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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1929

THE APPEAL OF ANTIOCH TO JERUSALEM

I HAVE recently received from India what may, without exaggeration, be regarded as one of the most momentous documents, in its bearing on the future of the Christian Church, that has been issued in this generation. Its somewhat lengthy title is an indication of its importance: 'Proposed Scheme of Union, prepared by the Joint Committee of the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon, the South India United Church, and the South India Provincial Synod of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, *for presentation to the governing bodies of those Churches in India and elsewhere.*' As the Bishop of Tinevelly put it in his Pastoral Charge on Lausanne and the South Indian Unity proposals: 'Antioch makes its appeal to Jerusalem.'

The first of the three Churches represented on the Committee is, of course, the Anglican Church in the countries named, which under the Indian Church measure has achieved autonomy within the last two years. The second is an existing Union Church, formed in 1908 by the joining up of Churches founded by two Congregational and two Presbyterian missions; one mission in each case being American. It claims a Christian Community of over 230,000. The scheme, as the title shows, is the work of the Joint Committee, and has not yet received the official approval of any one of the Churches concerned either in India or in England, although most of its main principles have been accepted by the Councils of the S.I.U.C., which is already an autonomous body. It has been a recognized principle throughout the whole of the negotiations that the representatives of the three Churches had no power to commit their Churches to the acceptance of any part of the scheme which the Joint Committee has been hammering out during the last nine

years. But when all allowance has been made for the jealously and justly guarded rights of the governing bodies of the three Churches in India and England, it is obvious that a document sent forth by a Committee, to which each Church has sent its ablest and most experienced representatives, is in itself a most significant thing, and when I mention that no less than five bishops of the Anglican Church have taken part in the various meetings of the Committee, four of whom were present during the lengthy session when the completed report was agreed upon, it is evident that the report carries with it the considered approval at any rate of the leaders of all the Churches concerned and of the leaders of the Anglican Church in an especial degree. What this implies will be clear later, but I venture to think that even the famous Lambeth Appeal was in some respects less significant and crucial in character than this.

In the group of Indian ministers, out of whose conference at Tranquebar the whole movement for Union in South India has grown, was one¹ who caught there a vision of what a united Church might be, and who carried it with him to Lambeth where it played some part in kindling the faith and longing of that great assembly of bishops which ultimately found expression in the famous Appeal. But the completed scheme will now serve as an acid test for the next Lambeth Conference, as upon the attitude then taken towards it by the bishops will depend the answer to the question, ' Shall the vision come true ? ' Here for the first time in the history of divided Christendom is a Scheme of Union between Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists—already united—and Methodists. It is not a mere formal hope and vague aspiration after Union, it is an outline scheme in which the main principles and all the important details have been carefully thought out, or to speak figuratively, it is a proposal for a united church building in which the ground plan and elevation have been worked out with

¹ The Bishop of Dornakal.

something approaching completeness. It is an illuminating document of nearly sixty pages, and is furnished with a map of South India showing in colour the various areas covered by the negotiating Churches. To summarize it is obviously impossible, and I can only draw attention to certain matters of outstanding importance in connexion with the scheme.

1. In the first place it should be seriously noted that this scheme (which has in view the bringing into being of a United Church in South India with a communicant membership of over 160,000, and a Christian community of nearly three quarters of a million, the overwhelming majority of whom are Indians), is Indian in its genesis as well as in its ultimate aim. It was in July 1919 that a company of thirty-three ministers and laymen of the Anglican and S.L.U. Churches met together at Tranquebar. Of these all but two were Indians. As the result of their Conference they drew up a statement in which they expressed their conviction that union was the will of God, and that 'the challenge of the present hour in the period of reconstruction after the War, in the gathering together of the nations, and the present critical situation in India itself calls us to mourn our past divisions and to turn to our Lord Jesus Christ to seek in Him the unity of the body expressed in one visible Church.' These representatives of the Churches in India declared in effect that they had no use for the denominational divisions which in the very necessities of the case Western Christendom had brought with it in its endeavour to win India for Christ. They went on to say that in face of the tremendous task which confronts the Church in India, 'we find ourselves rendered weak and relatively impotent by our unhappy divisions—divisions for which we are not responsible and which have been as it were imposed upon us from without ; divisions which we did not create, *and which we do not desire to perpetuate.*' Western Christendom has burdened India with its denominationalism ; India is seeking for the way of Unity in Christ.

2. From the beginning those who have been seeking the goal of Union have kept clearly before them a principle of fundamental importance. 'We aim not at compromise for the sake of peace but at comprehension for the sake of truth.' And so in the Tranquebar statement it was set forth that 'in the United and Visible Church there must be conserved three scriptural elements—the Congregational, the Presbyterian, and the Episcopal.' The Joint Committee has never lost sight of this principle and at its first meeting it accepted a Constitutional Episcopacy—in which 'the bishops should be elected by representatives of the diocese and approved by representatives of the province, and should perform their duties in accordance with such customs of the Church as shall be defined in a written constitution'—as one of the four foundation stones of the contemplated Union Church. The Methodist representatives came into the discussions later than those of the other two Churches, but their advent, while it has not brought about the elimination of anything of importance in the scheme as worked out previously by the Anglicans and S.I.U.C. representatives, has brought into it elements of a peculiarly Methodist character, and has left its mark upon other details of Church polity that were already akin to our own. Methodism in South India as in England functions through Quarterly Meetings and District Synods, and has also a Provincial Synod consisting of representatives from the District Synods. In the United Church the Quarterly Meeting will function as a Pastoral Committee; the District Synod as a Diocesan Council; and the Provincial Synod will become a Synod pure and simple. There will, of course, be alterations of boundaries and areas, and the newly constituted Courts will consist of representatives of all the three Uniting Churches within those areas and not of Methodists only. A more distinctively Methodist note is struck in the recognition of the ministry of the Laity, not only as Elders, but as Leaders and Lay Preachers, and Stewards and Trustees, and

more generally by laymen having a duly recognized place in the disciplinary and other Courts of the Church. The name of Wesleyan Methodist may disappear in South India if the United Church comes into being, but all that is best in its polity and worship and spirit will live on, and the religious life of its members will be enriched no less by what it gives than by what it receives from its new fellowship in a larger life and service with others who equally with ourselves love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and in truth.

8. Perhaps the most striking and significant feature in the whole scheme is its adoption of the only possible solution of the question as to the status of non-episcopally ordained ministers in the ministry of the United Church, namely their frank and full acceptance as ministers of the Word and of the *Sacraments, without reordination*. If I may be pardoned a personal reference, I reckon it one of the greatest privileges of my life and work in India that at the time of the meeting of the Joint Committee in Trichinopoly in 1926, I was able to move the resolution which came to the full Committee from a special session held by the Anglican representatives: 'In order to secure the full mutual recognition of the ministries of the uniting Churches the existing ministers of the three Churches be accepted as ministers of the Word and of the Sacraments in the Church after Union.' It is well known that the rock on which for a time the Joint Conferences at Lambeth broke down was just this question of the full recognition of the ministers of the Free Churches in a possible united Church. There was then and is still, only one way out as far as the Free Churches are concerned; *reordination is impossible*. The Anglican delegation to the Joint Committee included four bishops, and High Anglicanism was well represented. But under the guidance of the Spirit of God they were led to take the crucial and courageous step apart from which the discussions would have come to an untimely end as they did in England. I shall never forget how, when the Anglican representatives had been discussing the

situation for two or three hours, and had finally agreed upon certain resolutions which Bishop Palmer of Bombay, their honoured and extremely able leader, was commissioned to draw up in final form, two of the High Anglican members came to me in the bungalow asking that I would show them a room to which they could retire for prayer concerning the decision to which they had come and the great issues that hung upon it. The thing was of God and those who took this momentous step were men who were moved by Him to seek, and from their own point of view, to sacrifice much for, the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

4. Another noteworthy element in the scheme is contained in one of its opening paragraphs which states that : ' It is the intention and hope of the uniting Churches that all the actions of the united Church will be regulated by the principle that it should maintain fellowship with all those branches of the Church of Christ with which the uniting Churches now enjoy such fellowship, and that it should constantly seek to widen and strengthen this fellowship and to work towards the goal of the full union in one body of all parts of the Church of Christ.'

This later receives more definite expression in the desire that the United Church may be accorded the privilege of sending representatives to the Lambeth Conference, the World Presbyterian Alliance, the World Union of Congregational Churches and the Ecumenical Methodist Conference, and also that it may be ' invited to send friendly or visiting delegates to the assemblies or other representative bodies of the Churches through whose labours the uniting Churches have come into being.' This means amongst other things that delegates from the United Church of South India, when it comes into being, will have a place amongst the distinguished visitors who sit on, what will then be, the Conference Platform of the united Methodist Church, and thus link up the greater Methodism that is to be in England, with the greater Union Church that is to be in South India. That

Church will then be the only Church in the wide world in communion with, and affiliated to world-wide Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, and Methodism. It will be Catholic in the truest sense of the word, with a Catholicism which recognizes, 'that the final aim must be the union of all who acknowledge the name of Christ in the Universal Church, and that the test of all local schemes of union is that they should express locally the principle of the great catholic unity of the Body of Christ.'

5. And finally, but surely most fundamentally, the scheme is based upon the recognition of the truth 'that the unity of His Church for which Christ prayed is a unity in Him and in the Father through the Holy Spirit and is therefore fundamentally a reality of the spiritual realm. Jesus Christ is the Person in whom the Churches unite. His life and death and ever-living presence must be central in the thought, life, and devotion of each member of the Church, as in that of the Church as a whole. His Cross is the place of meeting.'

Nor can there be any other meeting place, or any other foundation and centre. The ultimate necessity for union and the only basis for any union which will be worth while and enduring is the reality of our spiritual unity in Him. Essentially the Church is His Body and the Church is one in Him, and the main object of all attempts at union is that the Churches may somehow discover ways and means of giving such concrete and corporate expression to this essential spiritual unity (which, in spite of all blindness of heart and bitterness of spirit, is in the very nature of things an existing fact) as shall ensure the realization of the purpose which inspired Christ's great prayer that His followers might be one as He and the Father are one—'*that the world may know, that the world may believe.*' The 'world' in India will believe more easily that Christianity has a message of reconciliation for its three hundred millions so deeply divided by caste and creed, when it sees at any rate some of the

Churches that proclaim that Gospel putting aside the things that have separated them, and seeking, in a unity born of real love to, and realized spiritual fellowship with, the One Lord and Head of the Church, to give themselves afresh to the sacrificial service which the setting up of His Kingdom demands. May He who has so wonderfully guided the representatives of the three Churches in all their deliberations and so signally made His Presence felt in their midst, guide no less surely and bless no less abundantly the conferences of the home Churches upon whose consideration the future of the scheme now depends. 'Antioch once more makes its appeal to Jerusalem. God grant that at the Lambeth Conference in 1980—and not there only—this appeal may be faced with true courage and vision.'

W. E. GARMAN.

THE BECKLY SOCIAL SCIENCE LECTURE

THIS was delivered by Dr. Selbie and is an exposition of *The Christian Ethic in the Individual, the Family, and the State*. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d.) Religion interprets and enhances all human values. 'It exalts man's ideals, and fills them with a new and larger content. It clarifies conscience, lends it a new assurance, and gives point, direction, and power to the findings and impulses of natural morality. Religion and morality move in different orbits, but they constantly touch and even overlap. The Christian message has proved its power to regenerate life and re-create character. The section dealing with the Family has some wise words on sexual questions and on education. The very word 'home' is a peculiarly Christian product. It is the business of Christian citizenship to see that the broadly human factors of the housing question shall not be overlooked, but to take care that all questions affecting the moral welfare of our people are made to minister to moral and spiritual progress. As to the State, the business of the Church is to produce Christian men and women whose character and influence will leaven the whole lump of society.'

THE INFLUENCE OF ARTHUR CLUTTON-BROCK ON RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

WHEN, in the opening days of 1924, the beautiful spirit of Arthur Clutton-Brock passed over, a voice was stilled whose message and influence have not yet been fully revealed. At this supreme moment his deep religion of beauty gave his face an aspect of calm so transcendent that one who was standing by likened it to the face of a dead Christ carved in ivory by a mediæval master. If we were asked to explain the secret of his unique and steadily growing influence over a limited circle of readers, from his earliest *Thoughts on the War* to the last tragic incompleteness—like some great unfinished symphony—of his *Essays on Religion*, we might, perhaps, best explain it in the words used of his Master : ‘ He spake as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.’

The thoughts which he gave utterance to in his four outstanding books dealing with his religious development : *The Ultimate Belief*, *What is the Kingdom of Heaven ?*, *Studies in Christianity*, and the last *Essays on Religion*, are thoughts hammered out of his own spiritual experiences. He was a profound believer in the truth that man must first yield himself passionately to the influence of the unseen and the spiritual in his own breast, before he can hope to give out anything of value to his fellow men.

In his earlier writings he had devoted himself almost entirely to Literature and Art, in both of which domains he had earned a reputation far above that of the mere journalist. It was not till middle life that there gradually came to him, not without many misgivings, doubts, and fears, the dawn of the great conception that all beauty and all truth whether expressed on paper, on canvas, or on a musical instrument, are from God. For him henceforth all great art, whether of expression or of life, was one, and Christ, Shakespeare,

Mozart, and Rembrandt were all expressions of the truth as it is in God. It is quite possible that this belief, in its extreme form, led him at times to ideas not easily acceptable even to Modernists; for instance, it is not easy to follow him when he expresses the belief that Jesus was as conscious of the tragic incompleteness of his life and work as were Keats and Mozart. Such an idea seems to rob of all meaning the great utterances: 'I have finished the work Thou gavest me to do' and the last word on the cross.

Again and again he returns to the thought that all truth must be fought for and won afresh in the individual life from generation to generation, and that it is only the man who has so 'agonized' out his own salvation who is able to contribute anything of tangible value to his day.

In *The Ultimate Belief* he at once strikes the keynote of much of his teaching, his intense belief in 'the absolute values' of Goodness, Beauty, and Truth, by which he means the passionate love of those qualities for their own sake, entirely apart from ourselves or any thought of what material advantage we can derive from them. In a characteristic passage, drawn no doubt from personal reminiscences of his own childhood, he speaks of the innate love of most children for Beauty, such as the beauties of Nature, and how often the ignorance and fussiness of their elders represses this natural instinct. 'They were not,' he says, 'considering the lilies of the field, they did not want us to get our feet wet among them.'

Although I never had the privilege of knowing Arthur Clutton-Brock personally, I have often in recent years held commune about him and his writings with my own father, who was a personal friend of his father, in that beautiful garden at Weybridge—the garden where in childhood he first learned that love of the things that are beautiful and pure.

In *Studies in Christianity* he develops at length his great theme of the 'absolute value,' of love. The delight which

issues from true love is not the motive or reason which urges us to love, but rather the effect which follows, if we yield ourselves utterly to it. Men know God truly only in proportion as they love. With clear, incisive touches he lays bare the weaknesses that have caused fear and hate, rather than love, to dominate the lives of men throughout the ages. First, the worship of a God based on sensual observation of external *realien*, and a jealous Old Testament God. Men have feared to conceive a God higher than their own highest values. Euripides himself cried out : 'He abases himself before that which is lower than himself.'

Next comes the low conception which the mass of mankind have of their fellow men, the tragic absence of faith, which leads to tired and frightened acquiescence in the old standard belief that war must go on and evil triumph. Nietzsche with his doctrine of a universe utterly indifferent, if not actually hostile, and Calvin with his God of Logic, are next faithfully dealt with. The answer to these and other blind leaders of the blind is briefly that when we truly love, we have a sixth sense which apprehends reality. The passion for the truth, as it is in Christ Jesus, will reveal man's highest values to himself, and lead him to love what is peculiar and individual in his fellow men. Christ teaches above all that it is only through Passion in its widest sense that we can attain to true wisdom. The cold calculating type is repugnant to Him ; for Him love and pity are the supreme passions which purge. It is above all the *quality* of our joy and sorrow which counts and which purifies. Even in the political world the real object is to strengthen by love and pity, and if our own political system were imbued with a deep sense of love and pity, there would be real hope of political salvation.

In 1919 he gave the world his almost revolutionary book *What is the Kingdom of Heaven?* It is at once the most remarkable and, perhaps, the most popular of his books. In it he frankly relegates all creeds and dogmas to a secondary plane and earnestly seeks to get at the roots of Christ's

teaching. It is the principles of the Kingdom which are of supreme importance over and above such great questions as the Divinity of Christ and belief in the Miracles. The great problem of the adjustment of ourselves by faith to the universe till by the light of that faith we dimly realize that the universe is friendly—is what we would have it to be—is dealt with in masterly fashion. The words 'Christ crucified' have at least had a meaning and a definite value in the lives and experience of countless good men, whereas such phrases as 'the survival of the fittest' are meaningless at bottom and hopeless. It is not the teaching of Christ which is false and futile, but the interpretations which men have put on His words that have obscured the truth.

The average man looking expectantly to the Church's Creeds and Catechism can find little in them that touches the fringe of Christ's conception of the Kingdom of Heaven. Even the Epistles are largely taken up with the construction of a theology of the life and death of Christ. In most of them the thought of the Kingdom of Heaven as something beyond and hereafter still predominates; in some the end of this dispensation and the early Second Advent of Christ is clearly looked for. The full meaning of such utterances as 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you' and the Parables of the Seed was little apprehended. Christ clearly was thinking of something here and now, something more deeply real than the senses can perceive; something which, when once inwardly perceived, can and does transform a man's whole life and outlook; something which does lead a man to live a life based on the Sermon on the Mount. This was the secret of his spell over men, but it was and is the religion of the visionary. It was as difficult for Christ to impart the secret source of the power that was in Him to His day and generation, as it is for any great genius to impart his knowledge and message to the mass of mankind. Again and again He has to resort to concrete forms to emphasize spiritual truths and ideals. But above all Christ is not

speaking of some experience and knowledge He had gained in some other world, as the orthodox have so long believed, thereby weakening His power to help us. More than anything else He felt that His supreme experience must be shared by humanity if humanity was to attain to salvation, but there was and is an obstruction in the way, namely the demands which men are constantly making upon life and upon God. He says in effect : cease to demand this and that of life, and you shall have life itself, full and overflowing. You cannot inherit the earth, much less the Kingdom of Heaven, whilst you are fighting to win it materially, or for your own hand. To ' get right with God ' as the old evangelical expression had it, is a much harder business than men have yet realized. It is to get into a right atmosphere and a right attitude of mind. Christ tells us that when we are truly pure in heart, in the full sense He understood, we shall see God, and seeing Him we shall see ultimate reality and know that it is a Personal reality and not a mechanical process. Then we shall have within us that Kingdom of Heaven which will enable us to realize how poor a thing a personal and selfish salvation is. The Kingdom of Heaven is the harmony of a man's will and reason attuned to righteousness by the consent of his whole nature.

There is a note of pathos and tragedy associated with the production of his last book *Essays on Religion*. Before his travailing mind could give the finished touch of the artist to the new thoughts that were teeming in his brain, he was already in the fell clutches of a wasting disease. Further, his being was in the throes of one of those periods of spiritual rebirth so fraught with pain and fear. But soon pain and fear were for ever banished, and his beautiful soul had entered into his spiritual heritage, and was worshipping at the temple's inmost shrine, in the beauty of holiness and the fullness of joy and truth.

CECIL H. S. WILLSON.

THE ALLEGED CRISIS IN RELIGION—AND ITS REMEDY.

IN spite of the frequent occurrence of the above phrase in current sermons, speeches, magazines, and books, there is really no modern crisis in 'religion.' Humanity, as a whole, is as religious as ever. To this bear witness not only the undiminished millions of Hindu, Moslem, Buddhist devotees in the East, but the ceaseless religious controversies in the West, on both sides of the Atlantic, and the corresponding multiplication of special cults. What is actually intended by the phrase in question, is a crisis in the Christian religion—which is quite another matter. The modern Christian missionary does well to cherish the hope that the gospel of Christ may bring comfort and hope, with corresponding elevation of character, to millions, beyond all that can come to them in any other way. But his method of propagandism must leave room for the appreciation of the good as well as opposition to the bad, in all inferior faiths. It is, however, just the very superiority of Christianity which makes any seeming failure in its potency and influence so serious as to merit the utmost care, no less than zeal, in seeking to estimate it aright. If, indeed, the best should be failing, what is to become of the rest? Certainly this country is regarded as the most Christian land in the world, and it must be confessed, as frankly as regretfully, that in view of such an estimate, things are far from satisfactory. To acknowledge that the outlook is serious, is not pessimism, but simple honesty. The conviction that 'organized religion' in these realms is suffering decline, finds expression in many ways and degrees, sometimes from high quarters, and generally in popular thought and speech. It being understood, then, that by 'religion' Christianity is meant, the avowal that—

Once again we are faced with a grave crisis in the state of religion, not only in this country, but all over Christendom, and, indeed, throughout the world

will be echoed by very many, both within and without the Churches. Probably no expression of this feeling of alarm is likely to attract more notice than the recent volume of Dr. Orchard under the above title, alike by reason of its convenient size, its attractive appearance, and its popular style. The author is well known as occupying a unique position in the Free Churches, and whether we agree with him or not, the intellectual keenness, downright sincerity, and manifest purity of purpose which characterize his pages, cannot but command respect. When to all these high claims is added the amazing conclusion to which his fearless facing of facts seems to lead him, this outspoken publication becomes specially suitable as an opportunity for a calm survey of the whole situation, no less than a frank consideration of the remedy here proposed for the failures and dangers so vividly depicted. In the limited space at our disposal, four lines of scrutiny only can be suggested for the further estimate of thoughtful readers.

(1) As to the alleged ' crisis ' in Christianity at the present juncture. To this subject the first three chapters in Dr. Orchard's book are devoted, and three distinct features therein merit appreciation.

(i.) What may be called the dark side of the picture is here portrayed with unmistakable force and impressive emphasis. Thus we are told that—

Our religion is certainly not adequate to the demands that are being made upon it, whether nationally, socially, or personally. There is an unusual dearth of powerful preachers. There has recently been a most serious decline in church attendance in this country. It is at length beginning to be realized that the Church is a dwindling community in an environment of not pagan so much as secularized humanity. The present drift from religion has left the Church only in the possession of mediocrity; those who remain, whether to worship God or serve the Church, seem peculiarly undistinguished. So that the Church is admittedly ill equipped to withstand the

intellectual, energetic, and statesmanlike persons who are now, all too often, found numbered among the forces hostile to religion. Indeed our intellectuals are, with a few all the more conspicuous exceptions, non-Christian or anti-Christian. Thus the facts indicate that at the present moment, the battle is going hard, and desperately so, against religion, and the Christian forces are insufficiently alive to the situation and ill equipped to meet it.

