülow did not understand the English temper, and made some grievous blunders. The Kaiser was the puppet of the Army, and Berlin life, with its abject subservience, was absolutely odious. The glimpses of Queen Victoria are among the most pleasant pages of this vivid set of sketches. Lovers of opera will find much in it that makes a special appeal to them.

My Native Devon. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. (Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.) These sketches keep close to Devonshire life fifty years ago, when the writer followed the hounds or fished the streams of his native county. We see Driverton paying homage to his lordship's daughters on their surprise visit to the family apothecary; we try to fathom the superstition which gave his evil power to 'the White Witch to Scratton.' Then we spend Sunday in a country church, and see the loving regard in which the parson is held. We watch the forming of the village cricket club and come to appreciate the miller, much beloved of his lordship's three boys. The jolly time they spent in quarantine during the epidemic of mumps; their house hero—the old family butler; their hunts and adventures, are here as though they were things but of yesterday. Best of all is the good fellowship and kindly relations between rich and poor. All this is followed by a lively chapter on 'The North Devon Yeomanry' in training and in action. It is a delightful record, which will charm its readers as much as it has pleased Mr. Fortescue to live it over again.

Memories of Mark Rutherford. By W. Robertson Nicoll. (T. F. Unwin. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) It was a happy thought to gather together these five studies of Hale White and his books. They appear in Unwin's Cabinet Library, uniform with the Mark Rutherford volumes. Sir Robertson Nicoll is able to draw on his own friendship with White, and has made diligent research in the journals for which White wrote. The little volume throws light on various events mentioned in the *Autobiography* and shows that the writer held fast by essential Christianity, and never spoke of Christ 'save with the sincerest reverence and love.' His political portraits are a feature

of this volume. Bright and Spurgeon were in his judgement the leading orators of the time; Gladstone was brilliant beyond almost any man he knew, but was so much a lover of reason that he made mistakes where simpler people, trusting to their instinct, would succeed. All his life Mark Rutherford was fascinated with the mystery of Disraeli, and considered him 'a far more stimulating and amusing speaker than his greatest opponent.' 'Mark Rutherford as a Critic' is an interesting study. His admiration for *Paradise Regained* rose 'to the unspeakable point.' He wrote in 1882 that despite the enormous popularity of Dickens he was only beginning to be appreciated at his proper price. The little book helps us to realize the debt we owe to such a master bookman as Sir Robertson Nicoll.

Lovers of *Small Talk at Wreyland* will read Mr. Cecil Torr's *Address to the Moreton Hampstead Literary Society* on December 12, 1922 (Cambridge University Press) with much pleasure. It has a scholarly discursiveness which passes from local history to Rabelais, Dante, and Orpheus, and everywhere culls some pleasant thing which will stir a literary society to thought and research. Truth, Mr. Torr maintains, is stranger than fiction. 'Why read historic novels and the so-called histories when you can get at the calendar or State papers, or other books like that? There you have statements made at the time by men who really knew. These are the raw materials on which historians work; and you get into closer touch with history by sifting these materials yourself.' There is much to muse over in this stimulating address.—Messrs. Chatto & Windus publish a new crown 8vo edition of Mr. Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria* (*7s. 6d.* net). The work appeared in 1921, and this is the sixth reprint. It has been re-set in a beautifully clear type. It has ten full-page illustrations. Frederic Harrison expressed the judgement of the critics when he said the book was 'equal to the best biographic pictures in our language' and was full 'of true portraits and of brilliant painting.' The account of the Queen's old age dwells on the long evening—mild, serene, and lighted with a golden glory. 'Her own existence came to harmonize more and more with what was around her. Gradually, imperceptibly, Albert receded. It was not that he was forgotten—that would have been impossible—but that the void created by his absence grew less agonizing, and even, at last, less obvious.' The book has won a great reputation, and it well deserves it.—*The Story of the Savoy Opera.* By S. J. Adair Fitz-Gerald. (Stanley Paul & Co. *5s.* net.) This is a well-illustrated and well-written record. Gilbert's works have no unseemly thought or offensive word, and Sullivan's music had a brilliance and charm all its own. His most successful separate song was written to Miss Proctor's words as he watched by the death-bed of his brother. Gilbert was a satirist whose smart sayings often inflicted pain. He had not many personal friends. He broke up the Savoy partnership because he was indignant at the expenditure of £140 on a carpet.

