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The London Quarterly Review

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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY, 1928

GEORGE III AND EDWARD VII

The Correspondence of King George the Third from 1760 to December 1788. Arranged and edited by the HON. SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, LL.D., D.Litt. Vol. I., 1760-7 ; Vol. II., 1768-78. (Macmillan & Co. 1927.)

King Edward VII. A biography by SIR SIDNEY LEE. Vol. II., The Reign, January 22, 1901, to May 6, 1910. (Macmillan & Co. 1927.)

THESE volumes make a strong appeal to Englishmen, for they set George III and his great-grandson as it were side by side, and help us to understand the part which the two monarchs played in the history of their own times. The papers of George III had disappeared for nearly a century when they were recovered and restored to His Majesty George V. Parts had been previously published, but it was not till 1912 that the original collection, of which George III had arranged the greater part with his own hand, was brought to light. Mr. Fortescue has now been allowed by His Majesty to publish this correspondence, and has added to it all letters from or to the King which could be gathered from any other source. The work will run to six volumes, but the first two show what a mine is here opened up for historians of the eighteenth century. A memorandum in the royal handwriting describes how, as Prince of Wales, he was riding 'between Kew Bridge and the six milestone' a little after eight on the morning of October 25, 1760, when news reached him that George II was near death. He returned to Kew, 'ordered his attendants

to be silent, and pretended his horse was lame.' Within an hour he received a letter from Princess Amelia announcing his grandfather's death, and at ten Mr. Pitt was at Kew to announce his accession and ask where the Privy Council should meet. It was finally arranged that it should assemble at Carleton House, as the young King 'had no servants in town and did not choose to appear at such a period too much in the streets.'

We are soon in the midst of letters of loyal congratulation and arrangements of robes and coronets for the Coronation, but the earliest correspondence seems to have perished in the fire which destroyed so many of Lord Bute's treasures at Luton, and the main stream of documents does not begin till March 1765. As we turn the pages we see how unjust are the criticisms of the King as 'an obstinate fool,' 'a very clever man but a very bad man.' His patience as well as his decision of character were severely tested in the London weavers' riots of May 1765, when the Duke of Bedford had to be guarded in his house by the troops against mobs. The King writes to the Earl of Egmont: 'Dear Egmont, had I a few such men as you are I should not be in the situation I now am, whatever happens believe me incapable of forgetting your handsome part yesterday: the Duke of Cumberland says he shall honour you whilst you live and wishes your example would prompt others to follow it.' His Majesty had a very uncomfortable visit at Richmond Lodge on June 12 from the Duke of Bedford, who 'came to ask leave to go for some time to Wooburn and then began a harangue complaining that tho' I supported him and his colleagues, yet that I appear'd not to like them, consequently that He and they were resolv'd when He came again to Town to resign if they did not meet with a kind reception, and those they thought their enemies were not frown'd upon: You will my Dear Lord easily conceive what indignation I felt at so very offensive a declaration, yet I master'd my temper and we parted with cool civility; can any one in their senses think

this mode of acting the way to obtain favours? No, but his Grace has not much of that ingredient in his composition.'

Such treatment was not to be borne, and the King sent for Mr. Pitt, who replied 'with a heart overflowing with duty and gratitude to the most gracious of sovereigns,' and added: 'Too happy and too glorious the remnant of a poor life, could I have been seconded in my unavailing zeal, and devotion to your Majesty's service, honour, and happiness.'

Pitt was not able to undertake the task of forming a new Ministry, but after many difficulties Lord Rockingham became First Lord of the Treasury.

In January 1766 news came of the death of the Pretender at Rome. The Pope had not the least inclination to acknowledge the son—the Young Pretender—as King, though the 'Ambassador of a certain Southern Court near to England' (i.e. France) declared that if he did not thus acknowledge him he must be prepared to find 'the two ideal Princes, the Cardinal, and the others changing religion and doing mischief to the throne of St. Peter.' That volcano had burned itself out at last.

The serious question of the time was the quarrel with the Colonies. An Address was moved which spoke of *enforcing* laws in America. 'Mr. Pitt came down and spoke, but did not divide. Mr. Grenville who answer'd him, was much enrag'd to see him walk out of the House while he was speaking.' The King gave Lord Rockingham permission to say, 'I prefer'd Repealing to Enforcing the Stamp Act; but that Modification I had ever thought both more consistent with the honour of this Country, and all the Americans would with any degree of Justice hope for.'

In 1768, Lord Chatham, who had formed a Ministry two years earlier, was too ill to do his work as Lord Privy Seal, but the King tells him, 'I am thoroughly convinced of the Utility you are to my service, for tho' confined to your house, your name has been sufficient to enable my Administration to proceed; I therefore in the most earnest

manner call on you to continue in your employment.' Chatham had 'to employ another's hand,' but he replies that he will do as His Majesty desires.

With Lord North the King's relations were exceedingly cordial. The Wilkes affair gave them prolonged anxiety. Every page of the correspondence shows how zealously the King laboured to promote peace and to secure the best interests of his country.

When we move forward to our own times, the Life of Edward VII gives abundant evidence of his influence on the public affairs of his reign. Sir Sidney Lee left five chapters of this volume and the Epilogue virtually ready for the press, and his assistant, Mr. S. F. Markham, who had helped him in collecting and arranging material, has completed the work in a way which Sir Sidney himself would have been most eager to acknowledge.

It is a wonderful record. As Prince of Wales the King had taken an active interest in foreign affairs, and had become intimate with foreign rulers and statesmen. As King 'his character, predilections, and experience gave him an influence in Europe which materially encouraged the formation of diplomatic friendships.' Lord Salisbury had held fast to the idea of national insularity. King Edward won the heart of Paris, and was the chief means of establishing the *Entente Cordiale* with France. When he began to reign, 'Germany hated and envied us; France suspected us; Russia looked upon us as the hidden enemy, lurking by night. Before the King died all had been changed except in relation to Germany.' The explanation was simple. Edward VII was a concrete and likeable embodiment of England. Lord Redesdale said, 'No diamond could be more purely clear and honest than King Edward, and it was that pellucid truthfulness which made him so powerful in his relations with foreign sovereigns and statesmen.'

The chapter on 'The New Court' introduces us to the King's immediate circle. The forty years' tradition of

gloom vanished. Royal entertainments gained a cheerfulness and sociability which had long been lacking, and London became once more the head quarters of the monarchy. Queen Alexandra's grace and beauty and her noble character had no small share in the transformation. The King required his Ministers to keep him closely informed as to public business, and took a lively interest in all that concerned the Navy and especially the Army. He was determined that economy should not be practised at the expense of the more promising officers. He was especially pleased when Mr. Haldane was not afraid to carry out the 'drastic reforms and reorganization' of which the Boer War had shown the urgent necessity. The King's support all through was a tower of strength.

The Kaiser was his uncle's thorn in the flesh. He was ubiquitous, and in his relations with his foreign hosts was 'voluble in speech, assertive in manner, talked without reserve of current political issues, and sought to extract secret information as well as to extort assent to his own point of view.' King Edward, on the other hand, was a favourite everywhere. 'He was more than the right man in the right place; he was the right man in every place.' In his foreign tour in 1908 he captivated Lisbon, was acclaimed vociferously at Gibraltar and Malta, and even added to his reputation in Rome. The only discordant note was in the temper of the Kaiser, who told the Tsar in 1905, after the French squadron had been at Cowes, that 'Britain only wants to make France her "catpaw" against us, as she used Japan against you.' In another letter to the Tsar he writes, 'The "arch intriguer and mischief-maker" in Europe as you rightly called the King of England has been hard at work in the last months.' He went so far as to say at a dinner in 1907: 'He is a Satan; you can hardly believe what a Satan he is.' The chapter headed 'The Social Side' shows that King Edward's life was mapped out with wonderful exactness. The pleasures in which he frankly indulged

were those which appealed to the greater number of his subjects, and he valued highly the approval of the great mass of the population. Most of his public utterances were extempore. He once memorized a speech in the garden of Buckingham Palace, but when he got up to speak, it vanished. He had to keep on beginning at the beginning, and resolved, 'Never again.' He had a keen sense of humour, and was greatly amused when the Archbishop of York, in full robes, backed into the diminutive Lord Northcote. 'The King stepped forward as if to assist, but, realizing that he could do little to extricate the unfortunate peer, stopped and broke into a hearty laugh, waiting to see on which side of the Archbishop Lord Northcote would ultimately emerge.'

Much is said of the King's relations with his Ministers. He and Campbell-Bannerman became greater and greater friends, and the King felt for him a warm and lasting appreciation. It is amusing to learn that he heard rumours about the household of the Aberdeens which led him to make inquiries. He was assured that all the Viceregal dinners and parties were carried out in the most correct manner, under the Chamberlain's rigid directions. The earl had gathered his household for family prayers and had lectured to them at the Haddo House Club, where his valet would sing a song. Professors Bryce and Drummond were also glad to lecture to this happy company.

King Edward never shirked a ceremonial duty. He always opened Parliament in person, and felt that his faithful subjects had a right to share in the display and glitter of the Court whereof he was the centre. He had a high sense of duty, and worked unceasingly. His private secretary found it hard to keep pace with the ceaseless calls upon him, even on His Majesty's foreign tours. When his health began to fail, the King was urged to rest. 'No,' he said, 'I shall not give in—I shall work to the end. Of what use is it to be alive if one cannot work!' Just before he passed into unconsciousness he said again, 'No, I shall not give in; I shall

go on ; I shall work to the end.' 'He knew that he was dying, but he could face death as cheerfully as he had always faced life. He did not, said his doctors, know the meaning of fear.' He died just before midnight on May 6, 1910. Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto, 'The feeling of grief and sense of personal loss throughout the country, indeed throughout western Europe, is extraordinary, and without a single jarring note. He had just the character that Englishmen, at any rate, thoroughly understand, thoroughly like, and make any quantity of allowance for. It was odd how he managed to combine regal dignity with *bonhomie*, and strict regard for form with entire absence of spurious pomp.' Sir Sidney Lee says in his Epilogue that Edward VII 'eminently satisfied the contemporary conditions of kingship. No more thoroughly human citizen of the world ever sat upon a throne. On all public occasions his manner, speech, and gestures were admirably adapted to the requirements of his great rôle. There was nothing perfunctory in the temper of his public services, and his kindly nature, and desire for the happiness of others, touched the people's hearts.' He felt the impact of the modern movement, and saw that the Court could not remain in icy aloofness from the people. He tore down with a kindly hand the veil of secrecy that hedged about the Sovereign, and came forth to share the pleasures and pursuits of the nation. He was himself a true courtier who had that tact which the French call 'politeness of the heart.' No one felt ill at ease in his presence. He had the business of kingcraft at his finger-ends and enjoyed 'a combination of popularity and personal power which exceeded anything that could be put to the credit of his mother, or indeed of any of his predecessors for two centuries. The royal prerogative had appreciably diminished, but the power and prestige of the Sovereign had grown enormously.'

THE EDITOR.

THE COLOUR PROBLEM IN AMERICA AND SOUTH AFRICA

A WORLD problem of the present time is the problem of the colour line. Tides of racial passion surge and swell in countries where but a few brief years ago hardly a trace of racial feeling could be found. There is a large and growing literature on the subject. Thoughtful people earnestly desire to learn how different races which inhabit the world, which are divided in their traditions, ways of thinking, and habits of life, may live together in peace. The problem is acute in the United States of America, and especially acute in South Africa. A recent visit to America, with a fairly extensive tour of the Southern States, following on twenty years' residence in South Africa, has impressed me with the seriousness of the situation in both countries. But I have been still more impressed with the fact that America is much farther along the road towards a solution of the problem than South Africa. The treatment of the negro in the States, on the whole, is superior to that meted out to the natives in South Africa. In view of the growing interest in the whole question it may not be without value to set out a few impressions of the parallels between the two countries in regard to the problem, as well as some of the striking contrasts.

The United States has an estimated population of about 115,000,000 white people and about 12,000,000 coloured people. In the Union of South Africa there are, according to the census of 1921: European, 1,519,488; Native (Bantu), 4,697,818; Coloured¹ (mixed races), 545,548; Asiatic (chiefly Indian), 165,731.

¹It is necessary to explain that the term 'coloured' in America includes all persons of colour. In South Africa it is limited to persons of mixed race, who, politically and economically, are classified with the white people.

From the above figures it will be seen that the proportion of black to white in America is a little lower than one to ten, whereas in South Africa it is four to one. The problem in South Africa is how European people, with European habits, traditions, and ideals, can develop alongside another race of another colour, much stronger in numbers and rapidly increasing, who are in all stages of development, from raw heathenism to civilization, without being in any way unjust to them or false to the ideals of equity and justice in striving to safeguard the civilized position.

How much easier is the situation in America! There we find a strong white civilization; all the negroes speak the language of the country; they have assimilated civilized customs and religion; a large proportion of them are steadily rising in the scale of civilization and fitting themselves slowly but surely into the fabric of national life. The leadership is obviously destined to remain with the white man; but in South Africa the fear of being swamped by the natives is a very potent factor at the present time. And it is especially in relation to the political question that the menace of the black domination is so alarming to many white South Africans. The South African system of government is that of a civilized European country with a franchise based on a wide democratic foundation, so far as the European citizens are concerned.

Is the white man to surrender the control of the free institutions of the country to the black man by giving the parliamentary franchise to white and black on equal terms? Give the natives the vote and will not sheer force of numbers in due course result in a submersion of the white voters? Can that possibly be for the good of the country? What happened in America when they gave the vote to the negroes long before they were fit to exercise such a privilege? These are among the questions that are being asked.

The two countries present some arresting contrasts so far as the political aspects of the situation are concerned. At

the present time natives in the Cape Province enjoy franchise rights on equal terms with Europeans, and in eight or ten constituencies they hold the balance of power. Altogether there are about 14,000 native voters. In Natal, natives are entitled to a franchise, but it is so hedged about with conditions that there are but one or two persons really eligible. In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State all natives are by law excluded from the franchise.

In America, by the rights given to them in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, the negroes are entitled to all the rights of other American citizens. In practice, however, they are not able to exercise those rights. The Southern States have adopted constitutional amendments that have restricted the negro vote, with the ultimate result that the negro has been ruled out as a political factor. Where the weapons of State law have not been available, the methods of intimidation have been used with considerable force. In the South to-day, though the number of qualified negro voters is steadily increasing, the negro's share in the government is very limited indeed. In the North, however, he is able to exercise his franchise right, and in many States he is becoming an important factor in political life. All the signs go to indicate his larger participation in the government, in every phase of political life.

But what do we find in South Africa? Here the state of public opinion is such that there is little hope of extending the Cape system—'equal rights for all civilized men'—to the other provinces. The fear of submersion is too strong. The Prime Minister, General Hertzog, advocates the abolition of the Cape franchise, the direct representation of natives in Parliament by seven special European members elected by the native community constituencies, and the provision of a Council system of parallel institutions possessing legislative or quasi-legislative powers over all the country, with the apex of the scheme a Union Native Council of fifty

members with full advisory powers and also limited legislative powers. This is an indication that South Africa is prepared to make a bold political experiment rather than admit even the more advanced natives to suffrage rights. However, the natives who are able to express themselves protest unanimously against the abolition of the Cape franchise, and in their attitude they are supported by a section of the white population.

But white South African opinion would appear to be moving in the direction of a policy of differential development with a system of parallel institutions, whereby the native may be assigned a share in his own governmental schemes by means of Native Councils, and thus be assisted in the difficult transition from patriarchal rule to popular self-government by an evolutionary process and not by a revolutionary coup. This policy is expounded by Professor E. H. Brookes in the able and illuminating volume *History of Native Policy in South Africa*.

The small body of liberal opinion that favours equal suffrage rights for the black, white, and coloured is limited in size and is likely to remain so for some time to come. Segregation might have been a solution had it been applied a century ago, but to-day the white men are not prepared to give up the land they are settled on which is suitable for the natives; and neither will they agree to accept any scheme of segregation which involves the withdrawal of the native labourers from the farms and industries. Territorial separation of European and Native, and native ownership of land, would be a step in the direction of a solution, but, as at present advocated, such separation is mainly for the benefit of the white man. Nothing like enough land for the needs of the natives is offered to them.

In his earnest little volume on *The Race Problem in South Africa*, Father Cotton, of Rhodesia, outlines a broad scheme of segregation. But a scheme of such a character has no hope of acceptance in the present state of South African

feeling. At a Conference on Native Affairs in 1928, representative of nearly all the Christian Churches in South Africa, in which native representatives also shared, it was unanimously resolved that 'complete segregation is neither possible nor desirable.' Somehow or other white and black have to work out their destiny side by side in South Africa as white and coloured must do in America. Segregation in a limited territorial sense there may be to advantage in certain areas, but in the broad field of industrial life the white man cannot do without the black man and the black man cannot do without the white man. Contact there must be, and no policy which ignores that fact can have any hope of success.

This inevitable contact, however, creates other problems, as the white people have discovered to their distress both in America and in South Africa. The story of lynchings, race riots, and terrorism in the one country, and the record of colour bars and unjust treatment in the other, and the sad story of illicit miscegenation in both, make a sorry chapter in the narrative of the white man's racial relations with the black man.

In America the social position of the negro is anomalous, and, in some respects, puzzling. The North is favourable on the whole to granting negroes those social rights commonly regarded as public rights, such as travelling on trams and buses, hotel and amusement facilities, but there is a rigid line in matters of social intercourse. Some observers notice a change of late in the psychological climate of the North in the direction of intolerance, especially where there has been a large influx of negroes. In the South the principle of separateness is vigorously applied. A negro dare not enter an hotel or a restaurant for refreshments, or patronize a place of entertainment; the two races are educated in separate schools; they worship in different churches; and when they die they are buried in separate cemeteries! Separate coaches are provided on the railways for 'coloured' persons. It is with some amusement that a visitor notices

that, as the train from the South crosses the Ohio River, the coloured porter takes down the sign. But there is no rush of black passengers to the other compartments !

The Southern ideal obtains in South Africa for the most part, but in the Cape Province the native enjoys more liberty, and is granted more public rights. Very limited, however, are the personal contacts on the social level of even the educated natives with Europeans. Father Cotton, in the book already referred to, has boldly advocated inter-marriage between the two races as one step towards a solution of the race problem. But the best people of both races in South Africa are strongly opposed to anything of the kind. At a Conference of the leaders of the largest European Churches in South Africa, held in October 1926, the Conference rejected the idea and urged 'Christian people to discountenance that kind of familiar social intercourse which may lead to such unions, whether regular or irregular.' Twenty-nine States in America have laws declaring such marriages illegal, and in other States public opinion is so strong that marriage between a white person and a negro is a rare occurrence. In South Africa such marriages are illegal in the Transvaal and the Free State provinces, but legal in the Cape Province. But there is the unpleasant fact that irregular unions are common in America and in South Africa. Sexual passion knows no colour bar. The violation of race integrity in America and in South Africa is, in the main, the sin of the white man.

In passing to a consideration of some of the economic aspects of the situation, we find ourselves confronted at once with the significant fact that, as the negro and the native advance in education, copy the white man's mode of living, become more efficient in the industrial sphere, race hostility tends to increase in the section where the black pressure is felt. So long as the black man continues 'in his proper place' as the hewer of wood and drawer of water, the white man is prepared to accept him as part of

the economic order, but as soon as he aspires to a higher sphere of labour, then in the white man's breast the tides of colour prejudice at once begin to rise. The main causes of racial antagonism and conflict are economic. The white man declares that the black worker undermines the wage standard, as he can afford to live on a lower wage than the white man, since his standard of living is lower; that he is used by the employer to reduce labour costs and so is desired by many employers as a worker, and thus he 'takes the bread out of our mouths.' On the other side, the black man burns with indignation because the white man has taken his land, holds him down in the ranks of unskilled labour, subjects him to all sorts of indignities, and slams and bolts the doors of economic opportunity in his face. At bottom, then, the race conflict is a struggle over land, wages, standard of living, equality of opportunity.

Of course, there are other factors, such as differences of temperament, character, tradition, habits of thought, as well as physical differences and social instincts, but the deeper we probe into the question the stronger becomes the conviction that the economic factor is the main provocative. In that there is hope, as Mr. J. H. Oldham has so ably emphasized in that classic on the whole colour problem, *Christianity and the Race Problem*; for, if the fundamental causes of racial dislike and hostility between white and black are similar to those which give rise to a dislike and hostility within communities of white people, they are moral rather than racial, and therefore removable by education in goodwill, understanding, and community of interests. At present, however, no thoughtful person who desires to see peace on earth and goodwill toward men can view the situation either in America or South Africa—especially in South Africa—without recognizing the gravity of the position and the urgent need of race reconciliation. Nothing is gained by minimizing the strength of the vital colour prejudices.

When we turn to the educational side, the picture is a much brighter one, especially in America. It was a revelation to a South African, accustomed to a system of native education built up and maintained up to recent years mostly by missionaries and their helpers, to find in America so many striking evidences of negro educational activity and development. A university education is now within the reach of any intelligent negro boy or girl, if endowed with ability and perseverance. Places like Howard University, Washington; Hampton Institute in Virginia; and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, are a wonder and a joy to visit. At Tuskegee, Booker Washington made another Hampton, and here the staff, from its able Principal, Dr. Robert R. Moton, down to the humblest helper, is entirely coloured. The magnitude of the work, the practical character of the education, the many hundreds of students, the variety of the courses, and the keenness manifest on every hand, make an ineffaceable impression on the mind. Numerous are the negro normal schools, agricultural and mechanical colleges supported or partly supported by the States. In fact, the visitor brings away with him an impression that there are too many so-called colleges and universities, and that concentration of resources and energy upon the best of the institutions is much to be desired.

With so many opportunities for practical education, it is not surprising that the negro has made a rapid advance economically in recent years. Dr. Moton estimates that the total wealth of the race now approximates a billion dollars (£200,000,000). At Harlem, New York, that miniature negro world, one finds negro novelists, poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, lawyers, doctors, bishops, journalists, captains of industry, bankers, and store-keepers.

And now turning to South Africa, what do we see? For many years the education of the native was a purely missionary concern. The Cape and Natal have for many years, and the other provinces more recently, come to the help of

the missionary with grants-in-aid, and in some parts of the country the province has established its own system of native schools. But the grants are altogether out of proportion to the needs of the people and the amount they pay annually in taxes. There are several secondary schools, but only one native college. This institution came into existence as the result of the co-operation of the Government, the Churches, the Missionary Societies, and Native Councils. The curriculum is largely based upon the requirements of the University of South Africa.

The natives are to be found in all grades of civilization, and divided into many tribes and factions. Nearly half the people are heathen, living under primitive conditions. Over a million have abandoned tribal conditions, and are engaged as farm workers in semi-civilized conditions. About half a million are in urban areas in close touch with white civilization, and these include the skilled and unskilled workers, clerks, teachers, ministers, and a few professional men. The progress made by the most advanced section reveals plainly enough that the natives have a capacity for our civilization, and are able to appreciate the amenities of a higher civilization.

Of special interest is the black man's relation to the Christian Church, as the African has a strong religious and emotional nature. No racial group in America has accepted more heartily the leading of the Church than the negro. The Church has been an incalculable influence for good upon the lives of the people, shaping their thought, moulding their character, disciplining and refining their emotions. It has provided them with satisfaction suited to their nature in the many activities of a social and semi-religious character bound up with Church life. The value of Church property entirely in the hands of negroes is 98,500,000 dollars.

In South Africa the natives have found in the Church a great force for their uplifting. But, curiously enough, a divisive tendency in Church life, which seems to have

caused no concern to the whites in America, is viewed with considerable suspicion and anxiety in South Africa. The Separatist Churches within the Union of South Africa number between 120 and 140, from a fairly well organized body such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church to a small body that has an archbishop whose highest educational qualification is a pass in Standard 2 !

The desire for autonomy is growing among even the most loyal and devoted of the native ministers in European-controlled Churches, and more and more liberty of action is being wisely granted them ; but the time has not yet arrived for the removing of the guiding and controlling hand of the white leadership. In America, however, there are strong thriving Churches entirely controlled by coloured people ; but it must be remembered that the educated American negroes are far in advance of the majority of the native Church members in South Africa. It is pleasing to be able to record that, in spite of occasional lynching, racial outbursts, and deeds of terrorism, the testimony of those who have long lived in America in the South, both white and negro, is that the relations between white and black to-day, on the whole, were never better. The general white public is much more sympathetic.

This change would appear to be due to the work of the Christian Churches, the educational and philanthropic foundations, to the removal of much of the unreasonable fear of the negro so long entertained by the whites, to a better appreciation of his value as an economic factor, and last, but not least, to the influence of the inter-racial movement. Men and women of goodwill, white and black, are coming together for mutual counsel and united service, and they are permeating society with a new spirit. Committees exist in every Southern State, and in many centres their efforts have been remarkably successful. Threatened riots have been prevented, injustices have been corrected, co-operation for mutual improvement brought about, and

relations of frankness and confidence have been established between the best elements of both races. It was as interesting as it was moving to hear a member of one of these committees describe in his office in a Southern city, simply and briefly, how, on hearing privately that a certain man was to be severely dealt with, perhaps lynched, by a body of men, the threatened crime was averted as a result of personal visits and quiet argument, and how restitution was made by the offender without anything at all being made public.

A very encouraging development in the movement is the enthusiastic way in which prominent women are throwing themselves into it, denouncing mob violence and appealing for even-handed justice, particularly in matters affecting the welfare of women and children. Constructive social betterment is the ideal, and there is manifest a very happy wedding of the ideal to the practical. I regard the inter-racial commission work as one of the finest things being done in America to-day. It is full of hope for the future.

The race problem in America, of course, has its dark aspects ; many examples could be given of brutal, repressive, intimidating, and unjust treatment of the blacks by the whites, but America must be regarded as ahead of South Africa in earnest purposeful endeavours to improve the lot of the black man and to make him a better citizen. Some of the best brains of the country are thinking and planning for him. In the fields of agriculture, education, trades and crafts, and professional life he is afforded abundant opportunities for advance. The colour problem would appear to be in the way of solution along the lines of more equitable distribution of the negro population, equality of opportunity, and the promotion of goodwill between the races.

The lack of economic opportunity for the native in South Africa is an ugly reality. The 'civilized labour' policy of the Government, which up to the present has revealed itself in the squeezing out of large numbers of native workers from

the railways and roadmaking to make room for white men, without making provision for the ejected men elsewhere, is defended as 'simple justice' to the white man, in forgetfulness of the fact that this form of 'simple' justice for a politically privileged section is a grave injustice to another section which has no representation in the legislature. The unwillingness to provide the native with the land necessary for his development is another grievance.

But some brighter lights are not wanting in the South African picture. The actual situation, though bad enough, is nothing like so bad as Lord Olivier represents it in his passionate volume, *The Anatomy of South African Misery*. Lynching is unknown. Mob law never finds expression. Education is becoming more purposeful and better adapted to the native's actual needs. The Christian conscience is becoming more assertive in a demand for justice and fair dealing. A liberal movement is taking place in the Dutch Reformed Church—the most powerful and influential Church body in the country. The first European-Native Conference to discuss the racial question in this country was convened in 1928 by the leaders of the Dutch Church. A Native Affairs Commission consisting of three members with a special knowledge of the native people has been in existence since 1920 as an advisory body to the Government, and has done and is doing most valuable work. Inter-racial Committees and Native Welfare Associations in different parts of the country are doing excellent service in bringing together the moderate leaders of white and black, and in presenting to the public the results of their investigations and discussions. All these things testify to the growth of a sentiment that must have a beneficial effect on race relationship.

But the future is 'neither clear nor dark.' There is a grave danger that in the present state of public opinion the Nationalist-Labour Government may ignore native sentiment and the solemn protests of some of the Churches, and legislate so that the whites may take the high road of

privilege and the blacks the low road of repression. About the ultimate effect of that policy there can be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person with a knowledge of the history of nations.

The policy of educating, encouraging, and leading on the negro in America has had the effect of raising the whole negro population in the country to a higher level, socially, economically, and morally. It is a similar policy that South Africa needs, with, of course, the necessary local adaptations. There is no quick-and-easy solution. As the Kafir proverb says, 'Height is not reached in a hurry.' 'The main thing to do in reference to the negro problem,' writes Professor Dowd in the concluding chapter of his wise and helpful survey, *The Negro in American Life*, 'is not to formulate a programme or policy with the conviction that we have at last discovered some solution, but to be ever pressing forward, courageously striving in the direction of our higher hopes and standards. We should ever sail toward the stars, but at the same time keep a sharp eye for the rocks.'

WILLIAM EVELEIGH.

JANE AUSTEN.

WE will make our confession at once—we love Jane Austen and all her works. The plots, the scenes, the brilliant conversations, the extraordinary vividness of her portrait-painting are familiar to us ; but that familiarity, by a strange paradox, adds to the marvel of their freshness, and still the wonder grows. Jane Austen's 'characters' are old and familiar friends, and we keep these friendships in repair. Her books certainly meet the test of great works of literature—for they wear well. The more we read them the more we love them. There are some rare melodies—such as the Londonderry Air—the more we hear them the more they appeal to us, and on every hearing there seems to be a new tenderness in their wistful notes. There are some writers who have this same quality of appeal : we cannot explain why they charm us, but we cherish their works. Jane Austen has this great gift. It is a truism, but a delightful one, to say there is no one like Jane Austen. She gives to us what no one else gives. We do not mean that she carries in her hands all that we need, for her range is limited, but she certainly gives gifts which are peculiarly her own. She pours into our glass a sparkling wine with a peculiar flavour and tang. She amuses us ; makes us marvel at the deftness of her touch ; portrays characters who slip into our lives and become numbered amongst our best-known acquaintances ; wafts us into the early part of the nineteenth century and introduces us to the elegant and genteel men and women of Steventon, Chawton, and Bath.

She never speaks to us of the burthen and mystery of all

The Novels of Jane Austen, edited by R. W. Chapman ; *Memoir of Jane Austen*, edited by R. W. Chapman ; *The Watsons*, A Fragment, by Jane Austen ; *Lady Susan*, by Jane Austen ; *Sanditon*, by Jane Austen ; *The Letters of Jane Austen*, two vols., edited by R. W. Chapman. (Oxford University Press.)

this unintelligible world ; she has no magic casements ; she never wrestles with the great problems of thought ; the questionings of sex are all untouched by her. She gives to her readers a way of escape from the psychological world, from 'complexes' and 'fixations,' from strikes and lock-outs, from railways, aeroplanes, and motor-cars, from ecclesiastical controversies and din, from the perversely paradoxical, and from that abstract world of disputes about terms which so strangely befog the human mind. She takes us by the hand and leads us into the drawing-rooms of the country, to homely balls, to the rehearsals of a play, to a picnic at Box Hill, to the Pump Room at Bath ; she makes known to us Mr. Collins, who has so greatly enriched the store of mirth in our life ; Elizabeth Bennet, whose conversation ripples and sparkles more than any to which we have ever listened ; with some difficulty she introduces us to Miss Bates, for it is difficult to break in upon her speed of conversation ; she walks with us towards a tall, dignified lady, Mrs. Norris, who is ever planning to do her kindnesses at the expense of others. These men and women are so tinglingly alive, there is such a consistency in their character and speech, we always know who is speaking and acting.