Such estimates as the above will be greatly to the taste of the Rationalist Press Association, and will doubtless form the subject of characteristic gibes on the part of the *Freethinker*. That there are some grounds for it, no careful observer will deny. The vastly altered view of the Bible, which is as resistless as difficult to explain to ordinary believers, and easy for unbelievers to scoff at ; the general acceptance of the principle of evolution as the divine method of creation, with its inevitable influence upon the appreciation of the opening chapters of Genesis, and corresponding Christian doctrines, cannot but have real effect upon Christian theology. But there is small need to elaborate these and other modern hindrances to faith, for the publications proclaiming them are legion, and newspaper stunts are being successfully based on such representations to the people at large.

(ii.) Dr. Orchard's plea for a wiser, fuller, braver, defence of Christian foundations, is undoubtedly justified, and his declaration that—

Considerable spade work has to be done in restoring the rational foundations of faith, and no little in finding a sound psychological appeal, before we can expect to see any mass movement towards religion,

is much more sensible and useful than the reported findings of the Editors of the Library of Constructive Theology, to the effect that 'the time has gone by when apologetics can be of any great value.' 'Apologetics,' is an ugly and unnecessary word, but reasons for faith, of the right kind, were never as greatly needed as they are to-day. To this end, therefore, the chapters in Dr. Orchard's book on 'The Issues Critical for Humanity,' and 'The Prospects of Recovery,'

are valuable contributions of blended competent scholarship and common sense. The super-confident dogmatisms, to say the least, of some popular writers, such as Messrs. Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, and Bernard Shaw, &c., are here as fairly as frankly met, and the plausible suggestions of the 'new psychology' are appraised as they deserve. These chapters really merit much more careful appreciation than, in the welter of modern publications, they are likely to receive. The author certainly gives valid reasons for his unhesitating avowal that—

The abandonment of religion to which so much in modern thought, interest, and life seems to be tending, means the undermining of every rational interpretation of existence, the negating of any hope of reaching secular stability, and the destruction of the compensating spiritual treasures which might make man content; it is therefore making for nothing else, and nothing less, than irrationality, madness, strife, and unendurable misery.

There is indeed a sinister possibility that—

It may need a generation of atheism, revolution, and chaos, to teach mankind where alone its hopes can be realized,

and it becomes unspeakably desirable that—

a little forward thinking may save us from such an awful experience.

(iii.) Bearing, then, well in mind, all this thorough-going scrutiny of modern life and thought which these chapters demonstrate, and in view of the amazing inferences which Dr. Orchard draws from the seriousness of the whole situation, it is the more necessary and right to pay tribute to the unquestionable sincerity of his whole attitude, and the intensity of his desire—

not only to rouse professing Christians to a new defence and commendation of their faith, but to persuade all serious-minded persons to a reconsideration of the claims of religion, in order that what is believed to be a crisis in the history of mankind, may be surmounted, and once more a way made open for a genuine advance in humanitarianism, idealism, and faith.

For it is precisely this combination of keen observation and genuine erudition with manifest sincerity of motive and intensity of desire, which makes the latter half of this potent appeal so lamentable in its ineffectiveness, and so futile in its unexpectedness. Since, however, such an estimate calls for some justification, let us proceed to consider the remedy for this threatening destruction of faith, which the author sets before us in his three concluding chapters, on 'The Reconsideration of Christianity'; 'The Rehabilitation of the Church'; 'The Revival of Religion.'

(2) The noteworthy suggestions in this direction are mainly five.

(i.) It is impossible for any candid reader to miss the unhesitating and reiterated laudation of Romanism which permeates this whole production. The first sin against the truth—no less such for being so common—is the perpetual employment of the false antithesis 'Protestant and Catholic,' together with the invariable use of the terms 'Catholicism' and 'Catholic,' where the unmistakable reference is, and is only, to the Romish Church and Romanism. One can understand this usage in the easy-going superficialities of the daily Press, whilst the lamentable carelessness of the average Protestant thus thoughtlessly concedes to Rome its boldest and falsest claim. But here is an avowed Free Church minister, an acknowledged scholar, and impassioned pleader for truth. As such, he cannot but know that the Romish Church is in these times—for which he specially writes—neither catholic—that is universal and large-hearted—in fact nor in spirit. It is, in truth, the least Catholic of all Christian churches on earth. Nothing in all religious parlance is more inconsistent than for the Church which, in the words of Father D'Arcy, 'has its centre at Rome,' to assume, and demand to be known by, a name which connotes universality and supremacy. Bigotry is an ugly word, and stands for an ugly thing. But it is the only word which expresses the truth concerning this monstrous perversion of a great word, which, on the very

lines of Dr. Orchard's special pleading, ought to be made more and more significant and sacred. Whatever difficulties may now hinder Christianity, it cannot be too often or too plainly protested by Protestants, that Romanism is *not* Catholicism, and the Catholic Church, whatever else it may be, is *not*, and *can never be*, the Romish Church. To ignore this unquestionable distinction, is sheer trampling upon truth. In the book before us, it is only too clear a pointer to the constant approval of everything Romish, and the unqualified endorsement of all the 'doctrine and discipline' of that Church. How far the author would carry this staggering principle, we will presently see.

(ii.) An equally unexpected feature in these pages is the persistent depreciation of Protestantism. Whilst there is constant reference to the Romish 'Church,' the Protestant Churches are represented as 'bodies,' 'heterogeneous sects,' which stand for 'the hiving of the people into special conventicles in order to follow peculiar forms of worship.' Whilst in regard particularly to some recent developments of Methodism, we are told that—

it is clear that their successes depend upon a building and a type of service which designedly conceal any purpose of worship.

Apparently the writer would add a note to John iv. 23-4, to the effect that the necessity for a 'cassock, stole, amice, chasuble, thurifer,' and similar ecclesiastical flummery, is to be understood. On other occasions Protestantism is pronounced a mere 'fissiparous and disruptive principle,' consisting of 'confused eddies and counter currents,' amidst which 'a distinct conception, instinctive to Protestantism, denies the proper place to redeemed humanity.' Whilst—

for want of an adequate devotional and doctrinal system, Protestantism has tended to produce only ethical complacency, and an ineffective social idealism. The essential basis of the Kingdom of God in personal religion has been ignored.

These are but specimens of the tone adopted in all references to

Protestantism. Their falsity is too manifest to need demonstration. From an avowed Romanist, or Anglo-Catholic, it is but what one might expect. But, from an avowedly Protestant minister of a Free Church, it is surely as unjustifiable as anomalous an attitude. If Romanism is so good, and Protestantism so bad, why not honestly become a Papist?

(iii.) Dr. Orchard may, however, be doing real service in showing how utterly unthinkable, let alone impracticable, is any such reunion of the Churches as he contemplates. It is the more necessary to make this plain, by reason of the stress which is just now being laid upon the need for union, throughout Christendom, in view of the modern environment. One will, of course, get no thanks for opposing a popular tendency; nevertheless it is both truth and duty to point out that—in our author's own words—

it was precisely when the Church was wholly united, that the most terrible abuses sprang up unchecked, and ignorance, superstition, and misery, prevailed. Whilst there was recourse to the sword to coerce the heathen, as in the Crusades; or to fire to punish the heretic, as in the Inquisition.

Nothing is easier than to 'envisage' as an ideal—

one Church, genuinely Catholic, united in faith and order, throughout the whole world,

and declare that the Church of Christ was meant to be 'not only one but Catholic.' But all turns upon the significance of those terms. Any ideal of oneness other than that which Christ Himself made so unmistakable in John x. 16, is not merely false to Him, but in itself as impossible as undesirable. It is sheer calamity that here, as in so many other cases, the 'Authorized' Version, which is still so often doggedly quoted, misrepresents the truth. The real and unmistakable reference of Jesus was to one 'flock,' with many folds, all, however unlike, dear to Himself as the one Shepherd. The false rendering as 'one fold,' is at the very heart of the prostitution of the great word 'Catholic' in the interests of Romish

bigotry. But here comes the utter amazement—that a learned and devout Congregational minister should not only endorse this falsity, but proceed to set it up as the *sine qua non* of the union which is to fortify Christianity against modern opposition or neglect! One would deem such an attitude incredible, were it not for the unmistakable lucidity with which it is affirmed that what ought to happen is—

the adoption by all the Protestant bodies, of Catholic—Romish—doctrine and discipline, and the acceptance by those Churches which claim to be Catholic of the claims of the Roman Papacy, and their submission to Papal jurisdiction.

To make assurance doubly sure, this also appears :

We are not, therefore, among those who demand any alteration in essential doctrine, or in the claims of the Church, as these have been defined by the Roman authorities.

For which reason, the author goes on to justify Papal Infallibility, Mariolatry, and the Confessional. Whilst, elsewhere, he openly expresses the—

hope that the Mass will one day be discerned to be the one thing that matters, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation the sure foundation of a sacramental philosophy.

It were as profitless, as easy and staggering, to multiply such quotations from the same source.

Dr. Orchard's prescription for the present religious distress, is, 'unity' and 'mysticism.' What the former connotes, we have sufficiently seen. The latter, which is said to be

the real cure for the confused mentality, the intellectual difficulties, and the depleted spirituality of our times

is no more than all the Free Churches, and one might add, especially Methodism, have understood by Christian experience—deep spirituality of soul, and corresponding saintliness of life. But the assurance here is that the Romish type of saintship is so superior to all else, that it alone is sufficient

for the Hyde-Jekyll transformation of modern godlessness into Christian character. Hence the conclusion of the whole matter is that when all the Churches, and all the nations, unquestioningly accept the dogmas of Rome, and submit to the absolute rule of the Pope, the Millennium will arrive.

As this is certainly staggering to the ordinary mind, Dr. Orchard seeks to mollify the unchristian exclusiveness, by remarking that—

If some popular expositions of the Roman claims were to be taken literally, there would be for the Roman Church no problem of union at all.

'If'! But is not Father Knox—writing his *nihil obstat* apology—not to be taken literally? Here are his plain and authoritative words—

Catholics believe that there is no other religious body in the world through which salvation can be procured. The fact of membership in any other religious body than ours, will not contribute to any man's welfare in eternity. We do not think of our Church as the best religious body to belong to; we believe that those who do not belong to it, may just as well belong to no religious body at all.

So, then, this worse than Pagan bigotry is what a cultured Free Church minister would have us regard as the religious hope of the future! Comment is surely here unnecessary. But if the reader would only study Dr. Cadoux's recent exhaustive volume on *Catholicism and Christianity*, or, indeed, some shorter but reliable summary of the truth in regard to Rome's claims and dogmas, he would find reason, indeed, to mourn over the tragedy of the wasted energy and lost opportunity which these pages, so inexplicable from such a source, pitifully exemplify.

(8) By contrast with the above, the real remedy for the many hindrances and difficulties of Christianity to-day, is a much more complex matter than simple 'submission' to any system, whether Protestant or Romish, Greek or Anglo-Catholic. It cannot be set forth in a few pages. Both

Fundamentalism and Modernism have to be reckoned with ; and assuredly all the facts which lie behind the much-discussed Agnosticism, religious indifference, social unrest, craze for ' sports,' and sensational pleasures, cannot be left out of account.

Nor can that other, brighter side of the whole situation, to which Dr. Orchard makes only such transient reference, be truthfully treated as a trifle. It constitutes, indeed, a very real objection to the term ' crisis,' which is just now so freely bandied about as applying to modern Christianity. Such a word seems to bring one to the edge of a precipice ; but there is certainly no occasion whatever to fear that the Christian faith may soon be pushed over into oblivion. Mr. Robert Blatchford acknowledged that, a quarter of a century ago, when he launched his popular anti-Christian polemic. If in some respects it may seem that Christianity is now in worse case than then, in others, both the present position and future prospect are markedly better. There are unmistakably encouraging features in the situation which apparently unfavourable statistics do not affect. Beyond question, there are to-day more real, living Christians, than ever before ; there are more intelligent and devoted Protestants ; there is less opportunity or possibility for the inherent tyranny of Rome to assert itself ; there is even, one would gladly believe, more disposition than formerly to modify some of its extreme attitudes, those who, a few generations ago, would have been burnt at the stake, are now described as ' unknown brethren.' Moreover, in the modern religious world, apart from Rome, there is real growth to the good. This is manifest in a truer, worthier conception of God, and a better understanding of what the gospel of Christ really means. In practical Christian life there is more mutual sympathy, larger charity, broader philanthropy ; whilst as regards the human prospect after death, scientific research is tending to make it more real ; and the reproach of Professor Seeley that Christianity ' disposed men to despair of the future destiny

of the great majority of their kind,' is wiped out. There is, moreover, such a wiser appreciation of the Bible, and truer estimate of human nature and its needs, together with a clearer apprehension of the words and works of Christ, as saves Christian teachers from statements and attitudes which were turning many away from Christian faith. Unquestionably there is a better, that is a more Christian, spirit of courtesy, kindness, and sympathy, amongst all the Churches—with the sole exception of Rome and its Anglo-Catholic copy—in their mutual relations.

Two other features of present-day Christian life may be pronounced as hopeful as unmistakable. Whatever unfavourable references are made to theology, the personality of Jesus is held in higher regard, and more widespread reverent affection, than ever. Furthermore, whatever tribute is due to the helpful influences of modern education, the increasing saturation of the modern atmosphere with a tender, practical, impartial philanthropy, is both utterly in accord with the 'mind of Christ,' and to an immeasurable extent, due to His influence. All this is not verbal optimism, but reassuring and inspiring reality, which would truthfully admit of larger statement.

(4) In full view, therefore, of both sides, dark and bright, of the religious outlook, there is no need whatever to proclaim a panic-stricken 'crisis,' however frankly one may acknowledge that there is pressing need of the best and utmost devotion, on the part of every Church and every individual Christian, if the reiterated prayer 'Thy Kingdom come' is to be answered. Just as every stage in the child's development into manhood has its special difficulties and dangers, so in its world-wide development through the centuries, Christianity has to be continually unlearning as well as learning, and the pain or stress of the process is much rather reason for hope than for despair.

Hence the real remedy for all that causes Christian anxiety, cannot be expressed in a few sentences. But it will involve

three definite lines of conviction and action which merit fuller exposition elsewhere.

(i.) In regard to the now so much discussed and urged 'reunion' of Christianity, that which is alike impossible and undesirable, must be given up. Dr. Orchard suggests that—

Somehow a united front must be created—if we are to turn back the forces now pressing against Christianity.

'Somehow' ! Surely all turns upon what that means. The writer has made plain enough what he intends ; namely, in all respects, 'submission to Rome.' But on such terms no Christian 'front' ever can or will be created. Its suggestion is alike unchristian, impossible, and intolerable. It does not merit a moment's consideration.

(ii.) Yet is it not true, one might say, that the victory in the late dire war only came when, under General Foch, all the forces were united ? It is, indeed, both true and instructive. But beyond all controversy, the only Head of the 'genuinely Catholic' Church is Christ Himself ; and the 'unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' for which, in His name, the Apostle pleaded, is an absolutely different thing from 'acceptance by all the Protestant bodies of the entire doctrine and discipline of Rome.' As in the flock of Christ there are many folds, so, in His army, there are many regiments with as widely different positions, accoutrements, duties, opportunities, as there were under Foch's command. Their real unity was not in uniformity of drill, or uniform, or service, but in free and differentiated devotion to the highest command. With one regiment only, or with only one type of soldier, Foch's genius would have availed nothing. Even so in the one and only true Catholic Church, dislike to a word has blinded and still blinds the eyes of the many, to the truth for which it stands. 'Denominationalism' is, confessedly, not a pretty word ; but as in human life unhand-some faces are sometimes associated with noblest characters, so has this term been unwarrantably anathematized. For the

much-decried 'divisions in Christendom,' when they are each and all true to their Head—that is to John xiii. 34, 35—represent *the only way* in which a really 'united front' can be presented on behalf of Christ's Kingdom, to this or any coming age.

There is no Christian reason whatever why the 'heterogeneous sects' of Christianity should either be scorned, or 'drawn into one organization.' For such an ideal there is no more warrant than possibility. Where there is manifest nearness of conviction and discipline, as between the Canadian or Scotch Churches, or the three kindred Churches now joined in 'Methodist union,' closer formation of fellowship may certainly be of real advantage. But that is an entirely different and natural procedure, and leaves full scope for the special genius of each member of a larger family. Any attempt to coerce these three unions now into one 'organization,' would be but foolishness leading to confusion.

Dr. Orchard sides with some others in pouring scorn upon the ideal of Federation as the maximum and optimum of Christian unity. All such might just as well condemn the human hand, because of the individualism of the fingers, and the opposed position of the thumb. Could civilization ever have emerged from animalhood, if all the primeval anthropoids had been web-handed? The Apostle's everlasting lesson in his letter to the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. xii.) seems, in these days, to be almost universally overlooked. But it is the only true, or useful, or hopeful, interpretation of Christian unity. When each Church claiming to be Christian—whatever its creed or government—is true to the spirit of Christ (which, if the New Testament counts for anything, is as far from bigotry as from Paganism) and, because of loyalty to Him, not only cherishes its own convictions and ideals, but (Rom. xiv.) allows all others to do the same, and prays for their blessing in so doing, then, and *then only*, will any 'united front' make impression upon a disbelieving or indifferent humanity.

And there need be no controversy as to how such an ideal could be brought to pass. Whether it be called 'mysticism' with Dr. Orchard and Mrs. Hermann, or 'perfect love' with John Wesley, or 'holiness' with Professor Seeley and the Evangelical Churches in general, matters nothing. It is only the personal loyalty to the living Christ—so easily said, so hardly fulfilled—which can make possible the otherwise impossible 'unity of the spirit in the bond of peace'; wherein lies the hope of the future, alike for the Church and for the world.

FRANK BALLARD.

RELIGION AND ITS NEW TESTAMENT EXPRESSION

THESE Lectures were delivered to the Liverpool Board of Biblical Studies by H. Bullock, M.A., B.D. (Williams & Norgate. 10s. 6d.). They are based on the claim that all Scriptures and Faiths have their foundation in the intuitions and experiences of the human soul, and must be explained and confirmed by a return to the region of personality. The vital religious beliefs of mankind appear to rest primarily on the mystic or cosmic consciousness, and Mr. Bullock traces this in the idea of God, of the eternal goodness, and immortality. 'The sense of need of a larger life proceeds from profounder realizations of life and personality.' 'Whatever is worth the keeping will be kept throughout the length and breadth of the universe.' The story of the Resurrection of Jesus is accepted 'substantially, as literal and authentic,' but it is held that we also believe in His continued life because of 'our conviction as to the eternity of personality.' We cannot conceive that the power of death could hold such a life. The character and moral greatness of Jesus give Him a value quite independent of the miracle element in the Gospels. He 'primarily revealed divine character, not intellectual truths about God, but God Himself in understandable terms of love, mercy, courage, and sacrifice.' This is a book which carries the search for true religion among the primary intuitions of the spiritual life.

THE TROUBLES OF A MEDIAEVAL BISHOP

'Post equitem sedet atra cura.'—*Horace*.

ST. PAUL concludes his enumeration of the troubles which had been his lot with a mention of 'that which cometh on me daily, the care of all the churches.'

Mediaeval bishops had not indeed to contend with the physical hardships and sufferings so heroically endured by the 'doctor of the Gentiles,' like him, however, they met with serious hindrances and difficulties in carrying on their administrative duties. From every quarter, even from those most unsuspected, vexations were constantly arising, so that a bishop must sometimes have been constrained to exclaim with Hamlet, 'The time is out of joint, O cursed spite, That ever I was born to set it right.'

Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter, for many years during the long reign of Edward III, was probably confronted with as many difficulties as any bishop has ever been called upon to face. The selections given from his Register are just samples of the various problems which he had to solve, and which must have caused him untold anxiety. He himself speaks of the sleepless nights often occasioned by the faults of those for whose right conduct he was responsible. Yet he was a man firm of purpose, who never flinched or quailed, always striving to do the right thing, at the cost of any personal labour or annoyance.

In the Middle Ages an archdeacon was regarded, and is still regarded, as 'the eyes of the bishop,' and as such was expected to bring to his notice anything that was going amiss in his archdeaconry. Similarly the rural dean was the 'eyes of the archdeacon.' It was ideally an excellent system only too often marred by individual imperfections. As often as not, the conduct of the archdeacons and the rural deans demanded the greatest vigilance on the part of the Diocesan. On an archdeacon often fell the duty of carrying out the episcopal instructions, which were sometimes by no means of

a pleasant character and by no means easy to fulfil. Archbishop Peckham, for example, on one occasion, wrote to the Archdeacon of Canterbury, informing him that he had heard that the Archbishop of York was returning from the Continent. The archdeacon was ordered to forbid the people to show him the slightest respect, if he bore his cross erect. Should the archbishop attempt to enter any of the churches within the province with his cross in that position, the doors of the church were to be slammed in his face. This would certainly have meant a collision with the armed men who guarded the person of the archbishop.

The mediaeval archdeacon possessed a very extensive coercive jurisdiction. 'He was bound,' in the language of one of them, 'to visit all the churches and many other places every year, inspecting the books, vestments, and ornaments, correcting wayward souls, ascertaining whether or not the churches are duly served.' He had his own consistory court, his official, and his 'Sompnour' or apparitor. Before his court, offenders against moral and canonical law were summoned, and in it wills were often proved. Chaucer describes an archdeacon as 'boldly doing execution in punishing of fornication, defamation, "churche-reves," lack of sacraments, usury, simony,' and adds that

For smale tithes and smale offerings
He made the people piteously to sing.

According to Chaucer, the sompnour of the archdeacon's court was a man as much to be dreaded as the archdeacon himself. His occupation was to find cases and issue summonses. In his insatiable thirst for the money of delinquents, he stuck at nothing, and formed the most undesirable acquaintances from whom he might obtain the requisite scandal and the proof necessary for presentation in his superior's court. Too often when he was successful, he allowed offenders to choose between buying him off, or running the risk of exposure and punishment.