Sullivan found the setting of 'The Absent-Minded Beggar' to music a hard task, which he would never have undertaken had it not been for charity's sake. Burnard's *Happy Thoughts* were born when his horse fell lame and he hit upon the solution: 'Happy Thought, Walk!'—*Patrick Branwell Brontë*. By Alice Law, F.R.S.L., F.R.Hist.S. (Philpot. 6*s*. net.) The writer of this study was brought up in a Brontë atmosphere, and sets herself to clear the memory of Branwell from some of its worst stains, and to prove that *Wuthering Heights* was mainly his work and not that of his sister Emily. 'It is undeniable that he was fond of conviviality, which at times—but only at times—ran to excess.' But 'he was never the wholly degraded or habitual drunkard that his detractors would make him out.' Miss Law agrees with Mr. Grundy that it is incredulous that such an account of morbid passions and diseased minds as we have in *Wuthering Heights* could have been written by a young girl like Emily. Branwell tells his friend Leyland in 1845 that he is at work on a three-volume novel, and has finished the first volume. It is a very interesting investigation, and Miss Law sets out her case clearly and well, though her conclusion is more than doubtful.—*A New Zealander in Many Lands*. By Thomas Allen. (Epworth Press, 5*s*. net.) The writer has wandered far and used his opportunities well. He begins with New Zealand, crosses the Pacific to Vancouver, and travels far and wide over the United States and Canada. He gives a crowded chapter to England, and then turns south to Egypt, Greece, and Italy. Norway and Russia are also included in his far-stretching itinerary. It is a bright record, full of eager interest in men and things, and its illustrations add much to the charm of the volume.—*Noble Martyrs of Kent*. By G. Anderson Miller. (Morgan & Scott. 8*s*. net.) The writer's long ministry at Rochester has led him to study closely the Protestantism of Kent, and he here describes the martyrs of the various towns and villages of the county. The facts are clearly stated, and illustrations of martyrs' memorials are given. It is a record that will appeal strongly to all Protestant readers.—*The Bolshevists of Ancient History*. (Britons Publishing Society.) The writer thinks 'the mighty power of the Bolshevist, militant Judaism is co-ordinated by the will to dominate, and that the will to incite Christian nations to do away with each other is plainly shown in the Protocols.' If Christian nations are united against these evil forces their victory is assured. 'The white race has only to discover itself in order to save itself.'

GENERAL.

THE C.O.P.E.C. Commission Reports just published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. fill twelve volumes. The price of six is 8*s.* net and of the other six 2*s.* net. The subjects are 'The Nature of God and His Purpose for the World'; 'Education'; 'The Home'; 'The Relation of the Sexes'; 'Leisure'; 'The Treatment of Crime'; 'International Relations'; 'Christianity and War'; 'Industry and Property'; 'Politics and Citizenship'; 'The Social Function of the Church'; 'Historical Illustrations of the Social Effects of Christianity.' That list bears out the statement of the General Preface that 'alongside of the work of individual conversion, and simultaneously with it, an effort must be made to Christianize the corporate life of mankind in all its activities.' Each report has been prepared by a Commission representative of the various denominations, and a glance at the names will give students assurance of the varied experience embodied in the twelve volumes. We feel at once that no Utopian visions are here, but strong common sense and enlightened discernment of the needs of the time and the work of the Church. The resolutions adopted by the Conference on the basis of these reports is given in *The Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C.*, which has a General Index to the series. The Conference at Birmingham realized the highest hopes of its members, and attracted the attention of all classes of the community. No one will be surprised at such a success after turning over the pages of these reports. Such exhaustive preparation by bands of experts laid a broad and strong basis for discussion. Opinions vary as to some conclusions reached, but the reports now make their own appeal to a wider constituency, and this larger C.O.P.E.C. will be able to form its own judgement on such themes as internationalism, war, the treatment of crime, and the vital question of the relation of the sexes. The first report is theological. Its contents show its supreme importance: 'God in Christ'; 'God and Nature'; 'God and Man'; 'God and Sin'; 'God and Present Conduct.' Such a survey prepares the way for the survey of every side of human life and conduct. Copec sets itself to examine and test our social life in the light of the principles revealed in Jesus Christ, and to visualize the requirements of a Christian civilization. The very attempt marks an epoch in the Church's life, and these reports will guide the thought and shape the service of men and women in all denominations.

Psycho-analysis and Aesthetics. By Charles Baudouin. Translated from the French by Eden and Cedar Paul. (Allen & Unwin. 16*s.* net.)

This is a study of poetic symbolism in the works of Emile Verhaeren. The translators say in their Preface that 'quite apart from its value and interests, thanks to the understanding it brings to the study of

one of the supreme figures in contemporary imaginative literature,' the volume 'solves, as only the new psychology is able to solve, the riddle of artistic appreciation.' Verhaeren's works are described in six chapters, with extended quotations which reveal the man and his modes of thought at various stages of his career. Many of the poems universally regarded as masterpieces are precisely those most fraught with symbolical meaning. They guide us into the most intimate recesses of the Belgian poet's soul. If his symbols appear twisted and obscure at a first glance, they are not so because of a desire on the part of the poet to be affected or to astonish his readers. It is precisely where they are obscure that they are fundamentally spontaneous; they are like dreams or nightmares which have been faithfully recorded, and they may be analysed with the same rigorous method as that employed in the analysis of dreams. When his symbols become simpler and more lucid we have another proof of his sincerity. 'As the poet develops a wider interest in the world without, as he "objectivates" himself, he feels less impelled to sing of himself, and he tends towards an objective art which is to be a more faithful reflection of his new personality—a personality "which has fled the confines of self and has hastened to answer the call of the unanimous forces."' A prose poem by Verhaeren not hitherto published adds to the interest of a striking study.