It is true that the groups of people we meet are small, but what a variety there is amongst them. The characters in any household she describes are so individual, and so clearly defined. We cannot mistake the portrait of one for that of the other. For instance, in the household of the Bennets there are father, mother, and five daughters—we know every member of that household. We know intimately Mr. Bennet, with his 'mixture of quick parts, sarcastic humour, reserve, and caprice' ; we can hear his sigh of relief when his wife goes out of his study, and he can once again return to his book. We cannot forget Mrs. Bennet—'she was a woman of mean understanding, little information, and uncertain temper. When she was discontented she fancied herself nervous. The

business of her life was to get her daughters married : its solace was visiting and news.' Elizabeth and Jane are as individual as any characters in literature ; we can overhear their conversation, and, having met them once, it is impossible to mistake them for any one else. We know Mary, with her Johnsonian English. We can hear her father appeal to her, and say, ' What say you, Mary ?—for you are a young lady of deep reflection, I know, and read great books and make extracts.' Then there are the two other daughters, Lydia and Kitty—we can see these two vulgar, flighty, empty-headed girls, showing high elation as they walk down the street of Meryton in company with two scarlet-uniformed officers. Even Lydia and Kitty, with their common flightiness, are individual. So, although it is true that in the novels of Jane Austen comparatively few characters are introduced, it is also true that she has more memorable characters than all except a few writers. We think that of the characters of literature—outside Shakespeare and Dickens—Jane Austen has given to us the largest number of those with whom we are intimately acquainted. We will mention the names of a few. Darcy, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Wodehouse, Mr. Collins, Miss Bates, Mrs. Norris, Mrs. Jennings, Mrs. Elton, Elizabeth and Jane Bennet, Eleanor and Marianne Dashwood, Emma Wodehouse, Lady Catherine de Bourgh, Fanny Price, &c. These are all well known to us, and are not casual acquaintances. This reveals the consummate art of Jane Austen—she gives reality to her imaginary characters. Sometimes she works her magic by painting a full-size portrait, such as Mr. Collins, Miss Bates, Mrs. Norris ; sometimes a half-size, as Mrs. Elton, Mrs. Jennings ; and occasionally a quarter-size, as in the portrait of Mr. Palmer, who, doomed to pay a call with his wife, ' took up a newspaper from the table and continued to read as long as she staid.'

Jane Austen does not look at life from the balcony ; she moves about in the crowd below. She moves with the

moving crowd, and at the same time eagerly watches the people within it. She overhears their conversation, sees everything that is worth seeing, notes the swift variations in moods, the little misunderstandings, and the pride and prejudice of men and women. She is both actor and spectator. It is essential to remember that Jane Austen is no James Boswell armed with a note-book—a watcher or listener. She is far less detached than he was. The balls, dinner-parties, and picnics she describes are those of which she was a member. Everything in her books is in motion, for she is moving with her characters. Her work is not photographic, but is rather after the pattern of the moving picture. Her characters, however, both move and talk. Jane Austen has the supreme gift of a novelist. The ordinary way is to decide as to your characters; to pull the strings which control their actions; to deal so cleverly with the mechanism, levers, controls, that your dolls will seem alive. But the Shakespearean way was to breathe upon the characters and give them a living soul. Jane Austen has this gift—a gift the gods give to few.

The more we read the novels of Jane Austen the more we love them, and the more we want to know about her. But she always eludes us; 'she walked on earth unguessed at: better so.' But we are all guessing now; yet no one can pierce the mystery of this genius who at twenty-one years of age wrote *Pride and Prejudice*—a book that is as fresh as the dew of the morning, and always will be. It is well, however, to try to see her as she was. We have learned the background of her years. But Jane Austen is strangely tantalizing, for she refuses to stand against the background of her age. We can give the dates of her birth and death—1775 and 1817—but even here she eludes us. She passes through the years of Trafalgar and Waterloo, and yet her novels speak not of them; she was twenty-three when *The Lyrical Ballads* was published, and that fact makes seemingly no impression upon her. She lived through the

days of the French Revolution, and the exciting days of war, and yet, although her brothers were in the Navy, she says nothing of the tremendous excitement and the high alarms of those days. It is really impossible to reconstruct her background, for it is not that of others of her age. It was something created by her swift perceptions, her singular valuations, her eyes so quick to see the oddities and bizarreness of men and women. She stood apart from life, although moving in it, and looked at it, and clapped her hands for very joy as she saw how interesting was its quick-changing panorama.

We turn to the Memoir written by her nephew, Austen Leigh. The picture of Jane Austen inserted as the frontispiece tells us much of his aunt. We know it was drawn by her sister Cassandra. It is not a work of art, but it speaks of eyes that see, of a real sprightliness and merry gaiety. The more we look at it the more sure are we that there was a real eager liveliness and a certain perkiness about her. We know that her home at Steventon was one in which there was deep affection, bright wit, and a wide culture. Her days were full of varied interest. We are rather nauseated by the constant chatter about Jane Austen's little world—she was the daughter of a rector, who was related to the patron of the living. A carriage and a pair of horses were kept by him. There was constant coming and going betwixt the dwellers at the rectory and their friends in the country houses close at hand. There was that perfect love betwixt Jane and her sister, Cassandra, her senior by three years. Their nephew quotes the words of her mother: 'If Cassandra were going to have her head cut off, Jane would insist on sharing her fate,' and says, 'They lived in the same home, and shared the same bedroom, till separated by death.' She was brought up in a large family, made larger occasionally by the addition of some one whom Mr. Austen (who had been a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford) coached. A cousin who had married a Count de

Feuillade, 'of whom,' says Austen Leigh, 'I know little more than that he perished by the guillotine during the French Revolution,' often visited Steventon, and must have created a sensation in that village. It seems probable that Jane Austen never had a full-grown love-affair, but she had known the joys of some skirmishes, and was no stranger to those delights. She loved the county balls, and went to them whenever the opportunity called her. We can watch her as she danced the stately minuet. There were the theatricals at Steventon, 'having their summer theatre in the barn, and their winter one within the narrow limits of the dining-room.' She did delicate needlework, was musical, played, and sang; 'she read French with facility, and knew something of Italian.' We can watch her as she reads her favourite authors—'Johnson in prose, Crabbe in verse, and Cowper in both,' and her beloved Richardson. Austen Leigh, who knew his aunt in the Chawton days, says 'her whole appearance was expressive of health and animation. In complexion she was a clear brunette with a rich colour: . . . bright hazel eyes, and brown hair forming natural curls close round her face. . . . She never was seen, either morning or evening, without a cap.' He says, "'Aunt Jane" was the delight of all her nephews and nieces.' Her niece's tribute is a lovely one: 'As a very little girl I was always creeping up to Aunt Jane, and following her whenever I could, in the house and out of it.' We love to listen secretly to 'Aunt Jane' as she makes merry her nephews and nieces by telling them fairy-stories, and to watch her as she helps them in their charades. Her nephew says, 'None of us could throw spilikins in so perfect a circle, or take them off with so steady a hand. Her performances with cup and ball were marvellous.' All these seem trifles, but they show her liveliness, her power of living in the lives of her nieces and nephews, and endear her to us all the more. From the Memoir we realize the happiness of her temper. 'It was said in the Austen family, Cassandra had the merit of having

her temper always under command, but that Jane had the happiness of a temper that never had need to be commanded.' Austen Leigh remembered that 'her unusually quick sense of the ridiculous led her to play with all the commonplaces of everyday life, whether as regarded persons or things; but she never played with its serious duties or responsibilities, nor did she ever turn individuals into ridicule.'

We do not find in her novels any interest in the poor—she never refers to the labouring classes except in a passing phrase or so—but she was certainly a tender-hearted person. 'She was, in fact, as ready to comfort the unhappy, or to nurse the sick, as she was to laugh and jest with the light-hearted.' Her nieces and nephews found in her a sympathizing friend. Her years at Steventon and Chawton speak of a real gaiety. She had many friends, much variety; there were excursions to Bath and London; we see her at Astley's Circus; and we watch her as she sees Kean act at Drury Lane, and as she stays with friends in the great metropolis. But she has a secret joy—a rapture—and that was in her writing. Her literary success was largely posthumous, but the fun of writing came to her as she worked at her table. 'I do not think,' says her nephew, 'that she was much mortified by the want of early success. She wrote for her own amusement. Money, though acceptable, was not necessary.' It is indeed astonishing that her so delicate work was done in the general sitting-room. What joys must have come to her as 'she wrote upon small sheets of paper which could easily be put away, or covered with a piece of blotting-paper.'! She guarded her privacy, and worked at her immortal books with a certain surreptitiousness. 'There was, behind the front door and the offices, a swing door which creaked when it was opened; but she objected to having this little inconvenience remedied, because it gave her notice when any one was coming.' It is thus we love to think of Jane Austen—absorbed in her work, painting

‘with words on ‘the little bit (two inches wide) of ivory on which I work with so fine a brush.’ From the Memoir we can realize her—eager, vibrant, with homely, happy joys, a lover of her family, a friend of life—but not so friendly that we can call her ‘Jane.’ The modern habit of talking about ‘England’s Jane,’ and ‘dear Jane’ seems to us a real misunderstanding of her. Many of her fulsome and too familiar admirers would do well to remember these words in the Memoir: ‘With all her neighbours in the village she was on friendly, though not on intimate, terms.’ Our love for Jane Austen should not make us forget her genius; it should certainly restrain us from a too-easy familiarity.

The impression the Memoir gives us is confirmed by our reading of her Letters. We find in them the evidence of the same vitality, the same quick sense of the incongruous, the swift etchings of characters with the sentence that is a cameo, the vivid description of a scene, and the scintillating conversation.

It is possible to overvalue the merit of her Letters as letters. We believe that she does not rank amongst the great letter-writers—such as Cowper, Keats, Madame de Sévigné. But surely no one can read them without realizing that they could only have been written by some one with a quick eye for life’s incongruities, and a fine sense of comicality. When we read some of these letters we can overhear Jane Austen talk. The scraps may seem mere trifles, but they bring a certain confirmation as to our opinion of the writer. Here are a few merry quips of hers. We all know this type of man: ‘Mr. Richard Harvey is going to be married, but as it is a great secret, and only known to half the neighbourhood, you must not mention it.’ ‘Dr. Gardiner was married yesterday to Mrs. Percy and her three daughters.’ ‘Mrs. Hall, of Sherborne, was brought to bed yesterday of a dead child, some weeks before she expected, owing to a fright. I suppose she happened unawares to look at her

husband.' 'Mrs. John Lydford is so much pleased with the state of widowhood as to be going to put in for being a widow again ; she is to marry a Mr. Fendall, a banker in Gloucester, a man of very good fortune, but considerably older than herself.' These quips cannot be described by Jane Austen's favourite word—'elegant.' Jane Austen tells her sister scraps of news piquantly ; she darts in a little of her raillery in telling of the events of her daily observation. She says things with a twinkle in her eye : 'My aunt has a very bad cough—do not forget to have heard about that when you come.' The following sentence is of interest from the one who has described house-parties with such peculiar brilliance : 'We are to have a tiny party to-night. I hate tiny parties ; they force one into constant exertion. . . . I am prevented from setting my black cap at Mr. Maitland by his having a wife and ten children.' This is all very trifling, and yet it is not so ; it bespeaks a quick eye, a merry laugh, and the trick of finding mirth in unexpected corners. Here is another quip of hers : 'I was agreeably surprised to find Louisa Bridges still here. She looks remarkably well (legacies are very wholesome diet).' She tells of the decision of a head master concerning a boy related to her : 'Dr. Goddard actually refuses the petition. Being once fool enough to make a rule of never letting a boy go away before the breaking-up hour, he is now fool enough to keep it.' The following extract gives us an interesting picture of the home at the Steventon Rectory, and makes us realize the long evenings which the family would spend together—for five o'clock was the usual dinner-hour in Jane Austen's age. 'We dine now at half-past three, and have done dinner, I suppose, before you begin. We drink tea at half-past six. I am afraid you will despise us. My father reads Cowper to us in the morning, to which I listen when I can.' She mixes her judgement with a certain mercy. 'Poor Mrs. Stent ! It has been her lot to be always in the way ; but we must be merciful, for perhaps in

time we may come to be Mrs. Stents ourselves, unequal to anything, and unwelcome to everybody.' It is from the Letters that we learn something of her methods of writing—she is writing (in 1814) to her niece, who has submitted to her a novel she has written. 'You are now collecting your people delightfully, getting them exactly into such a spot as is the delight of my life. Three or four families in a country village is the very thing to work on.' That was indeed the way of Jane Austen—she loved that *milieu*—and all her novels, except *Northanger Abbey*, centre their stories around 'three or four families in a country village.'

Jane Austen knew what material she could best use, and what tools she could handle. When the librarian at Carlton House (who had informed her that she could dedicate her book to His Royal Highness) asked her to write an historical romance illustrative of the august House of Saxe-Coburg, she wrote: 'I could no more write a romance than an epic poem. I could not sit down seriously to write a serious romance under any other motive than to save my life; and if it were indispensable for me to keep it up and never relax into laughing at myself and at other people, I am sure I should be hung before I had finished the first chapter.' We think that Jane Austen had that too rare gift—she laughed at herself and at other people. We believe that Jane Austen's Letters tell more of her than the Memoir, for we see in them her frivolities, vivacity, nimbleness, and sprightliness of mind. We realize that she may be—to use the word she so often chooses—elegant, but that she is never stolid. We can watch those large eyes of hers wandering around the ballroom or drawing-room, we can see them gaze at some absurdity, and we note the smile playing about her lips—a good-natured smile, but one also that withers up life's foolish inconsistencies.

But there are other places which reveal Jane Austen besides the Memoir and her Letters. We think that we can find in her novels material for her life. We believe that she

is constantly revealing her preferences. We know the kind of man and woman Jane Austen likes, and the type which moves her to laughter. There is much autobiography in her novels. The life at Steventon and Chawton is described faithfully in them; she gives other names, other distances from London, but all the novels which speak of country life are tales of these two villages. We do not mean to say that she depicts the country-side, for that is not her way. Although Jane Austen does not describe scenery at any length, she has a genuine love of the country. She says of Fanny Price, when at Portsmouth and longing for Mansfield Park: 'The sun's rays falling strongly into the parlour, instead of cheering, made her still more melancholy; for sunshine appeared a totally different thing in a town and in the country. There was neither health nor gaiety in sunshine in a town.' Here the lover of the country speaks!

Her knowledge of social life was the result of the frequent meeting of a group of country people from neighbouring homes of a certain affluence and dignity—an exclusive circle which was never greatly widened. The reason why Jane Austen confined herself to the *milieu* in which she worked was that it was so familiar to her; she knew every corner of it; she had seen in her own life at Steventon the home-coming of the married daughter and her children, the village garrulous old maid, the clergyman with his amatory desires for the squire's daughter, the excitement aroused by the visit of a 'Frank Churchill.' She knew full well what she called 'the elegant stupidity of private parties,' and that little world in which everybody seems to have leisure and no one ever is at work. It spoke not to her of dullness, but of life. In what seemed to deny all possibility of providing material for her art she found all that she desired. For Jane Austen asked not for stage thunder, villains, murders, dire intrigues, the detective, and bloodhounds. She found the materials for her consummate art in something entirely different. And it was fortunate that she chose

that way and not the other, for her life in a Hampshire rectory, her few excursions to London, Kent, Bath, and her short residence in Southampton, had given to her mastery over what seemed a limited material. But she knew perfectly the medium in which she worked, and asked for no more—she found her freedom within what appears to us narrow limits. Jane Austen would have considered it a great heresy to assert that the painter always needs the large canvas crowded with figures and incident; she knew that art was not a question of size, but of quality. Besides, she watched with an extraordinary interest the seemingly ordinary people—and, as long as she was allowed to laugh with them and at them, she sought no other field for the exercise of her literary gifts. She saw their variety rather than their monotony: she thought rather of their varying moods than the dull respectability of their lives. There is that illuminating passage in *Pride and Prejudice* which so well illustrates the opinions of Jane Austen:

“I did not know before,” continued Bingley immediately, “that you were a studier of character. It must be an amusing study.”

“Yes,” replies Elizabeth, “but intricate characters are the *most* amusing. They have at least that advantage.”

“The country,” said Darcy, “can in general supply but few subjects for such a study. In a country neighbourhood you move in a very confined and unvarying society.”

“But people,” says Elizabeth, “themselves alter so much, that there is something new to be observed in them for ever.”

The last sentence points to an extraordinary gift of Jane Austen’s—she did not look once, but often at her characters, and found that the lives of the seemingly monotonous speak of a certain constant alteration and a rare novelty. We can see the evident enjoyment of Jane Austen in the telling of her stories, for she reveals herself in her characters. For instance, she writes of Elizabeth Bennet,

and unconsciously reveals herself: 'She told the story, however, with great spirit among her friends; for she had a lively, playful disposition, which delighted in anything ridiculous.' We believe that the study of Elizabeth Bennet will add much to our understanding of Jane Austen. We will illustrate this by a few more passages:

' "Mr. Darcy is not to be laughed at," cried Elizabeth. "That is an uncommon advantage, and uncommon I hope it will continue, for it would be a great loss to me to have many such acquaintances. I dearly love a laugh." '

How true it is that Jane Austen dearly loved a laugh! She must have been the first to laugh at Mr. Collins, Mrs. Norris, Miss Bates, Mr. Wodehouse. We always feel, when we come to her comic characters, and she bids us laugh, that she laughs with us. But it is not the ironic laughter of Swift: her laughter is not that of fierce and hollow mockery. Her laughter breaks down false pride, pompous ostentation, our darling absurdities, but it is never wrongly used. Darcy says to Elizabeth Bennet that even the best men and the best actions ' "may be rendered ridiculous by a person whose first object in life is a joke." ' To this Elizabeth—and in reality Jane Austen—replies:

' "Certainly there are such people, but I hope I am not one of *them*. I hope I never ridicule what is wise or good. Follies and nonsense, whims and inconsistencies, *do* divert me, I own, and I laugh at them whenever I can." '

We realize the truth of this in reading again and again the novels of Jane Austen—those novels which are perennially fresh to us. We read them on holidays, in trains, when we are sick and lie abed, and the more we read them the fresher they are to us. We cannot understand the spell these books cast upon us—but we feel it, and we often realize that not even in the Memoir, nor the Letters, can we so truly meet Jane Austen as in her stories—in those novels in which seemingly she so hides her identity, and yet so truly reveals it. Often, when reading her novels, we come across a passage

and we say, 'That is Jane Austen.' Jane Austen herself speaks when Elizabeth Bennet says: "'For what do we live, but to make sport for our neighbours, and laugh at them in their turn.'" There was something delightfully sparkling, ebullient, in Jane Austen. We may, perhaps, sum up the difference betwixt Jane Austen and others by pointing to the letter which Elizabeth Bennet writes to her aunt announcing her engagement: "'I am happier even than Jane; she only smiles, I laugh.'"'

She claimed the privilege of a lively mind, knew its rights and its limits, and she laughed rather than smiled. We admire Jane Austen, as Darcy admired Elizabeth Bennet, for 'the liveliness of her mind.' We catch echoes of Jane Austen's voice when Edmund Bertram says to Fanny Price that Miss Crawford had "'the right of a lively mind, Fanny, seizing whatever may contribute to its own amusement or that of others; perfectly allowable when untinged by ill humour or roughness.'"'

We can best tell of our love for Jane Austen and her works in the words spoken by Darcy, when Elizabeth Bennet asked him about his falling in love with her. "'I cannot fix on the hour, or the spot, or the look, or the words, which laid the foundation. It is too long ago. I was in the middle before I knew that I had begun.'"'

When Jane Austen was dying, she was asked if she wanted anything, and she answered: 'Nothing but death.' The answer was true—for death released her, and gave to her an ever-growing band of lovers, and an imperishable name.

W. BARDSLEY BRASH.

ICARUS AND THE PHILOSOPHERS

THE sad fate of the young man Icarus in the old Greek myth has made its appeal to many generations of moralists. In our day, too, it must have suggested to many minds an obvious parallel in the case of the philosopher. Icarus, aided by his father Daedalus, put on those wonderful wings of his, and away he went, up and out from that labyrinth which had been his prison, till, mounting too near the sun, the wax that fastened his wings began to melt, and down he came into the sea. So, too, the speculative philosopher, raising himself on soaring wings of thought, must learn to 'fly an ordinary pitch,' or down he comes into the metaphysical slough.

Yet the philosopher, to be a true philosopher at all, must attempt that unimaginable leap out of the 'here' into the 'everywhere,' from the finite to the infinite, from appearance to reality. With him it must be a case of all or nothing, for is he not trying to understand the ultimate nature of reality itself? And, of course, that is a very different thing from, say, studying the science of beetles! In olden days we had the search for the 'philosopher's stone' and the 'elixir vitae.' Later on, the talk was of the 'sensible world' and the 'intelligible world,' 'phenomena' and 'noumena,' 'appearance' and 'reality,' and so forth. 'Words, words, words!' the plain man is apt to retort. He has a vague conviction that it cannot be done, that, after all, as the mediæval Church would have put it; human thought is not of the type of angelic thought. Meanwhile the burden of proof still rests with the philosopher.

The object of the present writer is merely to suggest once again that philosophy is really the child of religion, though too often the rebellious child. 'Thinking, too, is divine service'—so Hegel is reported to have said to his house-keeper. But a merely intellectual quest can never of itself

end in God. The 'quick turns of self-applauding intellect' are challenged at every step by Job's question, which is the ultimate test: 'Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?' Reason alone cannot even establish the idea of God—that is to say, the philosophical idea competent to explain all things. The highest service that philosophy can render appears to be hardly more than a negative one; it can help us to refute any and every non-theistic system, and it can advance various considerations tending to support a faith that springs from the religious consciousness. Only at its peril may philosophy forsake its old Platonic ideal—that it is always a way of living rather than a way of thinking merely; that the philosopher is most nearly akin to the lover. If in the ideal state the philosopher is king, that is because the greatest philosopher is simply the noblest character.

Now, all modern philosophy goes back to Descartes. His *cogito ergo sum* was a thoroughgoing attempt to begin with the irreducible minimum. But, as we now see, it was not drastic enough; *cogitatio ergo quidquid est* would perhaps have been better, at any rate for abstract thought. And yet the really significant point is this—that, as a famous Cambridge philosopher once admitted, Descartes always appeared to be on the verge of asserting the existence of God as well as the self as an immediate intuition. But he did not do so, and the omission has proved wellnigh fatal to all subsequent philosophy. For Descartes, mathematical demonstration was the ideal; the action of two billiard-balls, impenetrable, and acting and reacting upon each other, was the type of all philosophical accounts of reality. Next came the Lockean *ideas* to carry on this fallacy of the abstract mind, this persistent effort to treat mere abstractions as though they were actual individual objects. Then came Berkeley, whose subjective idealism demolished so-called 'matter,' and Hume, who proved that there was no 'mind'! Kant, of course, did something to put things

together again by smuggling in his postulates of the practical reason; but one feels that he never really succeeded in shaking off the subjectivism which still clings to his system. Since then the philosophers have been doing their best to free themselves from this metaphysical atomism, the *damnosa hereditas* left by Cartesianism through its fallacy of logical abstraction. Hegel did make a drastic effort to clear the foundation still further before raising his vast system. Afterwards came the revolt against idealism, and the recent attempt to find refuge in a more or less crude 'realism,' in accordance with common-sense philosophy, which, however, seems bound to fail chiefly through the lack of any satisfactory criterion of truth. Bergson, with his *élan vital*, has given us a salutary reminder that intellect, after all, is only one aspect or factor in creative, evolving life; but he has not been able to surmount this same obstacle of a final criterion of truth. Meanwhile Croce and the other Italian idealists have been reminding us in a new way of the undying strength of the old traditional idealism. Last of all, the humanists, aided by the revolutionary discoveries of Einstein and the mathematical physicists, are now seeking to cut the knot, or, rather, to reconcile the idealists and the realists, by insisting upon the ultimate fact of the relativity of all so-called reality to our human knowledge. . . . So far as one can grasp it, then, it all seems to come down to this—that man, proud man, having pushed his empire, his kingdom of the mind, out and on to the last lone edge of infinity, has been longing to find upon that shore some mark, some token, a real sign from heaven. He has found a mark, a footprint; but it now turns out to be his own! He has heard a voice from heaven; but it is the echo of his own! He is friendless and alone.

Thus are we left in the metaphysical slough. Nor may we console ourselves overmuch with the triumphs of modern psychology. For if psychology is, as many maintain, a valid substitute for metaphysic, then its gains are only won at the

price of a spurious simplicity ; it is only the old atomism again in a new form. And if it is merely a positive, natural science, then the metaphysical problem remains where it was, beyond the orbit of psychology. The solid gains of psychology may have permanent value, but they are irrelevant to the main issue. Unlike Saul, the son of Kish, who went out to seek his father's asses and found a kingdom, psychology set out to grapple with the high mystery of human consciousness and found itself left with little more than a collection of dead fragments. As a recent American writer has wittily put it, psychology originally meant the soul, then it became personality, next it lost consciousness, and now it has become 'behaviourism'—of a sort ! We do seem to have come to the end of the business ; the breakdown is almost complete. No wonder modern thinkers like A. N. Whitehead speak of a new *mental climate*. We have to try again *ab initio*. Philosophy is attempting an altogether new orientation, a fresh effort to grapple with its central problem. Descartes has been dethroned.

The real problem is the fact of knowledge itself, how anything can ever be known at all. In a sense, of course, that must be taken for granted ; knowledge is a great mystery which no knowledge can possibly explain. But it is possible to understand something of its origin and validity ; and, what is equally important, to recognize the wrongness of certain theories about it. We have to begin with the fact of immediate experience, the ultimate foundation of all knowledge. Now, when we know anything, we are always, so to speak, more than we take ourselves to be, and it is that *plus* that does appear to be the heart of the mystery. Of course, we may not simplify the problem by assuming that a piece of knowledge is some kind of entity which we can somehow proceed to manipulate ; it is a connected manifold, rather, that awaits definition and distinction. In any case, then, there is this immediate experience, whatever its objective reference may happen to be at the moment.

Now it is surely vital to remember that *that immediate experience is always something unique* ; it is the absolute to which all else is relative. We may not be able to pluck out the heart of its mystery, but we are probably safe in assuming that the key to the whole riddle is precisely there and nowhere else. Next we find that associated with that knowledge there is always, at least potentially, the self as knower. There is that innermost core of selfhood ; by virtue of its spiritual bond there is somehow brought about that pure spiritual activity which is the condition, the essence of knowledge, and, indeed, of all experience. Knowledge is a *subject-object* relation, and the consciousness of self is at least implicit in all consciousness. Unless we assume this postulate I do not see how we are to steer a true course between the Scylla of subjectivism on the one hand (that is, that all knowledge is of *subjective states* merely) and the Charybdis of metaphysical atomism on the other (that is, that *subject-knowledge* is impossible and that all knowledge is merely of isolated 'somethings,' logical abstractions called 'perceptions' or 'ideas' or 'presentations'). In the former case we are landed in the nightmare of solipsism ; as one of our best thinkers has finely said, 'The spectre of subjective idealism is never far away from the philosopher's chair.' In the latter case also we reach an impasse, a more or less complete dissociation of all so-called knowledge from reality or existence. In this regard I believe that the destructive criticism of Hume has proved most acute and valuable. His metaphysical scepticism was consistent and thoroughgoing. By his masterly criticism of the *self* and *causation* in particular he has laid us all under a debt of gratitude. We see clearly that to deny the essential unity of mind or consciousness and begin with merely isolated perceptions or ideas must lead logically to mental chaos. Hume himself, perhaps with alarm, saw clearly that his reasoning involved in the end the breakdown of all knowledge. There could be no means of reaching objective truth anywhere. The ceaseless stream

of perceptions or impressions might perhaps be likened to hailstones falling upon a roof; in the one case, as in the other, there could be no knowing that they would arrange themselves so as to yield valid judgements about reality. Hume is often dismissed airily as a mere sceptic and atheist, but surely that is to miss the real significance of this negative result of his. To him, as to Kant, we owe an immense debt for this criticism of philosophical knowledge. The inadequacy of the starting-point is revealed; Icarus cannot fly with those wings.

Let us return once more to the immediacy of consciousness, of self-consciousness in particular. Perhaps there is something that the absolutist philosopher overlooks, the omission of which from his dialectical system has vitiated everything; it has made him substitute a 'bit by bit' explanation for a true 'synoptic' view of reality. More recently we have begun to see that, whilst the philosophers were busy explaining the *is*, they were perhaps ignoring the equally valid concept *ought*. The whole realm of *Values* may, after all, prove to be the key. The fact that it is an ideal realm, only imperfectly realized in our experience, and but dimly conceived in our consciousness, is no reason why it should not be the surest road to an understanding of all reality. Professor Sorley, in his Gifford Lectures, *Moral Values and the Idea of God*, bases his whole argument for ethical theism—and a lofty and powerful piece of reasoning it is—upon the objective reality and validity of values, of ethical values in particular as belonging essentially to free personalities. For him the continuum, so to speak, the ultimate datum for consciousness, resolves itself by experience into 'existents' (that is, selves and things) and the laws of their behaviour on the one side, and the realm of moral values on the other side. Thus he shows how, in the end, the age-long problem of reconciling these two—the natural order and the moral order—most nearly reaches its theoretical solution in ethical theism. For our present purpose the main point is this—

that reason alone is not competent to prove the existence of God ; we cannot argue from idea to actual existence, at any rate not from the ordinary meaning of idea—but that this idea (of God) is the one through which reality as a whole comes nearest to being completely intelligible. Sorley himself is careful to point out that the question for him as a philosopher is not : ‘ Does God exist ? ’ (that is a matter for the religious consciousness, and can only be solved by faith), but rather : ‘ How is the universe to be interpreted by our understanding ? ’ In this case, then, Icarus appears to succeed, and he certainly deserves to do better than those nearer to Descartes, for he has fixed his wings far more securely ; his starting-point and method are more valid. But he only does so by attempting a far less ambitious flight ; his atmosphere is the realm of ideas ; that is part of reality, of course, but not the same as actual existence. And if it be replied that the philosopher never claims to do more than this, then why is it that in so many cases they naïvely assume that mere thought is competent to bridge the gulf between the finite and the infinite ?

For the intellect that problem still remains, how to make that unimaginable leap from the cold, dull earth to the bosom of God. *Hic Rhodus, hic salta*. Can we argue from idea to existence—from consciousness in general or self-consciousness in particular to God as the actual final reality ? Yes, we can, but only by frankly assuming the fact of God from the very outset ; that is to say, that in consciousness itself there is involved an *a priori synthetic proposition*, ‘ God is.’ Then, of course, the philosopher can proceed to draw out, in true Cartesian fashion, all the implications of this starting-point. But without this postulate I do not see how there can be any philosophy worth having ; only a series of analytical propositions which may or may not give a true account of reality. The trouble is that the philosopher is apt to proceed with his reasoning in strict analytical fashion, and then to imagine that somehow or other he has reached a

synthetic proposition of the nature 'God exists.' But unless that be assumed at the outset, either from tradition or as an immediate intuition, it cannot be contained in the conclusion. As Coleridge says, both philosopher and theologian too often resemble the juggler at the fair who puts into his mouth what appears to be a walnut and then proceeds to draw out yards and yards of ribbon !

Perhaps Anselm, in his famous Ontological Argument, was on the right track after all. Considered as a philosophical attempt to pass from the bare idea to the actual existence of God, the argument has been rightly discredited by Kant and others. But it may well be that Anselm felt vaguely that 'idea' implied far more than his opponents realized. If for 'idea' we substitute 'immediate consciousness,' with its objective reference, and if we keep in mind the fact that self-consciousness implies the whole realm of values (rooted and grounded in God), then we are justified in claiming that God, the 'wholly other' of the highest form of consciousness, is always present from the start. 'Know thyself,' says the maxim, but he who would know himself must know himself in God. As Professor Ritchie says : 'To attempt to find self (the individual) without God (the Universal) is to find—the devil !' In other words, self-consciousness is also potentially God-consciousness. Dean Inge says : 'God is the last object to be clearly known, precisely because He is at once the presupposition and foundation and consummation of all our knowledge.' If it be objected that this is mysticism, then so much the better ; for, as the same writer has pointed out, it is just this mystical element in Christianity, as found in the Fourth Gospel and in the noble Platonic tradition, that religious thought has neglected. And if the danger of pantheism be alleged, two things at least may be said : first, that a simple argument based upon direct introspection is enough to convince us that one self cannot form part of another self ; and, second, that, after all, the central fact is the utter *uniqueness* of self-consciousness.

If philosophy does not find God there, then I do not know where else in the world it can find Him.

In any case, the religious consciousness remains supreme, and no amount of thinking about religion can take the place of religion itself. For philosopher and wayfaring man there remains the final appeal: 'Behold, I stand at the door, and knock'; and the venture of faith is the final answer. But the philosopher may perhaps find the counterpart of this in such words as these: 'He that cometh to God must believe that He is, and that He is a Rewarder of them that seek after Him.' Without God as the implied postulate of all thought he can hardly reach anything but complete scepticism. For him, too, *conscience* may come to mean *knowledge with God* in a deeper sense than any doubtful etymology can give, for he may see the self and God as together realizing all those moral values of which the ethical are the most obvious and peremptory. God is the source of all truth and goodness and beauty—the final values, as we call them. He 'lends out' His mind to us whom He has created kindred souls to share His love. In communion with Him we realize those values which are the real strength of our life.