He was thus in truth robbing his master of his fees and fines. The latter, however, must have done more than suspect the devices of his subordinate, but must have consoled himself with the reflection that at any rate he brought a great many cases into court. We know on the testimony of Archbishop Peckham that the archdeacons were constantly in the habit of punishing 'notorious crimes,' crimes worthy of a severe personal penance, with fines. In addition to this, both Peckham and Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, speak in strong terms of the exactions of the archdeacons in the procurations, or costs, of their visitations. So unscrupulous was the conduct of some of them, that not unfrequently these heavy charges were made when no visitations were personally undertaken. The archdeacons took the money but did not deliver the goods.

Grandisson had precisely the same complaint to make. The four archdeacons of his diocese, 'blinded with the vice of damnable covetousness' had been demanding, so he declared, fees from places unvisited by them. Moreover, they had been squeezing money out of the clergy by threats and had even, quite wrongfully and in excess of their powers, proceeded to excommunication and sequestration of their benefices. On their errands they had often sent discreditable and dishonourable representatives. Grandisson added that he was touched and alarmed by the complaints of his oppressed people. He strictly forbade the archdeacons henceforward to take a sixpence from any place, or any person in a place, whither they had not gone in the proper performance of their duties. The archdeacons castigated by Grandisson bear a remarkable likeness to the portrait left us by Chaucer, who lived in the same reign.

This was not the first occasion on which Grandisson had to censure his archdeacons, one of whom was his own official. They and the rural deans were implicated in the abuses which he found prevailing in all the consistory courts. These consisted of the general court at Exeter, the four

archdeacons' courts, and the courts of the numerous rural deans, for each rural dean had his court, official, and apparitor. We may be surprised to find that ecclesiastical courts were tolerated in such numbers, for they spelt, one and all, trouble, expense, and annoyance to the public. Grandisson complained that citations were constantly being issued to summon people before these courts. Those haled before them found to their astonishment that they were not brought into a church or recognized court, for the consideration of their cases. On the contrary, they were dragged into private rooms, or other 'secret places,' without the slightest regard to age, sex, or condition of life. They were then peremptorily charged with crimes which had never even been the subject of rumour or scandal. The bishop declared that his unfortunate flock, worried and harried to death by the Bumbles of the courts, were tormented into paying almost anything to be free from such pestering and damage to their reputation. Having stated his unanswerable case, the bishop proceeded to circulate a series of rules to check the illicit actions of the courts and prevent the overlapping and competition of the various jurisdictions.

Some time before issuing this mandate, Grandisson had expressed the utmost indignation against the conduct of some of his rural deans. Instead of themselves conscientiously performing their duties, they had been handing them over to worthless minions. Nay more, they had actually been guilty of entrusting to these 'lewd fellows of the baser sort,' the custody of the official seals of their deaneries. The lamentable result had been that the registers had been falsified, justice had been eluded, and loss and scandal had abounded. Such were the grave charges made by the bishop against the consistory courts, the archdeacons, and the rural deans. When we read them, we can well believe that Wycliffe was not very far wrong when he spoke of some rural deans as 'making money out of the sins of lust and as more to be shunned than the harlots whose vices they

encouraged.' Froude, after summing up the scandals of the consistory courts, concludes his remarks with the observation that 'such a system for the administration of justice was perhaps never tolerated before in any country.'

Grandisson had still another battle to fight with his archdeacons. He discovered that they had been so audacious as to usurp in the Confessional the powers to be exercised in certain cases only by the bishop himself, or deputies definitely appointed and licensed by him. Such cases, known as reserved cases, included damage to ecclesiastical property, violence offered to the persons of 'clerks,' perjury, and violation of nuns. The archdeacons and their officials, declared the bishop, in so acting, had violated canon law, they had enjoined 'penances idle and void of fruit,' had deceived the people, had cried 'Peace, Peace,' when there was no peace, had sapped ecclesiastical discipline, and had been guilty of gross presumption. Great indeed must have been the vexation caused to the bishop by the wrongful actions of the consistory courts, the archdeacons, and the rural deans.

We have now to see what annoyance might be caused by the usurpations of a titular archbishop and a band of unscrupulous friars. Some of the mediaeval bishops, while serving as Ministers of the Crown, were constantly absent from their dioceses. To take an extreme case, Foxe, successively Bishop of Exeter and Bath and Wells, never even saw the Cathedral Churches of these two dioceses, so occupied was he in affairs of State. Such a bishop usually appointed a suffragan, and by him and the diocesan official the work of the absent pastor was carried on. Most of the bishops, however, who were generally retired servants of the State, engaged episcopal assistance for the conferment of orders, the consecration of churches and altars, the reconciliation of churches and churchyards after bloodshed, and other ceremonial acts. For these purposes, they often enlisted the services of the numerous Irish bishops who seem to have had

abundant leisure to take up such duties. Quite as frequently they appointed suffragans, who, as in the present day, were rewarded with canonries and valuable livings. These suffragans, as Capes says, 'took their tithes from far-off sees such as Chrysopolis, Sultania, Corbavia, and Nephthelim,' exactly as certain Roman Catholic suffragans take their tithes now. Writing in 1862, Ralph, Bishop of Bath and Wells, complained that in addition to properly appointed suffragans and assistants, there were also roaming bishops, without commission, or authority, conferring minor orders, consecrating chalices and blessing vestments 'for gain.' These intruders into the folds of others may have been, and probably were, men who had once been suffragan bishops, and had lost their positions.

In this category, we are perhaps right in placing Hugh, Archbishop of Damascus, whose permanent address seems to have been at Cambridge. He evidently belonged to the Priory of Augustinian Friars there. His right to the titular archbishopric was never questioned, but how he obtained a title so elevated, and what he had done to earn it, we do not know. He is a man of mystery—strange and illusive.

'*Ille sua faciem transformis adulterat arte.*' We may, however, be sure that he was not overburdened with scruples, that he was an adept at evasion, and that he had 'a forehead of brass.' He makes a dramatic appearance in the Exeter register and was a source of considerable annoyance to the Diocesan.

The 'brothers' of the 'Order of St. Augustine's Hermits,' another name for Augustinian Friars, who came from the Priory at Cambridge, had seized land in the parish of Townstall, near Dartmouth, belonging to the Abbey of Torre, as a site for their chapel. The abbot, naturally, protested; and Grandisson, on his petition, issued several inhibitions against the impudent disregard of the rights of the Abbey. The primate was also appealed to, and not only issued a

prohibition, but took the Abbey under his personal protection, and ordered the chapel to be razed to the ground. An appeal to the Holy See was followed by the declaration that the friars were intruders on the Abbey's domain.

The chapel, however, remained. The friars apparently lived near it, and, evidently of opinion that threatened men live long, suffered the Bishop of Exeter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Pope to hurl missiles which wounded nothing but the air. Though the brothers ignored the difference between 'meum' and 'tuum,' and though they thought canonical obedience a thing to be scorned, they yet seem to have had conscientious scruples against worshipping in an unconsecrated church. Accordingly they sent to their old friend, the Archbishop of Damascus, to perform this ceremony. Amongst other distinctions, the archbishop was, as we have seen, a friar of the same order, answering to the name of 'brother Hugh.' He obeyed the request with alacrity, doubtless seeing in it a good fee and hospitality, and with two brothers of his order, probably the very men sent to fetch him, and himself wearing the habit of his order, started on his long journey and reached Dartmouth in safety. When he arrived at Exeter, he dispensed with the company of the two 'friars,' who went on to the Friary to announce the speedy advent of the honoured guest. In the meantime he changed his dress and proceeded on his journey alone. A day or two later, the inhabitants of Dartmouth, most of whom were seafaring folk, were surprised to meet a gentleman carrying a long sword, bearing a shield, and dressed in a short, tightly-buttoned coat. They naturally asked him his business, and were informed by him that he was the King's agent sent by him to commandeer ships for the purposes of war. They were intimidated by his impatience, or disarmed by his affability, and let him pass on his way.

The stranger took the road to the hermits' chapel, and as he was none other than the archbishop, disguised for his personal safety, doubtless received a warm and affectionate

welcome, even though the brothers must have exclaimed, 'Bless thee ! bless thee, thou art translated.' There was, however, soon a wondrous transformation. He threw down sword and buckler, took off the short coat, assumed the habit of the friars, casting over it the episcopal vesture, grasped the pastoral staff, put on a mitre, and asked that the parishioners of Townstall, one of the two divisions of Dartmouth, should be summoned before him. When they were assembled, he called aloud that he was none other than the Archbishop of Damascus, and that the Pope and all the cardinals had sent him to consecrate the chapel of the friars. Having thus interested his hearers, he passed to the act of dedication and consecrated both chapel and graveyard with aspersion of holy water. He then gratified the members of the congregation by granting an indulgence of a hundred days. Such an indulgence would entitle each of them to a remission for the period assigned of all penalties imposed in the Confessional. He then confirmed a goodly number of children and anointed them on the forehead with the chrism. He also absolved certain parishioners who had been excommunicated for violence.

Having fulfilled the main object of his mission, the archbishop was willing to unbend. The Mayor of Dartmouth invited him to his house, and there, in his hall and chambers, with probably a congenial company to meet him, the archbishop did not disdain to sample the wine of his host. During his stay he was also a generous supporter of the inns in the place, where he is said to have proudly displayed his hand on which was worn the episcopal ring which the Pope was declared to have given him with his own hand.

The archbishop, however, could not stay at Dartmouth for ever. He had to take leave of his brother friars and other hospitable friends and, perhaps, return to Cambridge in quest of another call. He passed through Exeter and there he found himself in the lion's mouth, for the bishop had heard of his assumption of his own authority. He had just sat

down for refreshment at one of the hostels of the city when an apparitor appeared, carrying in his hand his wand of office. He at once acquainted the archbishop with his errand. The bishop, he said, was anxious to see him and had ordered that he should be cited before him. The invitation was not accepted and Grandisson, not to be thwarted, subsequently gave the archbishop an intimation that he would be excommunicated for contumacy. Before, however, the archbishop had left Exeter, he seems to have been approached and questioned by Hereward, a canon of the Cathedral, and two others. These questions, with the archbishop's answers, which may rather be called subterfuges and evasions, were carefully preserved in the bishop's office.

'Brother Hugh' himself, being now in some ecclesiastical peril, probably after first returning to Cambridge, proceeded to London, and lost no time in going to Lambeth, acquainting the Archbishop of Canterbury with his trouble and asking for absolution. The archbishop seems to have sent to Grandisson for a list of the charges against the friar-bishop. On these charges, he was questioned at Lambeth, and Grandisson was asked to allow the primate to give him absolution. This benefit was conferred. Absolution at once freed a penitent from excommunication, but was usually followed by a penance appropriate to the original offence. A day was fixed for the appearance of 'brother Hugh' before the archbishop, his commissaries, and the Bishop of Exeter, whose duty it was to inflict a penalty on the penitent. We do not know what happened on this occasion, but we may be certain that the Archbishop of Damascus was straitly cautioned and compelled to pledge himself not to make unwarrantable intrusions in the future into the English dioceses.

Though the archbishop was dealt with, the friars still remained at Townstall and were, indeed, 'a thorn in the flesh' to the bishop, who seemed powerless to dislodge them. Four years after the visit of the archbishop, we find Grandisson complaining that they were still living like vagabonds

in their old quarters in large numbers, defying the Holy See, forcing their way into the parish church, administering the sacraments and hearing confessions, wrongfully acting as chantry priests, and obtaining the fees of these appointments. The bishop strictly forbade the parishioners of Townstall to avail themselves of the services of these men whom he denounced as blasphemous mockers of religion who corrupted the flock entrusted to his care with their 'poisonous wiles.'

If friars could defy a bishop and wear out his patience, so also could a Collegiate Church, of which there were many in the country. That of St. Buryan, a wealthy foundation in the patronage of the Duke of Cornwall, and presided over by a dean and prebendaries, for many years had given trouble to the Diocesan. Claiming, as Ministers of a Collegiate Church, to be exempt from his spiritual jurisdiction and episcopal discipline, and resisting every attempt on his part to assert them, its clergy yet expected that he should come to St. Buryan to bestow the benefit of confirmation, confer lesser orders, and send the chrism, or holy oil.

The leading inhabitants of the place fully sympathized with the uncompromising position assumed by their clergy. So firmly fixed were they in their purpose of maintaining a privileged position, that King Edward III, who wrote to the bishop asking him to collect a sum due to the Crown from St. Buryan, was informed that he could not send a messenger thither without grave peril of life or limb. He could not lay his hands, he said, on any one who would undertake so hazardous an enterprise. The King, on the other hand, complained that the bishop had asserted at St. Buryan a jurisdiction to which he had no claim and, moreover, had exercised force for this purpose. The Earl of Cornwall, the patron of the living, also took up a position adverse to the Diocesan. The dean, moreover, who was said to do nothing but draw a large income and spend it, took proceedings against Grandisson in the primate's consistory court. On all sides he was harassed and beset and evidently had been

confronted with very serious resistance, when, with his habitual courage, he had attempted to hold his visitations. Determined not to be worsted, he cited a large number of the ringleaders of his opponents to appear before him at Exeter. Those cited were conspicuous by their absence, and sentences against these defaulters followed. Fear for the safety of the priests pronouncing the sentence caused the bishop to order the proclamation of excommunication to be made, not in the churches attended by those to be excommunicated, but in well-known churches of his diocese, reasonably, but not too dangerously, near the places where they lived. In the meantime, till the excommunicated persons had either submitted or been absolved, the bishop forbade any one to have anything to do with them. Two months later, on a November day, Grandisson went to the Priory of St. Michael's Mount and entered its church with the prior and seven or eight clergy, all of whom were wearing their stoles and carrying candles. He then announced that the excommunication which he was about to pronounce involved those who had usurped or resisted his jurisdiction, those who had assisted them or associated with them after their excommunication, and even one individual who had been already excommunicated. He also pronounced an interdict on the church and churchyard of St. Buryan so that no parishioner could either worship in the one or be buried in the other.

As the bishop's voice died away for the moment with the concluding words of the preface to the actual excommunication, the bells of the church were clashed, and the candles extinguished and dashed on the pavement. The terrible words of excommunication followed, in which the souls of the offenders were condemned to be quenched and given over to the eternal pains, unless they should turn and repent.

The sentence, a stereotyped form, which would be condemned by Him in whose name it was pronounced, was, however, effectual in inducing about twenty persons, who

had incurred excommunication by associating with those already excommunicated, to come before the bishop. They acknowledged their fault and were at once absolved.

Eight years passed away, and in July 1886 the bishop determined to visit the church which had caused him so much anxiety. He was making a progress through the whole of Cornwall, visiting the churches, consecrating altars, tonsuring candidates for the ministry, and confirming children. He went to St. Buryan, from his headquarters at Alverton, near Penzance, accompanied by three knights and their armed followers; his official, the Archdeacon of Exeter, the Chancellor of the Cathedral, and others among the higher clergy, his chaplains, servants, and attendants: a goodly retinue, indeed, such as usually attended the mediaeval bishop when he moved about his diocese in the discharge of his supervisory duties.

An intimation had probably been conveyed to Grandisson by his friends in the district that the people of St. Buryan, and some at any rate of its clergy, had changed their attitude towards him.

After the cavalcade had dismounted, a procession was formed which entered the church without opposition. A large congregation was present in anticipation of the bishop's visit. No doubt after offering prayer, he asked the leading parishioners, who alone were sufficiently educated to understand the English language, whether they desired to renounce their errors and return to 'the bosom and unity of the Church.' The poorer people, who were by far the greater number of those present, knew only the Cornish dialect, and to them the Rector of St. Just interpreted the bishop's speech. For some little time, the parishioners conversed together, with the result that they unanimously promised obedience to the bishop and his successors. The pledge was given in three different languages. The more highly born gave it in English or French, the rest in Cornish.

An extraordinary scene, illustrating the fervour of the

Celtic temper followed. Every one of those present in the church, young and old, rich and poor, one with another knelt before the bishop with uplifted hand as 'sign of plighted faith.' It must have been a sweet and gracious scene, the bishop and his assistants standing before the kneeling people, all of them hushed and awed and touched for the time with a celestial exaltation. The bishop 'full of zeal for the salvation of souls,' after the hymn 'Veni, Creator Spiritus' had been sung and prayers recited, preached to the people, and when his sermon was over, its substance was repeated in the Cornish tongue. Nor was this the end of his labours, for he tonsured many youths of the parish and confirmed an immense crowd of children.

That day was a day of rejoicing to Grandisson, and the submission of the dean a little while afterwards completed his felicity. It must, however, be added that fifteen years later the trouble was renewed at the instance of the dean and prebendaries. They were strongly supported by the King and the Duke of Cornwall and Grandisson was compelled to bow before higher powers and 'wrap himself in his virtue.'

H. P. PALMER.

A COMPLETE edition of the *Poems of Eva Gore-Booth* has been published by Messrs. Longmans (8s. 6d.), with thirteen new poems, a sketch of her life by Esther Roper, and twenty letters written to friends during the last three years of her life. 'The Inner Life of a Child' is a piece of autobiography, and the letters show the writer's keen delight in spiritual things. 'Spring is always new, like St. John's Gospel and primrosea.' She revels in St. John's Epistle and its triumphant end: 'This is the True God, and Eternal Life.' 'She had friends and comrades everywhere, and her greatest joys came through them.'

ANDREW JACKSON : FIRST PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE Republic of the United States when it was first established was not in spirit a democratic institution. In the welter of opinion that followed the Revolution there were some who advocated the adoption of a king. A considerable amount of monarchical sentiment centred in the majestic figure of Washington, who, as his recent biographer, Mr. Woodward has said, was 'thoroughly undemocratic.' The proposal to place his effigy on the coinage, the adoption of his coat of arms as the basis of the national flag, the recommendation of the Senate, rejected by the House of Representatives, that he should be designated 'His Highness,' the celebrations on his birthday, his coach and four with liveried footmen, all combined with the great personal dignity and fine breeding and manners of Washington to make him a regal figure. The stately soldier, clad in black velvet, standing at Mrs. Washington's levees, with his hand on the hilt of his sword, was as imposing and impressive as any monarch could have been. Complaint was made of the atmosphere of incense with which Washington was surrounded, and the importance which was accorded to his presence at social functions.

The charge of monarchical sympathies was brought against several of the American leaders. The second President, John Adams, was accused of believing in hereditary monarchy and nobility. His son, John Quincy Adams, the sixth President, was subjected to the same charge as late as 1828. Alexander Hamilton in particular was most persistently attacked as a monarchist and aristocrat and as disloyal in sentiment to the republican constitution. In the case of Hamilton there was some basis for the accusation. He did not believe in democracy as a system of government. He believed in what may be called an aristocratic republic, and

in the influence and power of the upper classes, even if those classes did not find, as he thought they should, direct recognition in the constitution. He regarded the British House of Lords as a 'noble institution.' Jefferson declared that Hamilton was dissatisfied with the constitution because it lacked a king and a house of lords.

Even after the fear of monarchy had disappeared and the republic seemed to be established securely, the spirit that inspired the rulers was still far from being democratic. The government still lay with what might be aptly called 'the classes.' The personnel of the administration was determined by the so-called aristocratic families, and by the business and financial interests. The congressional politicians concerned themselves with the possessors of property and the men of intellect and influence. The Government was controlled by those who had the political, financial, and social power. An office-holding class came into existence. A tradition grew up by which men rose to the Presidency by a regular gradation, passing from the Cabinet to the Vice-presidency and from thence to the Presidency. Virginia, with its slave-holding landowners and its strong aristocratic traditions produced an unusually large number of those who influenced the growth of the young Republic. Four out of the first five presidents were Virginians.

The man who broke up the system just described and brought the Virginia dynasty and the secretarial succession to an end was Andrew Jackson, a rough, illiterate planter and soldier from Tennessee. Without having served in the Cabinet, without having distinguished himself in Congress, without, in the first instance, any great ambition to be President, he succeeded in being elected to [the chief magistracy in 1828 and again in 1832, and secured the succession for his nominee, Van Buren, in 1836. He attained the great prize because as a candidate he made his appeal—for the first time in American history—not to the professional politician and the wealthy, but to the people. He devoted himself to

grouching in the masses the consciousness that they possessed power and had interests. He caused thousands who had never before participated in politics to play an influential part in the campaign of 1828 by which he was elected. His success was regarded as a victory won by and for the common people.

The campaign of 1828 which put Jackson into power, was like no other campaign that had ever taken place in America, and was marked by extraordinary bitterness. The personality of Jackson was hateful to the old politicians who resented his breaking into the traditions and officialdom that had hitherto been followed. They spared no weapon in the fight against the intruder. He was maligned as a usurper, an adulterer, a gambler, a cock-fighter, a brawler, a drunkard, and a murderer. The good name of his adored wife was not spared—the one thing which Jackson never forgave. As a General he had been stern and unforgiving, and had not hesitated to execute soldiers who had rendered themselves liable to the extreme penalty. Much was made of this severity, and pictures of the coffins of the soldiers were printed and distributed among the farm houses of New England.

The election of Jackson was a terrible shock to the politicians and society leaders in Washington. He was received by them as the patrician society of Rome might have received a barbarian emperor from Africa or Dacia. The preachers and bankers and manufacturers regarded him as a rough, illiterate representative of the mob. But, if the classes were cold, the masses hailed his succession to power with joy and enthusiasm. The rural politicians of the farms and villages showed their delight by swarming into Washington to see the inaugural ceremonies. 'I have never seen such a crowd before,' wrote Webster. 'Persons have come five hundred miles to see General Jackson.' An immense and motley crowd filled the capital and poured into the White House on the day of the inauguration. 'The reign of King Mob seemed

triumphant,' said Judge Story. Mrs. Bayard Smith, to whose vivid pictures of events we owe so much, wrote that the noisy and disorderly rabble brought to her mind the descriptions she had read of the mobs in the Tuilleries and at Versailles. The new President was greeted with a roar of popular acclamation that came from men who hailed him because they believed that he was the nominee of the common people.

While Jackson was the first President to bring the democratic spirit into the administration of the United States, he was himself in his character and conduct the negation of democracy. He was extremely violent and overbearing and had an ungovernable temper. Jefferson regarded him as most unfit for the Presidency. 'His passions are terrible,' he said, 'he is a dangerous man.' Many even of his best friends lived in constant dread of his temper. He seemed to be ready at all times to profit by the opportunity for a quarrel. He fought several duels, and killed one Dickinson in 1806, on one of these occasions. He was very despotic and would treat those who displeased him with low-bred and insulting brutality. He disregarded the principles of constitutional government with the autocratic imperiousness of a Napoleon. 'He is not true to his word,' said Calhoun, 'and violates the most solemn pledges without scruple.'