Chambers's Encyclopaedia: *A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge*. New Edition. Edited by David Patrick. M.A., LL.D., and William Geddie, M.A., B.Sc. Vol. IV. Dioptrics to Freistadtl. (W. & R. Chambers. 20*s*. net.)

This volume contains many important articles written by experts in the subjects of which they treat. A great many of them are new; those which have appeared in earlier editions of the Encyclopaedia have been revised with the greatest care by competent hands. George Bernard Shaw gives us seven columns on Fabianism, from its beginnings in 1884 down to the present time, when it 'retains its existence as a relatively small and select body of constitutional Socialists, informing and prompting other bodies and public opinion, and acting through them whenever possible.' Professor Nicolson's article on Free Trade is a valuable survey of a subject which has special interest and importance to-day. The account of Sir Philip Francis says that no indisputable proof that he was Junius has yet been made public. Electricity has twenty-six pages to itself besides briefer articles on Electric Light and Electric Railway. History and Biography have their full share of attention; medical matters are carefully handled; botany and natural history have their due place. Professor Sorley writes on Ethics; Egypt, England, Church of England, English Language and Literature, are treated at length by masters in the subjects. The maps and illustrations deserve special recognition. The Encyclopaedia is well printed and easy to handle. No one will lack knowledge who turns to these stores of information.

Benham's Book of Quotations, Proverbs, and Household Words. By W. Gurney Benham, F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S. (Ward, Lock & Co. 15*s.* net.)

The first edition of this work appeared in 1907 and was quickly exhausted. Several editions have since been issued, and this new edition has been entirely re-set, skilfully revised, and enlarged by 10,000 additional quotations and proverbs. The first edition had cost Mr. Benham twenty years of continuous research, and he has been perfecting his work ever since. The quotations are given under the names of authors, but subject headings have now been added to the full verbal index, which fills 864 pages with three columns each. The 'Waifs and Strays' section is of special interest. Greek, Latin, and modern languages have their due place. One hundred and eighty-three double-columned pages are given to proverbs. The pre-eminence of Shakespeare is indicated by 48 pages filled with quotations from his works. Pope needs 12 pages, Wordsworth 11, Tennyson 10. The work is in constant demand in public libraries, and this new edition on which so much skilled research has been lavished, will be eagerly welcomed. It has 1,224 pages, yet it is easy to handle and clearly printed. The pages reserved for Notes will give opportunity for personal additions to a work which is both entertaining and indispensable.

Little Nurseries in the Fields. By Marian H. Crawford. (Religious Tract Society. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This book will give rare delight to young readers, and, indeed, to all lovers of outdoor life. The writer traces her own love of nature to her ancestor, Thomas Hewson, who lived a hundred and seventy years ago at Skirlaugh, in the North of England. It awoke when the cocoon of a garden tiger-moth was put in her hands. She watched the moth emerge, and saw the development of its wings, one of the marvels of the insect world. That made her a naturalist, and her book will make many share her spirit. It has over a hundred photographic illustrations, mainly by the author, and beautiful coloured drawings by Janet Hewson. It tells how to find the nurseries of birds, bees, rabbits, and other wild folk; it describes the domestic arrangements of spiders, which seem to possess something very like human affection for their families. The rabbit covers up the entrance to its nursery so carefully that even the sharp-eyed foxes and badgers and weasels do not trust to their eyes when looking for the baby rabbits, but rely on their sense of smell. The only time when the hedgehog looks intelligent is in extreme youth. Then it is teachable, and capable of feeling attachment and friendliness. That is also true of young lambs. There is much about birds and their ways, and everything is put in a way that excites interest. It is a book that will be warmly welcomed, and both pictures and text will open a new world for many readers.

The Threefold Commonwealth. By Rudolf Steiner. (Anthroposophical Publishing Co. 2*s.* net.) This is a new edition of a book which has had a great vogue in Germany, and to which attention was called in this REVIEW for January, 1923. An article contributed by the author to the *Hibbert Journal* is prefixed as a Foreword. The collapse of military power in Germany in 1918 was accompanied by spiritual surrender, but the social impulses of mankind described in this book lay the whole civilized world under obligation. No country can stand aloof from the social movement. It admits of no political adversaries and no neutrals. One human race must work 'at one common task, willing to read the signs of the times and to act in accordance with them.'

Dr. Rudolf Steiner is lecturing in this country in August, and his *Lectures to Teachers; Atlantis & Lemuria* appear at an opportune moment. To the lectures is prefixed an account of the Waldorf School, founded by him in Stuttgart, where teachers are chosen because of their love for children, and showed a real desire to educate themselves. The lectures bring out the characteristics of child life at various stages and show the necessity of knowledge of health and disease for teaching. The other book seeks to describe events which took place on the so-called continent of Atlantis, which lay between Europe and America. The sources of this 'spiritual knowledge' are not disclosed, though hope is held out that at no great distance of time it may be possible to be more explicit.