Plato spoke of *νοῦς*, the 'higher reason'; Aristotle of *θεῖος λόγος*; Kant, Hegel, and Coleridge of 'reason' as opposed to 'understanding,' which can only give us phenomenal knowledge. Perhaps these are but hints of that same first postulate of all life and thought whose proper name is God. . . . The poets also have done much. Indeed, a recent French writer has said that there was nothing lacking in Descartes except poetry. That looks like a profound truth, for his first principle—the dualism of our 'common-sense philosophy'—really means the denial of aesthetic values. Beauty, in that case, can only be a kind of mechanical harmony, and the pity is that most thinkers have been content to leave it at that. But not the poet; he has always felt that his art somehow forms part of the larger reality. I believe it is the poets who, next to the

saints, have helped us most, for they have come nearest to expressing the ineffable. As W. B. Yeats boldly says: 'Whatever of philosophy has been made poetry is alone permanent.' Philosophy can only proceed by analysis and synthesis, but a supreme artist like Keats can rise to a true synoptic view of reality. By contrast, as he says, 'Philosophy will clip an angel's wings . . . unweave a rainbow.' So Wordsworth also speaks of 'Reason in her most exalted mood,' surely a very striking description of that moment of mystical awareness which for him is the essence of poetical vision.

The 'plain man' has a certain vague distrust of the speculative philosopher. This misgiving may well be justified, although, as in the case of the present writer, he hesitates to meddle with things too high for him. Somehow, as my own teacher used to say, it always seems so terribly difficult for the philosopher to find room for both God and man in the same universe! Religion alone can really solve the problem. For religion is the 'binding together' of the greater *I AM* whom we call God, and the lesser *I am*, the self. And the essence of religion is faith—that creative spiritual activity which is so simple and therefore so baffling. It is a continual miracle, for it is for ever beyond the orbit of reason.

CHARLES A. GIMBLETT.

THE GOSPEL POWER IN THE REFORMATION

I SUPPOSE, if we were asked to define the 'gospel' shortly, we should probably answer in much the same language as that used by the angels to the shepherds—that it is 'good tidings of great joy' that a Saviour has been sent into the world. It is the good news that God has found a way of restoring the broken fellowship between sinful mankind and Himself; and we should also add, I expect, that the way of reconciliation was accomplished through the death of Christ (God's only Son) on the cross. 'Once in the end of the world He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself' (Heb. ix. 26). St. Paul sums up both the power and method of the gospel in one pregnant sentence when he tells the Ephesians, 'By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast' (ii. 8-9). Now I think we may say, without fear of contradiction, that it was this free gift of salvation through faith in Christ's perfect and complete sacrifice for sin which constituted the great message of the Reformation. For it was the rediscovery and reassertion of this great truth of justification by faith alone, by Luther and others, at this time, which manifested the power of the gospel in the whole Reformation movement. We must remember that this foundation gospel truth of God's free grace had been virtually denied through the mediaeval teaching of the sacrifice of the Mass, in which the priest offered Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice, 'to have remission of pain or guilt.' To the popular mind, at least, such teaching contradicted the perfection of that one completed sacrifice for sin which Christ offered on the cross, since it made man's salvation and pardon depend on priestly mediation and not on God's free grace—on the work of the Church and not on God's free gift.

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In order to appreciate fully the great blessing of light, we need to know something of darkness, and so, in the same way, if we want to understand and estimate the glorious light of the gospel which the Reformation movement ushered in, we must remind ourselves of the virtual darkness, or at best twilight, which had overspread Christ's Church before its advent. For several centuries there had been constant complaints from the more earnest Churchmen of the grievous abuses and corruptions, both in faith and morals, which abounded; but attempts at reform had accomplished very little, and things were about at their worst by the sixteenth century. The ignorance, worldliness, and vice of the clergy had called forth the scathing denunciations of the disciples of the New Learning, while Erasmus mercilessly exposed and satirized the superstitious beliefs and practices of both clergy and people. In the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon had asserted that 'the whole clergy is intent upon pride, lechery, and avarice,' and evidently things were no better at the close of the next century, since Savonarola tells us that clerical immorality was then so rife that 'every priest has his concubine.' Erasmus also declared that 'theologians thought it a sign of holiness to be unable to read.' This statement would not seem very extravagant when we remember that, a little later, Bishop Hooper found that over half the clergy of his diocese were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments. The popular system of indulgences virtually gave the godless a licence to sin with impunity, while pilgrimages fostered the grossest forms of superstition in the worship of relics and images. The public services, conducted, we must remember, in Latin, and often by ignorant priests, were quite unintelligible to the humble worshippers, who were almost entirely ignorant of the Scriptures. Religion, in fact, consisted largely in a series of mechanical acts and superstitious practices. It was almost exclusively sacerdotal, sacramental, and spectacular. All grace came normally through the sacrament of penance and

the sacrifice of the Mass, and as Erasmus declared, 'people did not hear a sermon once in six months telling them to amend their lives.' We can form some idea of the spiritual darkness which prevailed from the fact that the Archbishop of York declared in 1585 that he did not know in all his province twelve ministers who were able to preach a sermon, while in many churches there was no sermon for years.

Is it any wonder that the Reformers, seeing this deplorable state of religion, were passionately convinced, to use Bishop Knox's language, that the 'mediaeval system and worship were dishonouring to God and a travesty of true religion'? Nurtured as they had been in the midst of all the superstition and false teaching, we should be careful to notice the means by which the Reformers themselves rediscovered the pure message of the gospel. Here we should not forget the great debt we owe to the disciples of the Renaissance in their earnest desire to examine the writings of the New Testament and compare prevailing religious practices with apostolic precepts. For it was the study of Erasmus's Greek Testament which fired Tyndale with the determination to translate the Scriptures into English, so that 'the boy that drove the plough could know more of the Scriptures' than the ignorant divines of that day. It was thus by their study of, and appeal to, the Scriptures that the Reformers discovered what the pure message of the gospel was. It was the clear teaching of Scripture which showed them the mediaeval errors which had obscured the glorious light of gospel truth. It was, for instance, when Latimer, through the simple artifice of Bilney's request to hear his confession, began to search the Scriptures that he was instantaneously converted from mediaeval teaching, and, as he tells us, from 'that time forward I began to smell the Word of God and forsook the School doctors and such fooleries.'

Similarly, Cranmer, after acknowledging his former belief in erroneous mediaeval doctrines like transubstantiation, the Mass, and purgatory, declared that his enlightenment

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was due entirely to the teaching of God's Word—'After it had pleased God to show unto me by His Holy Word a more perfect knowledge of His Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of Him, by little and little I put away my former ignorance.'

We need to emphasize here that this is our main reason for revering the Reformers and for valuing the Reformation which they accomplished. We do not, as some foolishly seem to think, make a fetish or idol of that special period of Church history, or regard the martyred Reformers as immaculate or infallible. It is solely because of this strong appeal to the final and supreme authority of Holy Scripture that we value their writings and their work. We honour and love the Reformers, because we regard the scriptural truths which they emphasized and reasserted as of vital importance for the spread and safeguarding of real spiritual religion. It was this appeal to the Scriptures which constituted the great power of the gospel at the Reformation.

In no way was the power of the gospel manifest in the Reformation more than in :

I. *The scriptural writings and teachings of the Reformers.* The Bishop of Truro recently declared that the Church of England took an 'enormous risk in putting the Bible in the hands of the public' (*Reservation*, 105). We can only thankfully recall that this 'enormous risk' was not only the means of overthrowing mediaeval superstition and false teaching, but also of restoring the true catholicity of the Anglican Church. For the Reformers reasserted the Catholic standard of faith emphasized by the Early Fathers. In the words of Latimer, they declared, 'If it agrees with God's Word, it is to be received. If it agrees not, it is not to be received, though a Council had determined it' (*Latimer's Remains*, I. 288).

There is little doubt that this 'risk' of giving the people the Bible was fully justified by its reception. 'It is wonderful,' says Strype, the great Church historian, 'to see

with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learned sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, and with what greediness God's Word was read and what resort to places where the reading of it was ' (*Life of Cranmer*, I. 92). It is probably correct to say, with D'Aubigné, that 'the Reformation in England was perhaps, to a greater extent than that on the Continent, effected by the Word of God' (*History of Reformation*, V. 149). Certainly the full force of this appeal to the Scriptures was manifest in the writings of the English Reformers. We can safely say that the power of the gospel during this critical period was the direct result of the scriptural doctrines taught by the Reformers. We have only to consult the teaching of such leading heroes and martyrs as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Bradford on such cardinal points as the sacraments, the Church, and justification by faith, to realize how fully they had grasped the scriptural doctrine on these subjects. When we remember that they were nurtured in the subtleties and errors of scholastic and mediaeval theology, and surrounded by superstitious and corrupt religious practices, it is a marvellous testimony to the power of the gospel that they were enabled by the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit to grasp and expound so clearly the precious truths of God's Word. .

We must bear in mind that the doctrines of the sacrifice of the Mass and the Real Objective Presence of Christ in the elements were universally accepted and taught as orthodox at this time, and yet, guided by God's Word, the Reformers saw clearly that these doctrines struck at the root of the gospel message, since they denied the full efficacy of Christ's perfect sacrifice on the cross and led to the idolatrous worship of the sacramental elements of bread and wine. They were 'the roots of the weeds' which, once allowed to overspread the ground again, would bring back, as Cranmer declared, 'all the old errors and superstitions.'

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As we listen to Bishop Hooper's 'Brief Confession of the Christian Faith' we realize the power of the gospel message in the writings of the Reformers: 'I do believe that Christ's condemnation is mine absolution, that His crucifying is my deliverance, His descending into hell is mine ascending into heaven, His death is my life. His blood is my cleansing, by which only I am washed, justified, purified, and cleansed from all my sins, so that I neither receive, neither believe, any other purgatory either in this world or in the other . . . but only the blood of Christ, by which all are purged and made clean for ever' (*Later Writings*, 82). What is this but an amplification of St. Paul's statement, 'It is Christ that justifieth; who is he that condemneth?'

Again, Hooper did not identify, as the mediaeval writers usually did, the Church with the hierarchy, but with 'the company of all men hearing God's Word and obeying the same'; yet he says, 'I believe that the Word of God is of far greater authority than the Church, the which Word only doth sufficiently show and teach us all things that in any wise concern our salvation' (p. 48). Speaking of the Eucharist, Hooper warns us that 'we must not seek for Christ in these bodily elements,' 'since the receiving is not done carnally or bodily, but spiritually, through a true and lively faith . . . the body and blood of Christ are given for the nourishing of the spirit and inward man unto eternal life' (p. 40).

When we speak of the writings and teachings of the Reformers, our minds naturally turn to the great devotional and literary composition which was the direct result of their changed religious outlook. For surely we may say that, outside the translation of the Scriptures, no greater permanent documentary evidence of the power of the gospel in the Reformation can be found than in the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer. For it meant that people whose hearts and lives had been transformed by the gospel message, declared to them in God's Word, were no longer content

that their public worship of God should be performed by deputy in a dead language, 'not understood of the people.' The result of these largely meaningless, mechanical, and unprofitable services had been that spiritual darkness was rapidly covering the land and the people. But, in the new book of devotion which the Reformers drew up, all the dark and dumb ceremonies of mediæval times, which had 'turned to vanity and superstition' and 'much blinded the people and obscured the glory of God,' were clean swept away. The ceremonies retained were few and easy to be understood, and nothing 'was ordained to be read but the very pure Word of God or that which is agreeable to the same,' for, as Cranmer finely said, 'Christ's gospel was not a ceremonial law, but a religion to serve God, not in bondage of the figure or shadow, but in the freedom of the spirit.'

II. We may safely say that the power of the gospel was specially manifest *in the preaching of the Reformers*.

It was here that their influence was even more widespread, since their teaching by this means reached the humbler classes, who were largely illiterate. The doctrinal treatises of the Reformers, especially those of Cranmer and Ridley on the 'Lord's Supper,' did a great work in convincing the educated and learned classes, but it was the gospel popularly set forth by such preachers as Bilney, Bradford, Latimer, and Rowland Taylor which really converted the people and country from popish errors to the pure faith of God's Word. It was the faithful preaching of the gospel which, in about two generations, so changed the religious condition of the country that Puritan England became, as Green says, 'the people of a book, and that book was the Bible.' Wherever Bradford preached, we are told, the people crowded eagerly around him and drank in his message. A contemporary describes him as 'a master of speech,' who always knew how to adapt his eloquence to the understanding of his hearers. 'He savours and breathes nothing but heaven . . . yea, he sparkles, thunders, lightens, pierces the soft, breaks

only the stony heart. . . . He was of a most sweet, humble, and melting spirit, who will be in a man's bosom ere he be aware and willingly win him from himself to Christ' (Brown, *Puritan Preachers*, 47). Latimer's preaching was no less powerful. 'It left, as it were, certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None except the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart went away from his sermons which were not led with a faithful repentance of their former life, detestation of sin, moved into all godliness and virtue' (Becon's *Works*, 425). Latimer himself fully realized the power of preaching, since he declares that it 'is the ordinary way that God hath appointed to save us all.' 'Take away preaching and take away salvation' is his verdict, which probably many would describe as too extravagant to-day.

We see the direct effect of this faithful preaching on the lives of the people in the ministry of that lovable character, Dr. Rowland Taylor. He so earnestly preached God's Word to his flock at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, that they became diligent students of the Scriptures, 'so that the whole town,' Foxe tells us, 'seemed rather a University of the learned than a town of clothmaking or labouring people, and, what is most to be commended, they were for the most part followers of God's Word in their living' (*Acts and Monuments*, VI. 677). We get the best possible proof of the power of the gospel through the faithful preaching of God's Word in the really surprising grasp of scriptural truths which people even of the humbler classes had obtained, mainly in the short years of Edward VI's reign. In a recent scholarly work on *Cranmer and the Reformation*, Mr. C. H. Smyth implies that most of the victims of the Marian persecution were members of unorthodox fanatical sects, since he asserts that Foxe, in his martyrology, is 'more concerned with the sufferings than with the opinions of the martyrs' (p. 4). Now, I venture to say that no careful and impartial study of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* will bear out

this astonishing statement, for, if Foxe's narratives prove one thing more than another, it is the marvellous grasp of fundamental scriptural truths which the martyrs—and not merely the preachers, but the humble and unlearned—possessed. Men and women of all classes were able and ready to give a clear and assured answer of 'the reason of the hope which was in them' to those who questioned them. In fact, they baffled their opponents and judges with their full and clear knowledge of God's Word. Even Weston, the Romish Prolocutor of Convocation in 1558, admitted to the Reformers at the end of a disputation, 'You have the Word, but we have the sword' (Burnet, *History of Reformation*, III. 841). How many young apprentices of nineteen would be able to answer as clearly as William Hunter did when the bishop asked him whether 'by receiving Christ's body spiritually' he meant that 'the bread is Christ's body spiritually'? 'I mean not so,' said Hunter, 'but when I receive the Holy Communion rightly and worthily, I feed upon Christ spiritually through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought to all faithful believers through His precious death, passion, and resurrection, and not that the bread is His body either spiritually or corporally' (Foxe, VI. 727). It was through the Word that the gospel had been preached to these simple believers, and, since God's Word is truth, they were able, through their thorough knowledge of it, to expose the false and unscriptural doctrines which their Romish adversaries vainly endeavoured to force upon them.

The power of the gospel was manifest also, in a remarkable degree, in :

III. Its effect as evidenced in the *holy lives and burning zeal of the Reformers*. We must remember, moreover, that such practical holiness was in striking contrast to the openly worldly, vicious, and corrupt lives of the generality of the clergy at this time. The true fruits of conversion were conspicuously evident in the everyday lives and conduct

of the Reformers. The pardoned life was synonymous with a purified character. As soon as God's grace had reached the heart of John Bradford, like Paul, he counted all else but loss for the knowledge of Christ Jesus His Lord. He sold all his costly jewellery and apparel, to bestow their value on the sick and poor. He was a man of pre-eminent piety ; ' preaching, reading, and praying was his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it, and his continual study was upon his knees ' (Foxe, VII. 145). Rowland Taylor's character was equally exemplary. ' His life and conversation,' we are told, ' was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek as any child, so that none were so poor but that they might boldly, as unto their father, resort unto him ' (Foxe, VI. 677). ' To the poor, blind, sick, and lame . . . he was a very father . . . he was a light in God's house set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.'

Again, the account we are given of Bishop Hooper's home life reminds us of the earnest but unaffected piety of Mrs. Unwin's evangelical household in the eighteenth century, so simply yet graphically narrated by Cowper. ' If you entered the bishop's palace you could suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of Holy Scripture. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly riding or idleness, no pomp at all ; no dishonest word, no swearing, could there be heard ' (Foxe, VI. 644). We get a singular illustration of the power of the gospel in producing a Christ-like spirit of love and forgiveness in the case of the protomartyr Thomas Rogers, who, when the sheriff told him at the stake that ' he was a heretic and he would never pray for him,' quietly replied, ' But I will pray for you.' An identical spirit was displayed by George Marsh, who, when the Bishop of Chester, after condemning him, declared,

'Now will I no more pray for you than I will for a dog,' earnestly replied, 'Nevertheless, I will pray for your lordship.'

Probably the most convincing evidence of the power of the gospel in the sixteenth century was :

IV. *The unflinching courage and constancy* which it gave to its professors, enabling them to face calmly, confidently, and even joyously, the awful agonies of the stake. Even the Spanish Ambassador, De Noailles, testified that Prebendary Rogers, the first martyr, met his death 'as if he were being led to his marriage.' Several of the prominent Reformers even courageously refused opportunities to escape the impending persecution by flight. They were ready and anxious to witness for 'the faith of the gospel' with their lives. Cranmer resolved 'to quit his life rather than his country,' since he realized that it was a question of his faith towards God. Faithful old Rowland Taylor, in refusing to fly for safety, declared, 'As for me, I believe, before God, I shall never be able to do God so good a service as I may now, nor shall I ever have so glorious a calling as I have now, nor so great mercy of God proffered me as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the Pope and his adherents?' His constancy unto death soon proved that this was no idle boast of an old man, for as he drew near Hadleigh for his martyrdom he became quite joyous, declaring, 'Now I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over and I am even at my Father's house' (Foxe, VI. 697).

The common people were convinced that the faith which would enable, not only learned, but humble and illiterate men and women of exemplary and pious conduct and character thus unflinchingly to face torture and death must be of God. As a lady told Bishop Bonner at the time, 'This cruel burning of true Christian men and the murdering of some in prison offendeth men's minds most, yea, even . . . the rankest papists that be.' The martyrdom of Archdeacon

Philpot, she told him, 'had given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom than ever you shall be able to recover again these seven years' (Foxe, VII. 718). We must remember also that these sufferers were not men of an unbalanced fanatical spirit, who undervalued or were contemptuous of human life, but rather that fidelity to their consciences and to the truths of the gospel was dearer to them than life itself. They feared the wrath of man far less than being false to their consciences and faithless to the truths of God's Word.

'God give me grace,' said the youthful apprentice and martyr, William Hunter, 'that I may believe His Word and confess His name, whatsoever come' (Foxe, VI. 728). When Sir Anthony Kingston reminded Bishop Hooper, just before his martyrdom, that 'life was sweet and death bitter,' the bishop at once replied, 'Consider that death to come is more bitter and the life to come is more sweet' (Foxe, VI. 654). George Marsh, another faithful martyr, being frequently urged to recant to save his life, replied, 'I would as fain live as you if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ, and so again He should deny me before His Father in heaven' (Foxe, VII. 52). It is men of these assured convictions and of this courage and constancy that we need badly to-day. When we recall the strongly-entrenched position of mediaeval Church teaching and practice at that time, we may surely say that the power of the gospel was specially manifest in the marvellous definite rejection of what were then regarded as the infallible claims of the Church over the consciences of men and women, so that in a generation or so the practically unquestioned dogmas and interpretations of popes and priests were subordinated to the absolute and final authority of God's written Word. Nothing but the living power of the gospel message could have emboldened a man like William Tyndale, even before the commencement of any doctrinal reformation, to declare, 'I defy the Pope and all his laws' (*Doctrinal Treatises*, 19). And the secret of this

remarkable power of the gospel was the recovery, as Hardwick puts it, of 'the primitive and apostolic faith.' The Reformation, as Archbishop Benson well said, was 'the greatest event since the days of the apostles,' because 'it brought back the Church of God to the primitive model' (*Life*, II. 682). In other words, it restored the supremacy and final authority of God's Word, so that once again the pure and simple gospel of God's grace was proclaimed which had been taught by the apostles. Tyndale had declared, in an Appendix to his New Testament, in 1525, 'Give diligence unto the Words of eternal life, by the which, if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ.'

It was the Reformers' constant preaching of the saving truths of Scripture which demonstrated the power of the gospel. Men like Bradford, Bilney, and Latimer were preachers of righteousness, and they not only exposed and denounced sin in no uncertain tones, but also faithfully and earnestly preached the full efficacy of Christ's atoning sacrifice, and it was this scriptural teaching which led to the triumph of the Reformation. Foxe declares of Bradford's preaching: 'Sharply he opened and reprov'd sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life' (VII. 144).

We do well to remember that it was due to these doctrines which the Reformers so diligently and zealously proclaimed that the spiritual condition of England was changed in a couple of generations from being a country full of ignorance and superstition, of vice and immorality, to that of a God-fearing and Bible-loving people. We should not forget also that if we want to see the power of the gospel manifest to-day over the forces of evil and materialism, as well as over those of error and superstition, it will only be as we, once again according to our changed conditions, faithfully proclaim the same fundamental truths of the gospel. We shall do well to remember the wise

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and almost prophetic warning which John Rogers sent to his fellow Reformers on the eve of his martyrdom: 'Bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists and putting good ministers into churches, or else their end will be worse than ours.' The dying injunction of Rowland Taylor to his family is surely most appropriate for us to-day: 'I pray you all stand strong and steadfast to Christ and His Word, and keep you from idolatry' (Foxe, VI. 674). Let us always remember that the God of Cranmer, Ridley, and Hooper is not dead, but living and working to-day, and, just as the gospel faithfully preached by them in those critical and difficult days dispelled the darkness of sin, ignorance, and false doctrine, so it can still, if we only set it forth in all its purity and power, overthrow the blighting influence of the revival of mediaeval error and superstition which threatens once again to dim, if not to extinguish, its light to-day.

C. SYDNEY CARTER.

EMERGENT EVOLUTION'

AT the recent meeting of the British Association at Leeds the presidential address by Sir Arthur Keith was entitled 'Darwin's Theory of Descent as it stands to-day.' As is well known, Darwin, in his first work, *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859, elaborated the theory that all living organisms have a common ancestry. Their differences are all due to spontaneous variation controlled by 'natural selection.' The closing words of the book are these: 'There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.' It was not till 1871, when the *Descent of Man* appeared, that the theory was formally extended to explain the origin of man. Here Alfred Russell Wallace parted company with his great colleague, and, 'though agreeing with him with regard to man's physical form, believed that some agency other than natural selection, and analogous to that which first produced organic life, had brought into being his moral and intellectual qualities.'

Since 1859 the general principle of evolution has been accepted by practically all scientists, and has been applied to the entire physical history of the universe. At the same time, Darwin's theory of natural selection has been severely criticized, as in itself quite barren and negative, whilst the problem of the origin of variations, which Darwin never really dealt with, has proved baffling in the extreme. One might almost say that, whilst scientists whole-heartedly

'C. Lloyd Morgan, *Emergent Evolution* (Williams & Norgate); *Life, Mind, and Spirit* (Williams & Norgate); 'Biology' in *Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge* (Blackie).

accept the principle of evolution, hardly any two of them agree as to its method. One therefore anticipated that Sir A. Keith might have something to say about the many differences of opinion within the evolutionary camp, but none of them were noticed at all. The address was devoted to a summary of those facts on which is based the general theory that man is ancestrally in line with the lower creatures. For the sake of those who have not read the address, a summary of such facts is given. 'No one can compare the teeth of these Miocene anthropoids with those of primitive man, as has been done so thoroughly by Dr. William K. Gregory, and escape the conviction that in the dentitions of the extinct anthropoids of the Miocene jungles we have the ancestral forms of human teeth.'

Early in the present century, Professor G. H. F. Nuttall, of the University of Cambridge, discovered a trustworthy and exact method of determining the affinity of one species of animal to another by comparing the reactions of their blood. He found that the blood of man and that of the great anthropoid apes gave almost the same reaction. Bacteriologists find that the living anthropoid body possesses almost the same susceptibilities to infections, and manifests the same reactions, as does the body of man. So alike are the brains of man and anthropoid in their structural organization that surgeons and physiologists transfer experimental observations from the one to the other. When the human embryo establishes itself in the womb it throws out structures of a most complex nature to effect a connexion with the maternal body. We now know that exactly the same elaborate processes occur in the anthropoid womb and in no other. We find the same vestigial structures—the same 'evolutionary post-marks'—in the bodies of man and anthropoid. The anthropoid mother fondles, nurses, and suckles her young in the human manner. This is but a tithe of the striking and intimate points in which man resembles the anthropoid ape. In what other way can such a myriad of coincidences be explained except by presuming a common ancestry for both?

Upon the basis of such facts Sir A. Keith concludes: 'All the evidence now at our disposal supports the conclusion that man has arisen, as Lamarck and Darwin suspected,

from an anthropoid ape not higher in the zoological scale than a chimpanzee, and that the date at which human and anthropoid lines of descent began to diverge lies near the beginning of the Miocene period. On our modest scale of reckoning, that gives man the respectable antiquity of about one million years.'

One asks what alternative explanations there are. If the theory be held that the anthropoid apes are degenerate men, the possible descent of undegenerate man from lowlier forms is practically granted. A great palaeontologist in America has advanced the theory that man has not descended from any sort of ape, but from some creature that never adopted arboreal habits. The facts are definitely adverse, but, if they could be proved, it would leave the matter of descent just where it was before. Apart from physical descent, how can such close and exact relationship be explained? Does it imply a series of experiments on the part of the Creator, at the end of which He knew just what to do in fashioning man? Or did He wish to teach us a lesson in humility? Perhaps an illustration along a line of descent which can be regarded more dispassionately will make the issue plainer. The following passage is quoted from Dr. Watts's article on 'Geology,' in *Evolution in the Light of Modern Knowledge* (p. 78):

In the case of the modern horse, possessed of abnormal 'hands' and 'feet' with but one important digit and rudimentary vestiges of two others, we pass back in time to forms with one large and two small toes, then to others with approximately equal toes, through those with three toes and a 'splint-bone' rudiment of a fourth, to four-toed, and ultimately to animals with the normal vertebrate limb of five digits. These changes are accompanied by modifications in the other limb-bones, tending towards speed and ease of movement in the later types, by steadfast increase in size from that of a bull-dog in the earliest forms, and by important modification in the teeth, each successive change resulting in teeth more capable of dealing with grass and grain as food.

Here we have one form succeeding another along a definite

line of biological progress, which is correlated with changes in the physical environment.

In this case, either new forms were created, with variations on the older pattern to meet new conditions, the older forms being scrapped, or the effort of the creatures themselves to meet the changing conditions resulted in modifications which at last gave us the horse as we know it to-day.

To many it is plain that we read in the Book of Nature the story of man's co-operation with the Creator in his own evolution, and that his physical structure is the reward of aeons of physical integrity. With the immense growth of brain there came into being the instrument of a new and far more difficult way of progress, in a life intellectual, moral, and spiritual, of which the possibilities are infinite. There is nothing whatever degrading in the fact that 'the Lord God fashioned man with dust from the ground,' or in his kinship with the lower creatures. It is *there*, however we like to explain it. But it is the goal that counts, and illuminates the whole process. *Finis coronat opus*. It does not yet appear what we shall be. Life before us may yet unfold 'new and richer forms of being, such as no prescience of ours could foresee and no contrivance create.'

The Spencerian evolutionary philosophy, with its formula of advance from the simple to the complex, the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, was well suited to the materialistic trend of thought in the nineteenth century, and the purely mechanistic theory of natural selection. Now, however, when it is generally recognized that life cannot be explained by the laws of physics and chemistry, and that mind and spirit are something much more than 'epiphenomena,' something better is required. The recent doctrine of 'Emergent Evolution,' whatever be its particular form, certainly takes account of all the relevant facts. The term 'evolution,' strictly interpreted, means an unrolling or unfolding. From this point of view there is really nothing new. The apparently new was all perfectly present in germ

from the beginning of all things, so that everything is preformed and predestinated.

With earth's first clay they did the last man knead,
And then of the last harvest sowed the seed.

But evolution, as it is now almost universally understood, is a process of 'epigenesis,' in which the new whole is always more than the sum of its parts. 'All real synthesis entails new properties which its component factors in their previous isolation did not possess.' This evolution is always synthesis, and 'all real synthesis is creative syntheses.' New values are constantly arising, and the agents in the process are themselves creative. It is at once obvious that the theory of evolution, thus understood, is not simply naturalistic, and may be easily translated in terms of the immanence of God. 'There is no disjunctive antithesis of evolutionary progress and divine purpose. The question: Is there one or the other? has no meaning if there always be one *with* the other.'

By far the most important exposition of Emergent Evolution is that given by Professor Lloyd Morgan in his two volumes of Gifford Lectures, entitled *Emergent Evolution* and *Life, Mind, and Spirit*.¹

In his treatment of the subject, Morgan adopts, as a scientist and a consummate psychologist, a frankly empirical and naturalistic position. He accepts all the facts as they stand, at all levels, gives them their full value, and recognizes the complete continuity of the whole evolutionary process. Concurrently with all this, he acknowledges, underlying the whole process, and actuating it at every point, a divine Activity and Causality.

The meaning of 'emergence' is most simply illustrated

¹ *Life, Mind, and Spirit*, p. ix.

² I do not forget Professor Alexander's important work, *Space, Time, and Deity*, but in a short paper there is not room to deal with the wide philosophical issues involved.

by examples from chemistry. Water we know to be a chemical compound of the molecules of oxygen and hydrogen. It is a substance with a quite unique series of properties, which are not only quite unlike those of oxygen and hydrogen taken separately, but could by no possibility be calculated or anticipated purely from a knowledge of those properties. So when living organisms first appeared, and finally rational beings, there was emergence of that which evidently is not found in preceding, and lower, levels of existence. In all such cases we have 'the emergent expression of some new kind of relatedness among pre-existent events.' Here there is both the 'carrying forward of old relations and the emergent advent of new relations.' 'According to emergent evolution, as I seek to develop its thesis, there is an ascending hierarchy of kinds or orders of relatedness ranging from those that obtain in the atom, in the molecule, in the crystal, and so on near the base of the pyramid, to that of an order of reflective consciousness near the apex.' 'The new relations emergent at each higher level guide and sustain the course of events distinctive of that level, which, in the phraseology I suggest, depends on its continued presence. In its absence disintegration ensues.' In the hierarchy of being, each lower stage becomes the 'stuff' of that next above it. The stuff of the lower stages is caught up into a new sort of relatedness which is the substance of the newly emergent type. Thus what is 'substance' on one level becomes the 'stuff' or material of higher levels, but in the new relation is always more or less transformed. 'As molecular stuff, the atoms are no longer what they were in prior independence. This holds throughout all the ascending levels in the pyramid. That which becomes the stuff at a higher level of emergence is never quite what it was at the lower level from which it was derived—otherwise one would have resultants only and not emergence. Under emergent evolution there is progressive development of stuff which

¹ *Emergent Evolution*, p. 148.

² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

becomes new stuff in virtue of the higher status to which it has been raised.'¹

A large proportion of both series of Gifford Lectures is given to a very thorough exploration of the course of emergence in mental history. It is all of the highest interest and value, but can only be mentioned briefly. In Morgan's system, life and mind are kept entirely apart. There is no interaction. Always there are two stories, the physiological and the mental, and, 'though each story throws light on the other, neither story is such as *makes* the other story what it is.' 'It follows that we should not speak of any organ of the body—hand or eye, for example—as an instrument of the mind.' 'I am not only mind-stuff or body-stuff, though I am that also. I am essentially the *substantial unity*, one and indivisible, that is their interpenetrating tie. It is in virtue of this substantial unity that I *am*.' This to some will be doubtful and unsatisfactory. The term 'substantial unity' seems to be used in two senses. It is used, quite legitimately, to characterize the new relatedness of physical factors of rising grades, and similarly of mental factors. But if physical and mental factors do not at all interpenetrate and interact, to talk of their substantial unity is no true explanation of a whole which is both physical and mental. The substantial unity of such wholes may include factors quite beyond our ken, at least at present. The interaction may be indirect, but to deny it makes all conscious experience an absurdity. Morgan admits 'conscious guidance which counts for progress in the twofold story of life and mind,' but if conscious guidance belongs solely to the mind-story, there is guidance with nothing to guide. Or perhaps the mind guides itself, and the concurrent physical events just happen. Moreover one asks—not quite stupidly, one hopes—whether there are not three stories, a purely physical story as well as the other two.

¹ *Emergent Evolution*, pp. 192-3.

² *Life, Mind, and Spirit*, p. 228. 'Ibid.', p. 188. 'Ibid.', p. 187.

As a necessity of his position, Morgan accepts what he calls 'unrestricted concomitance,' that is, that every living organism has its mental concomitant, and that every living cell has its separate physiological and mental components. This leads straight to the mind-stuff theory. Such a theory is not at all a necessary part of any emergent scheme, and for Morgan, who so generally and admirably accepts the phenomena of nature as they stand, it is unfortunate to have to assume a purely imaginary lower half of the mind-story. The appearance of living creatures, and finally of conscious beings in whose life there is the emergence of higher and yet higher levels of spiritual value, may all be accepted as one 'story' just as consistently as when we make them two or three stories. The emergence of new qualities in any one series, taken separately as mind, life, or matter, is just as mysterious as when we accept the whole series as one, in which at each level all the qualities involved interpenetrate and interact one on the other.

Two subsidiary matters may here be noticed. Morgan fully allows for regression in evolution, and he does not claim that all new forms are emergent: some may be simply resultant. 'Is it then claimed that in this varied world there is always evolutionary advance from lower and less complex entities—each integral system of events—to those which are higher and more complex on the same path of advance? By no means. There is also the reverse process of dissolution with degradation of higher entities to lower. Take the atomic series. The atomic evolutionary path of advance is, let us say, from the atom of hydrogen to that of uranium. Under dissolution the path of degradation is from uranium downwards. Both processes—ascending and descending—are abundantly illustrated in all provinces within the kingdom of nature. To emphasize one does not entail denial of the other.' There is regression that is contributory to general progress. 'It seems that evolutionary

advance at a higher level entails retrogressive dissolution at lower levels ; and that, to put the matter picturesquely, much at the lower level must be unmade that a richer entity at the higher level may be made.' But much regression is also degeneration, and under this category we have to place the fact of sin. 'Sin is not disintegration at a lower level that there may be further advance at a higher level. Sin is disintegration at a higher level that events may run their course at a lower level. It is purely retrogressive and in no valid sense contributory to progressive advance.'

On the question of resultants as well as emergents in evolutionary history, Morgan says :

'Some critics seem to suppose that the contention is : All evolution is by discrete steps, each of which introduces something new ; therefore no evolution is by continuous advance with resultant outcome. That is not so. . . . It has been my aim to emphasize the claim that what is genuinely new in evolutionary advance is of the emergent type, as distinguished from the resultant type. My claim is : Some evolution is by discrete steps, each of which introduces something new. But stress on emergent factors in evolution does not imply denial of resultant effects.' About this question the criticism of the theory of emergence as a theory of the origin of variations is now centred. "The mechanist" says in effect that all processes and products from first to last—from the not-living to the living organism—are susceptible of resultant interpretation. They are all in one continuous plane of resultant advance.' The plea is now made that with a fuller knowledge of the structure of the lower elements (microscopical and ultra-microscopical), we should find that all qualities, without exception, are resultant and not emergent. If this simply means that all the higher entities have a definite structure and obey the laws of matter, life, and mind, it means very little. If it

¹ *Life, Mind, and Spirit*, p. 289.

² *Nature*, May 28, 1927, p. 786.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 786.

means that all rise in status is merely a matter of increased complexity of structure, we have no explanation at all. This seems a variant of the preformation theory.

That which makes Morgan's exposition of great interest and importance for theology lies in this—that along with a fully naturalistic interpretation of evolutionary history he unreservedly acknowledges a divine creative activity and purpose. 'If I may so put it, emergent evolution is from first to last a revelation and a manifestation of that which I speak of as Divine Purpose.' In the evolution of nature there is an inherent *nisus* or urge—what Bergson calls '*élan vital*'—but there is also 'a directive Activity which explains also from above, accepting, with its fitting form of piety, God who draws all things and all men upwards.' And so, finally, 'For better or worse, while I hold that the proper attitude of naturalism is strictly agnostic, therewith I, for one, cannot rest content. For better or worse, I acknowledge God as the *Nisus* through whose Activity emergents emerge, and the whole course of emergent evolution is directed.' 'In my belief in God, on whom all things depend, I am certainly not alone. I would fain not stand alone in combining with this belief, and all that it entails, that full and frank acceptance of the naturalistic interpretation of the world which is offered by emergent evolution.'

THOMAS STEPHENSON.

• *Life, Mind, and Spirit*, p. 145.

• *Ibid.*, p. 86.

• *Emergent Evolution*, p. 62.

• *Ibid.*, p. 299.

JOHN MARSHALL, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES

IT was my fortune, when returning from a visit to Finland, to have some conversation during the voyage with an American politician who was closely associated with President Roosevelt, and whose name is as familiar in Great Britain as it is in the United States. As the vessel ploughed through the waves of the Baltic, we discussed, among other things, the early history of the American Republic, and I stressed the greatness of Washington and Hamilton as the two great creators of the nation. My political friend, however, insisted on a third as having a right to be classed with the other two for his services in the building of the Republic. John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the United States, he maintained, had played a very real and valuable part in the evolution of the Republic. His services in the realm of law had done much to make the foundations of the United States sound and sure.

The Americans exaggerate the greatness of Marshall as they exaggerate the greatness of all their famous men. Santvoord, in his work on the American Chief Justices, begins his chapter on Marshall by referring to the common description of him as the American Mansfield, and then endeavouring to show that he was a greater man than Mansfield. Although, however, Marshall's eminence may be exaggerated, he was undoubtedly an important figure in American history, and contributed largely to the strengthening of the new Commonwealth in its early stages. In view of the increasing growth in England of interest in the history of the United States, with its resulting foundation of professorships and courses of lectures, it is well that the significance of Marshall should be recognized. It may therefore be interesting to say something of the man and his work.

When Marshall became Chief Justice, American jurisprudence, like the nation itself, was in its infancy. American constitutional law did not exist. American lawyers had been trained in the British statutes and common law, of which constitutional law formed no part. International law was, of course, unknown in a country which had only just become a sovereign State. Books and authorities could give little aid, and precedents were lacking both in theory and practice. The situation was one of which the lawyers had no previous experience, and called for intelligence and wisdom of no common order.

In the realm of constitutional law, in which Marshall's services were most conspicuous, the difficulties of the position were further heightened by the existence side by side with the Central Government of thirteen collateral semi-sovereign States. A large number of people hoped that the Constitution, which had only been adopted after much discussion and dissension, would not work. From the birth of the Republic the nation was torn by the conflict of two differing political policies, which continued to trouble the country till the dissension culminated in the war under Abraham Lincoln. One section of the nation wished the Republic to consist of a mere confederation of the thirteen States with their sovereign rights almost unimpaired, while the other party wanted a supreme and indestructible nation with a strong Central Government.

Many of those who were dissatisfied with the settlement of the Constitution laboured to produce strain and friction in its operation, and subjected the Chief Justice to continual criticism and hostility. One of his chief opponents was the worthless Jefferson, who was afterwards President, and to whom he was closely related through his mother. In an atmosphere of contention, and out of a chaos of raw material, he had to deliver a series of opinions upon important constitutional questions, hitherto unsettled, which could be combined and harmonized into a logical and coherent whole.

It was the great achievement of Marshall that his powerful mind did build up a fabric of law which, having a sound foundation, has only increased in strength with time.

John Marshall in early life took an active part in the War of Independence, in which he proved himself an eager and competent soldier. In 1780-1, at the age of twenty-five, after a legal education which would now be considered most inadequate, he commenced to practise at the Bar in Fauquier County, in Virginia.

He did not remain, however, in Fauquier County for long. After two years he removed to Richmond, the capital of Virginia, where he rapidly rose to the head of the Bar. Although the legal profession was regarded as one of the most profitable in America, the Duc de Liancourt, a French nobleman who travelled in the United States, recorded that Marshall did not, from his practice, derive above four or five thousand dollars per annum, and not even that sum every year.

In 1782, while busily engaged in the duties of his profession, Marshall was elected to a seat in the General Assembly of Virginia. From this time on he continued to take an interest in the national affairs, always voicing the views of those who advocated a strong Central Government. He was a member of the Virginia Convention, which was called to ratify or reject the Constitution for the United States, drawn up by a National Convention summoned for the purpose. In 1797 he was sent by President Adams as envoy to the French Directory. In 1799 he became a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, where he carried great weight and was soon recognized as the leading authority on all questions of constitutional and international law. In 1800 he became Secretary of State in President Adams's Cabinet. On January 31, 1801, he became Chief Justice of the United States. It is worthy of note that his appointment was not greeted with applause from any quarter. People knew of his ability and uprightness and

the charm of his personality, but no one dreamt of the commanding will and unyielding purpose which were Marshall's chief characteristics.

As has been already stated, the Chief Justice had to do his work in the face of continual hostile criticism. From the accession of Jefferson in 1801 to the retiral of Monroe in 1825 the Presidents were all of the opposite school to Marshall, and were advocates of the rights of the States. It was inevitable that they should dislike seeing the political philosophy and national teachings of Washington and Hamilton and the Federalist school reinforced, developed, and expounded by Marshall from the Bench of the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice had to endure with patience the bitter spirit that even at that early stage was becoming manifest in the United States. As Juliette Veillier says in her admirable study of Marshall, '*La brutalité n'était pas le moindre attribut des passions politiques de la jeune Amérique.*' Already Washington had complained to Patrick Henry, 'The most respectable and best qualified characters among us will not come forward' in the public service. He tried to neutralize this unfortunate phenomenon by pressing men like Patrick Henry, Marshall, and his own nephew Bushrod Washington, to take their part in public work. Even Washington himself was not spared by his opponents. When a Federal member of the State legislature of Virginia moved a resolution expressing the high confidence of the House in the 'virtue, patriotism, and wisdom' of the President, it was proposed to omit 'wisdom,' and the word was only retained by a very small majority. The last days of the great President were undoubtedly saddened by gloomy forebodings as to the future of the Commonwealth.

The most sensational case in which the Chief Justice took part was the trial of Aaron Burr in 1807. Burr was a strange and romantic figure in the history of his time. He had been Vice-President when Jefferson was President, and had brought much obloquy upon himself by killing Alexander

Hamilton—a much better man than himself—in a duel in 1804. He was consumed by a restless ambition, and was fired, it was said, by the example of Napoleon Buonaparte to dreams of a similar career in America. He was accused of having prepared a military expedition against Mexico—then a territory of the King of Spain, with whom the United States was at peace. He was tried before Marshall at Richmond, in Virginia, and, after a trial on which the attention of all America was concentrated, he was acquitted. Jefferson, the President, disgraced himself by a display of open antagonism to Marshall, and—what mattered less—to Burr. After the trial, Marshall had no further personal intercourse with Jefferson.

The characteristic of Marshall's speeches and judgements were force, ponderous strength, simplicity, and logic. Although he had had practically no legal education, he possessed a solid intelligence and a sound, discriminating judgement which stood him in good stead. He preferred the ponderous battle-axe to the glittering rapier. Wirt said that his maxim seemed always to have been, 'Aim exclusively at strength.' 'From his eminent success I say,' said Wirt, 'if I had my life to go over again I would practise his maxim with the most vigorous severity until the character of my mind was established.' He could argue technical points, but he never took pleasure in doing so. It was on general principles and comprehensive views rather than on recondite learning that he relied to carry him through.

Marshall had a remarkable capacity of piercing to the kernel of a case with irresistible acuteness and extracting it unbroken, clean, and entire. It was often a matter of surprise to see how easily he grasped the leading principles of a case and cleared it of all its accidental encumbrances. He did not aim at ornamental diction, or splendour of style, or impassioned delivery, or fine flourishes of rhetoric. The matter rather than the manner, the substance and not the graces of oratory, were the things that he mainly cultivated.

Like Charles James Fox, he commenced his speeches as if his faculties were roused with difficulty. 'He begins,' said Gilmer, 'with reluctance, hesitation, and vacancy of eye. Presently his articulation becomes less and less broken, his eye more fixed, until finally his voice is full, clear, and rapid, his manner bold, and his whole face lighted up with intermingled fires of genius and passion, and he pours forth the unbroken stream of eloquence in a current deep, majestic, smooth, and strong.'

As a Judge his patience was never surpassed. He was never led, by impatience at what he knew already or what he disapproved of, to interrupt or stop those who addressed him. Whether the argument was animated or dull, instructive or superficial, the regard of his expressive eye was an assurance that nothing that ought to affect the cause was lost by inattention or indifference. The advocate appearing before the Chief Justice had to watch him as carefully as the opponent. Judge Story alleged that it was commonly said by those who were accustomed to argue before him that if his premisses were once granted, one was forced to admit his conclusions. The right thing to do, therefore, was to deny everything he said. He had a habit of using the phrase, 'It is admitted'; as to which Daniel Webster said, 'When Chief Justice Marshall says, "It is admitted," I am prepared for a bomb that will demolish all my points.'

Marshall died on July 6, 1835, having nearly completed his eightieth year. His passing was lamented by friend and opponent. Perhaps no American citizen, except Washington, secured so large a measure of public esteem. President Adams said in 1825 that his gift of Marshall to the people of the United States was the proudest act of his life. His extensive learning, his clear and massive intellect, his uncorruptible integrity, his profound vision, the general kindness of his disposition and manners, the modesty and simplicity of his character, his candour and moderation and

respect for the opinions of all men, made up a whole that fascinated his countrymen. He was plain and unimpressive to look at. As Juliette Veillier says, '*Toute la noblesse de cet homme était intérieure.*' 'In his whole appearance and demeanour,' says Wirt, 'dress, attitudes, gesture, sitting, standing, or walking, he is as far removed from the idolized graces of Lord Chesterfield as any other gentleman on earth, but his black eyes, that unerring index, possess an irradiating spirit which proclaims the imperial powers of the mind that sits enthroned within.'

The influence of Marshall on the development of the United States was very great. It is said that he preferred to be Chief Justice to being President. This is perhaps not surprising, for, sitting year after year in the Supreme Court, he was a greater constitutional force than any one in the procession of Presidents that held office one after another during his tenure of office. He made the Supreme Court a judicial department of Government, co-ordinate with the executive and legislative departments, and, in the exercise of its functions, independent of these. He declared the Supreme Court competent to declare an Act of Congress void, to decide on the constitutionality of an enactment by any State legislature, and to decide finally on the validity of a treaty. He made the Supreme Court the ultimate arbiter of what was and what was not legal according to the Constitution.

In many of the causes that came before him the Chief Justice could have given opposite decisions, and, as a matter of pure law, those opposite decisions might often have been just as good as those which he did give. He was making law, and had no books or authorities to control him. He was ploughing in virgin soil, and was not merely interpreting or applying but constructing a system of jurisprudence. As a Federalist he gave the laws a Federalist complexion, but a 'States-rights' judge might have given them an opposite bias without violating the principles of

justice. This fact, more than anything else, excited the hostility of Jefferson and his school.

Juliette Veillier, the French advocate, in her work on Marshall, published at Paris in 1923, considers the mind of the Chief Justice from the point of view of the League of Nations. She shows that the same frame of mind as advocated the rights of the States rejected the League of Nations. Patrick Henry attacked the Central Government of the United States as something foreign and hostile—a doctrine which Marshall condemned. The United States, in now rejecting the League of Nations, as it does, as something foreign and likely to endanger their independence, is actuated by much the same narrow spirit as actuated Patrick Henry. Juliette Veillier believes that this view of the League of Nations would not have been acceptable to the Chief Justice.

Juliette Veillier points out that Marshall did not encumber himself with precedents. She contrasts him with Robert Lansing, who, when Secretary of State, was fettered by precedents. In the diplomatic contests between Lansing and the English Lord Grey, she says, one does not meet the bold expressions of Marshall, Secretary of State, or the biting irony of Marshall, Chief Justice. Marshall, she believes, would have viewed the League of Nations in a bold spirit, unhampered by precedent and the narrow doctrines of the States-rights men. Marshall, who rejected the false notions of Patrick Henry, would have desired the union of the nations with the object of securing peace and greater justice in international relations. 'John Marshall, qui a repoussé avec la dernière fermeté cette notion fautive, voudrait sans doute l'union des nations du monde dans un but de plus grande justice dans les relations internationales et de paix.'

J. A. LOVAT-FRASER.

FINLAND REVISITED.

IN 1912 a Finnish pastor, Sigmund Sirenus by name, came to the South London Settlement of which I was then warden. To use his own words, he was converted to Christianity in his boyhood; in the settlement he was converted to Social Christianity. He was resolved that the same influence should be felt in his own land. Prompted by him, a group of friends invited me to Finland in 1918. I was there only five days. But my visit was made the subject of a concert of prayer there and in this country, and as a consequence was turned to unexpectedly good account. I addressed about eight hundred men at the Helsingfors Y.M.C.A. I preached in the great national cathedral of St. Nicholas, the scene of the chief State functions, to more than two thousand people. I lectured twice to a thousand people on the work of the Settlement. I addressed a thousand working people at Tammerfors, the Manchester of Finland. I was splendidly served by my friend Sirenus as interpreter; he was heart and soul with me. Before leaving, I laid it on his conscience to lead the movement which had thus been begun. With much diffidence he consented. Two years later an address was sent to the Settlement signed by seventeen leading citizens of Helsingfors—representing Church, University, and Industry—gratefully attesting the powerful and lasting influence which had followed my visit, and the growing sense in Church and nation of the social obligations of the gospel.

After the lapse of fourteen years I was again invited to visit Finland. The contrast between 1927 and 1918 was most striking and exhilarating. The first group of Finns I had ever met was at Lillehammer in 1912, at a convention

¹ *Finland To-day*, by Frank Fox, with maps and illustrations (A. & C. Black); 'The Utilization of Leisure in Finland,' *International Labour Review* (Allen & Unwin, April 1924).

of Scandinavian Christian students. At one of the outings the Finns were singing, but with a subdued air and a depressed appearance. I was told they were singing the Finnish national anthem, which Russian tyranny forbade them to sing in Finland. Next year, when I crossed to Abo, my passports were examined by Russian police. The streets of Helsingfors were guarded by Russian troops. One day I passed a great mansion, before which stood a cordon of police, on foot or mounted, all armed. I was told that that was the house of General Bobrikoff, the Russian governor, the stern executant of the Russifying policy. The Finnish people were not allowed to serve in the army; their foreign oppressors dared not trust them with weapons. The whole country was under the despotic control of a foreign usurper.

Now what a difference! Finland is free! No foreign police; no foreign guards about the streets; the despotic governor dead; and dead the system of terror which he embodied. One seemed to feel the exhilaration of freedom—in the faces of the people, in the bustle of the streets, in the indefinable social atmosphere. True, it was a fiery ordeal through which Finland passed into this freedom. There was the Russian invasion and the Red Terror; there was the counter-invasion of a German army; and, after both invasions had withdrawn, the civil war went on between the Whites and the Reds. As I passed in the train I was shown where there had been a wholesale massacre of the Reds. What Culloden had been to the Highlanders, this was to the Bolshevik forces. The great cathedral of Agricola in Viborg, where I preached, and the hospital opposite, still showed in their battered walls where the shot of both sides had struck. There, too, when the Whites were victorious, any one merely accused of being Red was shot at sight, without even the semblance of a trial. Earlier in Helsingfors my friend Sirenus was held up by the Reds to be shot, but at the last moment he was set free, and came

home to a wife who already thought herself a widow. The cruelties on both sides were terrible. But, through much tribulation, Finland emerged into self-governed freedom; free from Russian despotism, free also from the once threatening shadow of German Imperialism. She is now an independent republic. She is more advanced politically than the people of Great Britain. Women are on a complete equality with men—in the polling-booth, in Parliament, and in the University. There are checks against over-hasty legislation, but there is no House of Lords or Second Chamber of any kind. There is no feudal nobility. There are still large landowners, but their estates are being broken up and sold to small proprietors.

There are Communists in Finland; they have their representatives in Parliament. They maintain the most touching faith in the tales that reach them of Russia as the working man's Paradise. I was speaking at a Settlement meeting on the value of free discussion, and incidentally referred to efforts made to suppress it in America by 'Big Business' at the 'Open Forums' and in Russia by rifle-shot. A Communist rose in the audience to denounce me for this attack on Soviet Russia. Later, as we chatted together, and became good friends, he said they had free speech in Russia, all statements to the contrary being part of the lies with which the newspapers were filled. He had carefully put my name down in his pocket-book, not, as events proved, for purposes of 'removal.' The positive obsession of faith in Soviet Russia seems to have acquired in many minds a sort of religious sanctity.

The good sense of the people has saved them from the wild reactions of revolt. True, a young Finn who had perforce spent four years learning Russian at school under the old régime seemed to think it his patriotic duty to forget as soon as possible the language so tyrannically taught. But the statue of Tsar Alexander, who gave Finland her constitution, still stands in the central square before the

Church of St. Nicholas, and the great portraits of other Tsars who were chancellors of the University still hang uninjured on its walls.

The Russians were the last, but not the only, conquerors of Finland. The country had previously been held by Sweden; and is still officially bi-lingual, names and notices being given in Swedish as well as Finnish. So places are known as Suomi or Finland, Helsinki or Helsingfors, Wiipuri or Viborg, Tammere or Tammerfors. There are, in fact, a third of a million who speak Swedish, as against two and three-quarter million who speak Finnish. The culture which prevails was largely imported by the Swedish conquerors. Until a generation ago all the higher education in Finland was restricted to those who could speak Swedish. The father of a friend of mine had to learn Swedish before he could be admitted to the high school in Helsingfors. Steadily the privileges of the Swedes are being transferred to the whole population; and the Swedes, deprived of their old ascendancy, complain of being 'oppressed.' But the arrogant contempt of the Scoto-Irish Ulsterman for the pure Irish has no counterpart in the feeling of Swede for Finn. To my surprise I learned that the award of the Aland Isles had been joyously welcomed by the Finnish Swedes as bringing an important addition to the Swedish electorate in Finland. So far have the invaders from the West flung in their lot with their home in the East.

The three and a half millions dwelling in Finland—a million less than the population of London County—lead us to think of the country as among the small States. Yet Finland is in area greater by one-tenth than the whole of the British Isles. Climate and latitude are serious handicaps, but Finland has in it capacity of enormous expansion. As the coal dispute has painfully taught us, the fuel supply of Great Britain is steadily giving out, whereas the fuel supply of Finland is steadily increasing year by year. More than half the country is covered by pine forests; as one whirls

along in the train, only a few clearances here and there break the solemn mystery of the interminable woods. Considerably more than one-third of these belong to the State; and Nature herself, untended, supplies the annual increment. The amount cut down every year is carefully limited to less than this natural increment. So that, though timber forms nearly one-half of the country's exports, Finland grows richer every year in her stock of pine. Not only so, but 'the land of a thousand lakes,' occupying different levels, has vast stores of 'white coal.' I saw the standards already erected for the electrification of all South Finland, while in Great Britain we are 'still talking' about electrical schemes. Soon, in power and light, rural Finland will be right beyond us; and these factors mean industry, rapid increase of population, and wealth.

I was glad to hear from engineering friends at Helsingfors that Charles Booth's formula—'improved locomotion offers a solution of the housing difficulty'—was being resolutely applied by State and municipality. With plenty of room and with ample sources of traction, it would seem a crime to crowd people in the old high-storied blocks, instead of spreading them out in cottages with gardens over the circumjacent area. There is something almost humorous in the street extension going on in the outskirts of the Finnish capital. The street as it advances is faced with huge boulders—almost a little mountain—of granite. Instead of a hindrance, this apparent obstruction becomes a most valuable help. Electric drills are soon at work; high explosives are inserted—the rock is shattered. The large blocks are carted away for building houses, the lesser for paving sidewalks; the smaller fragments are used for road-metal; still smaller fragments are ground up for use as concrete; and before long the street advances, having provided itself from the formidable barrier with building materials, pavements, and macadam. Every day where

I was staying I used to hear the tapping or whirr of the drills, with the intermittent bang of the explosions.

Finland is in advance of Great Britain in having ratified the Eight-Hour Convention of the International Labour Office. Work, as a rule, begins at 7 a.m. and ceases at 4 p.m. It was a strange but welcome sight to see the streets filling at four with the workers, men and women, pouring out of the factories. In the long days of the northern summer the period from four o'clock till sunset almost amounts to a daily holiday. The British cynic will ask, 'And what do they do with all this leisure?' The answer reflects the greatest credit upon the Finnish people. Trade unions, employers, co-operative societies, and municipalities have made abundant provision for putting the new-found time to good uses. Lectures, evening classes, libraries, people's houses are organized by the trade unions. There are workers' educational institutes with 14,000 students, an association for workers' education with more than 800,000 members and a very wide programme of instruction; more than 8,000 popular libraries; a yearly increase in sales of books (Finland is said to buy more books in proportion to the population than any other country in Europe); workers' theatres association; workers' philharmonic; girls' clubs, women's clubs, young people's societies for debates, singing, games, and dancing. Sport is socially catered for. Great attention is given to physical culture, for women as well as men—in winter sports as well as summer. 'Generally speaking, the workers show a very decided taste for open-air life.' The result appears on every side. As I saw a troop of Finnish soldiers marching along the streets, I could not help admiring the swing and elasticity of their movements. Tuberculosis is the chief plague of Finland, but it is being bravely combated, not merely by spacious hospitals and sanatoria, but by the best preventive of all—exercise in the open air. Sports grounds, swimming-baths, skating-rinks, and ski and luge runs have been given

and are maintained by the municipalities. Many employers have done much to develop housing and gardening for their workmen. About 10,000 workers' gardens have been started by the factories. The war gave a spurt to allotments. For the peasants and agricultural workers about a hundred schools have been founded to train them for their work. All these developments are generously fostered and subsidized by the State.

Before I went out, a well-known Conservative leader in our House of Commons lamented to me that Finland was breaking up the great estates into small holdings for the people. He hankered after the patriarchal system which preceded the Industrial Revolution, when large landowners held open hall for their tenants. He was also enamoured, as most Englishmen used to be, with *la grande culture* as opposed to the *petite*. 'The Finns are making a great mistake,' he said. 'The land is not rich enough to be worked in small farms. Large capital is needed.' I suggested to him that co-operation might meet the difficulty. He shook his head. I found when I reached Finland that the farmers were prospering greatly. 'They are too prosperous,' said a bishop to me; 'their minds are absorbed in material gain.' Motor traction has greatly helped the rural districts. In the big cities I was amazed to find the number of motor-omnibuses, running great distances, bringing the countryfolk and their wares direct to the town markets.

The people of Finland are manifestly not wanting in courage. The first great social law passed by the new Republic was the enactment of Prohibition. It has not yet been universally complied with. Exceptions, medical and other, have been given an elastic interpretation. 'Boot-legging' prevails to a regrettable extent, rendered more easy by the number of creeks and islands along the coast and by the almost amphibious habits of the dwellers along the shore. Foreign cupidity supplies surreptitious stores

of deadly spirits. Arrests for drunkenness are numerous. All these drawbacks in this teetotal Paradise are magnified by foreign opponents of Prohibition. The latter seem to have the same dogmatic difficulty in believing anything good of Prohibition countries as Communists have in believing anything bad about Soviet Russia. Here, for instance, is Mr. Frank Fox giving on the whole a most useful and commendatory account of Finland to-day: a book to be read with profit and pleasure; yet, when he comes to speak of Prohibition, he simply loses his head. His 'arguments' only prove his bias. Because speech is frequently abused, therefore all speech ought to be prohibited: that, he thinks, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of Prohibitionist logic. Yet, as he ought to be aware, the liquor traffic is felt to be so dangerous as in almost all countries to be put under restrictions or control by law. He has spoken highly of the character and common sense of the Finns; he has the greatest difficulty in explaining why such a people should have resorted to an absurdity like Prohibition. I saw an article by a Dutchman who made the most astounding statements, vilifying the people and medical profession of Finland because of the intolerable sin of Prohibition. The epidemic of violence, which is the aftermath of foreign war, civil war, and violent revolution, he attributes entirely to Prohibition. No doubt the law is hard to enforce, and there are many loopholes. Sailing from Stettin to Helsingfors in a Finnish steamer, I was surprised to find beer, wine, and spirits regularly on sale on board. 'Is not every Finnish ship a part of Finnish territory, subject to Finnish law?' I asked. I was told that German and British ships were regarded as part of their national territory, but not yet Finnish. Only on entering the three-mile limit were all alcoholic liquors sealed, on Finnish as on foreign ships. But the Finns, unlike the Americans, are a law-abiding race; they submitted to the laws imposed by Russian despotism; they are much more likely to abide by their

own laws ; and, though foreign gold may lure them for a time from their normal loyalty, they may be expected in the end generally to conform. Finns quote with glee that the world's athletic records are held by the two Prohibitionist peoples, Finnish and American, and point to the increasing prosperity which has followed Finnish Prohibition.

Finland is undoubtedly prosperous. Since her liberation the balance of trade, once generally against her, is now steadily in her favour. Building is going on rapidly. Hydro-electric devices are multiplying on every hand. There are practically no unemployed ! Finland is using her new-found freedom well. The people seem bent on self-improvement in all manner of ways.

When I was in Finland fourteen years ago there were no social Settlements. Largely as a consequence of my visit, friends are kind enough to say, there are now four. The parent Settlement—Kalliola in Helsingfors—considers itself a daughter of the Settlement of which I was head and on which I lectured. The building in which it meets is almost a poetic witness to the change that has come over the country. When General Bobrikoff was assassinated, the Russian Government built in his honour a place for training Russian police in his methods, and called it Bobrikoff School. When Finland was freed and the Russians were sent back to Russia, Bobrikoff School was vacant. Dr. Sirenus secured it from the Finnish Government as a home for his Settlement. The Bobrikoff arms were removed from the main window and the Cross put in their place. The Viborg Settlement had its site presented by the now sainted Baron Nicolai, who has also left his great estate to the municipality. Away in the north every winter sees thousands of men employed in the lumber trade—cutting down the trees and shooting them down the rivers in spring spate. Their social life was unprovided for. Certain Agrarian members of Parliament approached Dr. Sirenus and induced him to start a lumber Settlement. There is now in full work every winter a

Settlement house which cost a million Finnish marks. Inquiring how these Settlements were supported, I found that, while Churches, employers, and private subscribers contributed, the chief support came from the State, in the form of loans at low interest and in grants of various kinds. I was interested to hear that every time Settlements had approached Parliament for help it was freely given with the unanimous support of all parties in the House. Fancy a Settlement in this country, like the one I formerly directed, pledged like Kalliola to promote the Labour movement in religion, receiving loans and grants from all parties in our House of Commons! The Finnish Prime Minister said to me, 'We must all agree in whatever promotes the welfare of the people.' I suggested to him that where such unanimity prevailed on the essential well-being of the people there was surely opportunity, despite all differences among the parties, for an agreed programme, including all measures for the incontrovertible common welfare, which would be an immense national boon. If successfully carried through in Finland, it might form a striking example for other countries. As has been shown, there is no chasm between State and people. Some half-dozen M.P.'s of different parties were guests along with professors, pastors, and business men at the dinner to welcome me back to Finland. And the governor of the province of Viborg—one of the handsomest and most dignified of men—was, I found, conductor of the choir of the Viborg Settlement.