In the course of his tenure of office Jackson outraged diplomatic obligations, evidence, law, decency, everything. He could never take an unbiased view of any question of fact or law, if he had any personal relations of friendship or enmity with the parties. When he had adopted any view or notion his mind became set and nothing would change him. Laws and rules of evidence mattered nothing. He would cling with all the tenacity of the ignorant, uneducated mind to views once formed. He did not hold cabinet councils. He had a group of intimate friends who advised him and controlled the administration, and who were known as 'the Kitchen Cabinet.' Sitting in their midst in his shirt sleeves

and smoking a clay pipe, he would discuss and settle the affairs of the State. Clay not inaptly described the impression given by Jackson's period of rule. 'He has swept,' he said, 'over the Government during the last eight years like a tropical tornado. Every department exhibits traces of the ravages of the storm.'

Jackson had, however, some good qualities. He was not vain or conceited. He never showed any marked selfishness. If he was an implacable enemy he was a faithful friend. He was temperate and clean in his life and cherished the memory of his wife with pathetic devotion and tenderness. He was above money and not ambitious in the bad sense. As President he was accessible to everybody, as much so to the humble and poor as to the influential and powerful. Where his passions were not concerned he listened courteously to all, but kept his mouth closed. It is even said that in later life he was distinguished and elegant in his bearing when he did not affect roughness and inelegance.

Like several other Presidents of the United States Jackson had reached later middle age before the Presidency came within his horizon. He was the child of humble immigrants from Carrickfergus in Ireland, and was born in 1767 in Tennessee, then a rough and lawless region on the frontier. In 1791 he went through the form of marriage with Rachel Donelson, wife of one Lewis Robards from whom she was separated. When subsequently she was lawfully divorced by Robards, Jackson made a valid marriage with her. When Tennessee became a State in 1796 Jackson became federal representative, and showed himself an irreconcilable opponent of Washington. In the following year he became Senator. Galatin represents him as arriving at Philadelphia, where Congress then met, 'a tall, lank, uncouth looking personage with long locks of hair hanging over his face, and a queue down his back tied in an eel-skin; his dress singular, his manners and deportment that of a rough backwoodman.' In April 1798 he retired from the Senate and in 1801 he was

elected a major-general of militia. In 1798, although illiterate and ignorant of law, he became a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. Nothing throws more light on the rough and uncivilized condition of this State than the fact that Jackson could have held such a position. In 1804 he gave up his seat on the bench to become a planter and store keeper.

In 1813 Jackson, being major-general of the militia of Tennessee, took part in the Creek War, in which the Creek Indians were finally subdued. He was an impetuous and relentless soldier and proved himself a successful commander. He was like Julius Caesar as Lucan describes him, *Nil actum reputans si quid superesset agendum*, 'Thinking nothing done if anything remained to do.' His intense determination to conquer the foe appeared in all his military operations. 'So long,' says Sumner, 'as there was an enemy unsubdued, Jackson could not rest, and could not give heed to anything else.' Sumner adds, 'This restless and absorbing determination to reach and crush everything which was hostile was one of the most marked traits in Jackson's character.' The campaign against the Creek Indians, undertaken at forty-seven years of age, was the beginning of Jackson's fame and of his career.

In May 1814 Jackson became major-general in the army of the United States, and received command of the department of the South. In the same year war broke out between the United States and Great Britain, and Washington was burnt by the British troops. The one conspicuous success on the American side in the war was secured by Jackson on January 8, 1815, actually two weeks after the signing of the treaty of peace at Ghent. The British were badly defeated by Jackson at New Orleans and suffered very heavy losses. They had over two thousand killed, wounded, and missing, while Jackson had seven killed and six wounded. The success at New Orleans gave boundless delight in the United States, and was a great consolation to the national pride,

which had been sorely humiliated by the capture and burning of Washington. The battle made a military hero of Jackson whose energy and perseverance had secured the success. Henceforward he was a distinguished and popular figure.

In 1818 he commanded in the Seminole campaign against the Indians and broke their power. In 1823 he was elected to the Senate. His friends now began to talk of him as a candidate for the Presidency, and to plan for his election. He himself, however, refused at first to take the matter seriously. With remarkable perspicuity he did not consider himself the right sort of man for the office. The truth seems to be that he was not really ambitious but rather the contrary. He did, nevertheless, come forward as one of the four candidates in 1824, the other three being John Quincy Adams, Crawford, and Clay. He headed the list at the poll, but as none of the four candidates had a clear majority, the election devolved upon the House of Representatives. As Clay had come fourth on the list, his name, according to constitutional rule, could not be presented to the House. He was able, however, by allocating the votes of his supporters to one of the other three candidates, to decide which of them should be President. He instructed his following to vote for John Quincy Adams, who had come second on the list, and who thus duly became President.

The supporters of Jackson were furious at the conduct of Clay, and Jackson regarded himself as having been defrauded of the great prize. A report was circulated that a bargain had been made between Adams and Clay that the latter was to have the office of Secretary of State as reward for his support to Adams. The story was not true, but unfortunately Clay gave force to the rumours by actually becoming Secretary of State. If Jackson had required some pressure to become a candidate in the first instance the alleged bargain between Clay and Adams was all that was needed to convert his lukewarm attitude into one of fierce determination and resolve. Now he had been subjected to a grave

wrong, and that wrong had to be redressed. No further incentive was required to spur him on to the task of gaining the Presidency. During the whole of the Adams régime the work of preparing for the next contest in 1828 was vigorously pushed forward. The efforts of Jackson and his friends were successful and the new President was elected by a large majority.

The task that lay before Jackson was no easy one. When he entered upon the office he found himself faced by a phalanx of political foes determined to do their utmost to wreck his administration and bring him to disaster. Violent and vindictive himself, he had an unexampled capacity for arousing hatred in others. Previous Presidents entered office with the good wishes of most of their political opponents, but not so Jackson. It was his lot to have to fight three of the ablest men whom America has produced: Clay, Webster, and, later, Calhoun. These three men devoted splendid and unequalled gifts to the attempt to crush Jackson. Clay in particular hated Jackson with a furious passion of hate that was more suited to the court of some Italian tyrant of the Middle Ages than a democratic republic in the nineteenth century. There was something almost devilish in the atmosphere of mutual hatred and malignity which pervaded the political world when the General became President.

The President fought his enemies and carried on the work of government with the assistance of the four men who were known as the 'Kitchen Cabinet.' They were William B. Lewis, Amos Kendall, Isaac Hill, and Francis P. Blair. The first, Lewis, had been chief quartermaster on Jackson's staff in the campaign of 1812-15. All were expert electioneers and wire-pullers. These men were not Ministers. Two of them held unimportant posts as government auditors, but their power was unacknowledged by the Constitution. Yet by playing on the vanity and prejudices of their chief, they governed the nation and settled the fate of politicians. All four of them were absolutely devoted to the President,

and protected his interests with the most vigilant loyalty. Lewis lived at the White House during the whole of Jackson's occupation of it. In their organizing skill, their mastery of all the arts of publicity, their knowledge of mass psychology, and their genius for propaganda, these four men represented a political force which swept the opponents of Jackson before it.

Emphasis has been laid on the domineering and despotic temper which was shown habitually by Jackson as President. It was not, however, a political despotism only that he claimed to exercise. He endeavoured to establish in Washington a social despotism as well. He made himself extremely unpopular with the women by trying to force on the society of the capital the notorious Peggy O'Neil. Peggy O'Neil was the daughter of a Washington tavern-keeper and the widow of a drunken purser in the navy named Timberlake. She married John H. Eaton, who had become Secretary for War under Jackson, and whose first wife was a niece of Mrs. Jackson. When she appeared in the Presidential circle in Washington, the wives of the other ministers and the wife of the Vice-President and even Jackson's own niece, Mrs. Donelson, refused to associate with her. She tried to force her way, and the President, remembering perhaps his own matrimonial irregularities, backed her and made her recognition a political question. When the wife of the Dutch minister refused to sit by Mrs. Eaton, Jackson threatened to send her husband home. An immense amount of bad feeling was evoked by the President's attempt to thrust Mrs. Eaton down the throat of Washington Society. In the end the trouble was only allayed by the resignation of Eaton and the reconstitution of the Cabinet. It is an amusing fact that the first real democratic administration in the United States should have been almost wrecked on a social issue.

It was one of Jackson's achievements that he inaugurated throughout the republic the system described in Marcy's

famous phrase, 'To the victor belong the spoils.' He devoted himself to replacing the men in office who had been opposed to him politically by men who were his supporters. The 'spoils' system already existed in New York and Pennsylvania, where it had reached a high degree of perfection. It was the work of Jackson to extend it for the first time to the whole of the United States. To use the language of the time, he scraped the barnacles clean off the ship of State. The introduction of the system created a reign of terror among the men in office. 'All the sub-ordinate officers of the Government and even the clerks are full of tremblings and anxiety,' wrote Mrs. Bayard Smith. Steadily the dismissals were meted out, driving unhappy men to destitution and despair. No remonstrances or appeals for sympathy were listened to. The opponents of Jackson, it was said, 'have provoked retaliation by the most profligate and abandoned course of electioneering; the most unheard of calumny and abuse was heaped upon the candidate of the people; he was called by every epithet that could designate crime, and the amiable partner of his bosom was dragged before the people as worse than a convicted felon.' Two thousand official heads fell within Jackson's first year.

In 1832 Jackson was again elected President. His campaign had been even more than that of 1828 a call for support from the great body of the nation. While his opponents still relied on the old methods of intrigue and the cultivation of factions and groups with special interests, his supporters appealed to the masses of the people. The result of Jackson's triumph in 1832 was to make him even more despotic and overbearing than he was before. His success and the adulation which accompanied it increased his self-will and self-confidence so much as to render him a positive danger to the nation. He considered that his re-election had triumphantly vindicated all that he had done as President and justified the position which he had taken in every controversy in which he had been engaged. He regarded himself as having received

a new charter of power to govern by his own judgement and override everybody, including Congress. 'There is,' said his predecessor, Adams, in 1838, 'a tone of insolence and insult in his intercourse with both Houses of Congress, especially since his re-election, which never was witnessed between the Executive and the Legislative before.' He was offensive to Congress because he felt he had the people behind him, as the elder Pitt had been insolent to the British Parliament for the same reason.

It is remarkable how the overbearing and violent spirit which prevailed at the White House spread from Washington throughout the nation. The period between 1829 and 1837 in the United States is notable for the turbulence, recklessness, uproar, and social commotion, which marked it. Mobs, riots, and outrages against law and order were worse and more numerous than ever before or since. Negroes were burnt freely and abolitionists hanged. The members of Congress brawled and insulted one another in the Senate and the House, and fought duels outside. Drunkenness was common in high places. Friends of the United States like Harriet Martineau and Richard Cobden were shocked and disappointed at what they saw in America. There is no question that this was largely due to the example of passion and brutality shown by the supreme magistrate. He set the fashion and the nation followed it, and degenerated. In this connexion it is interesting to note that Jackson was the first President whose life was attempted.

The two principal matters which came to the front during Jackson's administration were the Bank Charter, and the action of the State of South Carolina in putting forward the doctrine of nullification. The Bank of the United States, which was associated with the propertied classes, was opposed to Jackson, and Jackson therefore endeavoured to fill its offices with his own adherents. The Bank resisted, and the President determined to destroy it. In 1832 the Bank applied for a continuance of its charter, granted in 1816, which

had still three years to run. The bill for the continuance passed both Houses by large majorities, but was vetoed by the President. In 1833, with the object of still further damaging the Bank, he caused the deposits of the Government to be transferred from it to various local banks.

The action of Jackson was most disastrous to the nation, and caused an immediate contraction of loans and great commercial distress and confusion. His ignorance of questions of trade and currency was colossal and Lodge, the American historian, justly compares his conduct in trying to regulate the finances to that of a monkey regulating a watch. His perversity and violence prepared the way for the financial panic of 1837 which spread ruin and disaster over the country. Jackson's good fortune appeared in this as in everything else, for he left office just in time to escape the storm. It was on his unhappy successor, not on himself, that the consequences of his folly fell.

The other important matter during Jackson's presidency was the attempt of the State of South Carolina in 1832 to nullify certain tariff laws of the United States. South Carolina claimed that a State had a right to nullify or reject a federal law of which it disapproved. Jackson, who saw the doctrine of secession lurking behind this contention, took steps to enforce the authority of the Federal Government. He ordered two war vessels to go to Charleston and placed troops within a convenient distance for prompt action. He also issued a proclamation warning the recalcitrant State of the consequences of its conduct. The ready scotching of the snake by the President postponed the danger for the time being, but only for the time being.

In 1837 the reign of Jackson came to an end. From his own point of view it had been a remarkable success. He had held more power than any other American had ever possessed. He went out of office far more popular than when he entered. He had been harassed constantly during the greater part of his period of office by a hostile Senate,

but he had defeated or humiliated all his foes. Brilliant and able as were his three great adversaries, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster, and superior as their gifts were to those of Jackson, they had all gone down before the furioso at the White House. All three of them had a passionate desire to be President and had cherished this object as their life's ambition, and all three failed, mainly because they were opposed to Jackson. The destruction of their ambitious hopes spoiled and soured their later days and left them in age with the conviction that their political life had been a defeat. The fiery old soldier, who had defeated the British, had been too much for all three.

At the same time it is obvious in these days that the kind of sway that Jackson enjoyed was bad for the nation and out of keeping with the spirit of democracy. His whole military renown was built up on a warfare of little over two years with Indians and on one battle against a civilized foe. Yet this renown secured for him a popularity which crushed out reason and common sense and enabled him to act at times more like some mediaeval tyrant in Milan or Genoa than an American President. His high handed actions were declared to be inspired by zeal for the good of his country, and criticism or remonstrance was regarded by him and his followers as insulting and outrageous. To the gravest arguments and remonstrances the answer was, literally, 'Hurrah for Jackson.' There is little doubt that Jackson, if he had wished, could have had a third term of office, but he did not want it. He was content to see the accession to the Presidency of his friend and nominee, Martin Van Buren, who was returned by his influence and support. After leaving Washington his life passed under a cloud. He quarrelled with his most intimate old friends, and became a defender of slavery. His last days, like those of Jefferson, are said to have been embittered by money anxieties. He died in 1845.

J. A. LOVAT-FRASER.

THEISTIC TRANSCENDENCE—SOME REFLECTIONS

CAN we believe in God? In what God can we believe? Of these two forms of the one question, the latter is the more fruitful for discussion and, certainly, closer to the present urgent situation in the realm of religious thought. The *raison d'être* of theology is the belief that there is a *God*, but theology cannot continue as an autonomous branch of investigation or of knowledge unless it can be stated with some kind of precision what is the nature of this *God*. Theology, indeed, is in large measure the endeavour to set forth a coherent body of beliefs about God—as to His nature, His relation to the world, and, supremely, to the human race. The great issue before us to-day is not as to the use of the term God, but as to the meaning which the term can be held to convey. The day has perhaps gone when it was regarded as necessary to spend much time with the question, *Is there a God?* Dogmatic atheism or uncompromising naturalism may be regarded as possible only in an age which has lost the sense of the infinite which environs us in every way. To-day, when the thought of the age is haunted by the immensities and, at times, almost overwhelmed by the pressure of the infinities which loom over all our horizons, there is not much need to construct any kind of apologia for the use of so hallowed a term as God. We have, to-day, as much difficulty as Carlyle in restraining our impatience with those few who can speak contemptuously of *god* with a small *g*. The persistent question which our times impose upon us, however, is, *What can we mean by the term God?* And so far from this question eliciting any unanimity of response, we find deep divergences not only between scientist, philosopher, and theologian, but between theologian and theologian manifest at this point. The question haunting the present age of religious thought is whether there is going to be left to the term God sufficient, or such, content of meaning

to permit religion to retain its power and its inspiration for humanity in the ages to come. The idea of God has enormously changed in the comparatively insignificant space of a few thousand years. What changes will come to humanity's conception of God in the next few thousand years? However speculative such a question may seem it is impossible not to ask it. There is here a life and death issue for every religious thinker.

Theology, to-day, can therefore find little abiding satisfaction in the widespread cultural refusal to accept the negation known as 'atheism.' What matters to theology, and to religion, is whether our idea of God is such as will inspire us to worship, will lead us to 'practice His presence' in personal communion, will compel us to set about the tasks of holy living and sacrificial service for humanity, and will make possible the retention of the hope of personal immortality. In this connexion it is not one of the least disquieting features of our times that while there is a fairly general awakening of the sense of mystery in life there is no corresponding turning to worship and adoration, and, as far as we may venture to judge, no general awareness of the supremacy and claimfulness of the interior life which is of the essence of true religion. This general unconcern for habitual worship may, it is true, be explained in many ways and by many causes. But among these causes, as it seems to me, a not-unimportant place must be given, at least in the case of thoughtful people, to the widely felt difficulty in formulating an intelligible conception of God. The opinion seems to be widely, if vaguely, held that the concept God can no longer include those ideas which have given to it its primacy for our thinking, for our feeling, and for our outward living. There is abroad a vague scepticism not as to God but as to what we are to mean by God. Here, as elsewhere, theory determines practice. What people believe, or do not believe, about God *in the last resort* is the fount of their mode of life.

That this scepticism is vague, inchoate, and undefined is

not, I think, any argument against its reality; for few people have the time or the stimulus to undertake the task of unifying or comprehensive thinking. Granted this scepticism, it should be the paramount task of modern religious thinkers to understand it, and, if may be, to remove it. The supreme aim of modern theology can be nothing less than to re-establish a conception of God in the minds of thinking men which will regain for religious belief a secure primacy in the mind, the heart, and the will. A modernism which is faithful to its own best lights must have as its supreme urge the necessity of formulating such a theology.

The first task imposed upon us, I have suggested, is that we seek to understand this vague scepticism which gives such *malaise* to the modern mind. There are, I know, many who will not assent to the primacy of this factor in a diagnosis of the present religious situation. It is more compatible with traditionalist modes of reasoning to ascribe the widespread religious indifference of the day to a practical rather than to a theoretical cause. To attribute such indifference to a scepticism with regard to traditionalist beliefs would seem, would it not, a very unsettling assault upon such beliefs. I do not think it is unfair or ungenerous to conclude that out of a concern for the adequacy of traditionalist apologetic structures there so easily arises the refusal to confront the painful, inchoate scepticism which haunts so many minds, and religious minds, in our times. The *practical* and the *thought* situation, however, cannot be divorced. Slowly but surely, and inevitably, a certain scepticism has filtered down from the realm of the thinkers to the general intelligent consciousness; and this scepticism has, I am convinced, a much larger share in the difficulties which confront institutional religion than is usually acknowledged.

Here, therefore, a plea is entered for the recognition of what we regard from observation to be a fact—namely, that a great deal of what is sometimes called the religious indifference of our day is rather a theological indifference, or, more

precisely, a sceptical indifference towards traditionalist theological explications. Not until this situation is, by the labour of sympathetic understanding, really *felt* will much have been done to assist many of the more thoughtful and perhaps the finer spirits of this and the coming generation.

Among the causes which have contributed to this *malaise* some trenchant and forthright spirits will stress the 'betrayals' of the cause of truth and religion by much of the institutionally-approved theological thinking of the past. Little profit, however, is to be gained by harsh judgements upon the insufficiencies and inadequacies of bygone days. Let us rather emphasize the debt we owe to the few who in the interests of truth refused to acquiesce in the apologetic explications of the many. Doubtless our theological fathers did the best they could in an intellectual situation which in some cases stunned their thought into an attitude of bewildered inertia, and in some others stimulated it to a mere dogmatic reiteration. At the same time an impartial and frank historical and psychological investigation of the present position would have to recognize, however painful such a recognition might be, as a considerable factor the widespread distrust of the theological thinker which a general awareness of nineteenth-century thought has inspired. In this age of the democratization of enlightenment our sins will always find us out. I do not think it can be doubted that much of the scepticism of this age is the revolt of intellectual integrity from the evasions of so many who were regarded as religious thinkers. With torturing shame we have frankly to acknowledge the truth of Dr. A. N. Whitehead's summary. In a period of unprecedented intellectual progress each new occasion 'has found the religious thinkers unprepared. Something, which has been proclaimed to be vital, has finally, after struggle, distress, and anathema, been modified and otherwise interpreted. The next generation of religious apologists then congratulates the religious world on the deeper insight which has been gained. The result of the

continued repetition of this undignified retreat, during many generations, has at last almost entirely destroyed the intellectual authority of religious thinkers.' This is the more regrettable now that the theological mind has in considerable measure achieved that modesty and teachability which are the hall-mark of the lover of truth.

This, however, is not a real cause : more correctly it may be regarded as a factor determining the modern mental reaction to religious apologetic. The real cause both of the combination of pugnacity and inertia of nineteenth-century apologetic and of the modern religious *malaise* is to be found in the all-pervading scientific belief in law.

The dominant issue for thought in the nineteenth century was the conflict between two beliefs or two faiths—the belief in law and the belief in God. Science believed in the universality of traceable sequence. Every fact or event was regarded as having its place in a continuity which allowed no room for breaks, interruptions, violations, or interventions. The whole course of nature was to be regarded, to use the words of John Stuart Mill, as 'carried on through second causes and by invariable sequences of physical effects upon constant antecedents.' Theology, on the other hand, taught the particularity of provable and 'evidential' breaks, interruptions, or interventions. There are facts or events, it was held, which have no place in a correlated, scientific sequence. It is unnecessary, within the restricted confines of a paper, to substantiate by citations a position which is familiar to every student of nineteenth-century thought.

The scientific concept of law was held to embrace every field, and to enclose every fact. Huxley declared that in his day the majority of people did not dream of the expression and application of law in nine-tenths of the facts of life. 'Few gamblers but would stare if they were told that the falling of a die on a particular face is as much the effect of a

¹ *Science and the Modern World*, p. 268.