Nursery Rhymes and Tales; their Origin and History. By Henry Bett, M.A. (Methuen & Co. 5*s.* net.) This subject has interested the writer for nearly twenty years. It embodies extensive reading and some real research, and where Mr. Bett has to indulge in conjecture he gives readers material to form their own judgement on the matter. The translation of foreign rhymes is put in a kind of jingling verse that cleverly matches the original. Most of our familiar English nursery rhymes appear in print in chap-books of the eighteenth century, but some of their characteristic incidents are found in very ancient literature. The talking tree sprung from the blood or bones of the dead, which appears in *The Juniper Tree*, and in some versions of *Cinderella* goes back to an Egyptian tale of the reign of Rameses II. Some of our nursery rhymes and tales are nature myths. *Little Red Riding Hood* is a myth of sunset and sunrise; *Jack and Jill* is the story of the tides. The chapter on 'Number and Memory' contains much that is novel and interesting. 'The numerals of the prehistoric Celts, and the people of these lands before Caesar or Hengist came, have survived in three forms—most perfectly, of course, in Welsh; less perfectly, but still plainly enough, in the "shepherd's score"; and, almost unrecognizably, in a hopelessly corrupt state, in some of the children's counting-out rhymes which we have quoted.' Even more significant is the mingling of tradition and history in nursery tales. The Duke of Marlborough appears at Malbrouk in a Basque tale, and French children still sing of the Black Prince.

The closing chapter on '*The House that Jack Built* and Similar Stories' is full of out-of-the-way lore, and fourteen pages of Notes bear witness to the wide range of reading which lies behind this novel and entertaining study.

Last Essays of Maurice Hewlett. (Heinemann. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is a book that admirers of Maurice Hewlett will prize highly. The essays cover a wide range, but they are all works of art. The minor ones have often a picturesque touch drawn from the writer's experience, such as we find in 'And now, O Lord,' or a glimpse into other people's homes, such as gives a relish to 'Interiors.' Literature is represented by 'Beaumarchais,' 'La Bruyére,' and 'One of Lamb's Creditors,' and history by 'The Cardinal de Retz,' and 'L'Abbesse Universelle; Madame de Maintenon.' Village life figures largely in the volume, and we get into the mind of the Wiltshire labourer, and share his joys and sorrows as Mr. Hewlett did himself. The studies of outstanding figures in English and French literature were the nucleus of a book which he intended to publish, and we are glad to have such discriminating estimates of men and books. Not the least interesting essay is 'A Return to the Nest,' which describes a visit to a village near Yeovil which his great-grandfather left to settle in Fetter Lane. Mr. Hewlett found the churchyard over-shadowed by memorials to the great family of the place and their descendants, and thinks his ancestor must have left Somerset because he saw no other way of escape from an Earl on his tomb.

Everybody's Book of the Queen's Dolls' House. Edited by A. C. Benson, C.V.O., and Sir Lawrence Weaver, K.B.E. (The Daily Telegraph and Methuen & Co. 5*s.* net.) This condensation of the two sumptuous volumes *The Book of the Queen's Dolls' House* has been made by Mr. F. V. Morley, and its proceeds are to be devoted to charities selected by her Majesty. Her portrait and a facsimile of her letter of thanks to 'all the very kind people who have helped to make the Dolls' House the most perfect present that anyone could receive' are given in the forefront of the volume. The opening chapters lay stress on the historical value of the Dolls' House. 'It has been built to outlast us all, to carry on into a future and a different world this pattern of our own. It is a serious attempt to express our age, and to show forth in dwarf proportions the limbs of our present world.' The beauty and the difficulty of smallness are well brought out, and there is an amusing account of the Dollomites, who inhabit the Dolls' House. Then we make the tour of the premises, entering nurseries, bedrooms, bathrooms, kitchen, and visiting the strong room with its replicas of the Crown jewels. The garden, the motors, the library, we see them all through the vivid descriptions and the wealth of beautiful illustrations in colour and black and white. The book deserves a place of honour in every household.

The Early French Poets. By Henry F. Cary. (Philpot. 5*s.* net) Cary is best known as the translator of Dante. That has been printed again and again, whilst 'his not less scholarly and effective translations from "The Early French Poets," collected two years after his death, have been allowed to fall into complete neglect.' They arose out of his residence at Versailles during the summer of 1821, where he had free access to a large collection of books formerly belonging to the Kings of France. The studies begin with Clement Marot, and give the facts about each of the twenty-three poets, with translations and estimates of their work. The studies of Marot and of Ronsard are the most detailed, but less-known poets are treated in a way that will awaken interest in them and their poems. The volume belongs to 'The Campion Reprints.'—*Songs of the Highway.* By Henry Burton, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. 5*s.* net.) These hymns and songs have filled up some of the interludes in a busy ministerial life. Many of them have won their place in hymnals on both sides of the Atlantic, and Dr. Burton's friends will be grateful for a volume that is a real aid to devotion. There is much variety in it and much thought, as well as deep and joyous feeling.—*At Damascus' Gate.* By W. E. Walkerdine. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.) This drama of the conversion of St. Paul opens with his approach as persecutor to Damascus, and describes the excitement in Christian homes as the perils thicken around. The welcome prepared for Saul by the Jews; the news of some terrible experience that brings him blind and helpless to the city; and the joy which the Christians feel over his conversion, are all strikingly brought out in a poem that seems to bring us very close to the historic event.