Between religious people and the social democracy there is less antagonism; there are here and there the beginnings of co-operative action. The Lutheran Episcopal is still the State Church, but has none of the Episcopal exclusiveness which used to be common in Great Britain. Parliament, on opening, attends service in St. Nicholas's Church. But there are Free Churches; their ex-president was good enough to act as interpreter when I preached in the Swedish Church in Helsingfors. Two Sundays in Finland afforded me no

opportunity of judging whether church attendance was falling off. The two thousand whom I addressed in St. Nicholas's Church, Helsingfors, and about the same number in Tammerfors Cathedral, may have been the usual Sunday congregation. But the fully two thousand who crowded the Viborg Church on a Monday night suggested that even on a week-night great congregations were possible. There seems to be a positive enjoyment of long services. At each of the three cathedral congregations to whom I preached the service lasted over two hours and a quarter. In each case, after singing and prayer, an address was given by the dean or preacher for the evening. Then more singing. A special feature was a series of anthems or pieces of sacred music sung by the choir—Settlement choir or Cathedral choir—which lasted nearly half an hour. This choral music was, as might be expected from so musical a people as the Finns, exquisitely rendered; and the congregational singing was elemental in its vastness as well as human in its pathos. Next came the collection. Then for more than an hour I and my interpreter spoke. Prayer followed, and a congregational song concluded the evening—without any final benediction.

My message was one phase or another of the New Evangelism, the gospel of the Kingdom, 'as in heaven so on earth,' summed up and transcended in the radiant presence here and now of the Personality of Jesus. Bishop Gummerus assured me that the religious Finns were often keen theologians, 'well up' in Lutheran doctrine, and his words were confirmed by the deeply impressed attention with which I, an utter stranger, was heard and welcomed. The good bishop confirmed another of my impressions—that the Finns are very like the Scots: like in their zeal for education and religion, even for theology, in their reticence, industry, and thriftiness—although the prospect of a Prohibitionist Scotland seems rather remote! Scots who accept the resemblance will naturally expect a great future for the Finns.

Over the joy and ambition of emancipated Finland hangs one dread shadow. Just over its eastern border the Red Ogre is biding his time and waiting his opportunity. Finland does what she can to prepare for defence. Conscription is accepted as a patriotic privilege. This gives her an army of some 22,000 men. Behind it is a volunteer reserve of 100,000. But against the uncounted hordes which Russia could fling into the field, 120,000 men could do little more than 'hold the fort' until other help arrived. So Finland has been from the first a zealous supporter of the League of Nations. Critics who see in the League only an academic 'fad' need to go to this new republic to feel that the League is a matter of life and death to small and menaced nations. Finland is ahead of Great Britain in international politics. She has signed the statute accepting Compulsory Arbitration, which the British Empire has declined to accept. She has signed the Protocol of 1924, which would now have been adopted by the nations in the League as part of recognized international law but for its persistent rejection by Great Britain. The revival of the Protocol at the assembly this year was welcomed and supported by the Finns. There was much rejoicing during my visit at the League's promise to guarantee financial assistance to poor States that became victims of aggression. Still greater delight was expressed at Finland's election to a seat on the League Council. Confident hope was expressed in high quarters in Helsingfors that Germany would sign the Protocol, and so bring it nearer general adoption.

I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Tanner, now Prime Minister, under unusual circumstances on my earlier visit. Because I came without any credentials from 'recognized Socialist bodies,' the Social Democracy of Finland decided to boycott me. They would accept no notices of me or my coming in their official journal. But Mr. Tanner was on the staff of that journal. He attended my first Sunday meetings, and to the surprise of every one gave a long and

laudatory account of what I had said. Next day he rang up for an interview, and very kindly offered to show me over the co-operative works—since then immensely extended—of which he was a chief director. Barely had we met when, both of us speaking in German, he brushed aside the usual courtesies of conversation with the remark, 'I want to talk to you about religion.' The attitude of British Labour leaders to Christianity, so different from that of the Social Democracy of Europe, had profoundly interested him. I understand that after I had gone he wrote in his journal most appreciatively of the Christian leaders of British Labour, but with renewed condemnation of the Finnish Church. I was much impressed with his open-mindedness and eye for realities. I found him now Prime Minister, frank and genial as ever, speaking English with fluency, and keenly alive to all that made for the advance of Labour and the welfare of the common people everywhere. He is leader of the whole co-operative movement, which has made enormous progress; and he may be trusted, if power be continued to him, to do his utmost to turn Finland into a happy co-operative commonwealth.

If only the League of Nations is as good as its covenant-word, and protects this small State from foreign aggression, there is a great future in store for Finland.

F. HERBERT STEAD.

THE UNCROWNED QUEEN OF ARABIA¹

MISS BELL'S letters will make every Englishwoman proud. With rare exceptions they are family letters, written to her father, whom she adored, and to her step-mother, whose never-failing affection was one of her chief joys. The letters have been selected with much skill, and notes have been added which light them up in a way that greatly increases their interest. Taken as a whole, they form a picture of the building up of a great Arab kingdom and of the training of the English girl who was to enjoy the confidence of High Commissioners and Arab sheiks in a way that smoothed over many embarrassing situations and did much to promote mutual trust and goodwill.

Gertrude Margaret Lowthian Bell was born on July 14, 1868, at Washington Hall, in the county of Durham. Her father, now Sir Hugh Bell, is a noted ironmaster and colliery owner; her mother was Mary Shield, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Sir Hugh's mother was Margaret Pattinson, of Alston, so that Gertrude inherited from her Northumbrian and Cumberland forbears the vigour and intelligence of the North. Her mother died when she was three years old, leaving a baby boy, Maurice. Five years later her father married the daughter of Sir Joseph Olliffe, M.D., and had a son and two daughters, who filled a happy place in their elder sister's life. Lady Bell says that through all Gertrude's wanderings she kept in the closest touch with her home, where her varied, witty, and enthralling letters were a constant joy. 'She was able at the close of an exciting day of travel to toss off a complete account of it on paper for her family, often covering several closely-written quarto

¹*The Letters of Gertrude Bell.* Selected and edited by Lady Bell, D.B.E. Two volumes. (London: Ernest Benn. 1927.)

pages.' For many years she kept a diary as well, but in 1919 the letters became the sole record. Besides the family letters she kept up a large correspondence with other friends, including some of the most distinguished men of the day. A few extracts from these are given, but Lady Bell has wisely confined her selection to the home letters, which have an intimate touch of their own. We see into her mind and heart; we follow her work, and share her amusements as she described them for her family circle. We watch 'her gradual development on all sides through the years, garnering as she went the almost incredible variety of experiences which culminated and ended in Bagdad.' From her girlhood up to the very end, the picture is always changing. 'Scholar, poet, historian, archaeologist, art critic, mountaineer, explorer, gardener, naturalist, distinguished servant of the State—Gertrude was all of these, and was recognized by experts as an expert in them all.'

At fifteen she became a student at Queen's College, London, where her aptitude for history led the lecturer, Mr. Cramb, to urge that she should be sent to Oxford. She entered Lady Margaret Hall in 1886, just before she was eighteen, and left, after two years, with a brilliant First Class in Modern History. Mrs. W. L. Courtney described her as 'the most brilliant student we ever had at Lady Margaret Hall, or indeed I think at any of the women's colleges.' She put in seven hours of solid work, but threw herself into every phase of college life. 'She swam, she rowed, she played tennis and hockey, she acted, she danced, she spoke in debates; she kept up with modern literature, and told us tales of modern authors, most of whom were her childhood's friends.' She went to the four balls given in Commemoration Week, and, the night before her viva voce, danced all the evening, looking radiantly happy. Professor S. R. Gardiner, the historian of James I and Charles I, began her examination, but when she replied to his first question, 'I am afraid I must differ from your estimate of Charles I,'

he asked his colleague to continue the *viva voce*. She won her First with flying colours. Mrs. John Richard Green told her in 1892 that Mr. York Powell had said that Miss Bell was 'the only girl he had ever examined who knew how to use books or had read things outside the prescribed course, and that he thought I had got into the heart of my subject.' Gertrude adds, in reporting this to her mother, 'What a little daring it takes to deceive his misguided sex !'

She was already looking for some one to teach her Persian. Lord Stanley came to offer his help, and Mr. Strong expressed his readiness to teach her. She says, 'I feel I shall end by receiving special instruction from the Shah in person.' Her mother's sister was married to Sir Frank Lascelles, who was Ambassador in Persia, and in the spring of 1892 Gertrude found herself, to her great joy, in Teheran. She describes herself lying in a hammock strung between the plane-trees of a Persian garden, where she read the poems of Hafiz, in the original, out of a book curiously bound in stamped leather, which she had bought in the bazaars. She tells of a Persian merchant in whose garden, stretching all up the mountain-side, they spent a long day, breakfasting, lunching, teating, on nothing but Persian foods. Every evening parties of friends were entertained by this hospitable Persian, who told them stories half through the night. 'Then cushions are brought and carpeted mattresses, and they lie down in one of the great houses in the garden and sleep till dawn, when they rise and repair to the bath in the village.' Miss Bell quotes this description, and adds, 'Isn't it charmingly like the Arabian Nights ! But that is the charm of it all, and it has none of it changed ; every day I meet our aged kalenders and ladies who I am sure have suits of swans' feathers laid up in a chest at home, and some time when I open a new jar of rosewater I know that, instead of a sweet smell, the great smoke of one of Solomon's afreet's will come out of its neck.'

She formed rapid impressions of what she saw. 'She

would dive beneath the surface, estimating, judging, characterizing, in a few words that were not often mistaken. She would ride through a country-side and report on its conditions, human, agricultural, economic, and her report would be adopted. When she came into contact with human beings, whether chiefs of the desert or men and women of her own Western world, she would label them, after her first meeting with them, in a sentence.'

At Teheran she pursued her Persian studies, and in 1897 published a translation of the *Divan* of Hafiz, with a history of the poet and his times. She gave up her own verse-making, but the spirit of poetry coloured all her prose descriptions. She gives a vivid account of her ascent of the Meije in August 1899. At the worst place there were two little lumps to hold on to on an overhanging rock, and she was in mid-air clinging on the rope which the guide held fast above. She became a noted mountaineer, and won fame by climbing the Engelhorn in 1901. Her first desert journey was taken in 1900. She went to Jerusalem bent on learning more Arabic, and visited the Russian Pilgrim House at Jericho, where pilgrims packed as tight as herrings lay sleeping in rows on the floor. There was an enormous crowd at the Jordan. 'Bedouin and fellaheen, kavasses in embroidered clothes. Turkish soldiers, Greek priests, and Russian peasants, some in furs and top boots and some in their white shrouds, which were to serve as bathing-dresses in the holy stream and then to be carried home and treasured up till their owner's death.' She photographed long-haired Russian priests praying in their shrouds in the hot sun by the river bank, among the tamarisk-bushes and the reeds. Men and women wore chains of beads and crucifixes round their necks. A long procession of priests came to the water's edge with lighted candles. The shrouded pilgrims 'clambered down the mud banks and stood waist deep in the stream till the priest laid the cross three times on the water, then, suddenly, with a great firing off of guns, every one

proceeded to baptize himself by dipping and rolling over in the water. It was the strangest sight. Some of them had hired monks at a small fee to baptize them, and they certainly got their money's worth of baptism, for the monks took an infinite pleasure in throwing them over backwards into the muddy stream and holding them under until they were quite saturated.'

March found her on the top of Pisgah, looking over the wonderful Jordan valley, the blue sea and the barren hills veiled and beautified by cloud. She thought that last page in the life of Moses was one of the most pathetic stories that has ever been told. A week later she was at Petra. 'Imagine a temple cut out of the solid rock, the charming façade supported on great Corinthian columns standing clear, soaring upwards to the very top of the cliff in the most exquisite proportions, and carved with groups of figures almost as fresh as when the chisel left them—all this in the rose-red rock, with the sun just touching it and making it look almost transparent. As we went on, the gorge widened; on either side the cliffs were cut out into rock tombs of every shape and adorned in every manner, some standing, columned, in the rock, some clear with a pointed roof, some elaborate, some simple, some capped with pointed pyramids, many adorned with a curious form of stair high up over the doorway.'

One of her muleteers was a Druze. If all were like him she felt that they must be a charming race. He was a big, handsome creature who ate only rice, bread, and figs. She longed to get to the Hauran, their chief centre. When she returned to Jerusalem she made acquaintance with a set of the most wild and rugged dervishes, who were, however, quite human and eager to have a chat when they met in the bazaar. She watched the kindling of the Holy Fire from the Russian balcony in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Every one in the packed building carried bunches of candles in his hand to receive the fire. Miss Bell never felt so excited

in her life whilst all waited. Suddenly there was a deafening roar as a man ran from the corner of the sepulchre with a blazing torch over his head. Then the crowd fought like wild beasts to get their candles lighted at the two windows of the sepulchre where the fire was—one for Greeks, one for Armenians. 'In an instant the fire leapt to the very roof; it was as though one flame had breathed over the whole mass of men and women. Every soul was bearing a light, torch or candle or bunch of tapers; behind us in the Greek church, which is almost dark, there was nothing but a blaze of light from floor to dome, and the people were washing their faces in the fire. How they are not burnt to death is a real miracle. Then came a man from the sepulchre with a whip, bursting through the crowd, and behind him the Patriarch in his mitre, holding two great torches over his head and two priests holding up his arms, and they ran, like men carrying some great tidings, through the narrow passage which had been cleared for them and which closed up behind them like water, and passed below us and up the Greek church to light the candles on the Holy Altar.' As Miss Bell wrote she was overcome by the horrible thrill of the scene.

She was in Damascus in May. At times she had an odd sensation that she was out in the world quite by herself, but generally she treated all as a matter of course. The East was casting its spell over her. She pushed on to Palmyra, the loveliest thing she had seen in the country save Petra, which was hard to beat. Eight days later she was back in Damascus, eating apricots, with which the place was full, as she rode through the bazaars. The city was like a paradise to one coming from the desert. Moving south, she was agreeably disappointed in the cedars of Lebanon. There were about four hundred, some very fine old trees, grass and flowers growing under them—a heavenly camping-ground.

The summer of 1901 found her climbing in Switzerland, but in March 1902 she wrote from Mount Carmel. Then she moved to Haifa, where she had lessons in Arabic and

Persian from two sheiks, and stayed in a comfortable hotel where she heard nothing but Arabic. She wondered how any one could wish to have anything to do with so difficult a language. 'I never stop talking it in this hotel and I think I get a little worse daily.'

She returned to England in May and did some daring climbing in the Bernese Oberland in July. At the end of the year she started on a second world tour with her brother Hugo. She learned enough Hindustani to find her way without an interpreter. The elephant was the most difficult animal to sit that she had ever ridden, but the sensation of being on a choppy sea soon wore off and she learnt to dispose herself with ease and grace upon the hoodah. No one could be dull on an Indian road because of the birds and beasts, which were so tame that they scarcely got out of the way for a carriage. The Delhi Durbar of 1908 made a profound impression. 'The function began with the entrance of the Delhi siege veterans—this was the great moment of all, a body of old men, white and native, and every soul in that great arena rose and cheered. At the end came some twenty or thirty Gurkhas, little old men in bottle green, some bent double with years, some lame and stumbling with Mutiny wounds. And last of all came an old blind man in a white turban, leaning on a stick. As he passed us, he turned his blind eyes towards the shouting and raised a trembling hand to salute the unseen thousands of the race to which he had stood true. After that Viceroys and Kings went by without a thrill. But still it was a great show.'

In January 1905, Miss Bell was at Beyrout, deep in the gossip of the East. She knew Syria so well that she could tell by accent and dress where the people in the bazaar came from. She had become a Person in Syria. The Government was in an agony of nervousness about her while she was in the Jebel Druze, and wondered what she was going to do next. She reports that she has fallen a helpless victim to the Turk, who was the most charming of

mortals. When she knew a little more of the language she foresaw that they would be very intimate friends. At Konia she spent four days visiting the tomb of the founder of the dervish order and the two great dancing-halls beyond it, with their polished floors. All were enclosed in a peaceful garden, with fountains and flowers, set round with the monastic cells of the order.

She got home in June 1905, and in October was studying Persian under Reinach in Paris. *The Desert and the Sown* came out in 1907 and made her famous. She was soon back in the East, writing to Lady Bell, 'I don't suppose there is any one in the world happier than I am or any country more lovely than Asia Minor.' She was describing ruins and inscriptions for *The Thousand and one Churches*, which she wrote in collaboration with Sir William Ramsay. In 1911 she was in Damascus again, and was soon in the desert. 'We were off at five this morning in heavy frost. Can you picture the singular beauty of these moonlit departures? The frail Arab tents falling one by one, leaving the camp fires blazing into the night; the dark masses of the kneeling camels; the shrouded figures binding up the loads, shaking the ice from the water-skins, or crouched over the hearth for a moment's warmth before mounting.' She was now fairly launched into Eastern life. She lunched on top of the Tower of Babel—an immense 'temple dedicated to the seven spheres of heaven and the sun god. There remains now an enormous mound of sun-dried brick, with the ruins of a temple to the north of it, and on top a great tower of burnt brick, most of which has fallen down. But that which remains stands up, like a finger pointing heavenwards, over the Babylonian plain, and can be seen from Nejef to Babylon.' In March she reached Bagdad, little dreaming of the place it was to fill in her life. At Carchemish she met 'a young man called Lawrence (he is going to make a traveller).' That was her first meeting with a man who was as much in love with the

East as herself. She spent a pleasant day whilst he and Mr. Thompson showed her their diggings and their finds.

She was in England for more than a year, but in November 1918 she was in Damascus, enjoying 'an abundant diet of sour curds, which is without doubt the best food in the world.' When they reached the desert she dropped back into it as if it were her own place. 'Silence and solitude fall round you like an impenetrable veil ; there is no reality but the long hours of riding, shivering in the morning and drowsy in the afternoon, the bustle of getting into camp, the talk round Muhammad's coffee-fire after dinner, profounder sleep than civilization affords, and then the road again.' They were attacked by Arabs and the men were stripped of their things, but some sheiks came up who knew Miss Bell's guides, and the revolvers and cloaks were quickly restored. To prevent a repetition of this experience they had to take one of these Arabs. He was the oldest old man, who crouched on a camel by day and over the camp fire by night and seldom opened his lips.

Dr. David Hogarth told the Royal Geographical Society, of which he was President, that this pioneer journey of four months and a half put on the map a new line of wells and cast much light on the history of the Syrian desert frontier under Roman, Palmyrene, and Ummazad domination. The knowledge Miss Bell gained about the tribes proved of great value during the war, and from 1915 she became the interpreter of all reports received from Central Arabia.

When the war broke out she went round the North Riding of Yorkshire giving addresses and cheering people on. She always roused enthusiasm. After a time in Lord Onslow's hospital at Clandon, Lord Robert Cecil got her to work at Boulogne tracing the missing and wounded. Then Lord Robert called her back to London, where the office for tracing the wounded was in chaotic confusion. She put it in order and moved on to Cairo, where it was felt that her knowledge of the tribes in Northern Arabia would

greatly help Colonel Lawrence in dealing with the revolt in the desert. For six weeks she worked up material on the Arab tribes and their lineage, and got to feel quite at home as a staff officer.

She was next sent to India to explain matters to the Viceroy. It was essential that India and Egypt should keep in the closest touch, as they were dealing with two sides of the same problem. Her position was anxious, but deeply interesting. In March she was at head quarters in Basrah, putting maps into an intelligible form and in close touch with the natives, her intimacy and friendship with whom made her of great value to Sir Percy Cox. She writes, 'The climate is, of course, infernal, but, oddly enough, I don't mind it.' All doors and windows were shut in the office, the electric fans were spinning, and, except for about an hour in the afternoon, the heat was scarcely felt. She slept on the roof. The temperature dropped to a little above 90 degrees, and probably to 80 degrees or so before dawn. Her paper on labour was sent up to the War Office, and she prepared a memorandum on Musqat, where the political situation was both curious and interesting. In between were sandwiched notes on the tribes and information gained from Arab visitors. She asks that her book-seller might send four to six new books every month, novels and poetry, nothing very serious. 'He might send one or two regularly every week. New poetry I love to have, and Bain knows perfectly well the sort of novel I like—Anthony Hope at one end of the scale and the Crock of Gold at the other !'

On April 20, 1917, she was in Bagdad. She got a house in a rose garden and found the citizens heartily glad to be rid of the Turks. The place was a mass of roses and congratulations. She kept an open door for sheiks and messengers from the desert, whose business she discovered and sent in brief to Sir Percy Cox. She had to revise and correct place names in the new surveys and to act as Curator

of Antiquities. It was a thousand times more interesting than at Basrah, and, to crown her delight (for she was a woman to the core), she is able to report, 'To-day there arrived by miracle two charming black satin gowns from Marthe, which makes me hope that my new cotton gowns may presently arrive also. I'm very badly in need of them. It's almost too hot already for unwashable clothes, even in the evening. I shall rejoice when I hear that muslin gowns are on their way.' That was the lighter side. Underlying all was the amazing situation. 'It's the making of a new world.' The fruit was delightful. When oranges were over, apricots came in masses, and small greengages. Then the good little melons began. Next appeared grapes and figs. It was 'truly a bountiful country. I'm loving it, you know, loving my work and rejoicing in the confidence of my chief.' Maps were her passion, and every one came round to her room for geography. She was made C.B.E. in 1917, and richly deserved the honour.

After the Peace came the constitution of the new Arab State. In March 1919 she attended the Conference in Paris. 'I've dropped,' she tells her father, 'into a world so amazing that up to now I've done nothing but gape at it without being able to put a word on to paper. Our Eastern affairs are complex beyond all words, and until I came there was no one to get the Mesopotamia side of the question at first hand.' Lord Robert Cecil was the salient figure of the Conference, T. E. Lawrence the most picturesque. 'I spend most of my time with the latter, and the former is unfailingly helpful.'

November saw her back in Bagdad, where she was called 'Mother of the Faithful,' the last person who bore that name being Ayishah, the wife of the Prophet. As a rule the great religious leaders did not see her, because they never looked on an unveiled woman. When one of them, a first-class Mujtahid, asked her to come and see him, she felt that her status was rising. She was able 'to preach wisdom and

restraint among the young Bagdadis, whose chief fault is that they are ready to take on the creation of the world to-morrow without winking.' She realized that we could not leave the country in its state of chaos, yet the Arabs could only be helped if they really wanted it. They would want it if they were assured of the honesty of our intentions. Her presence was a great asset, for every one praised and trusted her.

An Arab Government was formed, and in June 1921 Faisal entered Bagdad and was elected King. He was Miss Bell's intimate friend, and she felt a wild joy in existence, knowing that she had the love and confidence of a whole nation.

When the Arab state was set up she had time for archaeology, and was keenly interested in the excavations at Kish and at Ur, both of which she visited. A friend who stayed with her in Bagdad felt that her radiant ardour inspired all the Englishmen there with her own constructive enthusiasm for Iraq. She arranged the Bagdad Museum and was eagerly anticipating her final return to England. 'It is too lonely, my existence here; one can't go on for ever being alone. At least, I don't feel I can.' That was written on June 16, 1926. In the early morning of July 12 she died peacefully in her sleep, and was buried the same afternoon in the cemetery outside Bagdad with military honours. 'Death stayed her at the summit.' A brass plaque was placed in the Museum: 'In gratitude for her great deeds in this country, King Faisal and the Government of Iraq have ordered that the principal wing [of the Museum] shall bear her name.'

All the world honours her as a woman of extraordinary gifts, nobly devoted to the uplifting of a great race which she did so much to inspire and guide in the critical days that followed the Great War.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

TWO REMARKABLE WORKS ON AMERICA¹

At the present moment America is of supreme interest to all the world, for the leadership of the world in many matters has passed into her hands as the result of the Great War. The nations of the Old World owe her vast sums that they can never pay, and which many of them think there is no moral call to pay. Even when payment is made, as for instance by England, the method of payment is of the utmost importance for all who would understand the secrets of trade and finance. Apart altogether from this remarkable financial position, America is of interest for other reasons. There is that colossal frontal attack upon alcohol that goes by the name of Prohibition. The fortunes of this movement can never fail to arrest the attention of those who are struggling in other lands with similar difficulties. Then again there is the attempt by means of high tariffs to keep out all goods that are not of home manufacture, while at the same time insisting on the payment of all debts by outside nations. As no debts between nations are ever paid except in goods or services, the result is of vital concern to all financiers. London to-day is full of American capital which cannot be shifted to Wall Street without a considerable disturbance in the money-markets of the world. Then there is the political outlook : what are the ideals that America is setting before herself as a nation ; in what directions are the political parties moving ; and for what ultimate realities do the parties stand ? And most interesting of all is the problem of America's soul. Has that mighty nation yet discovered a soul or genius of her own, or must we yet wonder what the future shall bring forth when the process of fusion of so many diverse, incompatible elements is complete ?

To all these and many other questions the reader will find an answer in two remarkable books recently published. Siegfried's *America Comes of Age* is written with all the lucidity and insight of which the French have the unfailing key. It is the ablest survey of America since the great work of Bryce, and has the advantage over Bryce that it brings matters down to 1927. In a series of brilliant chapters the writer discusses the Ethnic, the Economic, and the Political situations, and on each of these matters he is able to shed much light. The Ethnic situation is the key-stone. He asks the question whether America will remain Protestant and Anglo-Saxon, or must it be content to share these traditional ideals with the Latin, Roman Catholic ideals that are clamouring for their place in the

¹*America Comes of Age*, translated from the French of André Siegfried by H. M. and D. Hemming (Jonathan Cape); *The Rise of American Civilization*, by Charles A. and Mary Beard, 2 vols. (Jonathan Cape).

American sun. He claims that the 'melting-pot' is no longer working satisfactorily, and that as a result there is danger for the old American ideals. In New York City there are one and a half million Jews, making it in fact the New Jerusalem. In addition to the Jews there are the other races who do not intend to adopt the Anglo-Saxon ideals. They may wave the flag with suspicious zeal, but in reality America has lost the power to assimilate these vast hordes. 'An increasing quantity of human material is being produced that lacks alike the sturdy morality of the early Americans and the European tradition of brilliant achievements.' The result is 'a leaning towards Nietzsche without the balance of Anglo-Saxon civic virtue,' and, as a substitute for the old Puritanism, 'that dreary social pragmatism which is the real religion of modern America.' In a series of brilliant chapters he shows how this struggle manifests itself, now in Prohibition, now in resistance to Free Thought, now in the rise of the Ku-Klux-Klan, and now in efforts to save the American ideals by immigration laws which favour the Nordic races at the expense of the Mediterranean and Slav.

The other sections of this work are of equal value, though space forbids that we linger over them. We note with satisfaction that, in the chapter on Foreign Loans, M. Siegfried gives reasons for thinking that New York will not succeed in ousting London as the financial centre of the world. But, of course, if the Labour party succeeded in the nationalization of English banks, London's primacy would disappear the next day.

The Beards' great work, *The Rise of American Civilization*, is of more lasting value; it will be many years before it can become out of date. We may claim that it is the first real attempt to write the history of America, or, rather, to point out the forces—spiritual, political, and economic—which with varying fortunes have made the history of the last two hundred years. The style is fascinating, if only because of its undertone of sarcasm. From all spread-eagleism, from all the self-laudatory processes of past American historians, from all efforts to prove that 'God's own country' was always in the right, the work is absolutely free. The truth, and nothing but the truth, is the one aim of the distinguished authors. Hoary myths that with Bancroft and others passed for 'history' are exposed, and whether the writers are examining the struggle for independence, or the absurd war of 1812, or the rise of Jacksonian democracy, they exercise unflinching impartiality. The result is a study, brought down to the present day, of the utmost value and of absorbing interest. The authors have done for America what Green did for the English people, and unfolded for the first time with accuracy and insight the onward sweep and the inward meaning of two centuries of American history. That the work is sure to be prohibited in the schools of Chicago under the rule of the present Mayor, Thompson, is one reason why it should be extensively read in America and England.

H. B. WORKMAN.

FOREIGN BOOKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

IN this annual survey the few books and articles which the writer has been able to read are mentioned as some indication of the more recent and important publications in this field of study.

In lexicography the Bauer-Preuschen Lexicon steadily advances, and has now reached the word *συνάγωγα*. Only two parts (9 and 10) have to appear before the student can bind the entire work, and keep it close at hand for daily use (Töpelmann, 2s. 8d. each part). Though not strictly falling within the field of New Testament studies, some recent publications of papyri may here be mentioned. Two fresh volumes of that useful series *Papiri Greci e Latini della Società Italiana* have come out, Vol. VII. in 1925, and Vol. VIII. in 1927. At one time there was no cheaper series than this, but the price has now risen alarmingly. Amongst the earlier collections were the *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin*. The pre-war volumes were stately folios in which the several documents had been lithographed by the hands of the scholars who had edited and transcribed. The three post-war issues of the B.G.U. are printed in large 8vo, the eighth volume having come out a year ago (*Papiri Ostraca und Wachstafeln aus Philadelphia in Fayûm* published by Weidmann, Berlin). More important than any of these is the noble undertaking of that veteran papyrologist, Ulrich Wilcken. The earlier collections—those published at Turin, Leiden, Paris, and the early British Museum volumes—are exceedingly scarce and costly. Dr. Wilcken has worked over these and is producing a splendid edition of those papyri of the Ptolemaic age which appeared before 1890. The first volume is now complete with index, five years after the first part was issued. The introduction, text, commentary, and indices are all worthy of the great scholar, and make this magnificent volume indispensable to those whose studies take them further into the field where Dr. Milligan's guidance has aroused a first interest. (*Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit—ältere Funde. Papiri aus Unterägypten.*) That useful encyclopaedia, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, in its new form, entirely rewritten, has reached the twelfth part (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 2s. or 4s. each part according to size). Articles touching New Testament study which have appeared during the year deal with Ancient Christian Literature, Apocalyptic, Apologetic in the New Testament, Acts, Didache, Asceticism in Primitive Christianity, Resurrection and Resurrection of Christ, the Benan letter (which caused so much stir a few years ago), Sermon on the Mount, Bible, Biblical Criticism, Biblical Theology of New Testament, and Christian Origins.