² *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 289, 1875 ed.

definite cause as the fact of its falling ; it is a proverb that "the wind bloweth where it listeth" ; and even thoughtful men usually receive with surprise the suggestion, that the form of every crest of every wave that breaks, wind-driven, on the sea-shore, and the direction of every particle of foam that flies before the gale, are the exact effects of definite causes, and, as such, must be capable of being determined deductively from the laws of motion and the properties of air and water.'¹

In passing, let it be said that such statements would no longer give rise to the least semblance of surprise on the part of ninety per cent. of the populace—to such an extent has the notion of law pervaded the general consciousness. It was, however, the scientific belief that law or continuity was traceable in the realm of the manifestations of *life* on this planet which occasioned the greatest surprise and the acutest unrest. Biological science involves the faith that if we knew all that had happened on this world since life first appeared we should be able to formulate a sequence by which we could trace the evolutionary descent, or ascent of man. That there are still gaps in this sequence does not disturb, or indeed invalidate, the biologist's faith : though it is familiar that these gaps have afforded, and may continue to afford, an insecure and transitional resting-place in the present distress to a certain type of theological mind. This biological faith of necessity assailed the then generally-maintained theological faith in the *modal* particularity of man's creation. Vice versa the theological faith assailed the biologist's refusal to ascribe any vital phenomenon to a type of causation different from that which was responsible for other vital phenomena. In the resulting conflict of these two faiths, the real issues have come to be, I think, considerably clarified. Theology has, for the most part, relinquished her belief in a specific mode of creation regarded, in those unhistorical days,

as taught in Genesis ; and science has, for the most part, come to see that to ' explain ' in terms of sequence is not to attain to a final explanation.

Even so, it would be idle to say that this nineteenth century issue has been as yet satisfactorily settled. To-day it is still the central question. Indeed, the problem becomes acuter as the methods, aim, and faith of science are applied to the realm of the *mind*, and psychology becomes a science.

The issue may be put in various ways, according to the idiosyncrasies and dominant interests of him who discusses it. Is mechanism compatible with theism ? Is theism compatible with mechanism ? (These two questions are not the same question, the point of difference being in regard to the faith with which we shall begin the investigation.) What place is there in a universe where law ' reigns ' for the free, creative activity of God ? What tenure can science have in a universe where God is occasionally intervening ? What place can prayer have in a universe where all happens in accord with law ? Can a God, the ' evidences ' of whose activity were chiefly seen in events which were regarded as insusceptible of natural or historical explanation, be believed in if it should prove that historical science eliminates these events from history ? Is there to be no way out for the theologian who would be faithful to history, or for the historian who would be faithful to his belief in God ? Must we acquiesce, in basal scepticism, in a ' radical antinomy ' of scientific faith and theistic faith ? Are we compelled to make choice between our faith in rationality and our faith in God ?

These are the questions, and they might be multiplied. When, however, we reach bottom the one question is Who is our God ? Are we permitted to retain those ideas as true which constituted the theistic world-view ? Or confronting a specific issue, are the time-honoured ' evidences of Christian theism essential to theism ? Can *they* be relinquished and Christian theism abide ?

In order to confront such issues, it seems necessary to ask

What are the grounds of theistic belief? Such an investigation, it is needless to say, cannot here be attempted. Into the so-called 'proofs' it is not necessary to enter, except perhaps to say that the term 'proofs' is no longer acceptable. It is sufficient to state that theism in the last resort is an inference, or a faith, and not a demonstration. It can neither be 'proved' by any series of facts nor disproved by any series of facts. *No event as such* can demonstrate the activity of the Infinite we call God: nor can the, as we hold, *necessary* absence of such demonstrative events invalidate theism. If we are ready to instance events which 'evidence' the direct control of Supreme Mind we must be prepared to confront the events which others will as easily instance to 'disprove' both such control and the goodness of such control. No, it is necessary to confront *all* facts, and not simply any specific facts which seem to make possible, by isolation, a theistic 'proof.' If we may use an ambiguous theological word, there are no 'signs' of theistic activity; though in a deeper sense *the whole process* can be regarded as His 'sign,' and His 'proof.' The position we are seeking to maintain is this, that no event, on the scientific plane or as mere event, can evidence God, but only the whole developing process looked at as it were from above. We shall not find God in the gaps of our scientific demonstrations. 'Canst thou by searching find out God?' We may search the heavens with our telescopes, and scrutinize the biological infinitesimals with our microscopes, but we shall not discover God. Neither the macroscopic nor the microscopic 'evidence' Him. Yet when we seek to *interpret* the whole, or to ascertain its meaning, we may be, in our judgement *we are*, driven to conclude Supreme Mind. As far as scientific exploration of the material universe enables a conclusion to be reached, it points to an 'intricate and perfectly automatic mechanism of its constitution or structure.' Yet even if the universality of this 'mechanism' be admitted, it does not absolve us from inquiring after its ground and its meaning. This,

as I understand it, is the conclusion of Dr. J. E. Turner in his contributions to the literature of theism. 'The material universe, being . . . wholly independent of all detailed adjustment and control by mind, can therefore yield no direct evidence of the existence of any controlling mind, except in so far as its continuous evolution establishes the existence of the Supreme Self.'

If this position is sound, it would seem to follow that the position of much traditionalist theology—which regarded certain recorded events as evidences of direct theistic activity—can no longer be regarded as valid. No event as such can be regarded as theistically evidential. Every one is familiar with the reply made by Laplace when Napoleon had complained that in the monumental work, the *Mécanique Céleste*, there was no reference to God. 'Sire, je n'ai pas besoin de cette hypothèse.' Which reply, as would now be generally admitted, was scientifically just and strictly accurate. It is difficult to see how science could continue if whenever a difficulty is reached the hypothesis God is to be called in to take the place of scientific exploration and investigation. 'Theistic faith,' as Campbell Frazer emphasized a generation ago, 'as the condition of all proof is itself incapable of scientific proof.' From the scientific standpoint Professor J. A. Thomson in his Gifford Lecture similarly maintained: 'The immediate operation of a Divine Adapter is an hypothesis of which—we say it with the utmost reverence—we cannot scientifically make any use.' This is the substratum of truth in the sweeping positivist vanity of Comte—that science was going 'reconduire Dieu jusqu'à ses frontières en le remerciant de ses services provisoires.' Our natural reaction to what must seem to the religious mind an irreverence should not deter us from recognizing any kernel of truth it may contain. Where issue should be joined with Comte on behalf of theistic faith is not in respect to his claim

'The Nature of Deity, p. 69. 'Philosophy of Theism, vol. ii., p. 87.

'System of Animals Nature, p. 487.

for the deliverance of scientific investigation from the tyranny of a mistaken theological delimitation of the sphere of science ; but in respect to his claim that this deliverance leads to the negation of God. In this latter claim there was all the confusion of much nineteenth-century thought between *explanation by mode* and *explanation by cause*. This confusion was common both to a radical naturalism and to a radical supernaturalism. It led the first to conclude that traceable sequence negates the supernatural ; it led the second to instance specific events as proofs of the supernatural. To the philosophical scientist may be left the establishment of the fallacy of the former conclusion ; to the theistic apologist may be left the establishment of the fallacy of the latter. Thus it seems necessary here to refuse the claim of so much apologetic to evidence theism by specific events. For it is impossible, without omniscience, to pronounce any marvellous event to be a ' miracle ' in the absolute or traditionalist meaning of the term, in the sense, that is, of being incapable of subsumption under law.

The plea has frequently been made in recent years, and doubtless will continue to be made, that an anti-theistic bias dictates the hesitation as to miracle.¹ In many instances, no doubt, this has been so. But it is not a plea which has any cogency for the present situation. There are to-day many to whom miracle is, as it was to Abbé Huvelin, *très antipathique*² who are yet tenacious of the theistic interpretation of life. This twofold attitude seems anomalous to the traditionalist mind. Now, while it is not a defence of one's own position to establish the weakness of an opposing position, it nevertheless seems justifiable here to point out the implicates of the traditionalist plea. The first implication is that the fortunes of miracle are the fortunes of theism. If the first should go, so must the second. A historical investigation has, therefore, laid upon it the weight of a philosophical

¹ Cf., e.g., Mozley in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, p. 199.

² Cf. *Selected Letters of Baron F. von Hügel*, p. 62.

conclusion. Upon the 'happenedness' of events rests the validity of the theistic world-view. The second implication is that the events whose historicity are essential to theism are evidence of a type of causation different from that which is traceable in customary events. In this implication there is presupposed a claim to omniscience, inasmuch as it assumes an exhaustive knowledge of the laws of the universe under which, *ex hypothesi* the specific events cannot be subsumed. Those who have the interests of theistic belief at heart refuse to acquiesce in either of these implications. Miracle is to them '*très antipathique*' not because they have any *a priori* belief in the impossibility of miracle, but because, *first*, they refuse to allow historical science to be the arbiter of conflicting world-views; and, *second*, they refuse to claim an exhaustive knowledge of the laws of the universe.

If, then, it is no longer permissible, as we hold, to 'evidence' theistic belief by specific events how does the matter stand with regard to the notion of divine transcendence? Here is the theological crux of the matter in our day. In the eighteenth century the problem for theistic thought was presented by deism. In the nineteenth century the problem was uncompromising naturalism. In the twentieth century the problem is pantheism. Orthodox apologetic has always feared what may be termed modernist theology because of the emphasis on Immanence. Pius X, it will be remembered, explicitly condemned in *Pascendi* the philosophical and theological tendency to immanence which he, or rather his leaders, discerned in 'modernism.' Nearly every attempt after a restatement or reinterpretation of theology is, likewise, opposed in the interests of transcendence. There are not wanting signs to-day of an endeavour to recover a former emphasis on divine transcendence.

The question, however, it seems necessary to emphasize, is not, Is transcendence to be retained? but, What kind of transcendence can be retained? For it is not sufficient to declare that transcendence is necessary to theistic faith. As

transcendence has been so often regarded in Christian apologetic, theistic *faith* was a misnomer; what was held was not *faith*, but a belief that theism could be proved by specific events. Such a belief can hardly be regarded, except by abuse of language, as faith at all.

Nineteenth-century apologetic, in its general tenour, maintained that miracle proved divine transcendence. This position, we have maintained, can no longer be defended. Shall we retreat, therefore, from the position that miracle proves transcendence to the position that transcendence proves miracle. This is to many a tempting line of defence. I do not think that this will do. It suggests too much the clouding of retractions behind ambiguous argumentation. Besides which, it compels the question, Where, then, and what precisely, are the miracles which your transcendence requires? To that question *there can be no reply* on the part of any one who refuses to claim for himself an exhaustive knowledge of law. This point is clearly recognized by Dr. Tennant in his discussion on *Miracle and its Philosophical Presuppositions*. 'The difficulty about miracle, in any sense in which the miraculous could be of evidential value to establish revelation, is . . . that, short of having a perfect knowledge of Nature's constitution, it is impossible to recognize any given event as miraculous when we see it.' 'The discovery of natural means of producing effects which once passed for miracles does not logically imply that by-gone marvels were not wrought by supernatural means; but it removes all ground for logical certainty that they were so produced' (*italics ours*). Yet again he declares: 'miracle, while possible, becomes unknowable or unrecognizable if it actually occurs.'

If, therefore, we may neither 'evidence' transcendence by specific events nor 'evidence' specific events by transcendence how are we to reach a true concept of transcendence? To that crucial question we suggest the following answers.

¹ *Harvard Theological Review*, October 1924, p. 386.

² *Miracle and its Philosophical Presuppositions*, pp. 82 and 81-2.

First, we get it from an endeavour to *interpret* the universe which science has revealed to us. An ordered and orderly universe is *there*, it is *given*. Speaking for myself, I need to assume Mind in order to account for this orderly universe. If order is to be attributed to Chance—by which is meant the absence of creative and directive intelligence—there can only follow an attitude of utter nescience, where our very light is darkness and our truth is falsehood. Now, the highest manifestation of mind with which I have acquaintance is in human personality. There may be, probably are, higher incarnations of mind in other parts of the universe; but of them I know nothing. I am therefore compelled to conclude that the Mind which is behind the universe is *not less than personal*. I shall therefore speak of personal mind, thereby meaning that *not less than* the attributes essential to human personality—self-consciousness, otherness, and directivity—belong thereto. Now, I do not regard this as a ‘proof’ of personal mind; it is an inference, or an assumption, or a faith which I am compelled to make in order to be able to stand on my own feet at all, in order, in other words, to account for the facts of nature which are given. Personality, otherness, purpose, let us note, are here, but not interference, violation, disorder. If disorder were to be continually given me in nature I should be prevented from taking this first step which has led me to assume personal mind.

Second, we get a true concept of transcendence from *the facts themselves* as they are manifest in the whole evolutionary process. Without entering upon a detailed investigation of the stages which evolutionary science is able to trace in the history of animate nature—an investigation for which we have not the requisite knowledge—it may be said that the movement has been upwards. Organisms of increasingly elaborate structure appear, species which possess higher faculties for the perception of truth, of beauty, and of goodness progressively take the stage. The highest that has yet

appeared on this planet is a being who possesses free personality, who in the moments that are most truly a *man's*, seeks to incarnate goodness, to perceive the beauty that is in the heart of things, to discover the truth behind all. The road is long; the goal seems to fade for ever as we move. But the fact remains that, in spite of set-backs, there is the upward movement. Higher types *emerge*. Shall we not therefore conclude that personal mind is *creative*? In the very fact of the *higher* emergents is there not given to us a clue to the *purpose* of God? Can that purpose be other than the creation of personalities 'in His own image, after His likeness'? He 'worketh until now'; and the nature of the Worker is revealed in the ways by which He works and in the goal which we dimly perceive. Not by *fiat* but by long process, not in ease but in travail, not in compelling us by omnipotence but in eliciting our co-operation, not in the 'revelation' which *proves* but in the revelation which both demands and inspires our insight, not in the man who is able to accomplish acts of omnipotent interference but in the man 'who advanced in wisdom and stature,' not in a Being clothed with the metaphysical attributes of the deistic God but in Him who 'for this world' incarnates the God who is truth and love.

The *third* and concluding answer to our question, an answer which has already been suggested, is to be found in the moral and spiritual consciousness. Religious experience at its deepest has something to contribute to a right understanding of transcendence. The modernism which was condemned by Roman Catholic authority was, we believe, right in refusing to acknowledge the peremptoriness of the scholastic 'proofs' and in claiming a primary place for the facts given in the moral and spiritual consciousness. Authority perceived in this the shade of Kant, and exorcised what it regarded as the spirit of sceptical subjectivism.¹ Now whatever judgement be passed upon the critical contributions of

¹ Cf. *Le Modernisme Catholique*, E. Buonaiuti, p. 57.

Kant (our own attitude being implicit in the foregoing) it cannot be doubted that to most moderns no concept of God can be deemed adequate which gives less than primary place to the ethical. In other words, the transcendence necessary to theistic faith is not a transcendence of inscrutable interference but a transcendence of ethical personality. The faith in such is only reached as we fill in to the concept of personal mind, reached by the processes of thought, those contents which moral and spiritual experience at its highest gives to us.

We do not make any overweening claims for the religious consciousness, but we do assert that man's highest faculty cannot be overlooked in such an inquiry as the validity and precise significance of theistic faith. While on the one hand we acquiesce in the position, maintained by Whitehead and others, that religious experience does not give us direct evidence for a personal God,¹ yet on the other we maintain the reality and validity of that experience—in the sense, that is, that we are thus permitted to have communion with Him to whom the most reasonable interpretation of all the facts leads.

This religious experience, as far as we ourselves have it, is an experience of One Above, of a 'Higher than I.' The 'Presence within' is a 'Presence above.' The Immanent is the Transcendent. Personal religious experience, as well as the general history of religion, testifies to what von Hügel called 'the intolerable insufficiency of all mere immanence,'² or what Boutroux called 'the idea of the sacred, of the obligatory, of something required by a Being who is greater than an individual, and on whom the latter depends.'³

Religious experience is, therefore, not only communion with immanent deity, it is adoration of transcendent deity. The future of religion in the world is, as we understand the

¹*Cf. Religion in the Making*, p. 66.

²*Essays and Addresses, &c.*, 1st Series, p. 76.

³*Science and Religion, &c.*, p. 204.

matter, the future of the adorative attitude in humanity. This adorative element in religious experience involves and requires the transcendence of God. But, let us once more stress in conclusion, *not* the transcendence of traditionalist apologetic. Those who are so concerned to emphasise the insufficiency of a purely immanentist theology seldom feel the urge to winnow the transcendent wheat from the transcendent chaff. Transcendence cannot come into its own till this is done ; till, in other words, we are not afraid to declare that the fortunes of theism are not the fortunes of miracle. What some will call a destructive task must precede a constructive, for the simple reason that the apologetic situation is that which has been created for us by the apologists of the past. Simple honesty, as well as 'best policy' considerations, demand this order. Further, theistic transcendence can only retain its position when the *data* of religious experience are allowed their due weight in the construction of a world-view. Ethical and spiritual insight, if dominant, will lead to the rejection both of an unmoral pantheism and of an immoral deism ; both of the Infinite Immanent manifest in everything and of the Infinite Transcendent manifest in the occasional interference ; both of the Impersonal Force surging onwards through good and evil and of the Arbitrary Potentate in the sporadic 'judgement.'

C. J. WRIGHT.

EURIPIDES

IN order to understand the place which Euripides takes among the great dramatists of the world, let us begin by trying to call before our imagination the spectacle which a Greek tragedy actually presented. Imagine the brilliant sky of Greece. Imagine a vast concourse, thirty thousand (Plato, *Symposium*, p. 175) men and women, assembled beneath that sky, to watch, not a horse-race, not a football match, but a presentment of the mightiest forces that can rule the will of man, pictured in flesh and blood reality on the stage, gathered in mortal combat for his soul. Imagine this mental conflict set forth with all the charm that majestic language and music, the noblest spectacular effect, the deepest associations of religion can give. Imagine the multitude ranged, tier above tier, round three-quarters of a vast circle; the eyes of all fixed upon a stage far ampler than any we have seen, and beneath it an altar round which the chorus either stands or moves in stately measures, invoking divine and human justice upon the deeds and words of those whose destinies are at stake in the play before our eyes. Imagine all this, and we have some faint reflection, but only a reflection, of what the tragic drama was to Greece.¹

Suppose the tragedy to be the *Trojan Women* of Euripides. The scene is set as a battlefield, a few days after the battle. At the back are the walls of Troy, partially ruined. In front of these, to right and left, are some huts, in which lie those of the captive Trojan women who have been specially set apart for the chief Greek leaders. In the foreground a tall woman with white hair is lying on the ground asleep.

It is the dusk of early dawn, before sunrise. In the half-light, the figure of the god Poseidon is dimly seen before the walls. He is speaking of the fall of Troy, when the

¹See Vaughan, *Types of Tragic Drama*.

goddess Pallas Athene appears, and he turns to her, saying:

O happy long ago, farewell, farewell,
Ye shining towers and mine own citadel.¹

As the god and goddess plan to punish the Greek invaders—the treading down of cities, who cast temples to desolation and lay waste tombs—the prophetic spirit of the play lays hold of the mind and imagination. It is an indictment of war, but presented to our eyes in the pity and terror of reality. The gods leave the stage, and all attention is on the sleeping Hecuba, the white-haired Queen of Troy, alone, a captive, lying on the ground.

The day dawns slowly. The figure on the ground moves slightly, and wakes to cry out as one hoping it is all a bad dream, the war and the loss and the pain.

Up from the earth, O weary head!
This is not Troy, about, above—
Not Troy, nor we the lords thereof . . .
My children lost, my land, my lord . . .
. . . Ah, my side, my brow
And temples! All with changeful pain
My body rocketh, and would fain
Move to the tune of tears that flow:
For tears are music too, and keep
A song unheard in hearts that weep.

You see the door of one of the huts open. The women have heard Hecuba's cry as she sees the Greek ships getting ready to sail, and they steal out cautiously, one by one, startled and afraid. All through the play, you hear those women speaking, as only women can, of what they have lost, and what they are terrified to think of when the Greek ships carry them away. You watch Hecuba, the Queen, and Andromache, the wife of Hector, the slain Prince of Troy, and Cassandra, the daughter of Hecuba. You hear the quick sob shaken from prisoned hearts that shall be free no

¹ See Murray's translation and introduction.

more. I do not know which is the more pitiful, the picture of the grief-stricken Hecuba, or of the anguish of Andromache as she clasps her doomed infant in her arms, or the madness of the distraught and dancing Cassandra.

O Mother, fill mine hair with happy flowers,
And speed me forth.

There is little, if any, plot in the play, and dramatically it is weak. Indeed, Vaughan described it, with the *Hecuba*, as 'perhaps the feeblest which have come down to us written by Euripides.' And he says, 'the play of Seneca on the same subject has more unity, more dramatic genius, and a truer pathos—it is moreover, far more effective—than either of these.' I am not concerned, at the moment, to dispute that judgement. It is extremely difficult for me to differ from my old tutor in these subjects, and even to escape his prejudices. But that is not the last word about the *Trojan Women*. What does stand out unmistakably in this play is the sheer pity of it. Those who have lived through a long drawn out war are alone able to judge of the dramatic value of this tragedy. It is something more than art. It is, as Professor Murray says, 'a prophecy, a bearing of witness. It is the crying of one of the great wrongs of the world wrought into music, as it were, and made beautiful by Euripides, "the most tragic of the poets."'

Euripides was born at Salamis in the year of the great Greek victory there over the Persians, 480 B.C., and he died in 406, a few months before his older contemporary, Sophocles, who honoured his fellow poet, in his next tragedy, by forbidding the actors to wear crowns or splendid costumes. As a boy, Euripides received a liberal education, and was trained as an athlete. He tried painting at seventeen, and at twenty-five brought out his first tragedy, but did not win the first prize until he was thirty-nine. Of the ninety-two dramas said to have been written by him, we have eighteen,

¹ Murray, quoting Aristotle, in *Introd. to the Trojan Women*.

including the satyr-play, *Cyclops*, a piece of very clever balloonery, well known in Shelley's English translation.

Sophocles was the last master of the grand style in Greek tragedy. With Euripides we step into another world, in which the finished perfection of the golden age of Greece begins to give way before the restless questioning and eagerness of the strangely modern spirit which he represents. As a personal friend of Socrates, and of the philosopher Anaxagoras, Euripides developed his own natural genius, which was full of originality, and eager to experiment, amid the rapidly changing Greek social structure, with new and changing forms of art. The old classic forms were strained to the breaking point by his attempts to express the breath of new life and faith which sustained his critical spirit.

In his own day, Euripides was not so popular among the Athenians as his compatriots, Aeschylus and Sophocles. This was due in part to the fact that he broke away from the classical tradition which they represent, but it was also the result of his sensitiveness to the movements of the Greek world around him. The political revolt in the direction of democracy is reflected in his plays, and the spirit of inquiry and scepticism is evident in his treatment of all the human problems he presents. No doubt the weakness of his plots, and the lack of a certain classic dignity in his plays, would offend the Athenians, but their attitude was determined by other and deeper characteristics of his work. His close association with Socrates enables us to understand the boldness with which Euripides challenges the older conception of sin and the Homeric belief in 'the gods.' The temper which condemned Socrates to death is the temper which drove Euripides into exile.