The Young Bride's Ordeal. By W. H. White. (Colchester: W. H. White. 10*s.* net.) This is a poetical drama in three acts, the scene of which is laid in Kent. Gordova, a young British princess of twenty, is the heroine, and with her the Roman Prince Romulus, sent to make quarrels between the British kings, falls in love. Her loyalty to her husband foils his base schemes, and all clouds disappear as the drama closes. The songs are very effective, and there is no lack of movement and incident in the drama. Romulus acknowledges the defeat of his plans by Gordova's purity.

Songs of Erin, by Geoffrey Marsland (Merton Press) are dedicated 'To all friends in Ireland,' and range over such subjects as 'The Cattle Drive'; 'The Four P's of Ireland'; 'The Emigrant's Return'; 'An Irish Meal'; 'The Groves of Mallow,' and kindred themes. There is spirit in them and humour, as well as insight into Irish life and character.

The Boy's Book of Electricity. By Sidney A. Small. (Dent & Sons. 6*s.* net.) This is a clear explanation of the modern ideas about electricity, with simple experiments. It describes the tools needed, shows what electricity is and where it comes from, and how

it is measured. It has chapters on 'Magnetism'; 'Dynamos, Motors and Transformers'; and an account of wireless which will be specially welcomed. The book is profusely illustrated by the author and C. E. Cartwright. The subject is one that concerns us all, for Mr. Small shows that the whole world is made of electricity, and he is master of every phase of the subject. It is a boy's book, but that means that all their elders will do well to read it.—Mr. Chevalier, of Amersham, sends us 'Apart, yet not Afar' and a Lullaby, with words and music by John Bertam; two Encore Songs, a sacred hymn for children and 'The United Prayer' for Armistice Day. They are in quite a different style from the present-day songs, and will be much appreciated by musicians and lovers of sacred song.—*Our Principal Diseases and their Remedy*. By H. Reinheimer. (Surbiton. 1*s*. net.) The writer holds that the rapidly increasing consumption of flesh food is the most fertile source of cancer, diabetes, and rickets. The body has become intolerant to some essential elements. In cancer the body becomes depleted of iron; in diabetes we have a deficiency in the power of dealing with carbo-hydrates, which leads to the fatal accumulation of sugar in the blood and kidneys; in rickets there is a deficiency of calcium. 'A properly balanced diet can only be got from the vegetable kingdom.'—*A Round of Tales from Washington Irving to Algernon Blackwood*. Selected by N. Henry and H. A. Treble. (Oxford University Press. 2*s*. net). There are thirteen stories which have a full spice of mystery and sometimes of witchcraft. They grip one's attention, and keep it alive to the last moment. It is a first-rate selection, to which Dickens, Poe, Hawthorne, Ruskin, Anthony Hope, Quiller-Couch, Marryat, Frank Stockton, Bret Harte, and Thomas Hardy contribute of their very best.—The Rev. Mark Guy Pearse will delight all lovers of Cornwall by *A Village Down West*. (Epworth Press, 2*s*. 6*d*. net.) The sketches are vivid and true to life. Love and fishing mingle pleasantly together, and there is much knowledge of human nature in the clever stories.—*The Fulfilling of the Law*, by Estelle Gwynne (Epworth Press, 2*s*. net.), is a tale of two brothers. The younger suddenly disappears, and his lawyer brother's search for him is strangely baffled. The happy ending is due to the lawyer's typist, who finds the missing man and wins the heart of her employer as well.—*A Book About Cricket*. By 'An old Hand' (Epworth Press. 2*s*. net.) This book will delight young cricketers. It is full of details about every side of the game, and has many suggestions which will be of much service to beginners. The writer believes 'the game is worth the candle.' It is a capital primer on our national game.—*Winning her Way*, by Phyllis Hanley (Epworth Press, 1*s*. 6*d*. net.), is a first-rate story of school life. Phyllis has both pluck and ability, and her good fortune will give pleasure to all who read this bright story.—In *Eddyism, Miscalled Christian Science* (Epworth Press, 2*d*.) Dr. Ballard gives a pungent and well-informed reply to the challenge of this cult, and shows its delusions and menace. It will be a boon to many to have such a compact discussion.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Edinburgh Review (April).—The Bishop of Durham, in 'England and Rome,' says the two Churches 'stand committed, irrevocably it would seem, to different conceptions of Christianity.' He holds that the assumption on which the recent 'conversations' at Malines have proceeded is itself unsound. Reunion with Rome means submission to Rome. 'The Anglo-Catholic movement, which now claims to include at least one-third of the parochial incumbents, can only end, as the Tractarians ended, in Rome.' Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, 'in British Foreign Policy,' says we seem to be moving towards one of those great historic watersheds which divide one way from another. 'The position is difficult, but not beyond retrieval. The stabilization of the German mark and the balancing of the German budget, a *détente* in the Ruhr, would be a beginning of better things; but of even greater helpfulness would be the return of America to Europe and her assumption of responsibility for the support of a settlement which was largely shaped by an American brain.' In 'Lenin: the Man and his Achievement,' R. H. Bruce Lockhart says his dream of world-revolution was never realized, and his economic theories have been abandoned, but he has made a return to the old order of things impossible, and has laid foundations which the future builders of his country will not be able to reject. A new life is beginning in Russia which has its pulse in the newly-awakened masses of the people. 'This is the real achievement of Lenin.' 'The Personality of Byron' is a very interesting study.