Turning to commentaries, many students find the brief and scholarly notes in Lietzmann's *Handbuch z. Neuen Testament* of great service. During the year Martin Dibelius has brought out a completely revised commentary on Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon. A very striking tribute to the interest taken in the Greek Testament by ministers and high-school teachers in Germany is Oskar

Holtzmann's *Das Neue Testament* (2 vols., Töpelmann). We have nothing quite like it in English. The author, best known in this country by his *Life of Jesus* (1901, translated 1904), gives us in these two beautifully printed volumes a German translation followed by exposition which makes free use of the Greek text, and even introduces Hebrew. Without being in any way a fresh contribution to scholarship, it is a most interesting short commentary for the busy Bible student. Some of the more striking positions taken up in this commentary are that the disciples of John the Baptist in Acts xviii. 25 ff. were Christians who were ignorant of Christian baptism; that Rom. xvi. is an appendix to a copy of Romans sent to Ephesus; that Heb. xiii. 7-17 repudiates the notion that the Eucharist is a sacrificial meal at which the body of Christ's atoning sacrifice is eaten; that the reading 616 is original for the number of the beast in Rev. xiii. 18, which stands for Gaius Caesar—not Caligula, but the dictator Julius (whose name was also Gaius)—and his adopted son Augustus, who was accorded divine worship in the temple at Pergamum; that the 'Disciple whom Jesus loved' is an ideal figure, and the whole scene in John xiii. is modelled on the Greek symposium. The last reference calls to mind an important book—*Johannes und die Synoptiker* (Heinrichs)—by Windisch of Leiden, who discusses with great thoroughness the question whether the Fourth Evangelist intended to supplement or supersede the Synoptic Gospels, and contends for the second theory. Two essays on the Fourth Gospel demand special mention. Martin Dibelius in the *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann*, examines the saying in John xv. 18, with special reference to the distinction between tradition and composition in that Gospel. The essay leads to the conclusion that the Evangelist makes use of definite traditions, which he does not attempt to preserve as secret lore for a Christian mystery, but to make known to every one who believes in the name of Jesus. The Christianity of the Fourth Gospel is the Christianity of the Church, concerned at the same time with coming to know the deep things of God, and with refreshing the weary and heavy laden. A remarkably informing article about recent Johannine investigation is given by Rudolf Bultmann in the June issue of *Die Christliche Welt* (*Das Johannes-evangelium in der neuesten Forschung*). Bultmann's very radical critical methods are well known. In some ways he is the most forceful pioneer in German New Testament study, and in 'vigour and rigour' recalls Wrede. In this article the main points emphasized are: (a) A more thorough stylistic examination of the alleged strata in the Gospel and a comparison with the First Epistle. (b) The point of view of the Evangelist is to be explained from the tradition, not of Greek philosophy, but of Hellenistic mysticism. (c) The 'Word,' just as the hypostatized 'Wisdom,' belongs ultimately to an Oriental cosmological and soteriological mythos, the influence of which appears in the Christian Gnosis, in the Pauline anthropology, and the eschatology of the Synoptic Gospels. (d) The Mandaeen sect, whose writings are supposed to show close similarities to some

leading ideas in the Fourth Gospel, probably started in Syria, where Bultmann would find the home of this Gospel, as well as of the related writings, the Odes of Solomon and the Ignatian Epistles. (e) Burney's theory of an Aramaic Gospel translated into Greek he cannot accept, but believes some passages were actually translated from Aramaic, and that an Aramaic-speaking source lies behind other parts. (f) But however far the watchtowers of the Gospel carry us back in the history of religious speculation, 'the Gospel of John itself is no mythology; it only employs with sovereign certainty the thought forms of a mythos, just as it uses the forms of the older evangelic tradition to set forth its conception of the revelation of God in Jesus.' Two other contributions by Bultmann are most valuable, a pamphlet of some thirty pages explaining the course of critical study of the Synoptic Gospels (*Die Erforschung der synoptischen Evangelien*, Töpelmann), and a long article in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, November 1926, surveying in the course of eighty pages the literature from 1915 to 1925 dealing with *Urchristliche Religion*. Karl Ludwig Schmidt has given an exhaustive examination to the lexicographical and biblical-theological significance of Matt. xvi. 18 in his essay, 'Die Kirche des Urchristentums,' contributed to the volume in Deissmann's honour. Gerhard Kittel offers a series of lectures under the general title, *Die Probleme des palästinischen Spätjudentums u. des Urchristentums* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer), dealing with many of the questions that are most prominent in modern discussions about the New Testament. Incidentally we may notice his long appendix about the difficult phrase 'wheel of nature' in James iii. 6, the most complete treatment probably that this text has received. Paul Fiebig, so well known for his rabbinic lore, has written a useful little book on the origin, meaning, and significance of the Lord's Prayer, *Das Vaterunse* (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann). It is good to know that von Dobschütz has not entirely forsaken the New Testament for Church History. A book on *Der Apostel Paulus* (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses) is coming out in two parts. The first has already appeared, and deals with the apostle's significance in the history of the world. The text is straightforward writing, all the notes coming in a long appendix. The interest is increased by some twenty-one reproductions showing Paul in sacred art.

For some time past some of the most radical criticism of the New Testament has had its home in Holland. The name of van Manen of Leiden became known in this country through his eccentric article on Paul in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. His mantle may be said to have fallen on the shoulders of van den Bergh van Eysinga of the University of Utrecht. Those who wish to understand how the books of the New Testament are regarded by a leader of that school can now read *La Littérature Chrétienne Primitive*, a short survey which that scholar has written for the series 'Christianisme' (Paris, F. Rieder et Cie), which corresponds in size to our Home University Library.

W. F. HOWARD.

THE HISTORICAL RELIGION

LESSING's well-known dictum that 'events of time cannot prove eternal truths' is, as Professor Gwatkin declared, 'by far the strongest blow yet struck at historical Christianity.' For the Christian religion, as commonly understood, is based upon certain 'events of time'—as, for instance, that Jesus was born at a certain date, that He taught certain doctrines, that He performed certain works, that He was crucified, died, and rose again. From these historical data the Church has always been accustomed to deduce certain 'eternal truths,' among them being the propositions that God is love, that He has revealed Himself to men, that He has provided a way by which we can come to have communion with Him, and a guarantee that sin and evil can be finally overcome. But, if Lessing's dictum be true, the Church has no right to make such deductions. These propositions may or may not be true. Their justification or otherwise must rest upon other grounds than the data of history.

At first sight it would seem there is a good deal to be said in favour of Lessing's assertion. It appears to provide a point of view worthy of an earnest seeker after truth. Time is transitory; eternity, as Lessing would suggest, is the sphere of immutable things. History is a passing show, a shifting kaleidoscope of varying scenes; our conceptions of ultimate truth cannot be based upon its shifting sands, but must be securely founded upon the background of unchanging verity. Moreover, our records of past events are unreliable, and subject to all kinds of errors; our knowledge of eternal truth must depend on something which is safeguarded from all uncertainty or misconception. Accordingly, Lessing's dictum indicates a point of view from which things of time are seen in their true perspective. In order to reach truth we must see things as God sees them—*sub specie aeternitatis*.

There is a further subtle attraction in Lessing's position. It seems to provide a way of preserving spiritual religion against the attacks of destructive criticism. For historical criticism is directed merely at historical facts; it has nothing to do—or should have nothing to do—with religious doctrines. If, then, as the Ritschlians suggest, Christian doctrines are independent of the facts of the gospel history, a destructive criticism can deal as it likes with the four Gospels, and leave the Christian religion untouched. Thus Christian ethics and Christian doctrine can be left unchanged, even though every letter of the New Testament shall be proved to be false. Even if no Saviour came down from heaven, we may still believe in a God of love. God's power is working in human life although Jesus Christ never performed a single miracle. We can keep our belief in immortality even if our Lord never rose from the dead. Nay, even if, as some assert, Jesus never existed at all except as a myth in the minds of His disciples, His supposed teaching is still the highest we know, and the religion which He was thought to have founded is still the mightiest force known in human life.

In this way the Christian religion can be preserved from the onslaught that has been made upon it during the past hundred years, from Strauss's *Life of Christ* in 1838 up to Mr. Wells's most recent effort. The way of escape lies, not by squarely meeting the attack, but by declaring that what has been attacked is not Christianity at all. Like the young man in St. Mark's Gospel, Christianity slips from the grasp of its opponents, leaving merely its garment in their hands. Like the Archimagus in Spenser's *Faery Queene*, it is no sooner attacked in one form than it is transformed into a shape which renders it immune. Or—to use an illustration which the Ritschlians would probably prefer—like Browning's ring, historical Christianity is formed out of the gold of truth mixed up with an alloy of historical facts. Criticism merely plays the part of the acid which destroys the alloy when it is no longer needed, leaving the pure gold of spiritual religion. As a matter of fact, Lessing's principle levels a blow at the heart, not merely of historical Christianity, but at the most sublimated form of the Christian religion which a Ritschlian could devise. For if events of time cannot prove eternal truths, then how can we on earth attain to any knowledge whatever of eternal truths? We have only our five senses to guide us in our search for knowledge of any kind. Some men, it cannot be doubted, possess a mystical intuition of truth by which they attain a deeper insight than common men into the things of eternity. But it may be suspected that even they are wont to be directed in their search by hints and suggestions which come to them from the physical realm; and, when they endeavour to communicate to others the results of their experience, as a rule they employ symbols and sacraments which are drawn from the world of matter.

Let it be granted, however, that there have been some men and women who have been able to attain to a perception of eternal truths solely by the means of a mystical intuition. We might argue that the illumination of the mystic, or, at any rate, his mental assimilation of his own experience, is an event in time, which *ex hypothesi* cannot afford a trustworthy revelation. But, waiving that, it would follow from Lessing's principle that, apart from this small band of mystics, the rest of mankind are incapable of arriving at a first-hand knowledge of spiritual things. The Christian religion, therefore, is reduced to an esoteric philosophy whose highest benefits are limited to the very few. This was the old mistake of the Gnostics in the second century. The early Church rightly rejected the claims of a *gnosis* which would deprive Christianity of its mission to be the religion of the common man, the stay of the ignorant, the comfort of the broken-hearted, the restorer of the sinful. Christianity must, and always will, dissociate itself from any philosophy which limits spiritual illumination to the few, and leaves the remainder of mankind to guide themselves as best they may by means of a reflected light.

Furthermore, the common sense, as well as the conscience, of the common man rebels against the idea that a true religion can arise out of misapprehension or falsehood. It is all very well to suggest that

the doctrines of Christianity may be true, whether the events which are recorded in the four Gospels are to be relied upon or proved fictitious. There is no escape from the fact that it was these supposed historical events which led the Church in the first place to formulate her doctrines. The Ritschlian may regard the historical beginnings as a mere ladder, which can be kicked aside after it has been ascended. The plain man will always regard the history as the foundation, to destroy which must bring about the downfall of the whole edifice.

But there is a further charge to be brought against Lessing. In spite of the apparent reverence of the attitude, we are really doing no honour at all to what is eternal and infinite by making the suggestion that it is irrevocably divorced from the things of time and sense. We arrive here at another Gnostic heresy, which taught that this physical world is too unworthy to be touched by the divine Spirit, and that spirit and matter are for ever disparate. Well, God has linked together spirit and matter in creating us men; and, if Christian teaching be true, He has linked divine and human in Jesus Christ. To assert that God cannot use events in time to teach us eternal truths is not merely to deny these statements; it is to deny to God the elementary power which we possess of making communications to one another.

If there are eternal truths which God has to communicate to us, He must do it through events of time, because there is no other way in which the generality of mankind can receive a revelation. To doubt that He is able to do this is to assume an attitude of fundamental scepticism which renders any sane philosophy of the universe impossible. To doubt that He is willing would be equivalent to questioning His goodwill towards us, leading to a philosophy of pessimism which is subversive of all Christian doctrine. If we admit that God is both able and willing to make a revelation to us in time, then the only question remaining is whether He is about to do so, or whether He has already done it. The claim that He has done it in Jesus Christ is one which, then, demands serious consideration.

The Historical Religion took its rise out of historical events. Christianity is founded upon the fact of the Incarnation and all the other facts which follow from God's purpose to reveal Himself in Jesus Christ. If these facts could be proved to be false, then the Christian religion can no longer offer itself as a religion of hope to the despairing, of comfort to those who mourn, of salvation to the sinful. A few among the philosophers may endeavour to keep alive the spiritual instincts in the attenuated atmosphere of a religion which ignores facts of time and space. The ordinary man will still centre his faith in the Life made manifest under human conditions, 'In loveliness of perfect deeds.'

IVAN D. ROSS.¹

¹ This is the last piece of literary work which this brilliant and beloved missionary to the Chinese did before his lamented death on August 11, 1927.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

God, Christ, and the Church. By J. Scott Lidgett, M.A., D.D.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 8s. 6d. net.)

WE give a hearty welcome to this latest volume from the pen of Dr. Scott Lidgett, who by this time must be recognized as a veteran, as well as an able, theologian. The articles and essays of which it consists were, indeed, at first published separately, but the volume forms one organic whole, each stone in the mosaic gaining value from the fact that it forms a part of one unitary design. The author's theme is that 'the Meaning and End of the Universe must be found in the Spiritual Values revealed in Christ,' and all the several chapters in this book illustrate aspects of the Person, Work, and Kingdom of Christ upon earth, viewed in the light of the needs and problems of the present day. The first part of the book is purely theological, while the second deals chiefly with the Reunion of the Churches. As thus placed together, the articles illustrate the author's life-work in its various branches, proving him to be a theologian who is not satisfied to deal merely in doctrinal abstractions, and as an active worker in ecclesiastical and social fields, who never forgets the value of the pure theology, which holds a chief place in his regard.

Some of the subjects here discussed—such as the Fatherhood and the Sovereignty of God, the Continuity of Christ, the Activity of God, and the Grace of God—are standard theological themes which greatly need re-handling in the present day. Others—such as the Idea of Progress, the Vindication of Values, Anthropomorphism, and 'The Philosophy of Dr. Inge'—show that the writer is fully alive to the importance of certain questions which mainly belong to our own time. The essays on the Reunion of the Churches also illustrate Dr. Lidgett's ability in bringing broad principles to bear on current issues. We are glad that he has included in the volume the admirable address on 'John Wesley and John Henry Newman,' delivered in 1926 at the bicentenary of Wesley's admission to his Fellowship of Lincoln College. The study of the lives of two such men side by side is to-day much more instructive than a careful analysis of each career separately.

It is impossible in a brief notice to quote in detail from a volume full of good things. We may take, however, one or two examples of the author's methods. In discussing the Idea of Progress and Professor Bury's criticisms of it, Dr. Lidgett remarks that the Christian doctrine of providence does not mean 'divine interference from outside.' Though often explained in this way, 'the essential

Christian doctrine is rather that of immanent and sovereign co-operation on the part of God as the transcendent. Personality, who unites and yet distinguishes between spiritual beings and the universe which is the condition of their perfecting.' Rightly understood, there is nothing inconsistent between the idea of providence and that of progress. Without a belief in the living God of providence, belief in progress has lost both its foundation and its hope.

Similarly, in dealing with the subject of Values, so conspicuous in modern treatises, Dr. Lidgett well says, 'Man's progress and his welfare depend upon the growing apprehension of the ideal values—Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and Holiness. . . . At present they are but dimly apprehended, and their promise is inexhaustible. Yet they exist only as they are realized in personalities.' . . . 'God is the Home, the Source, and the Spring of these Spiritual Values. They are the fullest revelation of Him. In these values God as Love gives Himself to men; in the pursuit of them men give themselves to God in the response of love.' . . . 'God is the eternal and perfect realization of these highest values, which the evolution of the universe works towards in actuality, in spiritual vision, and in aspiration. He is the Archetype of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, the Spring from which their manifestation issues, the guarantee of their authority and permanence.' Surely it is along the lines indicated in these passages, which we have selected from different parts of this book, that the vindication of the Being and Nature of the Christian's God is to be brought home to modern minds.

The subject of Anthropomorphism is of great importance in this generation, which is being taught to regard it as a bugbear, preventing belief in a personal, living God. It was high time that some one pointed out clearly, as Dr. Lidgett does in his seventh chapter, the true and valuable use of the idea, in contrast to its frequent and misleading abuse. Dr. Lidgett admits that the misuse has been prevalent inside, as well as outside, the Church. 'While the content of personality is our only means of explaining the universe, the particular use of this content has often been faulty. . . . This has been the case particularly with the prominence that has been given to crude conceptions of Causality in world-explanation.' It would be well if the abstract principle here enunciated could be expanded in concrete detail and in simplest words, to show how the literal understanding of biblical phraseology has perverted for multitudes of Christians the true idea of God and of His relation to the universe He has brought into being. Some valuable suggestions in this direction are found towards the close of the essay, showing how 'this conception of Causality is in truth faulty alike in regard to the universe, to God, and to man'; but, for the grounds of this statement, the reader must be referred to the book itself.

Perhaps, if the truth were known, the writer of this volume would consider the essay on 'Christ, the Universe, and Human Life' as the

most important in the book and as containing the sum and substance of its teaching. On p. 218 he has carefully summarized the meaning of the texts—which tell us concerning Christ that ‘All things were created by Him and unto Him,’ that ‘He is before all things,’ and that ‘in Him all things hold together’—in sixteen numbered paragraphs, with the heading, ‘The following are the truths presented by and implied in the Christian religion in regard to the relations between Christ, the universe, and human life.’ We do not propose to summarize a summary. But we commend it very sincerely to the careful student of religion, and especially to the Christian minister of to-day. Its last sentence runs, ‘The high road is the way, not only of the Incarnation, but of the Cross, and amid the thorns of the Cross there blooms the immortal rose of Joy and Peace.’

In this attractive and instructive book Dr. Lidgett has given to the world the ripe fruits of his reading and meditation upon the profoundest themes. It is to be hoped that his rich and various volume may find the wide circle of readers it deserves.

The Synoptic Gospels. Edited, with an Introduction and a Commentary, by C. G. Montefiore, D.D. Two volumes. (Macmillan & Co. 80s. net.)

This is a second edition, revised and partly rewritten. The work had a great reception when it appeared in 1909, and has been out of print for some years. Many quotations given in the first edition have been omitted to make room for new material, and the translation of each Gospel has been left out. That is no loss, as each section of the Commentary has the portion under discussion printed at its head. This has allowed the Introduction and Commentary to be somewhat extended, whilst the total number of pages remains almost exactly the same. Textual history and criticism are left to experts in those subjects. Dr. Israel Abrahams had intended to write sixty Additional Notes which would have filled a third volume. Some of these were published separately as *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, but he was never able to carry out his whole design. He did, however, write the essay on ‘*Am ha-Areç*,’ which is printed at the end of Vol. II., though he did not live to revise it for the press. Mr. Montefiore specially acknowledges Dean Rashdall’s criticisms and references to his work in his *Conscience and Christ*. ‘How fair, how clear, how serene, those criticisms are!’ Mr. Montefiore writes as ‘a Liberal Jew, who has not found his attachment to Liberal Judaism inconsistent either with a high appreciation of the lives and the teachings of many of the ancient rabbis, on the one hand, or with a similar high appreciation of the character and teaching of Jesus upon the other.’ His object has been to combine reverence and freedom, and every student of the volumes will be quick to acknowledge that he has succeeded. The interest of the work is enhanced by the fact that Jewish commentaries on the Gospels can hardly be said to exist. Jewish writers have looked for parallels or defects in our Lord’s teaching. The divinity of Jesus was the

true stumbling-block to any scientific estimate of His teaching. Mr. Montefiore has set himself to look at it in a more historical, comprehensive, and impartial spirit. He asks, What should be the place of the New Testament in Jewish eyes and for the Jewish religion? He has learned much from the great Christian scholars, but does not hesitate to point out where, from his Jewish point of view, they seem ignorant of matters about which a more intimate knowledge of Jewish thought, and a more intimate experience of Jewish life, can bring correction. He is not so much concerned with the miracles of the Gospels. But the teaching of Jesus abides. The unprejudiced Jew can find bits of it which go beyond Old Testament teaching, or which, at any rate, bring out occasional utterances and teachings of the Old Testament more clearly and fully. Dr. Abrahams thinks that by the term 'poor' in the first beatitude Jesus meant the low and despised among His people, whom the Pharisees scorned as 'this crowd that knows not the Law.' The subject is treated with rare learning and insight. 'It is part of the distinctive glory of Jesus that he tried to win over and win back the "publicans and sinners" of his time by friendly and reassuring association with them.' Mr. Montefiore's work has an importance all its own as a Jewish view of Jesus which has risen above prejudice to a position which may eventually lead to still more encouraging and fruitful results.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel.

By James A. Montgomery, Ph.D., S.T.D. (T. & T. Clark. 20s.)

Dr. Peters was to have written the volume on Daniel for the International Critical Commentary, and had asked Professor Montgomery to collaborate with him. After his death in 1921 the work passed into Professor Montgomery's hands, and no one can fail to see how fully competent he has proved for a difficult task. It is primarily philological, and the Introduction is of the greatest interest. He thinks that the Daniel of Ezekiel is not the youthful hero of the Book of Daniel, but 'a figure of antique and cosmopolitan tradition' like Noah and Job. In that opinion we are not able to follow him, and Professor Montgomery states that 'while the majority of philological commentaries and standard articles upon the book now accept the late date for its origin, nevertheless this tendency may not arrogate to itself the whole of scholarship, as there still remain excellent modern scholars who vigorously defend the traditional position.' Dr. Montgomery himself holds that the character of the Hebrew points to at least a century after the Exile, and that the actual variations of the Aramaic indicate a later age than that of the papyri, although the book traditionally belongs to the century before these documents, and the presence of foreign words argues almost indubitably for the age of the Persian settlement well after the Exile, and very reasonably for the Hellenistic age. The difficulties in the alleged historical data 'can only be explained by

ingenious combinations of infinite possibilities and alternatives which dazzle rather than satisfy the mind. . . . But if the book be regarded as a work of religious romance, it becomes entirely intelligible. It reflects well the forces of the Babylonian-Persian-Greek civilization, in which there was a continuity of Orientalism slightly altered by the successive political phases.' Dr. Montgomery regards it as an apocryphon—that is, a volume of alleged antiquity that had been purposely 'hidden away' until the emergency arrived for its publication. The book falls into two obvious literary portions—the Stories and the Visions. We see Jews no longer hanging their harps upon the willows, but bravely taking their place in the world and proving themselves the equals and superiors of their pagan associates, not by reason of their race or human excellences, but through the constancy of character founded on faith and trust in God. The last chapter shows the final triumph of the righteous. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is here first set forth unambiguously, with its comfort for Daniel, now far advanced in life, and for all who walk in his steps and are animated by his spirit. The exposition of the visions will be eagerly studied. The mighty king of chap. xi. 8 is parallel with the he-goat with a notable horn of chap. viii. 5. Without doubt this is Alexander the Great. Analogy requires the identification of the fourth beast with ten horns in chap. vii. with Greece as described in chap. viii. The volume is an important and welcome addition to the International Critical Commentary.

The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin. By N. P. Williams, D.D. (Longmans. 21s. net.)

No subject in theological thought stands more in need of re-statement in terms of modern anthropological, biological, and psychological research than the Christian doctrine of sin. Traditional affirmations on the Fall doctrine and on the nature and issues of Original Sin have become a stumbling-block to Christian apologists, and a sphere of easy triumph for critics of the Christian system. Able attempts, made by distinguished thinkers—Dr. F. R. Tennant, Canon Peter Green, Dr. C. W. Formby, and others—have already touched vital aspects of these problems with courage and in more or less helpful discussions. Dr. Williams, in the Bampton Lectures for 1924, now offers a most important and valuable contribution towards their solution. His main object is to show in what form these problems may be interpreted so that they shall no longer challenge the validity and authority for the present day of the traditional scheme of Christian doctrine, known as 'Catholic.' And, perhaps, we may say at once that one of the impressions which Dr. Williams leaves upon us is that he is at least quite as anxious to establish or re-establish the authority of the 'Catholic' dogma on human nature as to reach conclusions not out of harmony with ascertained results of biblical and scientific investigation. He is supremely anxious

that none of these results should disturb the integrity and continuity of the test provided by the Vincentian Canon—*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*—for 'Catholic' truth. With this constraint upon his discussions he seeks to answer three main questions: (i.) How did the ideas of the Fall and Original Sin come into existence within Judaism, and by what means did they secure admission to the sphere of Christian thought? (ii.) What is the irreducible *minimum* of Fall doctrine to which orthodox Christianity must be supposed to be committed? (iii.) Can this irreducible *minimum* be shown to be compatible with modern knowledge, and to be a true explanation of the facts of human nature?

The first six lectures are historical. They afford scope for Dr. Williams's exceptional gifts as a biblical, patristic, and ecclesiastical scholar. His examination of available data is more exhaustive than any other we remember. He maps out the relative areas with skill and precision. He knows what to leave out. We are spared the weariness with which a reader must often move through a catena of quotations by the exercise of the writer's finely-balanced gift of judicious selection. The style all through is fresh and arresting; there is apt illustration; summaries are succinct, and frequently hold phrases both memorable and quotable. Most of the conclusions of this section of the author's work are not easily avoided. Many of them will be welcomed as affording relief from a certain traditional embarrassment or misgiving. He maintains, for instance, that the doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin which, through the influence of Augustine, has been current for centuries in the Church of the West, has no right to the authority claimed for it. Scripture does not sustain it. It is not the doctrine of the primitive Church. The Eastern Church never accepted it. Much of the strongest teaching of the mediaeval Church turned from it. Protestant theologians of the Reformation certainly re-asserted it—even strengthened its logical severities. But this increased emphasis has made more marked the strong reaction which is apparent in evangelical theology against these extreme statements and their ethical implications. Not only must we read Gen. iii. as allegory rather than fact, but even thus it gives no suggestion that Adam's sin has infected his posterity. No certain traces of this view are found in the other portions of the Old Testament. 'The Fall doctrine was held in the Jewish Church, but not by the Jewish Church as a whole.' Whilst our Lord recognized the universality of sin and its terrible significance, His teaching gives no explanation of its origin or mode of propagation. Paul's doctrine of the Fall was part of his intellectual and traditional inheritance as a Jew. He uses it figuratively only, finding the true foundation of his doctrine of sin in the realities of his spiritual experience. Dr. Williams is convinced that the position he wishes to establish—that at no time in the history of Christian thought has the Fall doctrine been strictly *de fide*—is provable and proven. The triumph of the Augustinian doctrine is matched by its decline. He feels, therefore, that he is at liberty to attempt a re-interpretation

of, first the doctrine of Original Sin, and then the Fall. In this order he deals with his problems in the two remaining lectures. These are, of course, his crucial discussions, and test the value of his constructive contribution towards a solution of these age-long and inscrutable mysteries. Any success which attends him in this high enterprise, is, we think, more apparent in his interpretation of the psychological aspect of the problem, which occupies chap. vii., than in his exposition, in his final chapter, of the metaphysical problem involved in the 'Ultimate Fall.' In the former he traces with sure touch and ample psychological scholarship the temporal beginnings of human sin to 'a congenital weakness of the "herd-instinct" with which man starts his career. This instinct, which is the primary basis of the ethical and altruistic qualities of human nature, fails to establish itself in the conflict of primary instincts. In presence of the 'ego-instinct' and the 'sex-instinct' it gives way in the struggle for supremacy. Original sin is a 'weakness of will,' an 'inherited infirmity' which is a recognized psychological reality. It inheres in the human stock as hereditary character transmitted by parents through biological and not merely social heredity. What we call Original Sin is not, strictly speaking, sin at all. Nor can it be regarded as implying 'Original Righteousness' on the one hand, or 'Original Guilt' on the other. It would be unfair, in space sufficient only for such fragmentary references to Dr. Williams's carefully-elaborated and fascinating use of the findings of the 'New Psychology' as the basis of his theory, to attempt any critical comparison of it with other efforts in the same direction. We may, however, say that there are points in Dr. Tennant's theory, which Dr. Williams gives in an appendix, that appeal rather more persuasively to us. This would be particularly so if we were allowed to supplement Dr. Tennant's contentions by an appeal to speculative happenings and metaphysical relations in a pre-temporal sphere such as those with which Dr. Williams supports his own views. The alluring but unsatisfying suggestion that 'at the beginning of time the World-Soul turned away from God' carries the speculations of Origen, Kant, and Hegel a degree farther. And all that Dr. Williams says in elaborating the idea of a fall of the World-Soul, suggested by Canon Peter Green and others, is intensely interesting. But, whilst it may help to relieve some difficulties, it creates others. It implies methods of speculative inquiry from which earlier thinkers have returned empty-handed. We are still left with the ultimate problem unilluminated—how and why free intelligences, faced with moral choice, yielded to unmotivated preference for evil. Nevertheless, we are grateful for this portion, as for the whole of Dr. Williams's strong, courageous, and eminently luminous treatment of a profound theme. He has made a great contribution to dogmatic theology—one conceived, not only in the atmosphere of biblical, historical, and psychological research, but wrought with the acknowledged issues of these into an articulated whole, constituting an anthropology and hamartiology of permanent value.

The Nature of Deity. By J. E. Turner, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Philosophy in the University of Liverpool. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. net.)

Dr. Turner has already become known as a philosophical writer of repute by his *Personality and Reality*. Whilst the present volume forms a sequel to his former work, it is sufficiently complete in itself to be read and appreciated by general readers who are interested in the philosophical basis of Christian faith. For, apart from its direct value as a contribution to the literature of philosophical theism, we consider that Dr. Turner's discussion results in conclusions, reached by purely scientific and philosophical reasoning, that sustain the fundamental beliefs underlying an evangelical experience. His starting-point is the conclusion of his earlier volume that 'the real existence of the Supreme Self or Deity can be logically established from the *data* presented by those outstanding characteristics of the universe which have been discovered by modern science.' Then, without changing the *method* of his argument, he carries on his inquiry until he presents us with a character of this Supreme Self which is in harmony with that made familiar by Revelation. He works freely and consistently with the principle of evolution and also with a theory of knowledge that regards it as the supreme equipment of personality 'inseparably associated with its increasing dominance' over its environment. He thus finds it possible 'to interpret the "Supreme" in its reference to intellectual aspects of Deity in somewhat definite terms.' These terms are expanded and expounded in a succession of finely-reasoned and persuasive chapters in which the writer seeks to establish such attributes of the Supreme Self as can be logically ascribed to Deity, and thus constitute His nature. These are: Infinity and Perfection, Omniscience and Omnipotence, Holiness and Love, culminating, when considered as relations between man and Deity, in the ascription of divine Fatherhood as an ultimate, and even necessary, conception of the nature of Deity. Any claim to originality of treatment on the part of the author would doubtless be based upon the position that these final results are arrived at entirely by processes of scientific and philosophical thinking. In this respect they stand in marked contrast with the negative and agnostic conclusions which it has frequently been assumed are all that we can hope to reach when candid thinkers confine themselves within these limitations. For a theologian, therefore, to be carried to this standpoint by a frankly evolutionist philosopher contenting himself with the use of the most finely-tempered instruments that modern physics, biology, and psychology can furnish must constitute a noteworthy gain for the values of his theology. Dr. Turner makes no attempt to bring his readers to this position by any *tour de force*. They move with him calmly and confidently through pathways to reality clearly cut in fields of modern knowledge. Implications drawn from the vastness of the known and unknown universe about us, and from the mystic deeps of the

selfhood within us, are marshalled with great skill and precision to serve his purpose. He is never dull and rarely obscure. There is distinction in style marked by the ease and dignity of his gift of lucid exposition of abstract problems. And these expositions abound with luminous illustrations, often drawn from unexpected sources. Arresting *obiter dicta* linger in the reader's memory. Reference should also be made to the author's treatment of problems which have an independent history in philosophical and ethical thought such as cannot be evaded in the march of his main argument. He has significant interpretations to suggest on the nature of evil—for instance, that it is 'essentially self-destructive'; on creation and divine love; on the conception of holiness (including a forceful criticism of Otto); on the ultimate principle of atonement; and, of course, much on the nature of freedom in presence of the divine supremacy as this latter finds expression alike in divine immanence and divine transcendence. The ethical temper and the same optimism revealed in these important discussions has a tonic quality. What we have most missed in Dr. Turner's finely-conceived and constructive work, with the substance of which we find ourselves mainly in agreement, is the help that would be afforded to the general reader by a carefully-constructed synopsis of the argument of the numbered sections his chapters contain.

Affirmations of Judaism. By the Chief Rabbi (Dr. J. H. Hertz). (Oxford University Press. Paper, 2s. 6d.; cloth, 5s.)

A volume of sermons delivered in London by the Chief Rabbi, 'addressed to all Israel,' and bearing an authoritative message for a period of religious unrest, will everywhere receive respectful attention. This attention deepens into concern when the official head of the Jewish community makes such affirmations as these: 'Anglo-Jewry is to-day at the cross-roads'; 'A number of its children separate themselves from their brethren in regard to the Revelation at Mount Sinai, as in regard to many other distinctive beliefs. The giving of the Law is to them a myth. They have laid aside miracles and supernaturalisms. Some of them deny the existence of Moses, and even proceed to deny the existence of God, the incumbency of the Moral Law, and the immortality of the soul.' Even where these extremes are not reached, it is clear that all is not well with the Synagogue any more than with the Christian Church. 'To many Jews the living religion of orthodox Judaism is a matter of hearsay.' 'The Christian Sunday is observed instead of the Sabbath.' 'Much of Jewish observance which filled and hallowed the Jew's life is passing away.'