A risky comparison has been made between Euripides and Mr. G. Bernard Shaw. In both you have a bold questioning spirit, defying the old sanctions, coupled with a fearless faith in the value and meaning of human life. Verrall called Euripides a rationalist, and, if by that we mean one who

rejects the popular superstitions in favour of a reasonable interpretation of life as we know it, then the title is a just one. Euripides is certainly a very provocative and disturbing writer, and he throws many traditional beliefs into the melting pot. But there is more in the mind of Euripides than the agnosticism that was feared and ridiculed by Aristophanes; and while he assumes that 'the gods' do not exist, and employs the machinery of heaven only for artistic purposes, yet he was by no means a mere iconoclast, an idol smasher. He has certain positive contributions of his own to make, as poet and dramatist, and as a critic of life. It is in virtue of these original qualities that Euripides became the most popular Attic dramatist in later antiquity and in modern times. What are these really great qualities? We shall endeavour to consider the position of Euripides as a lyric poet, as a romantic dramatist, and as a critic of life.

I. LYRICAL POETRY

(i.) The work of Euripides is not only crammed with interest and vitality; it has the sheer power of imperishable beauty. He was a true poet. Browning makes Bishop Blougram say, when he has thrown his faith overboard:

Just when we are safest, there's a sunset-touch,
A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,
A chorus-ending from Euripides—
And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
As old and new at once as nature's self,
To rap and knock and enter in our soul.

It is significant that Browning chose Euripides to illustrate the elemental poetic things which call to the deeps of faith. Euripides has always been a poet's poet. His lyrics are dramatic, and although they seem like incidental music in the play, yet they lead us to the very heart of the tragedy.

Iphigenia, for example, had been saved from horrible death at the hands of her own people. She was to have been

sacrificed to gain a passage for the Greek ships on their way to Troy, but she was spirited away by the goddess Artemis to the land of the Tauri, where she acted as priestess. The play *Iphigenia among the Tauri* is a tragedy of exile and homesickness, and the captive women look out beyond the barrier of the Dark-Blue Rocks, watching the sea-birds and wishing they could, like the birds, take wing to their home across the sea.

Dark of the sea, dark of the sea,
 Gates of the warring water,
 One, in the old time, conquered you,
 A winged passion that burst the blue,
 When the West was shut and the Dawn lay free
 To the pain of Inachus' daughter.

A sail, a sail from Greece,
 Fearless to cross the sea,
 With ransom and with peace
 To my sick captivity.
 O home, to see thee still,
 And the old walls on the hill!

Dreams, dreams, gather to me!
 Bear me on wings over the sea;
 O joy of the night, to slave and free,
 One good thing abideth.

There is salt of the sea, and whip of the briny wind in many
 a lyrical phrase.

A flash of the foam, a flash of the foam,
 A Wave on the oarblade welling,
 And out they passed to the heart of the blue:
 A chariot shell that the wild winds drew.

(ii.) These incidental lyrics show the unmistakable flame of poetic genius, but it is, perhaps, as a master of pathos that Euripides is supreme. 'Alcestis, the wife who consents to die in place of her husband, and is miraculously restored to him by Heracles, is the most familiar instance of this quality. And there are passages of that drama, which, for truth and simplicity of pathos, it would be impossible to surpass.'

There are, however, other examples in abundance. It is difficult to tell which is the more heart-stirring moment in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, that when she meets and greets in all ignorance and joyous affection, the father who has decided she shall be slain, or her appeal to him when she learns her fate.

Had I, my father, the persuasive voice
Of Orpheus, and his skill to charm the rocks
To follow me, and soothe whome'er I please
With winning words, I would make trial of it ;
But I have nothing to present thee now
Save tears, my only eloquence . . .

It is the story of Jephtha's daughter over again, but here the daughter is allowed to speak.

The sorrow and the tenderness of women have never been more deeply and truly expressed than by Euripides, 'sad Electra's poet,' as Milton called him. *Electra* may well be compared with Aeschylus' *Choephorae* and Sophocles' *Electra*, both of which deal with the same theme. Dignity and stateliness are sacrificed, and Electra becomes a noble woman in reduced circumstances, but the parting of Orestes and Electra is supremely human in its pathos and power. This human tenderness becomes divine in the descent of Artemis to soothe the last sufferings of Hippolytus ; a passage which shows this quality of the poet at its highest. It was with the insight of genius that Mrs. Browning wrote,

Our Euripides, the human,
With his droppings of warm tears,
And his touches of things common
Till they rose to touch the spheres.

(iii.) It is to the choruses that we must turn again for illustration of both these qualities, the lyric power and the mastery of pathos combined. There are phrases that haunt the ear and the heart with their magical music, but at the same time they gather up the significance of the drama in song that is purest poetry.

In *Medea*, which is a study of a passionate barbarian, the horror of the story would be unendurable, but for the use Euripides makes of the chorus. *Medea* is the princess of Colchis, who for love of Jason has shown him how to win the golden fleece, who slew her own brother to that end, and fled with Jason to his own land; but he has forsaken her for Glauce, daughter of the king of Corinth. *Medea*, by her own magic art, destroys his bride, slays the children whom she had borne to Jason, and is carried through the air, in an enchanted car, to Athens. For intensity of passion, few plays can equal this, but when the fierce wrath of the mother transforms her into a kind of living curse, the chorus suddenly brings you to the sense of tears at the heart of the terrible story.

Alas, the bold blithe bards of old,
That all for joy their music made,
For feasts and dancing manifold,
That life might listen and be glad.

But all the darkness and the wrong,
Quick deaths and dim heart-aching things,
Would no man ease them with a song
Or music of a thousand strings? . . .

Another chorus replies :

I heard a song, but it comes no more,
Where the tears ran over :
A keen cry, but tired, tired :
A woman's cry for her heart's desired,
For traitor's kiss and a lost lover.
But a prayer, methinks, yet riseth sore
To God, to Faith; God's ancient daughter—
The faith that over sundering seas
Drew her to Hellas, and the breeze
Of midnight shivered, and the door
Closed of the salt unsounded water.

In yet another chorus in the same play, the deep tones are sounded of the poet's own soul challenging the justice of the universe. *Medea* stretches forth her hand, and touches the children she has determined to slay, and at the touch her

resolution breaks down, and she gathers them passionately in her arms. The chorus takes up the strain, and relieves the tension of the situation, and at the same time carries us to the heart of things beyond the eternal passion and the pain of finite hearts that yearn.

My thoughts have roamed a cloudy land,
And heard a fierier music fall
Than woman's heart should stir withal. . . .

What therefore should it bring of gain
To man, whose cup stood full before,
That god should send this one thing more
Of hunger and of dread, a door
Set wide to every wind of pain.¹

The unforgettable music of these chorus endings haunts us even in translation, and is evidence that among the great qualities of Euripides we must place first that of sheer poetic power.

II. ROMANTIC DRAMA

When referring to the dramatic quality of the work of Euripides, I have used the word romantic ; a word which is difficult of definition, yet which has a clear and distinct meaning in literary criticism. The change when we turn from Aeschylus and Sophocles to the plays of Euripides is not unlike the change that is felt when, in English literature, we turn from the poetry of Pope and Dryden to that of Wordsworth and Coleridge, or better still to that of Shelley and Keats. Pope invokes the muses :

Ye nymphs of Solyma ! begin with song :
To heavenly themes sublimer strains belong.

Keats surely leads us into the world of Euripides, with his

Charmed magic casements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

¹ Murray's translations.

The qualities of the romantic poet are of two main types, and Euripides exemplifies both. In the narrower and more usual sense they indicate a love of vivid colouring and strongly marked contrast, with a craving for the unfamiliar, the marvellous and the supernatural. In the wider and less definite sense, they signify the revolt against a rigid and intellectual classicism, and a demand that the primal instincts, emotions, and passions shall have their full recognition and their rightful place ; and, arising out of this sensitiveness to emotion, comes the deepening of that sense of sympathy between man and the world around him, the sense of mystery which informs and inspires the poetry that we have called romantic.¹

With the love of colouring and contrast in Euripides, we must notice, unless I am mistaken, not only a romantic element, but something of that uncompromising realism which is supremely exemplified in Ibsen. Euripides has been called a 'botcher,' and like many another epithet, the strict application of it conveys a profound compliment. Compared with the massive harmonies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, which are like nothing that ever happened in heaven or on earth, the tangle and confused story, with its unresolved discords, which Euripides presents, is a botch. But it is actual human life, and the flesh and blood reality of it grips us with unmistakable certainty from first to last. In a well-known passage in the *Poetics*, Aristotle incidentally remarks, 'Sophocles said that he drew men as they ought to be ; Euripides drew men as they are.' Coleridge conveys the same impression when he says, 'Euripides brought tragedy by many steps nearer to the real world than his predecessors had ever done.' The characters are taken from heroic legend, but they are less stately and more violent than those of the elder dramatists. They are nearer to the men and women of ordinary life, both in character, and in their dramatic setting.

¹ See Vaughan, C. E., *The Romantic Revolt*.

Euripides had a keen eye for the human problems which supply the matter of the tragic dramatist. He had a still keener eye for all that makes them effective on the stage. The humanity of the persons in the plays is emphasized by the detailed circumstances with which Euripides brings them down to the level of common life. Orestes tossing feverishly on his bed after the murder of his mother; Antigone, in the *Phoenician Maidens*, stealing timidly down the stairs to catch a glimpse of the invading army; Electra married to a peasant—whom, however, she keeps at a respectful distance—and drawing water for her household needs; or in *Ion*, Xuthus coming flushed with wine from the banquet; and Creusa intent upon the swaddling-clothes in which years before she had wrapped her baby; Agamemnon tearing up his letters; Clytemnestra stepping with the utmost pomp and circumstance from her carriage, to an accompaniment of parcels, handboxes, and babies—all these are instances of the superficial realism of Euripides.¹ It was this which justly drew down upon him the ridicule of his own day, an echo of which is found in the satire of Aristophanes.

Yet it is not in his realism, nor in his attention to outward circumstance and stagecraft, that the original dramatic genius of Euripides manifests itself. As dramatist and as poet he was a true romantic. If you strike out the barbarous background of *Medea*, or the mythological background of *Hippolytus* and the *Bacchæ*, that is, if you take away the romantic setting, half of the charm will have vanished. Notice the romantic touches scattered throughout his tragedies; of Cassandra's dreadful ravings with their cruel irony, in the *Trojan Women*; of the pitiful picture of the seven queens prostrate before the altar, in the *Suppliants*, or of Iolaus, in the *Children of Heracles*, taking care of the persecuted and outcast children. If with these you also recall the highly wrought descriptions of set scenes, with all their picturesque detail, as of Orestes

¹ See Vaughan, *Types of Tragic Drama*.

and Pylades discovered by the cowherds in *Iphigenia*, or of the pictures embroidered on the tent in *Ion*, this gift of creating light and shade, form and colour, in word pictures, will be clearly realized, and it is decisively romantic.¹ And, above all, in pure fantasy, and in the plays which combine fantasy and adventure, such as *Helena*, *Ion*, or *Orestes*, the poet heaps up impossibilities in far-fetched fancy and highly-spiced adventure. Taking these things all together, we are able to measure the extent to which Euripides broke away from the classical tradition, and forged a new dramatic form which places him unmistakably among the great romantics.

III. CRITICISM OF LIFE

It is not only in virtue of his distinction as poet and dramatist that Euripides has become the most familiar representative of Greek literature to the modern mind. He is a figure of high importance in the history of Western thought, as well as in that of literature. He is not pre-occupied with his problems, like Plato, nor is he a passionate preacher of the duty of knowing, like Socrates. His eye is always on the audience, and the dramatic motive comes first. But his genuine human sympathy compels him to face the questions which the tragedy of experience evokes in thoughtful minds. It is already apparent in what we have seen that the older fateful note of Aeschylus is gone, and we hear the accent of the questioner and interpreter.

It is worth while to dwell a moment on the love of Athens which finds manifold expression in the plays. All the beauty, all the joy of Greece, centres for Euripides in the stately city of romance, 'girt by mountain and sea, by haunted fountain and sacred grove, shaped and adorned by the master hand of Phidias, famed alike for the legends of heroes and gods, and for the feats of her human sons in council, art, and war.'²

¹ For these and other instances, see Vaughan, *Types of Tragic Drama*.

² Lowes Dickinson, *The Greek View of Life*.

Across the years we still feel the spell of the chorus in praise of Athens, in *Medea*. (I prefer Way's translation here.)

Happy of yore were the children of race divine
 Happy the sons of old Erectheus' line
 Who in their holy state
 With hands inviolate
 Gather the flower of wisdom far-renowned,
 Lightly lifting their feet in the lucid air
 Where the sacred nine, the Pierid Muses, bare
 Harmonia golden-crowned.

There in the wave from fair Kephisus flowing
 Kupris sweetens the winds and sets them blowing
 Over the delicate land ;
 And ever with joyous hand
 Braiding her fragrant hair with the blossom of roses
 She sendeth the Love that dwelleth in Wisdom's place
 That every virtue may quicken and every grace
 In the hearts where she reposes.

This surely is more than a dramatic patriotism adopted to gain the ear of the city ; it is hardly to be doubted that Euripides regarded Athens as the ' schoolmistress of Greece,' the guardian of all that was best and purest and most beautiful in the Hellenic tradition. And who shall say that he was wrong ? At the same time it is pretty clear that the love of humanity in him was stronger than the love of country ; and that, in so far as the latter seems to prevail, it is because Athens to him stood for the cause of truth and justice throughout the world.'

This passion for justice dominates the religious and philosophical outlook of the poet, and finds expression in many heart-searching and pregnant passages in the plays. It would be at once easy and misleading to collect quotations from the tragedies which would form a well-defined system of belief, showing that Euripides rejected the gods of Greek legend and literature, and found his way to an intellectual faith remarkably like that of a modern scientific Christian. In *Bellerophon* he says, ' If the gods do wrong, surely no gods

¹ Vaughan, *Types of Tragic Drama*, p. 67.

they be ' ; and in *Heracleidae*, ' God, if He be indeed God, hath need of nought.' He deliberately denies the ' miserable tales of the poets,' and attacks the idea of gods that are cruel and immoral as trenchantly as Plato in the *Republic*, with a moral passion akin to that of the later Latin poet Lucretius.

Yet the real thought and purpose of a dramatist cannot be shown by a selection of detached sayings from his writings ; it must be seen in his choice of subjects, and in the kind of character that he makes ' sympathetic ' or ' unsympathetic.' Of the very first importance therefore is the fact that Euripides has whole plays devoted to such subjects as the immorality of the traditional gods, *Ion*, *Melanippe*, *Alope* ; the problem of the unjust government of the world, as in *Bellerophon* and the *Trojan Women* ; the wickedness and lunacy of the old idea that revenge is a sacred duty, in *Electra*, and *Orestes*, with a similar theme running through *Medea* and *Hecuba*. His virgin-martyrs and his champions of the oppressed stand out against this background of military authority and statecraft. He treats often of cruelty and injustice done to women, especially barbarian women, in *Medea*, *Hecuba*, and *Andromache* ; and he has a most surprising tenderness for children, foreign to the world of Greek social life, exemplified in two plays that are concerned with cruelty to children, the *Children of Heracles* and *Andromache*. He has a great play entirely on the evil of war, and one in which the hero is a slave, although he proves to be of princely birth, *Alexandros*. This is, as Professor Murray points out, clearly an unusual and characteristic list of subjects.

We must always remember that Euripides is a dramatist and poet in the first place, and only in the second a philosopher. Yet he stands before us revealed in the choice of themes for his plays, and in the texture and poetry of the plays themselves, as the defender of the poor and the oppressed, the champion of suffering humanity, challenging all the wrongs of the social order and of the state, and

carrying his warfare right to the gates of heaven. And in the last resort, unless I am mistaken, he stakes his faith in a god behind and above the gods of the Pantheon. Among his literary fragments is found this prayer. 'Omnipotent God, send light unto men, that they may know whence their evils come, and how they may avoid them.' In Hippolytus, surely it is the poet himself who speaks, when, denouncing the gods who have bereft Theseus of understanding

—O that in return
Mankind could with their curses blast the gods—

he penetrates behind the mystery of life and suffering, and

Has in his secret hope the belief in some great Understanding.

When we gather up all our reading of the plays, with their music of imperishable poetry, with their startling illumination of the problems which for human hearts are new every morning, we begin to listen for the tones of the voice of Euripides himself, and assuredly we can hear it when he declares, in the words of Hecuba, his belief in the ultimate rule of Justice throughout the universe.

Base of the world and o'er the world enthroned,
Whoe'er thou art, unknown and hard to know,
Cause-chain of things or man's own reason, God,
I give thee worship, who by noiseless paths
Of justice leadest all that breathes and dies.

S. G. DIMOND.

GOD AND THE MORAL LAW

ONE of the most ominous symptoms of our time is the revolt against the moral law. More ominous still is the marked insensibility to the moral law, shown by many who do not seem so much as to have heard whether there is any moral law. Men are, at any rate, aware of a thing when they revolt against it. The alarming thing to-day is not that men are deliberately breaking the Commandments, but that they are breaking them without any sense of wrongdoing. Maeterlinck regards it as a mark of advancement that we have given up chastity. The extent to which sexual instincts are being gratified, naturally and unnaturally, with a naïve unconsciousness of any depravity, is one of the most serious things we have to face. Is it, however, any more serious than the same insensibility to moral considerations manifested in the business world and in public life? To covet your neighbour's house or his ass is put in the Commandment on the same level as coveting your neighbour's wife. The apostle tells us, that to break one Commandment is to break all, because the Commandments are not mere rules of conduct, but the articulation of a spirit, an attitude, a moral sense.

So long as we continue to speak of the Commandments as the issued regulations of an arbitrary lawgiver, so long, indeed, as we continue to limit the moral law to the Ten Commandments, men will continue to regard the moral law as old-fashioned, out of date, having no authority for to-day. The revolt against the moral law is only part of that larger revolt against all authority, which is a mark of our time. And so long as we set up external authority, and say to men you must do this or not do that, because it has been ordained, because the Church says so, or the Bible says so, men will continue to revolt or to be indifferent, and to say 'We must experiment for ourselves. We must find out a new law.' Commandments and precepts—even the precepts of Jesus—

will be disregarded so long as we set them up as the final court of appeal. Men will say 'They do not apply to us. They make no provision for the conditions of our time.' And, regarding them merely as authoritative precepts and commandments, men are right.

The teachings of Jesus do not furnish us with a complete code of ethics for all time. This does not mean, however, that we are to disregard His precepts, or go contrary to them, in seeking a solution of our problems, but rather that, as He himself carried the moral law of the Old Testament to a higher pitch, so we are to seek in what lies behind both the moral law of the Old Testament and the teaching of Jesus, a way of life for men to-day. Therefore, we must consider what the moral law is, the moral law, as laid down in the Old Testament, and as still further interpreted by Jesus, and as existing in our own minds. You cannot, of course, begin any discussion of the moral law without considering the moral sense. The moral law, as embodied in the Ten Commandments, is an attempt to organize or articulate the moral sense. Its authority lies, and must lie, in its appeal to the moral sense. Where there is no moral sense the moral law will have no authority. The moral sense which created the Ten Commandments is higher and finer than the Commandments themselves, which are, so to speak, thrown out in an attempt to embody what the moral sense was feeling after, and may well, therefore, be superseded or improved upon, though not abrogated, as time goes on. The antinomianism of the New Testament is by no means an abrogation of the moral law. 'We do not make void the law, through faith,' 'we carry it further, we carry it higher [so they seem to say], we have, through Christ, had our moral sense so refined and heightened, that we not only obey the Ten Commandments easily, but we carry them to greater and more spiritual lengths' (as in 1 Cor. xiii.). It is what lies behind the moral law that matters, just as it is what lies behind the teaching of Jesus that matters.

What lies behind the Ten Commandments is a discernment by the moral sense of a moral law. We must not depreciate the Ten Commandments. Seeing that the average morality of to-day falls below them, seeing that men are killing and stealing and bearing false witness, and committing adultery and coveting their neighbours' goods, it would ill become us to belittle those high commands. But we shall not get men to keep them, so long as we regard them as a code having external authority, backed by an arbitrary system of rewards and punishments, to be administered, mainly, in a future life, and do not realize that they are a fine, though by no means a complete, attempt to embody something much finer, which came to be discerned as a result of the slow but amazing development of a moral sense. It is this realization alone which can give us certainty in enforcing the moral law. The moral sense has sprung, like our other senses, from the creative process. Our physical senses have not been created *for* the world, they have been created *by* the world. The impact of vibrations from external matter upon rudimentary nerve centres has slowly developed, first, perhaps, the sense of touch, and then the other senses.

This does not make our senses merely subjective, though they are untrustworthy, and have constantly to be corrected by that still higher thing which has been developed and which we call mind. But our senses are very real things, and have been developed by something very real outside ourselves, to which they correspond. So of our minds. There must be some tremendous reality outside ourselves to which we can give the name of mind, seeing it has, by its impact, developed mind in us. It is this that makes mind, and thought, its product, authoritative. No man would say it is old-fashioned and out of date to think, though it does, sometimes, seem in these days as if men were losing their power to think, just as they may lose their power to hear or to see.

The sense of beauty, again, has been developed by contact

with beautiful things, and though our perception of beauty is conditioned by our senses and our minds, it is not created by them, but has been evoked by the presence in the world of something very real, a quality which we recognize under various aspects, and which leads us to feel at once 'that is very beautiful,' 'that is a perfect thing.' The sense of beauty is not a subjective thing, possessed by a few poets, and imposed on the rest of mankind by arbitrary commandments. It is something that has been developed more finely in poets, but, more or less, in all men, or poets would have nothing to appeal to, and it has been developed by the real presence in things of this quality which we call beautiful. You might as well say that science is subjective. To some extent, of course, it is, and must be. The discoveries of the scientist are conditioned by his senses, by his instruments, and by his mind, and it may be, of course, that his discoveries bear no more relation to the reality he is dealing with than does the canvas of the painter to the reality that he is striving to capture. His discoveries are not final, either, but only point the way to further discoveries which supersede them as Newton is superseded by Einstein.