Hibbert Journal (April).—Perhaps the best article in this number is that on 'Organization,' by Professor Norwood, of Cardiff; it is as timely as it is vigorous. The first sentence runs, 'If anything in human affairs is to live it must be organized; yet organization kills it.' The latter part of the sentence is the thesis of the article, and Churches as well as States will do well to remember it to-day. 'Government is an evil . . . all government is tyranny'—these dogmas will provoke vehement denial, but when the writer's meaning is understood he is as irrefutable as Euclid. But Professor Norwood would not abolish government, and what he says at the end concerning 'what Christians call the kingdom of God' deserves study. The Editor talks further on 'Government by Talk' and Professor Muirhead comments on his comments. Many readers will turn first to Principal Selbie's article on 'Theology and the Thought of To-day,' and if some are disappointed by it, all must find in it matter for thought. Speaking of the *Drang zum Leben*, of which young people to-day are acutely conscious, Dr. Selbie says, 'The question of

the moment is whether we older men will boldly take our stand with them in the fight for honesty, or whether we will content ourselves with marking time.' Two papers deal with two sides of one topic—'The Present Position of Roman Catholicism in England,' by J. W. Poynter, and 'The Re-opening of the Vatican Council in 1925,' by R. B. George. Other articles are 'The German Youth Movement,' by Dr. Meyrick Booth, 'The Death of Socrates,' by Dr. E. W. Adams, and 'A Stoic Vision of a Living Universe,' by G. M. Sargeaunt. Other good things remain unnamed; the whole number is excellent.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—Professor Burkitt opens this number with an article on Tatian's Diatessaron, *à propos* of recent discussion of 'The Dutch Harmonies.' Dr. Burkitt makes some interesting suggestions as to the relation between the Eastern and Western branches of the textual tradition of the Diatessaron. Dom Connolly, O.S.B., contributes two articles—one on the 'Text of the Baptismal Creed of Hippolytus,' the other on 'New Fragments of the Didaché.' The Rev. J. W. Tyrer discusses the meaning of ἐπίλησις, arguing strongly in favour of its interpretation as a petition for the coming of the Holy Spirit, not as an invocation of the Trinity. Mr. Montgomery Hitchcock asks, 'Who are "The People of Chloe" in 1 Cor. i. 11?' and shows good reason for interpreting Chloe not as some Greek lady of Corinth or Ephesus, but as either a goddess (Demster) or a pagan. The Rev. W. S. Wood deals with the meaning of the metaphor of 'Salt' as an element of character in the difficult passage Mark ix. 49, 50, and in other sayings of Jesus. We cannot summarize his arguments, but his paper is suggestive. Other articles are on 'Zerubbabel's Rebuilding of the Temple' and 'The Vocabulary of Acts.' The Reviews, as usual, are valuable.

Church Quarterly Review (April).—The Bishop of Ripon writes on 'Church Music.' If music is capable of conveying a real meaning, and affecting with it the inward being of man, all that bears a mean or frivolous message, or that is irrelevant to the purpose of the service, should be excluded from worship. The Archbishop's report on the subject deplores the way in which, by the misapplied following of Cathedral tradition, the congregation has been reduced to silence. There are important articles on 'The Unity of the Fourth Gospel'; 'Consensus and Immortality'; and other subjects. There is a full notice of Dr. Waterhouse's 'able and valued treatise' on *The Philosophy of Religious Experience*.

Holborn Review (April).—Professor Herford opens with an article on Byron as a 'daemonic personality' and as an ardent advocate of liberty. The real Byron, he says, was 'a loosely organized compound of several pronounced and imperious selves.' Professor Hornby, of the United Methodist College, contributes an appreciative notice of Stephen Grellet, a fine character, but why celebrate the occasion of his 'semi-tercentenary'? The Editor announces that the next number of this Review will be largely devoted to

celebrating the tercentenary of George Fox by a series of articles. Dr. Peake writes appreciatively of Mrs. Herman and Dean Rashdall, whose deaths have occurred during recent months. The Rev. J. C. Mantripp reviews the life and work of Dr. Alexander Whyte, as reflected in Dr. Barbour's recent biography. Other articles are 'John Knox as Historian,' by W. C. Dickinson, and 'Christian Inspiration,' by the Rev. Malcolm Spencer. The features entitled 'Discussions and Notices,' 'The Study Circle,' and 'Current Literature' are well maintained. The value and interest of the *Holborn* —always high—are steadily growing.