Much of the blame for these sorrowful declensions Dr. Hertz lays upon Liberal Jewish leaders, such as Dr. C. G. Montefiore, and upon their increasing application of modern critical methods to the Old Testament. He has also a sharp rebuke for the open admiration

of the Liberal school for the Jesus of the Gospels, 'the Founder of Christianity whose whole life was one of enmity against the foundations of our faith as well as of amazing vilification of the rabbis.' He thinks also that 'the Liberal Jews are doing the work for the Protestant and Catholic Churches better than their own missionaries could possibly do it.' 'The Liberal Synagogue reproduces with alarming accuracy the attitude of mind which prevailed eighteen centuries ago in the Jewish-Christian Church.' The result of this, the Chief Rabbi assures us, is that 'to all competent observers, Liberal Judaism is a moving staircase, carrying those who have taken their stand upon it out of Judaism.' Even orthodox Jews of the wealthy class 'send their children to the Public Schools, and claim for them no exemption from New Testament teaching.' Such tendencies Dr. Hertz seeks to stem by a strong re-assertion of traditional orthodoxy, and especially by a much more extensive and efficient system of Jewish education. He advocates a Jewish Public School; he pleads for the restored sanctities of Jewish home life, with its religious loyalties; he covets for modern Jewry a return to the puritanism and isolation of the Ghetto. No re-interpretation of Judaism, 'no removing of its rough edges,' can be permitted. The faith is fixed. The need of 'this irreligious age' is a renewal of the spirit of the age of the Maccabees. He will not admit that the 'spirit' of Judaism may suffice for the modern Jew. The real Torah, Dr. Hertz declares, is not merely the written text of the Five Books of Moses. Its exposition by successive generations for two thousand years 'forms the soul of Judaism, and gives it individuality and uniqueness among the living faiths of men.' It may be unbecoming for a Gentile to intervene, but it seems to us that such rigid fundamentalism may be a real obstacle to the restoration of the vitality of Jewish piety in a free and democratic age. In any case, this book contains many things that a Christian thinker to-day should read and ponder.

The Creator Spirit: A Study of Christian Doctrine in the Light of Biology, Psychology, and Mysticism. By Charles E. Raven, D.D. (Hopkinson & Co. 8s. 6d.)

Canon Raven has combined into one volume his Hulsean Lectures at Cambridge and his Noble Lectures at Harvard. The first four chapters represent the Cambridge lectures, the last four those given in America. The scholars of the early Church were preoccupied with the Person of Christ, and special reasons militated against an adequate treatment of the Holy Spirit. The term *Logos*, when applied, as in Justin and Clement, left little room for the attribution of vital characteristics to the Third Person. 'The Father tended to become simply the remote, ineffable source from whom the *Logos* proceeded, the Spirit mainly the Captain of the heavenly host.' If in creation, incarnation, and inspiration the sole agent was the Son, it was difficult to give any real value to the traditional faith in the

Holy Ghost. Canon Raven regards the proposal to identify the Indwelling Christ with the Holy Spirit as inadequate. To relate the Holy Spirit with the Father as well as with the Son, with creation not less than with redemption, would enrich our conception of Him and of the godhead. The chapter on 'Science and Religion' points out that the foundations of the Darwinian position have become, of recent years, seriously insecure. The weakest spot in the Neo-Darwinian position is its explanation of the familiar phenomena of degeneration. The movement of thought in the last twenty years has been as rapid and, from the Christian standpoint, as hopeful as any in history. The aesthetic, intellectual, and moral values disclosed in Nature are in harmony with the view of the Spirit as the 'Giver of Life.' The chapter on 'Psychology and the Individual' points out that the emphasis upon the subconscious and the analysis of personality into separate instincts has been so stressed as to misrepresent the wholeness of the normal self. This is illustrated by a striking note on Canon Raven's own 'disintegration of personality through shock' in the war. The volume closes with a vision of the goal of creation toward which the eternal and creative Spirit has been moving onward through ages of struggle and suffering. If Christians are agreed as to the unity and primacy of spiritual experience, and respond to the ideal of a world-wide community, they will achieve unity and power. Dr. Needham, in his important Appendix, claims that mental phenomena will more and more become subjects for the biochemical worker.

The Making of Luke-Acts. By Henry J. Cadbury. (Macmillan Company. 12s. 6d.)

Luke's two books form more than a quarter of the New Testament, and Professor Cadbury rightly holds that their author must be considered a man of importance alongside of his heroes. 'No figure of this period is much clearer in our knowledge than the surviving biographer of Jesus and Paul. He does not intentionally bring his own personality into his writings; nevertheless it can in part be recovered from them.' This Dr. Cadbury does with the utmost skill and care. We wish that he had given some account of the medical training and status of the 'beloved physician,' but he helps us to understand what documents Luke used in preparing his Gospel, and brings out the variations that he introduced into the wording of St. Mark. His improvements in expression and sentence structure are conspicuous. 'Among New Testament writers he stands high, from the cultural viewpoint excelling, not only the other Evangelists, but even Paul, who wrote a vigorous and natural Greek, free from the errors of ignorance. His vocabulary has much in common with Paul's, but in the Greek Bible the books nearest in style are Second Maccabees and the letter to the Hebrews.' As to his variation in style, a passage is quoted from Dr. James Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*. The shipwreck scene is notable for its vividness and dramatic quality. Professor Cadbury has made a valuable

addition to the Lucan library, and one that will richly repay careful study.

The Old Latin Texts of the Pentateuch. By the Rev. A. V. Billen, M.A., D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 15s. net.)

This work is based on the three MSS. of the Old Latin Pentateuch at Lyons, Munich, and Würzburg and two treatises of Augustine. Most of the other evidence for the text has also been collected and examined. The volume has entailed an enormous amount of skilled research, and Dr. Billen points out the direction in which further work is likely to be fruitful. A few renderings give hints of modifications in religious ideas during the third century, and show the direction taken by developments. *Donum* is changed to *munus*, *festus* to *solemnis*, *ministrare* to *sacrificare*, *votum* and *vovere* to *oratio* and *orare*. The Lyons Heptateuch is far from homogeneous in its vocabulary and diction, and the most noticeable variations between the different books are described in a way that will specially appeal to students. The vocabulary of Augustine's two treatises—*Questions* and *Locutiones*—and of the Munich and Würzburg MSS. are similarly discussed. The relations of the MSS. to the quotations in the Fathers and the Greek text underlying the Old Latin version are considered in detail. The version has evidently been revised from the Greek, and Augustine's variations from the three MSS. may perhaps be explained as alterations or contractions made by him from Greek MSS. which he knew and used. Thirty-eight pages are given to noteworthy words in the Old Latin Heptateuch, and there is an index of Bible texts and another of subjects.

The Ethical Basis of Reality. By E. E. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt. (Longmans & Co. 10s. 6d.)

The Rector of Marchwill here traces the connexion between personality and the principles that are structural of Reality. Those principles, he maintains, are derived from the moving relationship between individual minds. 'The one great world in whose bosom we lie, and which sustains us in being, is not the world of material existence, but a realm of minds.' No mind, or unity of minds is able to grasp a realm of existence commensurate with all that is. 'To seek for a great world of reality, to strive for an ultimate truth flinging itself over the whole of existence and penetrating to the utmost recesses of every detail of life, is to loose our hold of the reality we possess and to disendow ourselves of the gifts and powers which are our heritage from life and consciousness.' Our senses are merely instruments enabling us to relate things one to another so that the nature of things may be revealed to us in such a way that our desires, wishes, and purposes can play their part in the world. The body is merely the instrument of the mind, and it is by minds acting in plurality, and yet seeking to harmonize their activities one

with another, that reality comes to be a unity and to possess structure and order and law. Man builds himself a structure out of his experiences in this realm of minds so that he can find room for his activities among his fellows. What happens when he passes into the realm of spirits, religion must answer by its own way of revelation and inspiration.

The Epistle of St. James and Judaic Christianity. By G. H. Rendall, B.D., Litt.D., LL.D. (Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.)

The former Head Master of Charterhouse has given us a study of St. James which will be of great value to all readers of his Epistle. He has not aimed at complete exegesis of all points, but has concentrated on every part that bears on authorship, provenance, and date. He does not accept the Epiphanian hypothesis of children born to Joseph by a former marriage, but regards James as the eldest brother born to Mary after Jesus. His affinities by training and instinct were with the Pharisees. Among the figures of the apostolic age he is the most tenaciously conservative, but is foremost in holding out 'right hands of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas,' and in Acts xv. throws the full weight of his influence on the side of Gentile immunities from the yoke of Jewish rigorism. Dr. Rendall's chapters on James and his Hearers, Form, Style, and Composition, Ethic, Doctrine, Faith, and Works, and other subjects, are admirably lucid, and throw light on all phases of the letter. We are glad to note the warm approval of Dr. Lightley's *Jewish Sects and Parties*.

The Necessity of Redemption. By Percy Hartill, B.D. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d.) The Vice-Principal of Lichfield Theological College points out that the Atonement occupied a rather secondary place in the Anglican theology of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*, which appeared in 1901, showed that profound thought was again being given to the subject. Mr. Hartill's own position is that the Christian doctrine of the Atonement is not only true, but is also the *only* thing that can make sense of the universe. He first studies 'The Problem of Evil,' and then sets forth 'The Christian Answer.' The Cross satisfies the condition which our reason imposes—that any redemptive act must reveal the naked hideousness of sin. The work of Christ fulfils all the conditions which are needed to give an intelligible account of the universe. The creative act of the Atonement is God's, since man cannot effect reconciliation, and yet it must be the work of one who is human, since it involved the offering of humanity by humanity to God. The treatment is clear, and the chapters on 'Theories of the Atonement' is valuable.—*Students and the Faith.* Edited by Major J. W. Povah, B.D. (Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d.) The aims and methods of the Church Tutorial Classes Association are here set forth in a way that will greatly encourage the wider use of this valuable organization.

Bishop Gore expresses his approval of the work in the Preface; Dr. Matthews deals with the crisis and the opportunity; whilst other essays show how the classes meet the needs of town and village. Mr. Kelk's account of the help given to lay readers is a practical illustration of the value of the classes. A history of the movement, from its beginning in 1915 down to the present time, by Mr. Ford, the General Secretary, and the editor's sketch of the working of the classes, will guide all who wish to form one in their own districts. There are now 70 classes, with 1,070 members. The Southwark diocese heads the list with 14 classes and 206 regular members.—*Christian Evidences and Teaching*, by R. P. Hadden (Epworth Press, 8s. 6d.), is the work of a medical missionary in China who feels that the Bible has nothing to fear from facts, or reasonable deductions from them. He writes forcibly on the 'Prima-facie Credentials of Christianity,' meets the objections to the Resurrection of Christ in a cogent way, and dwells on the ever-increasing evidence of the accuracy of the Bible. He writes trenchantly on 'Destructive Criticism,' predestination, and kindred subjects. The two closing chapters, on the bearing of Christian teaching on the race and the individual, are richly evangelical.—*The Personality of Paul*. By H. G. Tunncliffe, B.A. (Epworth Press. 8s. net.) The aim of these studies is to catch the influence of the apostle's amazing personality. They cover twelve weeks, giving a subject for the first six days and a summary for the seventh. That lends the book a special appeal to study-circles. The brief portion for each day is headed by passages from the Acts and Epistles which illustrate it. The summary throws further light on the week's course, and a few questions are added by which the student can test his knowledge. Mr. Tunncliffe has studied the subject carefully himself, and he makes it thoroughly interesting for others.—*Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?—The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes which Hinder It*. By Roland Allen. (World Dominion Press. 8s. 6d. each.) The first of these books was published in 1912 and has now reached a third edition. The second is based upon articles which have appeared in England and America. Mr. Allen writes as an Anglican, and grounds his suggestions on personal experience in China. He thinks we are afraid to give native Churches full authority to propagate themselves, and maps out what he regards as the way of spontaneous expansion. 'We must learn the distinction between leaving Christians to learn what they can only for themselves, and abandoning them.' The books raise many questions, but Mr. Allen's answers will have to be received with caution.—*When Power Comes*. By Albert D. Belden, B.D. (Sampson Low & Co. 8s. 6d.) Stories from real life are here presented in a way that will furnish forcible illustrations for speeches or sermons. They range from Euripides to the trenches in the Great War, gathering good material at every stage. Well chosen, vividly told, they are really interesting to read, and will be used with good effect by speakers and teachers. The book makes us feel that Mr. Belden is the right man for Whitefield's Tabernacle.—

Israel in World History, by A. W. F. Blunt, B.D. (Oxford Press, 2s. 6d.), is a companion to his *Israel before Christ*, which sketches the social and religious development of the land. Maspéro's three volumes are the main authorities, and the nine chapters describe the relations with Babylon, Egypt, Syria, and Assyria, and close with Alexander's empire and its division and with Judaea as a Roman province. The manual will be of great service to Bible students. It is packed with information, is clearly and brightly written, and the illustrations throw real light on the payment of tribute, the art and the warfare of the centuries. The two volumes form a short history of Israel in its internal development and its external relations which will repay careful study.—*The Jewish People and the End-Time*. By S. H. Wilkinson. (Mildmay Mission. 1s.) Forty-six years of evangelistic and relief work among Jews give weight to the author's views. Modern religious laxity has become more marked among the Jews. The new attitude of sympathy and inquiry concerning Christ is local and exceptional rather than universal and general, though in some cases it arises from genuine soul-hunger. All the facts make Mr. Wilkinson feel that the Lord's return is at hand. What is certain is that they point to a restlessness in Jewry which may mean the beginning of a new attitude towards Christianity.—*Israel Among the Nations*, by Norman H. Baynes (Student Christian Movement, 5s.), sketches the history of Israel in its setting in the ancient world. It begins with Abraham, and has a welcome touch of conservatism in its discussion of the entry into Egypt and the Exodus. The early legislation of Israel differs from that of other ancient people in its humanity and its close union of law and religion. The relations to other nations are described in a way that will be very helpful to students, and they will find the bibliography, with its extended notes, a valuable guide to further research.—*Israel in Prophecy and History*. By P. W. Thompson. (Covenant Publishing Co. 5s.) The writer is a convinced Anglo-Israelite, who holds that the essential blessing promised to Israel on 'the third day' of Hosea vi. 2 was to be found in the life, the teaching, and the spiritual power of John Wesley. He sees the eighteenth century 'wholly dominated by one wholly devoted superman, John Wesley.' All that was best in Anglicanism and in Puritanism met and had their full fruition in him, 'to the immeasurable benefit of our nation in all its varied spheres of responsibility.' Mr. Thompson states his case clearly, and does not forget to plead for 'God's Tenth' by quoting a passage from Dr. Alexander Whyte.—Mr. G. J. Galloway publishes some delightful Bible stories from the Old and New Testaments, told in a way to arrest the attention of children, and lighted up with a wealth of coloured illustrations. The double set of stories is 2s., the single set 1s. There are also smaller selections at 6d. and other booklets at 8d., with crossword puzzles and other attractions. The Scripture cards are very bright in colour, and will be much prized.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

A History of the English People, 1830-1841. By Elie Halévy. Translated from the French by E. I. Watkin. (T. Fisher Unwin. 21s. net.)

THIS third volume of Professor Halévy's History is divided into two parts: The Reform Bill of 1832 and the first Reformed Parliament (1830-4), and The Years of Lord Melbourne (1835-41). Every page shows how careful and accurate has been the study of contemporary records, and the judicial character of the work is as marked as its research. It begins with the agricultural riots in the southern counties, when Irish labourers were expelled by force from Kent, and machines intended to reduce the wages bill were broken. The riots were of a very mild description and did not affect the manufacturing districts of the north and north-west. Wellington resigned and Lord Grey formed a Ministry which marked a revolution in polite society. 'For the first time for fifty years the great Tory families fell from power, and Devonshire House, Lansdowne House, and Holland House became the Ministerial salons.' The programme of the new Government was peace abroad, retrenchment at home, parliamentary reform. Lord Melbourne, the Home Secretary, who passed for an indolent man of fashion, astonished his colleagues by the energy which he displayed. The events that led up to the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 are described at length, and Lord Palmerston's rise to power is the subject of some interesting pages. 'The Times, which finally stigmatized his excessive attention to his toilette and probably his lax morals by dubbing him "Cupid," took delight in holding up to ridicule "our exquisite Foreign Secretary," the "fine gentleman," and the "flippant dandy." In the Cabinet he carried little weight, and was effaced by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell.' He was serving his apprenticeship, but when it was served he emerged as John Bull incarnate, who represented in his person the honour and self-assertion of the country. Brougham is another great figure of the period. He was Lord Chancellor, and, though he had 'alarmed his colleagues by his extravagant ambitions and intemperate language, he contrived, notwithstanding, to present for a year or two the appearance of a great man.' The rise of the Oxford Movement is sketched, and the struggle of the Nonconformists for release from 'any sort of obligation to contribute towards the cost of the Anglican worship, their right to be buried in the churchyards by their own ministers, free access to the Universities, the right to be married in their own chapels, a secular State observing neutrality towards all creeds.' The Wesleyan position is shown from its Minutes of Conference and standard works. M. Halévy says that in 1838, a few months after the passing of the Reform Bill, 'English

evangelicalism may be said to have reached its apogee. It constituted the essence of the Methodist preaching, and, in their hatred of Catholics and Latitudinarians, the Wesleyans were drawing closer to the Church from which they were sprung.' The influence of the Evangelical party in the Church of England was growing stronger every day. The survey is suggestive and discriminating, as indeed is the treatment of the whole period.

William Law and Eighteenth-century Quakerism. By Stephen Hobhouse, M.A. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d. net.)

This volume has grown out of the discovery of five letters which Law addressed to a serious lady about quitting the Church of England to join the Quakers. They were written at the request of Dr. Byrom, near whom she was living at Leigh, near Manchester. The letters were among the MSS. given by Christopher Walton to Dr. Williams's Library. Fanny Henshaw's purpose to join the Friends was not shaken by Law's letters. He certainly puts his case 'ruthlessly,' as Mr. Hobhouse admits, when he says that 'Quakerism is to prevail against the plain letter of Scripture, against the acknowledged institutions of Christ, and the most remarkable precepts of the gospel . . . its business is to take soul and body out of their natural state, to prepare them both for convulsions, to make them both sick of strange distempers and full of unreasonable cravings, and to make the mind so desirous of a miraculous, supernatural state of bearing, seeing, feeling, tasting, and acting, that an outward Christ, outward sacraments, gospel precepts, and everything that is regular, or orderly, or prescribed either by God or man, may be disregarded as too low and carnal for its supernatural state.' Mr. Hobhouse actually adds that what Law 'writes here of eighteenth-century Quakerism might more appropriately have been said of the Methodist movement, which was now on the eve of its first triumphs.' The postmark on the letter is November 30, 1736, when Wesley was painfully proving his High Church theories in Georgia. Miss Henshaw had been much impressed by the preaching of May Drummond, a Scotch convert of Thomas Story. There is an interesting note on this famous lady preacher, who drew 'more of the gentry and nobility than was ever known before' to Quaker meetings. Miss Henshaw married William Paxton, and, though she had many children, was a constant and unwearying traveller in the ministry, and was on friendly terms with Fletcher of Madeley. 'Occasionally too she preached not unacceptably at Methodist gatherings, a most rare activity for a Quaker.' In 1755 she made a second marriage, with William Dodsham of Durham, but still continued her preaching services. Mr. Hobhouse thinks Canon Overton 'formed an exaggerated opinion of Law's consistency and conscientiousness as clergyman and writer from one end of his career to another,' and omitted to notice that all the passages which he quotes to show that Law remained a High Churchman after becoming a mystic are taken

from the period 1787-40. Mr. Hobhouse gives his reasons for holding that Law's views at this time on the Sacraments were by no means characteristic of his life as a whole. Methodist readers will turn eagerly to the chapter headed 'John Wesley's Testimony.' Mr. Hobhouse says he was 'undoubtedly the greatest religious leader produced by the British Isles during the eighteenth century. Many would call him the greatest in Christendom, since the era of the Protestant Reformation at least.' He cites Wesley as 'an emphatic contemporary witness to the essential Quakerism of Law's later writings.' 'Wesley's hostility to William Law is only part of his rooted distrust of the mystical writers in general.' He felt that his old master's later work had a pernicious tendency to 'stillness.' Byrom twice vigorously tackled Wesley as to his published letter, but Wesley held his ground and Mr. Hobhouse feels the force of his objections.

Disraeli: A Picture of the Victorian Age. By André Maurois. Translated by Hamish Miles. (John Lane. 12s. 6d.)

This is a brilliant study of Lord Beaconsfield from the dazzling extravagances of his young manhood to the days when he reached what he called 'the top of the greasy pole,' and not only shaped the history of Europe, but captured the heart of Queen Victoria herself. The Life is in no sense a rival of the great Monypenny and Buckle biography, but it will be most enjoyed by those who are familiar with those masterly volumes. It is a vivid picture both of the man and the age. He had a long struggle for power, but he had boundless ability and patience, and found at last the means of satisfying the irresistible ambition of his youth. Nothing more became him than his love for his wife. That is a domestic idyll that it would be hard to surpass. Women always liked and trusted him. He took many pains to attract the young intellectuals, for he felt that 'a party is lost if it has not a constant reinforcement of young and energetic men.' The relations between him and his great political rival are well brought out, and his delight in Hugenden, with his peacocks, his flowers, and his solitude, shows the veteran in a very happy light. 'The joys of living in the country in summer are always fresh to me.' M. Maurois regards him as 'some old spirit of spring, ever vanquished and ever alive, and as a symbol of what can be accomplished, in a cold and hostile universe, by a long youthfulness of heart.' His life is a more enthralling romance than any he ever wrote, and it is vividly set forth in this fine volume.

The Present Position of History. By George Macaulay Trevelyan. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d.)

This is the Inaugural Lecture which Mr. Trevelyan delivered on October 26 as Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Thirty years ago he was present when Lord Acton

gave his Inaugural, and that leads to a sketch of the progress made since 1875, when ten students were examined for the History Tripos. Including the Law and History Tripos over 800 sat for the examination in 1927. We have travelled far along the road of expansion since Mr. Trevelyan sat as a freshman at the feet of Sir John Seeley. History 'is rightly taught by the disclosure, so far as is humanly possible, of the truth about the past in all its variety and many-sidedness, in its national and international aspects, and in many other aspects besides these two.' It is an open Bible, concerned with every activity of man. An interesting estimate of Acton's teaching and that of his successor, Professor Bury, leads up to Macaulay, who directed historical attention 'towards the social life going on behind the drums and trumpets and Parliamentary debates,' to J. R. Green, and, not least, to Sir Walter Scott, who gave to history 'another heart and other pulses.' The closing passage on the delight of peering into the magic mirror of the past makes one envy the students who have to sit at the feet of such a professor.

From the City to Fleet Street. By J. Hall Richardson.
(Stanley Paul & Co. 15s.)

The writer's journalistic experiences have been gained chiefly on the staff of the *Daily Telegraph*, and we know no book which gives such an insight into the life of Fleet Street. Mr. Richardson's father was in business in Bishopsgate Street, and took an active part in municipal life. He enjoyed the friendship of Garibaldi, Mazzini, Cobden, and Bright. After seven years in a stockbroker's office, his son turned to journalism, and gained some experience on local papers before he got his footing in the offices of the *Daily Telegraph*. His work brought him into contact with many celebrities, and he has much to tell of the Rothschilds, of Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir George Lewis, and of men and women in all ranks of life. We get a striking picture of Sir William Soulsby and his work at the Mansion House, and see how much Mr. Richardson himself has done to organize the charitable appeals of his own paper. The scene in the room of the Westminster Palace Hotel when he saw Parnell, Healy, Davitt, and Dillon sign their disclaimer of responsibility for the Phoenix Park murders is one of the most dramatic in the book, though the Old Bailey pages are not less exciting. The budding journalist will learn much from this vivid record. Industry and enterprise have been Mr. Richardson's stepping-stones, and they still lead the way to success.

L'Attrition d'après le Concile de Trente et d'après Saint Thomas D'Aquin. Par J. Périnelle, O.P. (Kain: Le Saulchoir).

This is No 1 in the Theological Section of the *Bibliothèque Thomiste*. Its object is to bring out the doctrine of the Roman Church and of Aquinas on attrition, which is a form of repentance inferior to perfect

contrition, but yet legitimate. It begins by showing how the question stood at the opening of the Council of Trent, and then describes what took place in its sixth and fourteenth sessions. The divergence of opinion between attritionists and contritionists is next considered, and the final chapters give a clear account of the position taken by Aquinas. In his view perfect contrition is not necessary before absolution; attrition is sufficient, but it ought really to grow into contrition, due to penitence, which should inspire a love of supernatural and sovereign benevolence for God. The inferior motives of fear and hope only prepare its birth, and when the penitent receives the Sacrament, attrition gives place to perfect contrition. That is an epitome of this learned discussion.

The Church in the World, by W. R. Inge, D.D. (Longmans & Co., &c.), contains seven essays which appeared in various reviews, and the fine study of 'Hellenism in Christianity,' which the dean wrote for *The Legacy of Greece*. The essay on 'The Quakers' is almost entirely new. It gives brief accounts of the chief immediate followers of Fox. Dean Inge says he could hardly join the Society, not only because he values the Sacrament of Holy Communion, but because he cannot agree with the Quakers that 'force is no remedy, and that capital punishment is wrong.' But he does not hesitate to describe the Quakers as the truest Christians in the modern world. As to 'The Condition of the Church of England,' the dean holds that the attempt now being made to drag Anglicanism away from its history and traditions will fail. The ship will right itself by degrees, and the chief influence in restoring the balance will be the Liberal Evangelicals. 'The Crisis of Roman Catholicism' describes Professor Heiler's position as driven out of the Roman Communion on account of Modernism. The tragedy of Rome is that she is the only surviving autocracy in an age which has discredited and abandoned that type of government. Two of the essays are on 'Science and Theology' and 'Science and Ultimate Truth'; two are on 'Faith and Reason' and 'The Training of the Reason.' The dean always makes us think, and the subjects of these essays are so vital that we are thankful to see them treated with such vigour and insight.

Adventures in the Minds of Men. By Lynn Harold Hough. (Abingdon Press. \$1.25.) This is a striking title for a still more striking book. It begins at the fireside, but it soon wafts us to Brooklyn, where Dr. Hough enters into the mind of Edith Wharton and Paul Elmer More. We next get a glimpse into the lithe and athletic mind of Mr. St. Loe Strachey and other English thinkers. The bright little paper on Walter Leaf brings us into close touch with that famous banker and scholar; then we try to solve 'the mystery of Lloyd George'; and come into close relations with Dr. Jowett and Dr. Fosdick. Nothing pleases us better than the tribute to 'Four Remarkable Men'—two lawyers and two American Methodist editors. 'Understanding England' could only have been written by one who is almost equally at home on both sides of the Atlantic and has gathered not a small part of his treasure here. What

insight there is in the sketch of Walter H. Page—'A delightful American'—or, to take a more elaborate study, as he gazes into 'The Future of the Congregationalists.' Dr. Hough reveals his secret in 'The Magic of Books.' His library has put the whole world at his feet. He is the true cosmopolitan, but his affection never takes the form of colour blindness. Every paper sparkles with both sympathy and discernment, and leaves a reader eager for more adventures like these.

Sayings and Portraits of Charles Wesley. Compiled and edited by John Telford, B.A. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d. net.) This volume is uniform with the *Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley*. It gives all the portraits that are known, and adds those of the ancestors and descendants of the poet. It also includes a few portraits of John Wesley which overflowed from the earlier volume, and a set of historic scenes in London, Bristol, and Newcastle. The sayings, not only of Charles Wesley, but of other members of the family, are here grouped into a volume which appeals to all lovers of the Evangelical Revival.—Messrs. Morgan & Scott publish *Memoria of the Mission Field*, by Christine I. Tinling (8s. 6d.). The book covers a wide field, ranging from Syria to India, Japan, and China. It is full of vivid personal touches which help us to understand the factory girls of China, and gives some idea of missionary housekeeping. It is a fresh and an interesting set of sketches.—*Science and Faith*, by W. G. Radley, B.Sc. (1s. net), is a series of thoughtful papers on science and religion. Science has no message of certain hope for the future; but the Bible has. This is a useful little book.—*The Secret of Christ Our Life*, by Andrew Murray, D.D. (1s. net), has an uplifting spiritual message for each day of a month.—*Short Chapters of African History*. By H. T. C. Weatherhead, O.B.E., M.A. (Sheldon Press. 1s. 6d.) This book is mainly intended for Africans under British rule or protection, but a chapter on French Africa has been added. Portugal was the pioneer of discovery in the continent, and an interesting account is given of Vasco da Gama (1460–1524). Brief biographies of modern explorers, chapters on the slave trade, on Livingstone, South Africa, Egypt, and the Soudan, and on Khama, make this an outline which many will prize and enjoy.—*Adventures with Christ in Latin America*. (Abingdon Press. \$1.) Bishop Miller describes missionary work in Mexico in a way that will arrest attention and enlist sympathy. There is probably no land where the common people respond more readily and sincerely to the presentation of a living Christ. 'Once the iron hand of the hierarchy is relaxed, there will be a turning unto the Lord.' The peon has always a few flowers growing about the place, however wretched his hovel. There is also a slowly increasing middle class who live in better conditions. The book is illuminating, and some striking incidents of devoted work are given.

GENERAL

Aristophanes in English Verse. Vol. I. By Arthur S. Way,
D.Lit. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d.)

ARISTOPHANES represents the seamy side of life in Athens. Dr. Way says in his fine Introduction that his plays are one series of attacks on institutions, policies, individuals, and tendencies of which he disapproved, and the list is a long one. As to the war with Sparta, 'he was the mouthpiece of the country party, who honestly objected to it, and of the aristocracy, who objected because they were pro-Spartans, and because the war was being "run" by democratic politicians.' He was proud of the imperial position of Athens, but wanted empire without paying the price, which was 'war rather than surrender,' with 'a nation's enthusiasm behind it, which was only possible under democratic institutions.' He hated demagogues, and in 'The Knights' he heaps abuse on Cleon, who revenged himself by indicting Aristophanes for false assumption of the title of citizen. Conviction would have been ruin, and in 'The Wasps' he had to humiliate himself, before Cleon consented to withdraw the action. All these points stand vividly out in Dr. Way's introductions to the plays. It is a stormy and, not seldom, a disgraceful scene on which we look, and Dr. Way's translations are so vivid and so stirring that the Athenian life of the theatre and the market seems to unfold itself before our eyes. These entertainments and festivals were part of the national worship, and no small part of the expense came from the 'wicked rich,' who vied with each other in staging their quota of the plays handsomely. The education of the whole free population in literature, music, elocution, as well as in high morality and the duties of citizenship, depended mainly on these festivals. The splendour of publicity thus offered to dramatists, the dazzling rewards that awaited success, were a marvellous stimulus to literary effort. The licensed irreverence of Attic comedy and its all-pervading indecency are dwelt on in Dr. Way's Introduction. He gives a full chronology of the life and works of the poet and translates six of the comedies—'The Acharnians,' 'The Knights,' 'The Clouds,' 'The Wasps,' 'The Peace,' and 'The Birds.' It is a masterly rendering, which scholars will know how to appreciate, and which they will be eager to add to the unique set of volumes which we already owe to this great scholar, and who we are happy to see has not a few other translations ready for publication.

The Poems and Prophecies of William Blake. 2s. net. *An Introduction to the Study of Blake.* By Max Plowman.
4s. 6d. (Dent & Sons.)

These are really companion volumes which set Blake's own work side by side with a clear-sighted interpretation of its meaning. We have no complete collection of the poems and prophecies so cheap as

this welcome addition to 'Everyman's Library.' Mr. Plowman's Introduction to the volume of poems gives the chief facts of Blake's life, and traces the development of his thought in his poems. The bibliography is a welcome addition to the workmanlike volume. In his study of Blake, Mr. Plowman points out that the reader must be in tune with the poet. 'He must be imaginatively awake, intellectually keen, and frankly whole-hearted. If not, he will usually hear nothing but the most terrible dissonance.' The poetry is a 'spiritual harmony, to be enjoyed and understood according to the measure in which the reader is himself spiritually harmonious.' Blake was the most independent artist that ever lived. He had his own sources of inspiration, his own strange technique, his own method of printing and illustrating, his own secret way of reproducing his illustrations. He strove to portray the soul of man, and in doing so portrayed his own soul. Time, Mr. Plowman says, has finely avenged him of the charge that he was mad. 'For half a century now, criticism has been compelled to go on hands and knees before his work, begging precisely that gift which madness is deficient of, at the same time being obliged, before an open-mouthed audience, either to confess its want of intellectual power, or to disguise its ignorance in a pretentious wisdom that is almost hourly made to eat its own words.' His 'Songs of Innocence' recapture the child mind. 'He gathens the flower with the dew upon it. He does not merely write about childish happiness; he becomes the happy child.' He really discovered childhood. 'He showed it to be a condition of happiness, unity, and self-enjoyment; a sunrise which enables us to see the glory of God and the original state of the soul.' To Blake, God is Infinite Man: Man confined to the senses is Finite God. He becomes as God when he apprehends as God does. 'First and last, if not absolutely all the time, Blake was a Christian.' The Bible was the inspired Word of God covering the whole spiritual history of man. The Spirit of Jesus was continual forgiveness of sins. The student of Blake will find much help in these essays, and the interest of both volumes is increased by reproductions of his engravings.