But the scientist is dealing with real things, such as matter and space, and we receive what he says, because we believe that he has caught something of that truth of things, which is, after all, greater than his statement of a fraction of that truth, and which he calls a law; and because we can see for ourselves that his statement of the law is borne out by our own perception of material things. We could never accept even science in blind submission to external scientific authority. It is only as it wakes up something of the scientist in ourselves that we can accept in any real way the pronouncements of science. In other words, the universe itself is responsible for the scientific mind. Men have only learned to discover its laws by keeping their minds in contact with the reality. They have made mistakes, mispronouncements, and, if they had stuck to these as final, they would

have got no further, but, because they have regarded their passing interpretations as only tentative interpretations, and have continued to investigate the things interpreted, they have advanced and are by no means yet at the end.

It may be there are many aspects of matter to which, at present, we are entirely blind, because the universe has not yet had time to develop in us the necessary corresponding faculties by which these other aspects shall be apprehended. Meantime, what we have got is true, because it is an apprehension of part of the reality, though it may have to be modified as the universe unfolds to our unfolding minds. For we are yet only at the beginning of things. Science is in its infancy, art and music are in their infancy, and will only grow as they continue to feed on the great realities with which they deal, and which are there, outside all our apprehensions of them. Now may we not say something of the same sort about the *moral law*? [It is a statement of something we have perceived, by virtue of the moral sense which has been developed in us by the impact of life. That is its authority. It is not final. It is not complete. But it is something thrown out at a reality which we sense. There must be in the universe a moral element or we should never have developed a moral sense.

Now it is interesting to observe that the moral law, in its crudest statements, is always other regarding rather than self regarding. It is probable, I think, that the moral sense had its first rude cradle in the family (and by that I don't mean merely the human family), when the impact of family life began to stir in parents some dim sense of the claims of others. When we come to such an advanced statement of its findings as the Ten Commandments, this other regarding attitude is wider in its application, and points to an advanced civilization. The moral law is always characterized by a regard for others. Once we recognize that as the principle of the moral law, we are prepared to recognize its authority, and to carry it further than it has yet been carried.

The law which compels us to regard the rights of others, to consider their claims upon us, is due to a perception of the fact that we are related to one another. The moral law is a social law, and deals with man as a social being, recognizes that men can only live together successfully by just and considerate dealing with one another. It is authoritative and binding, because it is the discovery of something in the very nature of things, and that nature of things has so wrought upon us as to produce in us a moral sense, that is to say, a sense of what is right and wrong toward others. The argument that the moral law is artificial and conventional, because it is not to be found in Nature, is a fallacy, on two grounds. It is to be found in Nature, and, even if it were not, it is found in *human* nature. And it is to be found in human nature, because there is something in life that has developed in us this sense of right and wrong, of justice and love.

Men could never have developed a moral sense if there had not been something outside themselves, to which their moral sense corresponds, and which they apprehend by means of a moral sense created by that which it apprehends, just as we perceive light by an organ created by light. That is to say, there is, in the universe, something that we call love, a regard for others, and this, through the long slow process of evolution, has so worked upon the raw material of human nature that it has penetrated it with the idea of moral perfection. For, whatever its beginnings, the moral sense has at last arrived at the apprehension of the idea of moral perfection—that idea which Descartes said postulated God, since it could never have originated with us, and which Kant said postulated immortality, since it demands *our* perfection. It is the growth of the moral sense in man, and the perception by means of it, that moral perfection consists in absolute self-giving love, that has led to the change in our ideas of God and to our new interpretation of Christ. We say now, that God Himself is the Absolute Lover, that He gave Himself in Creation, and continues to

give Himself to all His Creatures, in an endless sacrifice, that He may bring them to His own life of perfect and self-giving love. We say now, that it was the perception of this by Jesus which led Him to give His life for the salvation of the world. He only did what He saw the Father doing everywhere and for ever, and He laid that down as the law of life for us as well. 'Be ye therefore perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect.' 'If any man will come after me let him also deny himself, take up his cross and follow me,' that is to say, give himself as I have done. Jesus, knowing that all power was given to Him in heaven and earth, took a towel and girded Himself, and washed His disciples' feet. It was what He saw the Father doing everywhere. It was a symbolism of the same nature as the bread and wine. He goes on to say that we must do as He has done to us. 'Ye ought also to wash one another's feet'; ye ought also to give your bodies to be broken for others and your blood to be shed for others. It is what the Father is always doing. It was by virtue of doing this in their measure that His disciples created a new world. So then, the moral law of perfect and self-giving love, obedience to which brought Christ to the cross, is the law of the universe, the law of perfection everywhere and for all things.

So far from revolting from it, men ought to rejoice in it as the way of life. Love always instinctively obeys the moral law. Those high and difficult precepts of our Lord are precisely what love is always carrying out. A mother or a lover has no difficulty in going an extra mile with the loved one, or in conceding the coat when only the cloak is demanded, or in loving where they are not loved, and blessing where they are cursed.

All men are keeping the moral law, more or less, in some part of their lives, unless they have no love for anything but themselves. No man can claim that he keeps it perfectly in all things. But if we find ourselves keeping the moral law, in so far as we love anything or any one, we have but to extend that

principle and apply it to the problems of our own time, and their solution will not seem so hopeless as at present it does seem. Even the Ten Commandments, incomplete statement of moral law as they may be, would revolutionize modern society, if logically carried out. And, while, as we say, Jesus has by no means given us a complete ethical code, He has shown us that the spirit, the attitude which we take up whenever we love has but to be extended, and the kingdom of heaven would appear among men. In so far as a man loves anything or any one unselfishly, he is keeping the moral law and has fellowship with God. Love is of God, and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God. We must admit that more and more, and not insist on church-going and creeds and sacraments as the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace of fellowship with God. These things have spiritual value, in so far as they bring us into the love of God for men, but the real proof of fellowship with God is obedience to the moral law, which is the law of love. Still, men do need a religion, and by religion I mean a God, and conscious, deliberate communion with Him. All religions have aimed at sharing the life of the god. But the power of a religion depends on the kind of God whose life we seek to share. The most formative thing in life is our idea of God. It determines everything else, our worship, our creeds, our conduct, our business, our national affairs, and our international relations. Behind all the confusions and failures of our time, you will find a wrong conception of God.

There is nothing, therefore, so important as getting a right idea of God and holding steady communion with Him, that so we may enter into fellowship with Him, share His life, be changed into the same image, from glory to glory.

The right idea of God must necessarily be that of a God who is Himself perfectly that which the moral law demands of us. In giving us some sense of moral obligation, God has given us Himself. He has not given us a law which He Himself does not keep, but one which is a tentative

expression of the principle of His own being. God could not disregard the moral law, since it is but a reflection of the principle which animates His own infinite and creative activity. And, seeing that the moral law, the more it advances, becomes more and more an embodiment of regard for others, an increasing demand for benevolent activity, we can only conclude that a right idea of God must be that of a God who gives Himself. It is because this God has given Himself from the beginning, that the impact of His life upon us has evolved in us some image of Himself which is reflected in our sense of what is due from us to others. The moral law, indeed, is no more subjective and unreal, because it has been apprehended and improved by a growing moral sense, than the outward world is subjective and unreal because it has been perceived by senses which it has itself evoked. Just as the human mind itself with its sense of beauty and its sense of physical laws has been evolved by contact with minds and beauty and law in the universe, so the idea of moral perfection has been evolved in the human mind because the human mind has been in contact with moral perfection acting upon it from outside, in contact, that is, with One in whom moral law is absolute. Therefore the moral law is of eternal authority. But it must advance, or, rather, our apprehension of it must advance. It is as real as the universe is real for science, as real and authoritative as beauty is for poetry and art. To discard it, to revolt against it, is just as foolish and as fatal as it would be for science to seek the laws of matter by discarding all that has so far been discovered of matter, or for art to try to discover beauty by revolting against all that has been perceived of the beauty of the world. As only by ever renewed contacts with the reality of the physical universe can science advance, and only by renewed contacts with the beauty of the world can art advance, so only by renewed and ever fresh and first-hand contact with the reality behind the moral law, that is, with a self-giving and self-sacrificing God can the moral law advance.

As we see, through history, men's growing apprehension of God as the self-giver, and see this apprehension culminating in the Cross, our mind, naturally, goes out into the future.

In what direction will the world move? What will be the dominating spirit of the future? All the signs seem to point to an intensifying of the ethical spirit and a more universal application of the ethical principle. There will be a great revival of religion, but it will be on ethical lines. The principle embodied in the Ten Commandments, and carried still higher in the prophets, until they see that principle, not merely as one of restraint and control of the egoistic propensities, but one of active suffering for others, that principle still further accentuated in the exuberant disregard of self, both in the teaching and conduct of Jesus and consummated on the cross, will come to be seen as the highest principle of life, the highest at which creative evolution has arrived. Already, in spite of the fact that men are caught in the machine of modern civilization and compelled to bear their part in it, there are signs of revolt against its dividing and destructive power. Men are talking now about the collective purpose of the world, and saying that we must work for that, help that on, subordinating our private interest to the collective purpose, which again is a recognition of the principle of the moral law. Our young men are beginning to distrust nationalism as the breeder of war. They are desiring a world federation in which nations shall be united and work for the collective purpose of the world, as now within the nation we seek to further the collective purpose of the nation. The League of Nations is an organized attempt in that direction. What is all this but a recognition of the principle contained, though obscurely, in the Commandments, and, more clearly, in the teaching of Jesus, and recognized, more or less, by the great forerunners of the future race—the saints and men of genius, who have almost invariably seen, that love, compassion, pity—another name

for justice—regard for others, call it what you will, is the fulfilling of the law ?

The highest that has appeared among men is the spirit which is at the heart of the moral law. It is as much a part of the universe as anything else that has emerged. It has emerged and developed, because it has been there from the beginning—'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.' That is to say, in its perfection, it is the Spirit of God, and continues to work through all things and in all things toward the complete apocalypse of the sons of God, for which the whole creation waits. It has emerged because there has been acting upon men from the beginning a divine power, bringing order out of chaos, light and beauty out of darkness. You may call it the life force, if you will, so long as you admit that the life force, in its highest manifestation, is moral, and leads on to yet higher manifestations of love and self-giving. That is just God, seen at His best in Jesus Christ, and fellowship with God can have no meaning or value unless it really means becoming like Him as Jesus was like Him. When we have learned to recognize this as the highest outcome of that great mysterious struggle and process which we call life, more real and vital than stars or ether, yet having the same source as they, then we shall learn to apply it in yet wider and finer ways, and the whole creation will benefit through man's apprehension of the collective purpose of creation, which is only a more prosaic way of saying what the prophet said, that, when this knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth, men shall not hurt or destroy, and the whole of this fierce creation shall share in the gentleness of a fuller apprehension of God by man, 'the lion shall lie down with the lamb.' St. Paul described the whole creation groaning and travailing in pain, waiting for the revelation of the Son of God in men.

Men have been vainly holding out the hope of progress in a revolt against morality, in a return to Nature, in an imitation of the wolf and the lion, the ape and the tiger. The ancient

Egyptians knew better when they expressed their conception of the mystery of life by the head and shoulders of a man, emerging from the body of a lion. The decline of Egypt set in when they returned to the lower portion of human nature, and set their hopes of progress and power on the fierceness and cruelty out of which man had emerged. The present-day revolt against the moral law is not nearly as widespread as we suppose. It arises very often from a misunderstanding of that law, as consisting of ancient customs, rules, and conventions. When it is understood that obedience to the moral law is not a retrogression, nor the refuge of obscurantists, nor the negative resort of timid souls, afraid of life and life's great adventure, but the loyalty of brave souls to the highest and strongest that has been discovered, and will result, not in tame and conventional characters, but in heroic characters who are ready to throw their lives away in a great adventure, for the world's sake, as men have done for their country's sake or for the sake of science, then men will see that the moral law is the key to the universe. It is a great principle, capable of infinite expansion and application. It is the interpretation of God and life. When men embrace it as the law of life, and fling themselves upon life in that spirit, they will know what Jesus meant when He said 'Ye shall do greater things than I have done.' The New Jerusalem waits to come down out of heaven upon men, and will come when men see that the power which sits on the throne and has given rise to all things, is, as it were, a lamb newly slain. There shall be new heavens and a new earth when every knee shall bow, and things in heaven and earth and things under the earth and every tongue in creation shall confess that the principle of life, of exaltation and victory, lies in following the great Cross-bearer in daily sacrifice and service for others, in letting this mind be in us which was also in Christ Jesus.

WILLIAM WOOD.

BORDEN PARKER BOWNE

Borden Parker Bowne: His Life and his Philosophy. By
FRANCIS JOHN MCCONNELL. (New York: The
 Abingdon Press, 1929.)

BISHOP MCCONNELL came under the inspiring influence of Professor Bowne as a student in Boston University, and kept up an intimate friendship with his old teacher till his death in 1910. Bowne is the foremost representative of the philosophy of personalism in the United States, who crossed swords with some of the chief thinkers of his own country and ours, and who was recognized by William James and other eminent contemporaries as a worthy peer. His former pupil helps us to trace the growth of Bowne's philosophy, and throws light on his attitude to other masters, on his views as to biblical criticism, and as to the official element of his own Church. It is an illuminating study, and one of extraordinary interest for thinkers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Bowne was born at Leonardville, New Jersey, on January 14, 1847. His ancestors, William and Ann Bowne, were English Puritans, who settled at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1681. Their son was a leader in the settlement of New Jersey, noted for his fairness in dealing with the Indians, whose language he was able to interpret to the settlers. The professor's father was a justice of the peace, who derived a considerable part of his income from legal fees; his mother was 'likewise a character of straightforward simplicity, with a marked vein of mystic piety, yet a notable house-keeper, keeping her silver spoons and her mahogany table always scrupulously bright.' She had six children, and, though farmers then had little ready money, the spell of the sixty-five acre farm lay on Bowne's mind to the end. Incidents of those early days were never forgotten. One

neighbour was a brilliant physician, who gave way to drink and used to come out of his sprees in an agony of remorse. He awoke from his last carouse with death staring him in the face, and begged his lawyer crony to sooth his passage with a prayer. They had crept together into a tumble-down barn. A terrific thunderstorm was raging, and when the neighbours saw a light in the barn they went to see what it meant. 'They found the dying man trying to pull himself together to face death, with the gin-soaked lawyer, sitting in a light made by an inch of candle, reciting the Lord's Prayer, and entering exceptions and suggesting improvements in the Prayer as he muttered along.' Another memory attached to an apostolic draft of fishes which the wealthy family of Hartshorne sent across the bay to New York. The day was hot and the fish got spoiled, so that the clerk of the market ordered them to be removed. The hired servant thought to avert disaster by bawling out 'My name's Hartshorne,' only to be crushed by the reply: 'Hartshorne or the devil's horn, you can't sell that stuff here.'

Bowne was brought up in a Methodist home. Men were then living who had seen Asbury moving through the State as the heroic figure of the itinerancy. In some of the preachers of Bowne's boyhood, the roughness which had its place on the frontier degenerated into coarseness in more settled communities. 'The young Bowne saw too many preachers whose rawness made a bad impression upon him, too many who spoke with a voice, or, at least, a noise, of authority to which they were not entitled.' A group of preachers, returning from Conference, once stopped in the neighbourhood, and when told by one mistress that she had nothing in the pantry, two or three of them caught her chickens and provided material for their meal. One brother, who loved his fare too well, felt aggrieved because Mrs. Bowne's savoury pie tempted him to break a religious fast. Other stories show what a primitive type of society was here. One friend complained that a neighbour was getting

worldly, because he had worn a pair of black cotton gloves that morning at the meeting.

Bowne taught school for one winter when he was sixteen, and soon after went to Brooklyn as driver of a grocer's truck. Bishop McConnell once went with him to revisit the scenes of these early labours. 'The recollections which seemed to be most vivid in his memory, were of his desperate homesickness, of his pride in his quickly acquired skill in loading a truck so that it would "ride" best, and of his interest in the fiery directness with which teamsters would talk to one another, when one violated a rule of the road, or blocked traffic. Time and again I have seen him stop to survey critically a truck, whose load was not trimmed aright, or to listen to comments made to one another by irate truckmen in the streets of Boston or New York. I think he considered the eloquence of the later days lacking in fire as compared with that of the earlier.' To the end of his life the lure of the New York streets was on him, and he delighted to roam along them. Even in East-side life he felt an optimism which redeemed it from squalor.

When Bowne became a local preacher in 1867, the presiding elder said he was never more surprised and interested in any examination than in his. He had already spent a year at Pennington Seminary, studying fourteen hours a day. He then matriculated at New York University, where he gained many prizes. He found much time for reading, and was greatly impressed by *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Tale of a Tub*. Dr. McConnell read the latter because of Bowne's repeated references to it, and could never allude to a passage that Bowne could not quote practically word for word. Much as Bowne marvelled at Swift's power, 'Shakespeare and the more wholesome and genial poets and essayists were closer to his mind and heart than was the cynic.'

He became a Methodist minister in 1872, but, after a few months, was free to study in Paris, Halle, and Göttingen. His two years in Europe cost little more than a thousand

dollars, earned chiefly as tutor. Ulrici and Lotze were the German masters to whom he owed most. But no professor warped his mind out of its own orbit. He was already contributing to the *American Methodist Reviews*. He could not understand how any one could be led into despair for any such reasons as those assigned by Strauss. Dr. McConnell thinks that until he left Europe, Bowne did not discern the worth of minds of the Strauss type, but, in after years, he delighted in reading aloud the passages from Strauss, which revealed an almost incredible patience in digging into early ecclesiastical documents.

Whilst he was a student at Halle, a series of articles on the philosophy of Herbert Spencer, which he had written in 1872, were published in book form. Followers of Spencer never recovered from the chagrin caused by the deadlines with which the young American pierced the weak points in Spencer's armour. He also dealt severely with John Fiske, the leading exponent of Spencer in America. Fiske's position was more spiritual than Spencer's, and Bowne was not free from prejudice when he said that Fiske's *Through Nature to God* was not worth reading. Nor did he take the slightest interest in Romanes' *Thoughts on Religion*, which was everywhere hailed as a return to faith. 'All that he ever said, was that in giving up theism Romanes must have felt like a soldier who discovers that he has been terrified into surrender by a wooden gun.' He felt that evolutionary thinkers, who wished to take scepticism seriously, should reckon with Balfour's *Defence of Philosophic Doubt*, for which, and for the *Foundations of Belief*, he had high respect. Bowne himself accepted scientific evolution, but strove to guard it from becoming an object of blind worship.

After his return from Germany, Bowne served for a year on the staff of the *Independent*, which had a commanding position as a journal for the 'respectable' classes. He wrote its philosophic reviews, and was responsible for its joke column, where he could indulge his love of puns. He

contributed an article on 'Religion of Childhood.' 'Let the children learn of a Father's love, and when life's trials come they will have whereon to lean. In short, let the child be a child, even in his religion; and when he becomes a man, with the unfolding and deepening of his experience, he will necessarily put away childish things. To hasten the work can only result in mischief. A too early acquaintance with the confessional will make him no better Christian: it will only make him false.'

In 1876 he found his sphere as Professor of Philosophy in Boston University, then seven years old. There he taught until his death in 1910, lecturing never less than eight hours a week, and refusing to be tempted away even when Yale sought to secure him, and the University of Chicago offered him a salary of \$7,000. He approached philosophy from the religious side. His *Studies in Theism* appeared in 1879. Bishop McConnell says 'The germs of all the later conceptions are there, and there is more fullness of exposition and of illustration than in the more formal treatises.' The style was thought by some to be over-vivacious; one famous sentence described scepticism as having as degrading an affect upon the mind as unchastity has upon the character.

For seven years, until his marriage, he lived with Bishop Randolph S. Foster, 'a prince and a great man.' The bishop would come home late at night but never too tired to respond to Bowne's challenge, 'Now let us have a word about pure being.' Such discussions sometimes lasted far on toward the morning. Bowne believed in a real and substantial self, and accepted our faculties as trustworthy. He felt that we could not deny the existence of an objective world, without bringing shipwreck upon all thought. He was an idealist, in the sense that the material world is realized idea with force put into it. He described himself as a transcendental empiricist, who regarded intelligence as 'a bottom fact which explained everything else but accepts itself. Hence, also, all attempts to explain intelligence by any mechanical

or metaphysical machinery are invested and must be abandoned.' He was a convinced theist, who regarded that belief as an intellectual dwelling-place which we have built to make life itself more tolerable.

In 1905 he told his friends that he had decided to call his system *Personalism*. For him that was the highest form of existence. There was more reason for trusting a self, acting in the light of full intelligence and under the control of moral purpose, than for trusting anything impersonal. That was the best, the only worthy characterization of the World-ground. The universe was under the guidance of a Personal Being, whose Direct Insight, founded upon a moral nature, for ever acted in full light and full moral responsibility. This personalism fitted in with pragmatism of a noble order. For him the universe was founded on moral principle and had no place for mere cosmic amiability. He believed that even in the close and cramping limits of Roman Catholicism, Father Tyrrell had found a way to utilize the methods of a spiritual pragmatism, but he did not live to see how Tyrrell's religious explorations ended in his tragic repudiation by his Church.

In ethics, Bowne maintained that good will toward others was a binding obligation. All light available must be used to find what the good will calls for. Moral development leads to higher appreciation of the worth of persons, and extends the reach of moral values throughout the universe.

In his class-room, Bowne used illustration freely, and kept discussion close to the purpose in hand. He would go to any length to help a student who sought his guidance, and such inquirers found him 'the best commentary on his own system.'

Bowne's defence of biblical research made him view scornfully the attack on his colleague, Professor Mitchell, who held the Old Testament chair in Boston University, and whom he regarded as perfectly orthodox. Bowne himself was charged with heretical teaching in 1904, but, after

an exhaustive examination, a singularly able commission decided unanimously that none of the charges was sustained. The trial bore good fruit in closer friendship between Bowne and Dr. Buckley, who acted as his counsel, and thus learnt much as to the newer approach to the Bible.

Bowne regularly attended the prayer meetings of St. Mark's Methodist Church, for he held that the human spirit was not likely to go far towards its noblest development without feeling the need of companionship with the Infinite Self. Personal immortality he looked on as a matter of course implication from his thought of God. Immortality was, indeed, the only adequate opportunity for the expansion of humanity, which, taking all the world over, has not had a chance.

Bowne was a doughty foe of officialism, but though Dr. McConnell allows that criticism such as his is a safeguard against genuine perils, he does not know that he has ever met just the officialism that seemed most offensive to his old tutor.