The Expositor (April and May).—The marked improvements introduced into this magazine by Dr. Moffatt continue; amongst other things, the cover is more presentable. Perhaps ere long it will be still more worthy of the contents! The Editor, in 'Current Issues,' deals with books by Dr. Buchanan Gray and Bishop Gore. Dr. Muirhead describes what in his view are 'the best Ten Books on the Fourth Gospel,' but he does not find room for Dr. Garvie or Latimer Jackson. Other articles are 'The Text of Hosea,' an instalment, by W. W. Cannon; 'Metre and Textual Criticism,' by T. H. Robinson, and 'Paul's Reminiscences of Jesus,' by Rev. A. M. Pope, B.D. Interesting 'Notes on Recent Criticism' are Dr. A. Soutar's exposition of our Lord's Word to His Mother at the marriage at Cana, and Dr. Kilgour's 'Oldest Manuscript of St. John's Gospel in Coptic.'—In the May number the cover is greatly improved and the contents are full of interest. Dr. Sydney Cave writes excellently, with due discrimination, on the ten best books dealing with St. Paul's life and teaching. Mr. Flowers' article upon the Ten Commandments and the critical notice 'Some Recent Work' on the same subject, are timely and interesting, but probably written before Archdeacon Charles' volume on the Decalogue appeared. The Editor draws special attention to the translation of an article by the distinguished scholar, Hermann Gunkel, on 'The Secret Experiences of the Prophets.' It well deserves study. Other articles are: 'The Temptations of Jesus Christ,' by Dr. Vacher Burch, and 'Babes in Christ and Full-Grown Men,' by W. S. Bishop, D.D. We heartily congratulate the editor on the steady growth and excellence of the *Expositor* under his management.

Expository Times (April and May).—The Editors in their opening notes discuss Dr. Gore's *Holy Spirit and the Church*, Otto's *The Idea of the Holy*, Dr. Relton on Revelation, and other current topics. Dr. Rendel Harris describes a fragment of a Latin Gospel, which he found during a recent visit to Mount Sinai, and 'some Diatessaron Readings' detected in it. Professor Bacon's discussion of 'Fundamentalism in America' sheds light on a movement still little understood in this country. Other articles are 'The Spirit of Expiation,' by the Rev. A. Belden, B.D., 'Recent Foreign Theology,' by Professor H. R. Mackintosh, 'The Implications in St. Luke's Preface,' by Professor A. T. Robertson, and 'The Parable of the Prodigal Son as

Literature,' by Dr. A. Dakin.—The May number contains an article on 'Zionism,' by Dr. J. E. McFadyen, showing that it implies a religious as well as a political question. Dr. Lofthouse, under the title of 'The Message of the Bible for the Society of To-day,' sets forth the results of the C.O.P.E.C. meeting in Birmingham last April, in which he himself took active part. The Rev. V. T. Kirby puts forward the suggestion as to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews that we have in it a matured form of Stephen's teaching, mediated through Philip the Evangelist. The standing features of this Magazine are well maintained.

Science Progress (April).—Professor Duerden writes on 'Methods of Evolution,' and his conclusions are criticized by Mr. Tate Regan, who thinks he is not quite up to date as to the bearing of Mendelism on evolution. He quotes Miss Saunders' statement, 'Mendelism is not a theory of evolution, but a theory of heredity.' Professor Herring's article on 'The Endocrine Glands' and Dr. Nicholson's on 'The Biological Significance of Pathological Changes' will be carefully studied, and an interesting account is given of Dr. Banting and the story of insulin.

The British Journal of Inebriety (April) has important papers on Alcoholism and 'Drug Addiction.' It was estimated in 1921 that the United States had at least a million addicts. Morphine is obtained from underground channels. In Germany and in England 'the cocaine habit partakes more of the nature of a vice than as an addiction comparable with morphine or heroin.' In France the number of arrests for trafficking in cocaine is steadily increasing.

Natureland (April).—Mr. Horseburgh's 'Tales of the Jungle' gives interesting details of his bringing home the birds of Paradise which he had taken for our Zoological Gardens. He had to wean the birds from their native diet to the bananas and dried fruits. Feeding the birds in rough weather on the voyage home was a trying business. 'The Blue Wren' and 'A Rare Skate' are interesting papers with very good illustrations.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—To the January number Professor Krüger contributes the third part of his most useful survey of *Literature on Church History*, 1914–1920. The period covered in this issue is 'The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation.' An interesting note on von Below's *Die Ursachen der Reformation* commends the author for insisting on 'the principle that the deepest root of the Reformation was religious.' In opposition to the view of Troeltsch, who saw the full expression of the modern spirit, not in the Reformation, but in the 'Enlightenment' of a later date, von Below 'emphasizes the fundamental importance of the fact that, as the essence of the religious act, Luther substituted a faith gained by a personal inner decision for an ecclesiastical faith after the fashion of mediæval