Mind and Personality. By William Brown, M.D., D.Sc. (University of London Press. 12s. 6d.) This Essay in Psychology and Philosophy comes from the Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy at Oxford, who is also Consulting Psychologist to Bethlem Royal Hospital and Psychotherapist to King's College Hospital. It is therefore the work of an academic lecturer and a practising psychotherapist who has spent several years in preparing it, and presents a synoptic view of personality from the standpoints of the various sciences. Dr. Brown regards it as an interim report, since the material continues to flow in an abundant stream, and the working out of its philosophic implications cannot be hurried. He begins with an introductory view of mind and personality, and then considers personality in relation to physiology, psychology, experimental and child psychology, psycho-pathology, ethics, evolution, religion, and value. One chapter is on 'Survival after Bodily Death.'

There are many text books on psychology and philosophy, but Dr. Brown's work has this special claim to attention, that it treats of personality from every point of view. The mind may be compared to a pyramid, of which the apex is the conscious personality, with the personal unconscious below, and, underneath that, the collective or racial unconsciousness merging in the general unconsciousness of the entire physical universe. When we pass to a philosophical consideration of the subject, we find that 'personality has a universal element that contrasts it with the individual and the singular, and that in this respect it is an ideal never completely achieved by finite minds.' Dr. Brown thinks that physicians either emphasize the physical factors to the exclusion of the mental, or become so enthusiastic over recent advances in medical psychology that they ignore or neglect the physical aspect. Both sides ought to be dealt with. He holds that a belief in freedom, in self-determination, on the physician's part, strong enough to sustain or originate a similar belief in the patient's mind, is a very important factor in mental cure. Modern psychology does not contest the reality of moral responsibility, but holds that criminals suffering from some forms of mental disease are less fully responsible for their acts than normal people. Collective responsibility is often as real as personal responsibility, and often much more ruthlessly exacted in the world process. The chapter on experimental psychology, developed further by that on mathematical ability, is of great interest. The evidence seems to favour the existence of a special faculty underlying mathematical ability, distinct from, and within close connexions with, other forms of intellectual capacity. In dealing with child psychology, Dr. Brown says we cannot too early inculcate the conviction of the existence of God as a loving Father, a Spirit of the Universe, from which we only separate ourselves by our misdeeds or misuse of freedom. Problems of adolescence are dealt with in a wise and helpful way. The section on the treatment of mental disease, or hypnosis and psycho-analysis, is important and judicious. As to survival after death, Dr. Brown says that evidence from psychical research falls far short of convincing proof. The fact of super-personal values is a powerful argument for belief in a future life. 'If we take the individual's personality as a very faint reflection of what we may believe the Universal Mind to be, we may feel that its development and realization is cut short in this life.' Another argument for survival is that from the absolute value of love and affection. The book is throughout arresting and deeply interesting.—*An ABC of Psychology for Sunday-school Workers and Bible Students*, by Eric S. Waterhouse, M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d. net), is dedicated to the memory of William James of Harvard, and he would have been eager to set the seal of his approval on it. It is intended for young students, and deals with the elements of the subject in a way that will add much to the efficiency of Sunday-school teachers. Complexes are described as clusters or constellations of sentiments, and some good suggestions are made as to the

way in which psychological treatment may be applied in various cases. The chapter on habit and its laws is important, and the study of Jesus as a Teacher fitly closes a manual which has been greatly needed and will be of much service.

Neo-Hegelianism. By Hiralal Halder, M.A., Ph.D. (Heath Cranton. 25s. net.) The Professor of Philosophy in the University of Calcutta seeks to give a fairly full and adequate account of British Neo-Hegelianism, which he regards as the greatest movement of thought in modern times, at least in the English-speaking world. Stirling's *Secret of Hegel* first set forth Hegel's real meaning in clear and forcible language. To him, Hegel's mission was the reconstruction of religion, both natural and revealed. The spread of Hegelian ideas in England and Scotland was in no small measure due to T. H. Green and Edward Caird. Green's influence in Oxford was supreme. 'He was a striking personality, and his elevating influence was extraordinary. Perhaps the man was greater than his philosophy.' He used Hegel mainly to remove Kant's inconsistencies and defects. Caird was his associate in the exposition and defence of an idealistic theory of the world. After Green's death in 1882 Caird carried on the work with great originality and power. His utter veracity and assured faith that all things work together for good made a deep impression on his students. His elder brother, John Caird, presented the religious aspect of Neo-Hegelianism with rare lucidity and charm. William Wallace, who succeeded Green as Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy, made Hegel's philosophy better understood than even Green and Caird. F. H. Bradley did much to remove a weak point of Hegel's teaching. In reaction against dualism and transcendentalism he was led to an extreme theory of immanence. Bradley insisted on the difference between the Absolute and human experience. In the Absolute there must be more than there can be in our knowledge. Bernard Bosanquet's agreement with and differences from Bradley are clearly brought out. The whole study is illuminating, and it is lucid and pleasant even in dealing with abstruse questions.

Living Machinery. By A. V. Hill, M.A., Sc.D., F.R.S. (Bell & Sons. 7s. 6d.) Sir William Bragg did the young folk of the Royal Institution Christmas lectures real service when he got Professor Hill to deliver six lectures on nerves and muscles. It is a veritable wonderland into which he opens the way. Millions of nerve-fibres run to every point in the body, and form, with the brain, the most complicated, beautiful, and wonderful objects in the world. Plates and diagrams help us to see how the nervous system works and how it is injured and repaired. The muscles are not less wonderful. Those that work the eyelid move extremely rapidly to protect the eye from harm, whilst arms or fingers cannot be moved more than ten times a second. A year's heart's work for a man doing average work would raise 200 gallons—that is, about a ton—from sea-level to the top of Mount Everest. Its action is described in a way that will capture every reader. The lecturer shows how nerves and muscles work together. Feelings of touch, heat, cold, or pain, all

have a special kind of receiver, and our ordinary sensations are made up of mixtures of these in various proportions. The last lecture, 'Speed, Strength, and Endurance,' with hints on constant speed in racing, has its own interest. The book is one that every young reader will delight in, and their elders will prize it just as much.

The Holy Lever. By Marie Conway Oemler. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d.) John Wesley was never more in the limelight than he is to-day. The story of his attachment to Sophia Hopkey in Georgia is here told with minute attention to the Standard Edition of his *Journal*. There are points which need revision. The boy was five years old, not three, when he was saved from the fire. Sarah Wesley proved that her uncle never said to his master at Charterhouse, 'Better to rule in hell than serve in heaven.' Mrs. Oemler works out Mr. Curnock's conclusion that Betty Kirkham was his first religious friend, who introduced him to à Kempis and to Law's *Christian Perfection*. That point is, however, still unsettled. The description of Wesley's appearance is excellent, but it is a mistake to think that he lacked humour or could not enjoy a laugh. He would not have been the pleasing companion who was welcomed wherever he went had he not been able to unbend when the fitting opportunity came. Such moments, it may be allowed, were rare in Georgia. The love-story is told with much embroidery of fancy and with a keen eye for anything that may heighten the effect. We all admit that Wesley was susceptible, nor are we blind to the charm of the girl who filled so large a place in his thoughts in Georgia, but the world may be thankful that his eyes were opened before he had taken the fatal step of linking his life to that of Sophia Hopkey.—*The Kingdom of Theophilus.* By W. J. Locke. (John Lane. 7s. 6d.) Theophilus Bird is a civil servant living at Blackheath with a wife who neglects her home to immerse herself in public life. The husband becomes heir to a great fortune, and finds himself mixed up with company promoters of the most disreputable sort. His wife's cousin is sent to penal servitude, and his daughter makes a desperate fight to win him to better courses. The shady side of life is here sketched by a master hand. It is not pleasant reading, but it has its thrill, and it is not without its warning. Theophilus gets his kingdom, but he stains it before he enters it, and so does Daphne.—*The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes.* By Arthur Conan Doyle. (Murray. 7s. 6d.) This is positively the last appearance of Sherlock Holmes. His old clients and the eager company that watched his cases develop will have some exciting hours in his company and will be as much puzzled as Dr. Watson himself as to the issue. There is a touch of improbability about one or two of the solutions, but these are not the least fascinating of the twelve adventures. Holmes is both thinker and man of action; he uses all his wits to puzzle out the problems, and then beards opponents and grips the whole situation as only he could do. It is a fitting finale to a memorable record, and makes one feel that we shall never see the like of Sherlock Holmes again.—*Where the Heart is.* By J. Wesley Hart. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.)

Ethel Dempster is a lady of fortune who wakes up after a serious railway accident to a new view of life. She loses her money, but, when thrown on her own resources, develops a rare gift as a nurse and wins a lover who is worth having, in young Dr. Butler. It is a story with many exciting scenes and a happy sequel.—*The Doctor's Conquest*, by E. A. Stephenson (Epworth Press, 1s. 6d.), is a South African tale which gives pleasant glimpses of farmer life, and shows how the rather sarcastic locum tenens of Dr. Maund proves his real merit and goodness of heart, and finds in Nance Seymour a charming wife.—*In Monte Carlo*, by Henryk Sienkiewicz, the author of *Quo Vadis*, is translated from the Polish by Count Soissons for Messrs. Stanley Paul's 'International Library' (2s. 6d.) The artist has a fair escape from the wiles of the rich widow at Monte Carlo. He is entangled almost beyond escape, but the Polish girl who is driven by family misfortunes to come as his model saves him and consents to share his fortunes. She is certainly a charming heroine.—*Sasha*, by A. Kuprin, is another volume in the same series. The Russian novelist gives a weird picture of the violinist in the strange beerhouse at Odessa. Sasha and his fiddle work wonders on the strange guests who throng the place. We wish one sensual story had been omitted. It spoils the book, and there are some other pages that are not pleasant reading.—*The Heptameron*. (Stanley Paul & Co. 2s. 6d.) Margaret of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, wrote these stories about four years before her death, in 1549, for the amusement of her melancholy brother, Francis I. They are modelled on *The Decameron*, which had recently been translated into French, and are told by a set of travellers who are imprisoned by floods in an abbey. They are stories of intrigue which jar much on our modern tastes and morals, but they are a picture of the times also.—*Bontshe the Silent*, By I. L. Peretz, is a welcome addition to Messrs. Stanley Paul's library translations (8s. 6d.). Dr. Rappoport has translated it from the Yiddish, with a glossary and an account of Peretz, who died at Warsaw in 1915. He wrote in the dialect of the Jews in Russia and Poland, and depicts life as he saw it in humble circles. It is certainly fine work. The story of 'The Messenger' dying in the snow with a vision of his stalwart sons; 'Domestic Peace,' the carrier's idyll; even the pitiful beggar-student in his madness, stamp themselves on one's memory.—*The Yachting Schoolboys*, by John G. Rowe (Epworth Press, 1s. 6d. net), is a story with many thrills, and the boys are a really fine-spirited set who are bent on adventures and get all that heart could wish.—*Coat Tales*, by Ethel and Frank Owen (Abingdon Press, \$1), is whimsical and amusing in the most delightful fashion. Its coloured illustrations are high art, and its tales come one after another out of the pocket of the Happy Giant with surprising deftness. Little children certainly have a treat in store.—*The Somerset Year-Book, 1927*. (London, 15 Ranelagh Road. 2s. 6d.) This is not only the Twenty-sixth Report of the Society of Somerset Folk, but a literary and dialect magazine edited by Mr. Douglas Macmillan. Its yellow covers are attractive, and its

papers are enriched by many portraits, and illustrations of Somerset scenery. Place-name studies, stories in broad Somerset, papers on the Quantocks and the Exmoor wild deer make up a number which will have a much wider appeal than to those of the famous county itself.

Hymns of Western Europe. Selected and edited by Sir H. Walford Davies, Sir W. H. Hadow, Sir R. R. Terry. With a Preface by the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George. (Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.) Mr. Lloyd George feels that there is a growing dissatisfaction with the choice of hymns for divine service. The diversity of use and practice seems to him to have passed beyond the bounds of a reasonable freedom. That is the more to be regretted as, 'by the melody of a great hymn, not less than by its words, the souls of the worshippers are fired until the House of the Lord is filled with His glory.' The three editors of this collection entitle it to a special welcome. They have set themselves to find hymns which have stood the test of time, and have drawn freely from the Oxford, the English, and the Tattenden Hymnals and the Songs of Syon. The number of hymns is 280, and 20 more elaborate settings are added which may be used as anthems. Some of the finest Welsh melodies are included. Here the help of the Rev. H. Elvet Lewis is gratefully recognized, and special tribute is paid to Dr. G. R. Woodward, who has written or translated many hymns for the volume. The great masters of Latin hymnody are freely drawn upon, but Charles Wesley and John have their place of honour, and hymns that have endeared themselves to all Churches are not overlooked. We do not regard all the variations in phrase or word as a success, and the Latin element seems rather preponderant, but it is a collection of hymns and tunes which claims its place at the side of all other collections and will add much to their worth and variety.—*Three Hundred Best Hymns.* Selected and adapted for young people by Robert Bird. (Morgan & Scott. 3s. 6d. net.) 'Adapted' is the fatal word here. The selection includes old favourites and new, and Mr. Bird contributes at least one good hymn himself, but it is a pity to put into the hands of young people adapted versions of hymns that we all love. Mr. Bird has spent much labour on gathering his stores, and it is a neat little volume for a pocket companion.—*Practical Hints for Singers*, by George Dodds, Mus.Bac. (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.), is the work of an experienced teacher, who deals with breathing, resonance, the voice as a musical instrument, and the way to study a song. It is eminently practical, and lucid in all its explanations. Young vocalists will gain much from it, and will find that it is as pleasant as it is instructive.

The Nest of Spears, by F. W. Boreham (Epworth Press, 5s. net), takes its title from the Maori legend of the warriors' spears that mysteriously vanished on the night before the fray and were found at last forming the nest of the peace-bird. Mr. Boreham claims, and his readers will eagerly allow, that he has touched on a thousand questions which might stir up controversy, but has endeavoured to remove the glittering spear-points into an atmosphere of peace. 'The Magpie' makes an amusing beginning; and 'The Angel with

the Whip' is symbolism with a moral. We are now fairly launched, and each of the essays adds to the delights of the voyage. They make delicious reading, but they all leave us more in love with every thing that is gracious and lovely. Mr. Boreham never fails to hit the mark.—*The Road of Life*, by Herston Travers (Epworth Press, 1s. net), is full of shrewd and kindly counsel. It dwells on work and leisure, on love and home in a way that will really help those who have life before them and are anxious to make the best of its opportunities.—*Rural Life*. (Longmans & Co. 8s. 6d.) This is the report of a Copec Commission of which the Rt. Hon. Noel Burton was chairman. It seeks to state the causes which underlie the depletion and decay of our rural life, and to discover the means by which it may once again be made the healthy backbone of our race. The smallholders, who number 268,000 out of the 409,000 farmers in England and Wales, live and work under most adverse conditions. These are clearly brought out, and suggestions are made as to housing, rural education, agricultural organization, leisure, and social relations. A final chapter indicates the responsibilities resting on landlords, farmers, and labourers that will stimulate and guide all classes. It is a really useful report.—*An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*. By H. P. V. Nunn, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.) This is a second edition of a very helpful guide to the Latin written by Christian authors from the appearance of the first Latin version of the Bible until the revival of learning. The examples are taken almost entirely from the Vulgate New Testament. 'Ecclesiastical Latin' is used to describe the Latin of writers who studied the Vulgate rather than Virgil and Cicero. A few new examples are given from *A Grammar of the Vulgate*, recently published by the Oxford Press, and various errors in the first edition are here corrected. The Introduction and Grammar are followed by extracts from Perpetua and Jerome down to Aquinas and à Kempis. It is a book which young students will find of great service.—The wealth of matter in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* is brought out as we look at eight scholarly reprints taken from two numbers. They are published by the Manchester University Press and Messrs. Longmans & Co. at a shilling or eighteenpence. Dr. Rendel Harris writes on *Glass Chalice of the First Century* and *Further Traces of Hittite Migration*; Professor Farquhar on *The Apostle Thomas in South India*; Dr. Mingana on *Syriac Influence on the Style of the Kuran*; Professor Peake on *Elijah and Jezebel*; the Rev. T. Fish on *The Cult of King Dungi during the Third Dynasty of Ur*; Dr. Herford on *Shakespeare and the Arts*, and Dr. Alexander on *Art and Nature*. It is expert work of special value and sustained interest.—*Evolution Re-interpreted*. By H. Reinheimer. (Surbiton: Grevett & Co. 8s. 6d.) The case against Darwinism is here presented in a striking way. Darwin's great and outstanding merit as a pioneer of biology is gladly acknowledged, but Mr. Reinheimer maintains that Darwinism is incompatible with science itself and constitutes the chief obstacle to the recognition of those truths

on which the progress of biological and medical science depends. The case is presented in three chapters—'The Argument from Geology'; 'Darwin's False Premisses'; 'Adaptation and Environment.' The book is lucid and weighty.—*The World's Pilgrim*. By Eva Gore-Booth. (Longmans & Co. 8s. 6d.) Eight imaginary conversations between Buddha and Pythagoras, St. Francis and Brother Giacomina, Giordano Bruno and One Unknown, Lorenzo and Savonarola, Michelangelo and Pheidias. Lazarus bewails the dead Christ, and Easter Eve brings Christ back to the women in Jerusalem. The papers catch the spirit of the men and the times with real insight and make them vividly alive. We feel as though we were actually at the bedside of Francis of Assisi when the rich lady comes to comfort her dying friend.

Songs of a Hermit. By Gilbert Littlemore. (Epworth Press. 8s.) Professor Brereton's Introduction helps us to see his friend surrounded by birds and children in his garden in New South Wales. What they are to him comes out in the quotation from Lowell which he sets in front of his poems: 'Children are God's apostles, day by day sent forth to preach of love and hope and peace.' They certainly do it in this volume. The verses have music in them, and boys and girls have found a friend who loves them and makes others love them the better for his delight in their fun and innocence. Flowers and birds also find their poet here. 'Wattle Bloom' is sure to be popular in Australia, and there is a dainty touch in such poems as 'Elizabeth' and 'Grey and Gold.'—*Poetry of Birds and Flowers*. By W. H. Stevens, B.A. (Educational Supply Association. 1s.) This is the first of a Nature Series which hopes to interest children in birds and flowers. Fifteen poems are given to the skylark, robin, nightingale, and other birds; fifteen to the snowdrop, daisy, and favourite flowers. A simple notation at the foot of each poem shows the child how to recite it. It is excellent poetry, full of details that will arrest a young reader's attention and teach him to use his eyes and ears.—*Ecce Homo, Ecce Deus*, by A. Selker (James Clarke & Co., 2s. 6d.), gives 112 sonnets which describe Jesus as man and then pass on to an appreciation of His divine character. It is good poetry as well as good theology. The stages of our Lord's life, from Nazareth to the coming of the Paraclete, are described in a way that stirs thought, and the introductory verses lead us forward to the study of the ministry, whilst a closing section dwells on the Lord's Day, the Church, and the Christian life.—Dr. Shearman has issued a little supplement to his Poems, which dwell largely on the joy springing from beautiful things. They will appeal strongly to lovers of nature. They are to be had from the author, at Beech Villa, West Cowes.—The Pocket Books and Calendar of the Epworth Press for 1928 meet all the needs of ministers and laymen in the most compact and convenient form. They are strongly bound, printed on good paper, and the prices range from 2s. 9d. to 1s. 6d. The vest-pocket diary is rightly popular, and schedules in the minister's pocket-book and diary are very convenient.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (October).—The first article—‘The Romance of the Persian Gulf in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries’—recalls some of the incidents and something of the atmosphere of the past. ‘The Causes of European Poverty’ shows how ‘Europe, which until 1914 was the home of the arts and the producer of the greater part of the material comforts of life, is now struggling to maintain itself amid unrest and poverty.’ The Ministers for Foreign Affairs converse together as good Europeans at Geneva, ‘and then they return to the noisy forums of national animosity, and the lobbies of sinister self-interest, to take up the task of Sisyphus.’ There is an interesting article on ‘Humanitarian London from 1688 to 1750,’ and abundant variety is provided by ‘Fox-hunting, Past and Present,’ ‘English and Scottish Cookery,’ ‘Quakerism,’ and ‘The House of Lords.’ It is a very attractive number.

Hibbert Journal (October).—This month completes the twenty-fifth year of the existence of the Journal, and Dr. Jacks, the Editor, gives a brief *résumé* of its history. He can justly claim that this high-class Review, in the departments of religion, theology, and philosophy, has ‘accepted the search for truth, with its manifold risks,’ and those who differ most from the opinions of its written will, we think, agree that the search has been fairly, as well as candidly, conducted, and that the interests of religious truth have been greatly advanced by its fearless inquiries. The first article in this number, by R. G. Collingwood, seeks to show that reason is ‘Faith Cultivating Itself,’ a fresh and instinctive point of view from which an old controversy may be studied. The article on ‘William Blake’ by Professor Herford is, as might have been expected, a sane and helpful exposition of a subject over which too many interpreters go into hysterics. Professor Strömhölm continues his attempts to pull the New Testament to pieces. His reasoning, intended to show that ‘the Gospel narrative was not known to the authors of the Epistles,’ presses the argument *e silentio* to the utmost. It proves too much or too little—in our opinion, the latter. Dr. W. Sperry discusses the ‘Relation of Religion to Historical Fact,’ a big and burning question in our days. The article will set its readers thinking and give them something to carry away. Professor Farquhar’s survey of the ‘Achievements of the Indian Mind’ is written by a master of the subject. We wonder if it will penetrate the hide of any one who believes that all wisdom resides in the West. Professor B. W. Bacon, indefatigable in his discussion of Johannine questions, contributes a paper on ‘The Elder of Ephesus and the Elder John.’

It is certainly not the last word in a vexed controversy. Other articles are 'The Limits of Purpose,' by Professor Stocks; 'Happiness Once More,' by Professor Baillie; and 'The Revision of Hymnology,' by Dr. F. Ballard, whose attempts at improving old favourite hymns certainly do not make us long for a new hymn-book edited by Dr. Ballard.

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—Under the heading 'Documents,' Dr. M. R. James prints a copy in Greek of 'The Venice Extracts from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' chiefly concerned with Christian prophecies. Professor C. H. Turner continues his valuable papers on 'Marcan Usage.' We are looking forward to the time when the whole can be studied consecutively in one volume. Canon H. N. Bate discusses the 'Shorter Text of Luke xxii. 15—20' as an account of the institution of the Lord's Supper. Professor Burkitt's paper on 'Jesus and the Pharisees' sheds clear and welcome light upon a subject which recent writers have needlessly obscured. The titles of the next two papers—'The Conflict of Abailard and St. Bernard,' by J. G. Sikes, and 'Te Deum Laudamus,' by M. Frost—illustrate the variety of the topics handled in this valuable Journal, and the Book Reviews which follow maintain and extend the interest of its 'Notes and Studies.'

Holborn Review (October).—This number opens with a paper on Beethoven by the Rev. W. Callin, and it is followed by two theological articles—'The Historic Creeds,' by the Rev. P. McPhail, and 'The Sermon on the Mount,' by the Rev. H. Bullock. The interests of poetry are represented by essays on William Blake, by A. E. Harper, and on W. H. Davies, by D. R. Lock. The Rev. H. Faulkner discusses the relationship of the Church and the Stage, and Professor Atkinson Lee writes with judgement and balance upon Spiritualism. A variegated bill of fare indeed, without reckoning the Editorial Notes of Dr. Peake, always an attractive item in the *Holborn*. 'Discussions and Notices,' 'The Study Circle,' and 'Current Literature' are sections well represented in this number of a Review which sets a high standard for writers and readers—and maintains it.

Expository Times (October).—The new volume which begins with this number promises well for the future. The Editor, in his Notes, discusses Dr. Ryder Smith's new book on *The Sacramental Society*, which also receives notice in the literary section. It is a fact, as familiar as it is discreditable to the Church of Christ, that the very mention of the sacred memorial of the Saviour's death should be the signal for bitter controversy. Dr. Wheeler Robinson well concludes his paper on 'The Holy Spirit in the Bible' by saying that 'the glory of the Bible doctrine of the Holy Spirit is that it compels us to seek its meaning in the larger book of human history and human thought, to which all the nations of the earth contribute.' The expository element in this magazine is always one of its best features. In this number the Rev. H. J. Flowers contributes a

study of Eph. i. 5-7, 'Adoption and Redemption in the Beloved.' It is an example of an old style of rich unfolding of the treasures of Scripture which threatens to become a lost art. 'Recent Foreign Theology' is discussed by Dr. Garvie and Professor McFadyen, and the scattered notes found in other sections are, as often, worth the price of the whole magazine.

Congregational Quarterly (October).—This number gives a full report, extending to sixty-four pages, of the Oxford Congregational Conference on 'The Christian Faith in the Light of Modern Science and Criticism.' The Conference suffered in some degree, Dr. Pall thinks, from the immense disparity in the views of its members; from some confusion of aim; and from the fact that some had made up their minds as to their position and were not prepared to follow wherever the truth might lead. The Articles deal with such subjects as 'The Authority of the Risen Lord,' by the Rev. B. L. Woolf; 'Emerson,' by Katherine M. Wilson; 'Recent Study of St. Paul,' by Dr. Sydney Cave; 'The World Conference on Faith and Order,' by the Editor. Mr. Burford's 'People I Have Met: and Some Others' is very interesting.

Anglican Theological Review (July).—This American Review is published by Mr. Milford, and opens with 'The Outlook for Theology,' by F. C. Grant, one of the Editors. He believes that the great age of Christianity is still to come. Many features of the new era seem entirely wholesome, and suited to bring out qualities in our religion too often ignored and overlooked. What is needed is a Christian philosophy of life, of the world, of destiny, of the spiritual significance of the universe. Mr. Easton's 'Notes, Comments, and Problems' are of special interest.—(October).—Dr. Hall's 'Reunion and the Roman See' describes the factors working for the destruction of Vaticanism.

Science Progress (October).—Mr. Warren R. Dawson, in his 'Medicine and Surgery in Ancient Egypt,' says that much in the works of Dioscorides, Galen, and Pliny is directly borrowed from the medical papyri of Egypt, and has been handed down by the classical authors to the medical writers of mediæval times, on whom the herbalists and popular medical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries drew for much of their material. Mummification familiarized the Egyptians with the internal structure of the body and with the antiseptic properties of many resins and balsams, and the preservative values of soda, salt, and nitron. The number is full of science notes of real value.

Bulletin of the Rylands Library (July).—The list of additions to the Library since the last issue is a striking illustration of the riches available for students. The lectures arranged from October to March include 'Blake,' by Professor Herford; 'Paul the Apostle,' by Dr. Peake; 'Jane Austen's Art,' by Professor Alexander. Lectures already delivered are reported at length, and 'Woodbrooke Studies,' by A. Mingana, deals with editions and translations of

Christian documents—a Jeremiah apocryphon, a new life of John the Baptist, and some uncanonical Psalms—in Syriac and Garshuni, with an introduction by Dr. Rendel Harris. More than forty pages of facsimiles are given.

British Journal of Inebriety (October).—Sir Arthur Newsholme's address, Dr. Carter's paper on the effect of alcohol on the system, and Dr. Salter's account of the alcohol problem in Bermondsey, are of real value and interest.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (Chicago. July).—'An Overlooked Factor in the Adjustment between Religion and Science,' by G. Birney Smith, discusses 'the mental attitude induced by honest loyalty to Christianity, and the ways in which this attitude affects well-meant attempts to extend a cordial welcome to science.' Professor Birney Smith thinks that it is not a bad thing that 'the religion of to-day is imperfectly adjusted to the science of to-day,' while it is fortunate for religion that science stubbornly insists upon knowing the truth. Differences may teach, as well as agreements; if not unduly prolonged, perhaps more. Professor Shailer Matthews continues the past twenty-five years' surveys of recent numbers of this Review by describing the development of social Christianity during that period.

Harvard Theological Review (July).—Professor Dibelius's 'The Structure and Literary Character of the Gospels' is an instructive exposition of the method of '*Formgeschichte*' which uses 'style or the "form" in which the traditional materials are presented as its criterion.' New Testament students will welcome this authoritative explanation of the '*formgeschichtliche Methode*' which endeavours to interpret the Gospels 'on the basis of life and interests of the first Christian communities.'

Methodist Review (September—October) opens with a portrait of William Blake and an account of how he has 'come back,' by the Rev. Richard Roberts, of Toronto. The writer on 'The Supposed Conflict between Religion and Science' pleads that the students of science and the students of religion should each study—religiously and scientifically—the opinions which the *other* party to the controversy really holds. R. D. Leonard, in his 'Explanation of Evolution,' points very forcibly the moral of the verse which ends with

Only to stand at last on the strand
Where, just beyond, lies God.

Turning to another article, it is refreshing to meet a writer who to-day can find time to press home the teaching of Carlyle's *Past and Present*, and, still more, one who believes that the best political philosophy for the United States of America is the familiar one of the Lord Jesus Christ in Matt. xxii. 21. The subjects of other articles range from 'Chinese View of Missions' to 'The Wine-God'

and 'Aircraft and the Army.' The 'Full Contents' of this number show that it contains much excellent matter besides.

Princeton Theological Review (July) contains four solid articles on 'Evidence in Hebrew Diction for the Dates of Documents,' the 'Virgin Birth of our Lord,' the 'Davidic Covenant,' and 'The Second Coming of Christ in 1 and 2 Thessalonians.' Needless to say, the tone of the articles is conservative, sound, orthodox; it is quite as true to say that they are, as ever, learned, and marked by a mastery in the use of Scripture which is passing out of fashion.

Christian Union Quarterly (October) is devoted to the Lausanne Conference, and will be a valuable guide to speakers.

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (July—August).—Mr. Lewis Paton's 'Niche without a Saint' points out the lack of biographical help for the business man. Why should the sacred bard be wanting? Mr. Gardiner's *Life of George Cadbury* stands pre-eminent. He did good in his business and through his business. He 'realized the infinite value of a man as a man, and set himself to stem the tide of human wastage which the industrial revolution had brought with it.' Mr. Davidson writes on 'Bernard Shaw: Theologian and Church Historian,' and Professor Johnston has a good article on 'The Making of John Wesley.' The account of a day's experience is by no means typical. Wesley was generally in bed by ten and did not preach after supper. He travelled, not 80,000 miles, but a quarter of a million.

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review (July).—Mr. Basu's tribute to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee describes him as a rare combination of a dreamer and a man of action. Rabindranath Tagore says he transformed Calcutta University into a living organism, belonging to the life of the Bengali people. If India was to be free, Nationalism must invade every nook in its life.—(August).—An interesting article is reprinted from the *Asia Magazine* of New York on 'The Press and Journalism in Japan.' There are 1,187 dailies, with a combined circulation of about ten millions—a newspaper for every six persons. The Press has played an important part in the liberalizing of the Government. The 'Financial Resources of the East India Company' is another important article.—(September).—An article on the 'Present Tendency of Japan's Foreign Policy' describes it as 'the policy of enlightened peace' with all nations. It is 'an asset to the cause of Asian independence and world peace.' The Mukherji lecture on 'Ancient Indian Life' will be welcomed by many readers.—(October).—The first article is on 'Trusts and Rationalization: Aspects of the New Industrial Revolution.' The ambition of establishing a giant organization is a powerful spur on youths who are entering the industrial world, but is leaving no chance for young ambitions to start a course of sturdy independence in the business world. The best talents become so many hands or screws in a huge mechanism.