scholasticism; and in this he is right.' Dr. Preserved Smith writes on Sir J. G. Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament*. He acknowledges that 'it throws light on some passages which have been a puzzle to the commentators, and that it brings the religion of Israel out of the isolation in which earlier study kept it.' But he maintains that it is the popular religion on which folklore throws light. 'The passages to which parallels are found in other religions are taken from the works of prophets or psalmists or sages. These men, to whom we owe what is of most value to us, rose above the religion of the masses, and set themselves in direct opposition to it.' Professor Ropes calls attention to a new edition by E. von Dobschütz of *Nestle's Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. It is described as 'new in conception, arrangement, and completeness, and largely so in subject-matter.' Ropes thinks that in the next edition the name of von Dobschütz should take the place of Nestle.

Journal of Religion (Chicago) (March).—The place of intuition in religious experience claims fuller examination, and we welcome a paper on the subject by E. W. Lyman, a professor in Union Seminary, New York. Dr. Lyman claims the recognition of intuition as both valid and valuable. 'New Translations of the New Testament,' by F. Eakin, describes and estimates the relative values of A. V., R. V., Weymouth, Moffatt, and Goodspeed, and other modern versions. A description of 'The Christian Social Movement in England' is contributed by M. B. Reckitt from the Anglo-Catholic standpoint. Other articles are 'The Physical Basis of Apocalypticism,' by D. W. Riddle, and 'The Religious Ideals of the Student Volunteer Movement,' by A. G. Baker. The section entitled 'Current Events and Discussions' is full of interest, and the wide outlook of the *Journal* is well preserved.

Methodist Review (N. York) (March–April.)—In the first article, 'William F. Warren at Ninety-One' is the subject of cordial and merited appreciation by E. O. Fisk. Dr. Warren, whose chief work has been done in and from Boston University, is known and honoured in both hemispheres. He first contributed to this *Review* sixty-nine years ago! The chief feature of this number is an interesting symposium on the 'Faith once Delivered,' arranged by the Editor and supported by Bishop Shepard, Professor Hannan of Drew, Dr. H. F. Rall, of Garrett Biblical Institute, Bishop McConnell, and Professor Trevor, of Atlanta University. The papers are very able, and were of course written quite independently. But it is well to note that they agree in emphasizing the need of a living and growing faith in Christ as Saviour, in contrast to the idea of a formal theological 'deposit,' formulated and handled on for all generations. This interesting number also contains articles on 'The Mount of Vision,' 'Astrology and Providence,' and 'Jeremy Taylor and Preaching.'

Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville) (April.)—The main articles are of considerable and varied interest. The late President

Woodrow Wilson is described as 'the Happy Warrior,' and the writer of the article to his memory believes that the ideals for which President Wilson gave his life will hereafter be realized. 'Those who resist his spirit are fighting against the stars in their courses.' Bishop Atkins, of the M.E. Church South, receives his meed of recognition as 'Christian Leader and Seer.' John A. Rice writes on 'Why I Believe in the Whole Bible as the Inspired Word of God.' The most interesting article to many Methodists on this side of the water is that on the unification of the two great M.E. Churches, North and South. The idea of one Church with two 'jurisdictions' is fascinating; it remains to be seen whether it will be adopted, and how it will work out. This *Review* is a worthy organ of the Southern Branch.

Princeton Review (January) contains three articles which are instalments of larger wholes, dealing respectively with 'The Background of Daniel,' 'Ezekiel's Division of Palestine,' and 'The Problem of Mental Evolution.' More generally interesting are the articles on 'The Philosophy of Substance,' by C. A. Dwight, and 'The Message of the Catacombs,' by C. F. Deininger.

Bibliotheca Sacra (April).—Professor Grier writes on 'Israel's Vision of God.' The Jew beheld God in His Oneness and His Sovereignty. The fact that He had made the earth was a sure guarantee that He would also preserve and save it. The great theme of the Old Testament is the provision of a Saviour for the world, and the servant designation of the Messiah is the most complete in its typology. There is a symposium on the Book of Jonah.

Christian Union Quarterly (April).—Dean Inge writes on 'Reunion.' He describes the Church of England as 'the most divided body in Christendom. The majority of its members stand aloof from the Nonconformists, with some slight trace of the old social disdain, and have no desire whatever for reconciliation with Rome.' Dr. Abbott-Smith says the Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan theological colleges affiliated with McGill University have for twelve years carried on a satisfactory system of co-operation in theological classes.

Calcutta Review (February).—In 'The Book-Trade under the Caliphate' an old writer is quoted who says there were over a hundred book dealers in Baghdad. His manuscripts were exposed for sale in a small booth in the vicinity of a mosque. The stock was replenished by purchase or by having MSS. copied. Generally the dealers themselves copied rare MSS., or prepared encyclopaedias and compendiums. There was a passion for collecting books in the Islamic Empire, and fraud and imposture found their way into the trade. Every great Arab town had its book-market.

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques.—The chief feature of the April number is a lucid and convincing article on the desire for happiness as a proof of the existence of God.