In 1905 he was able to make a world tour through Japan, China, India, to Europe. It was a great experience. He saw that 'God has vast resources of humanity in the peoples of colour, which He will one day tap for the civilization and christianization of the race.' Even if the yellow peoples should overrun the Christian world, he believed there was enough vitality in Christianity to christianize even such an overwhelming flood. He was not so favourably impressed with the Indian mind as with China and Japan, but when he gave up his philosophical lectures, and talked to the students of Calcutta on 'The Religion of the Future,' he was astonished at the eager attention and the applause of the great crowd. London fascinated him, and he said, in 1910, that he hoped to get his 'fill' of the city by walking about fifteen miles a day through its streets for a month or two. That joy was never granted him.

He resumed his lectures in 1906, and found constant

delight in his garden, where he cut, every summer, about 8,000 choice roses, and found the work 'its own exceeding great reward.' He sometimes picked as many as twenty dozen violets in a day, 'Of all the odours, according to my nose, there is none so gracious and refined and refining as the violet. What manner of man ought I to be with 12 x 20 violets in the house?' His wife, a Miss Morrison of New York, shared his tastes, and her companionship brought 'never-failing freshening of vigour' to the inner springs of his life. Her aesthetic discernment and taste in the choice of pictures, rugs, chairs, and china gave her husband much pleasure. 'He had a rare appreciation of beauty, which was increasingly gratified. He found joy also in work, though it was evident that he was taking on too heavy a schedule. He lectured from eight to twelve hours a week, corrected quiz papers by the hundred, dictated on this or that book three or four afternoons a week, responded to appeals for special addresses without number.' He longed for a few years of leisure, and when Dr. McConnell asked, 'What do you want to see?' he replied, 'Oh, just the coming and going of the seasons, dawn and the sunset, night and the stars. I shall be disappointed if I have to leave this world without a chance for a good long look at all these.' The long look was not granted. He was seized with a heart attack on April 1, 1910, while meeting his class, and died that afternoon. Every year since then has seen his influence deepen, and many have caught his resolve to turn the dream of the coming Kingdom of God and man into a glorious reality.

THE EDITOR.

Notes and Discussions

METHODISM IN SOUTH-EAST EUROPE

In the second edition of Bishop Nuelsen's *History of Methodism*,¹ the fourth chapter, 'Methodism on the Continent of Europe,' has been revised and brought up to date by writers who have intimate knowledge of the various countries. Dr. Melle, now director of the Frankfurt Theological Institution, bases on personal experience a most interesting account of the work in South-East Europe, with which he was associated twenty years, being superintendent of the Austria-Hungary district from 1911 to 1920.

The beginning of Methodism in Hungary is a romantic story. In Batschka (phonetically spelt), German colonists had formed a Blue Cross Society. At its meetings a Methodist hymn-book was used—*Die Frohe Botschaft*, edited by Ernst Gebhardt. A copy of *Die Christliche Apologete*, the organ of German Methodists in America, sent anonymously, was eagerly read. It contained the address of Robert Möller, the Methodist minister in Vienna, and he was immediately invited to visit and to address the society (1897). During my tutorship in Cannstatt, Möller was a keen student and an ardent evangelist. In Vienna, his ministry was greatly blessed; the new preaching-room, acquired through the generosity of Baroness von Langenau, became too small, and, in 1896, work was begun among the Czechs and Slovaks. Möller had already attempted to preach in Hungary, but the Pressburg magistrates prohibited the holding of an advertised service, because he was a 'foreigner'! The unexpected invitation to Batschka was joyfully accepted, and Dr. Melle says: 'Möller was given a most friendly welcome, his popular and earnest preaching made a deep impression.' The result of this visit was a request for a preacher to be sent, but the opposition proved to be too formidable for the young minister who was appointed. He resigned, and, in all probability, the work in Hungary would have been given up, if F. H. Otto Melle, then stationed in Dresden, had not volunteered to undertake the difficult task.

In a town (Srbobrau) where the Serbians outnumbered the Magyars, the Serbian magistrate defended the preacher against the opposition of those who denounced him as a Pan-German propagandist. But on Christmas Day, 1900, Melle, after walking nearly nine miles to Vrbas to hold a service, found that the police had been searching for him, and that the high court judge had forbidden the holding of a service. The activity of the police caused a large congregation to assemble. Melle told the officer that he desired to do nothing

¹ *Kurzgefasstes Geschichts des Methodismus*, von Dr. John L. Nuelsen, An. 2. Auflage. (Bremen: Verlagshaus der Methodistenkirche. M. 9.50.)

contrary to law. But, as neither singing nor prayer was forbidden, a Christmas hymn was sung and fervent prayer was made. A sermon might not be preached, but 'Riddles' were suggested, and permission was granted. The first riddle: 'What is most beautiful in the Christmas story?' elicited many and diverse answers. Ultimately, the minister had his opportunity to tell why the child was called Jesus. An appeal to higher authority led to a removal of the ban, and when the first lovefeast was held there were those who ascribed their conversion to the answering of the Christmas riddle.

In the autumn of 1906, after consultation with Bishop Burt, Mell hired a room in Budapest, and began to hold services. He was greatly encouraged when, on returning from a journey, he found a new harmonium in the room, with a brief note, stating that it was 'a gift from one who would fain inherit eternal life.' In the capital of Hungary to-day, Methodism has firmly established itself. To estimate the results, it is essential to remember that, after the war, 480 Methodists and eighteen preaching places were transferred from Hungary to Jugo-Slavia, the Budapest district alone remaining. But in 1919 there were 109 members. Extension in many directions was made possible by a bequest of 50,000 dollars from Miss Fanny Nast, the sister of Dr. Nast, editor of *Die Christliche Apologete*, a copy of which, sent by a person still unknown, led to the beginning of Methodist work in Hungary, where, in 1927, there were 779 members, four chapels, eighteen other buildings, and twenty-three Sunday schools with 488 scholars.

The Methodists transferred to Jugo-Slavia report steady growth alike in numbers and in influence. In 1928 there were seventeen circuits, 1,400 members, and about 1,000 Sunday scholars. The Conference town is Novisad, and to this place Methodism was introduced by a Hungarian preacher, who was arrested for taking part in a discussion on the Bible, and escorted across the frontier by a constable. In Novisad 'a great door and effectual' was opened to him, and it has now a chapel, an orphanage, and a girls' school. In 1922 the American Board of Missions (Congregational) handed over ten stations and 220 members in Macedonia to the Methodist Conference of Jugo-Slavia. Macedonia is now the Southern District of that Conference, its principal stations being Strumica and Monastir.

Bishop Nuelsen's *History* abounds in narrations of absorbing interest, and is a most valuable addition to the story of world-wide Methodism.

J. G. TASKER.

WESLEY'S ROOMS IN LINCOLN COLLEGE

THE Oxford University Press has published a Record of the re-opening of Wesley's Rooms in Lincoln College, on September 10, 1928, which will be greatly prized by students of the Evangelical Revival and by Methodists all over the world. The frontispiece shows

the bust of Wesley, outside his rooms facing into the Front Quadrangle; the arms of the college are on the title-page; Wesley's pulpit from the College Chapel; a facsimile of his resignation of his fellowship; his sitting-room after restoration; and his portrait painted by Mr. W. D. Hamilton, from Romney's canvas at Philadelphia. These are the illustrations which add greatly to the interest of a unique record. The Rector, Mr. J. A. R. Munro, gives a brief account of the college, which was founded in 1427 by Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln. 'He was alarmed at the revolutionary tendencies of the time, especially the propaganda of the Lollards, which threatened to subvert the Catholic Church. The world, he thought, had fallen into dotage; its reason, concentrated in man, has lost control of his tongue; ignorance and anarchy had poisoned the minds of the people; only in the universities, and, above all, in the University of Oxford, did reason, science, retain her throne and offered an antidote to the evils of the age. Therefore, he founded a college, at Oxford.'

Mr. Munro says it was a little college, and nearly succumbed to the troubles of its early years. 'Its charter was precarious and defective; thrice in its first half-century it narrowly escaped extinction; not until its Visitor, Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, moved by a sermon of the Rector's on the text "Behold, and visit this Vine" (Ps. lxxx. 14), gave it fresh endowments and a new constitution (1480), could it be said to be securely established. Even so, it remained a poor college and its growth was slow.'

The Front Quadrangle, completed by a fourth side, including Wesley's rooms, was all the accommodation for resident members down to the seventeenth century. The Inner Quadrangle was built in 1609 and 1629, with the beautiful chapel given by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. 'Here John Wesley, during his years of residence, worshipped and ministered, and the handsome portable pulpit from which he preached is familiarly known as "Wesley's Pulpit."' The building in 'the Grove' behind the Hall was added in 1789, and rebuilt in 1883; the new Library in 1906. The Rector's Lodgings, enlarged in 1885, were in 1919 needed for undergraduates, but the lack of rooms still hinders the work of the college.

Mr. Munro says Lincoln College has 'furnished Prelates, Doctors, Divines, and even Martyrs, to the most diverse denominations. It has given a Primate to France and a Primate to England, in John Potter, who, as Bishop of Oxford, ordained Wesley; it has suffered in turn for its Catholic, its Protestant, its Ecclesiastical, and its Puritan sympathies; it has nurtured Jesuits, Calvinists, Non-Jurors, Methodists, Tractarians, Evangelicals, and Modernists. One movement, the most unique which it has witnessed in the five centuries of its life, sprang from a purely spiritual source latent within its own walls; John Wesley, inspired by a personal religious impulse, set out to evangelize the world on the modest stipend of a Fellowship in Lincoln College. He quickened the conscience of his nation, awakened the Church from its lethargy, christianized the masses of the people, propagated the gospel overseas, incidentally averted a brutal

revolution at home, and instituted a Society which now numbers nearly forty millions of souls.'

When the two hundredth anniversary of Wesley's election to a Fellowship was celebrated in 1926, the happy thought occurred to Bishop Johnson that American Methodists might claim the privilege of restoring the rooms. Bishops Anderson, Nicholson, and Hamilton were appointed as a committee to carry out the restoration. There was no difficulty in raising funds. Every bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church contributed, so did individuals from every State in the United States. The Methodist Episcopal Church South and other Methodist Churches claimed a share in the work, which they believed would be 'another endeavour to bring the Educational Institutions, Christian Churches, and National Governments into closer relations and good fellowship.' The soul of the enterprise was Bishop Hamilton, whose brother, after prolonged search, secured the antique linen-fold wainscot from the West of England, which is so greatly admired, and executed the beautiful copy of the famous Romney portrait of Wesley. The room is furnished with a fine mahogany writing-table, two Chippendale arm-chairs, a superb secretaire bookcase with latticed glazed doors, and, by a lucky discovery, a walnut bureau bookcase which is almost a twin to that of Charles Wesley at City Road. Over the door to the little bedroom is the inscription :

IOANNES WESLEY
SOC. 1736-1751
IN. HAC. CAMERA. HABITAVIT

Over the door of entry is another inscription,

HANC. CAMERAM. FIDEI. SUAE. INCUNABULA.
RENOVANDAM. ORNANDAMQUE. CURAVERE
AMERICANI.
A. S. MCMXXVIII.

The Record, from which we have drawn these particulars, gives Bishop Hamilton's address at the re-opening ceremony, which paid fitting tribute to the encouragement and support which Wesley received so freely from Lincoln College, and which enabled him to carry on his great crusade for the conversion of England. The Rector in accepting the gift of the American Methodists, said it would be a pride to himself and the Fellows, and to their successors, and would be held by them as a sacred, an international Trust.

Dr. Sharp expressed the thanks of all Methodists to the Rector and Fellows, and to Bishop Hamilton and those associated with him, in this notable achievement. He referred to the edition of *Wesley's Letters*, now being prepared. The man there presented, showed 'a striking and interesting blend of characteristics. You have the rugged strength and determination of the Puritan, mingled with the

Catholic spirit, which enabled him to see life steadily and sanely. You have a man with all the making of a saint, together with a view of life and religion which is essentially practical. These letters further reveal a man untiring in his quest for truth, and immovable in his fidelity to truth when it was revealed to him. The reading of Bishop Jeremy Taylor sent him forth on his quest for holiness. In this quest he never tired. In one of his letters, he says, "Leisure and I have taken leave of one another." His fidelity to truth, as he saw it, was remarkable. Opposition and persecution, instead of weakening, only stiffened his back. He never forgot what Dr. Haywood, who examined him for priest's orders, said, "Do you know what you are about? You are bidding defiance to all mankind. He who would live a Christian priest, ought to know that, whether his hand be against every man or no, he must expect every man's hand to be against him." Dr. Sharp closed his fine address with the words 'For the life and work of John Wesley—sometime Fellow of Lincoln College—we give hearty thanks to Almighty God.' 'The Rector, on behalf of the college, endorsed the last words of Dr. Sharp with an emphatic Amen.'

After this impressive ceremony in the Front Quadrangle, Mr. W. D. Hamilton unlocked the door, and a host of friends, from many parts saw the transformation which had been wrought. The rooms will now be visited more than ever, and those who enter the shrine will feel that it is steeped in memories of Wesley and the Holy Club which met there. John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield and William Morgan, what a debt the Church and the world owes to them, and to Lincoln College and Christ Church! Every Methodist ought to get this Record (8s. 6d.), and visit the rooms where God was shaping great workmen for world-wide service.

JOHN TELFORD.

THE TENTATIVE TERMINOLOGY OF THE EARLY CHURCH

THERE is a stage at the initiation of a new movement, when the only thing that definitely exists is the idea or the experience around which everything else is to gather. As yet, there is no organization; no form of government or administration; no charter of incorporation; no property, deeds, or trustees; no crystallization of ideas into fixed names and rules and formulae. These things are still in the future, and so far, they have done nothing to mould and fix and define and fetter the original and originating experience.

The Acts of the Apostles enables us to see the Christian Church at this interesting stage, and in process of emerging from it. In this record we can study the first attempts at organization, definition, and terminology which the early Christians made.

The movement was not absolutely new: it sprang from the midst of Judaism. It is only natural, therefore, to find that some things are taken over from Judaism, with only a minimum of change and

adaptation. But what was really new required a new form of expression. Accordingly, along with words and forms which we recognize as having existed previously, we find new creations.

A new word does not always survive; there is an infantile mortality even here. A new thing does not always continue to bear the name by which it was first described. Some other name may suggest itself before the first one becomes unalterably fixed, and, for a time, the two may be in competition with each other, the matter being settled at length by popular preference and usage. Perhaps the first name may drop out, and survive only in documents belonging to the earliest days. Its chief value and interest will then consist in the testimony it bears to the thought, the outlook, the aim of the original adherents of the movement.

There is evidence, e.g. in the Epistle of James (ii. 2) that a gathering of Christians was at one time called a 'synagogue,' but the word 'church' completely displaced this loan-word from Judaism at an early date.

Paul is described by Tertullus as 'a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes' (Acts xxiv. 5), and 'Nazarenes' we might have been to this very day, if the Antiochene coinage of 'Christians' (xi. 26) had not ousted the rival term.

'Apostle' might have survived as the description of the leading workers in the Church, for it was beginning to be applied to men outside the circle of the original twelve. Its present use, however, is confined to its Latin equivalent—'missionary.'

The most interesting examples of such changes in the fortunes of words are those which concern the meaning and the message of the movement. Here is something undeniably new, fermenting with active life, breaking out in novel experiences and demanding expression in untried ways. It includes ideas that elude definition, and defy the attempt to express them adequately in existing terms. How are the early followers of Jesus to describe the essential thing that they experience, and to the propagation of which they are determined to devote themselves?

An angel of the Lord, bringing the apostles out of prison, bids them 'stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words (*ῥήματα*) of this life' (v. 20). Now that is an unfamiliar expression. Indeed, it is unique in the New Testament. It is just such a relic as we have described. It represents the essential thing in the movement, seeking to find expression. A somewhat similar phrase is used by Paul in his synagogue address at Pisidian Antioch: 'Brethren . . . to us is the word (*ὁ λόγος*) of this salvation sent forth' (xiii. 26). And the soothsaying slave-girl at Philippi seems to have caught a similar phrase from the apostles' lips, when she cries out that they 'proclaim unto you a way of salvation' (xvi. 17). Life | salvation | these words describe the essential thing in the realm of experience. It is not without significance that in Aramaic the two represent one word. 'It is remarkable that in the Syriac versions the word *life* stands equally for *salvation*, and that *to be saved* is *to live*, and here Professor

Burkitt pertinently asks, "May we not believe that this is the genuine Aramaic usage, and that the Greek Gospels have in this instance introduced a distinction which was not made by Christ, and his Aramaic-speaking disciples?" (Jennings, *Lexicon to the Syriac New Testament*, p. 6). Surely we are here on the track of the earliest expression of what the new movement had to offer. Life! a quickening within, a liberation of vital forces, freeing men from that which cramps and limits human experience and defeats human effort. This is what the new enthusiasts proclaim and offer, attaching it directly to the power of the risen Christ, and to His gift on the day of Pentecost.

But this spiritual quickening, this new sense of vitality and deliverance and power, cannot healthily exist as a mere exuberant enthusiasm. It must become harnessed to the task of ordering the details of daily life; it must supply the impetus for a new and a higher type of character and conduct; it must show its power to sustain a new habit of service. In a word, it must be practical. The typical Christian experience will express itself in a new way of life, bearing a manifest relationship to the spirit which inspires it. The adherents of the Christian movement must be recognizable, not only, and not chiefly, by a sort of ebullient vitality, but still more by conformity to a certain ethical standard.

Now this stage of development is reflected in a word that meets us frequently in Acts, but never in the rest of the New Testament—a word which, undoubtedly, represents a genuine early tradition which Luke preserved. Christianity is described, again and again, as 'the Way.' The word occurs first in the ninth chapter (verse 2), where the object of Saul's mission to Damascus is to find 'any that were of the Way' (cf. xxii. 4: 'I persecuted this Way unto the death'). The next occurrence is in chapter xix., which deals with Paul's work at Ephesus. In verse 9, we read that some of the Jews opposed him, 'speaking evil of the Way before the multitude,' while verse 23 records that 'there arose no small stir concerning the Way.' Chapter xxiv. provides two further examples: Paul, in his defence before Felix, admits that he serves God 'after the Way which they call a sect' (verse 14); and Luke tells us (verse 22) that Felix had 'a pretty exact notion concerning the Way' (so Vernon Bartlet, *Cent. B.*, *in loc.*). In addition to these examples of the use of the word *simpliciter*, we have 'a Way of salvation' (xvi. 17, R.V. marg.—correctly), and 'the Way of the Lord—of God' (xviii. 25 f.)

This identification of the Christian movement with certain habits of life is a perfectly natural development, and one that we should expect. Parallels can be quoted from various directions. Dr. J. S. Banks pointed out, (in *D.C.G.*, s.v. 'Way') that 'in Taoism, the second indigenous religion of China, *Tao* means "Way"; *Tao-teh-king*—"Book of the way of virtue."' Religious teachers have often reduced the saintly life, or some of its practices, to a 'method' (e.g. Madame Guyon's *Method of Prayer*), and a 'method' (μεθόδός) literally 'a following after,' is just a regular and orderly 'Way.' One

of the earliest Christian documents outside the New Testament, the *Didache*, describes in detail the 'Two Ways,' of life and of death.

It is interesting to compare the use of this expression 'the Way' with a similar use of the word 'Persuasion,' as suggested by Vernon Bartlet's note on Acts ix. 2 (*Cent. B.*). When a man is described as being 'of this persuasion' or 'of that' he is identified as 'belonging or adhering to a certain creed or system of opinions' (*Lloyd's Encyclopaedic Dictionary*). One may ask whether it is not desirable for a religious movement to be regarded as a 'Way' rather than as a 'Persuasion'; whether its distinctive feature, as displayed in its adherents, should not be a higher standard of conduct rather than a more correct system of belief. At any rate, there is the fact that the Christian movement in the early days was referred to as a 'Way' and not as a 'Persuasion.'

Yet an intelligible and orderly presentation of the truths for which it stands is a necessary concomitant of any new movement. Both for the instruction of catechumens, and for the purposes of propaganda, the essentials of belief must be embodied in a 'reasoned account.' In Acts, we see the process beginning to take shape almost at once (e.g. Peter's sermon in chapter ii.), and the exigencies of the situation would lead to the speeding up of the process. This 'reasoned account' is what we understand by Luke's expression 'ὁ λόγος.' 'They therefore that were scattered abroad went about preaching the word' (viii. 4), but, nevertheless, 'speaking the word to none save only to Jews' (xi. 19); while Peter was speaking, 'the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word' (x. 44); the apostles spoke 'the word in Perga' (xiv. 25); but later they were 'forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia' (xvi. 6); the Bereans 'received the word with all readiness of mind' (xvii. 11); and in Corinth, 'Paul was constrained by the word' (xviii. 5). In all these cases, ὁ λόγος is used absolutely, in a way that suggests a half-technical expression—'the message,' 'the recognized statement of the Christian position and appeal.'

The Christian message is, of course, a *gospel*, and we might have expected this to be the term regularly used by Luke, especially as the verb εὐαγγελίζεσθαι is a favourite with him (Gospel, ten times; Acts, fifteen); but actually the noun εὐαγγέλιον occurs only twice in Acts (xv. 7 and xx. 24, on the lips of Peter and Paul respectively).

Gladly as we dwell upon the fact that it is our privilege 'to testify the *gospel* of the grace of God' (xx. 24), yet the word 'message' covers a wider range—covers the fact, e.g. that Christianity makes an ethical demand as well as an evangelical offer. The *logos*, also, presents a case for men's intellectual acceptance and satisfaction, meeting the needs of the mind as well as of the heart. It is, perhaps, significant that in the present day these original half-technical terms are coming into more general use, and that we meet with as many references to 'the Christian way of life' and 'the Christian message,' as to 'the Christian gospel.'

While, however, Luke's favourite description of the Christian

message is *ὁ λόγος*, and Mark's *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, in the Fourth Gospel the favourite expression is, *ἡ ἀλήθεια* 'the truth.' The only reason for mentioning the word here (since it is scarcely a part of the tentative terminology of the early Church) is that it enables us to bring together the three aspects of the Christian movement at which we have glanced, combining them in the great statement of John xiv. 6: 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.' That new experience that broke upon the world 1900 years ago, the story of whose beginnings we have in Acts, meant life: a quickening and a stirring and a release and a striving. It was a Way: a plan to order human conduct according to an ethical standard hitherto unattained. And it was Truth; it embodied its teaching and its gospel in a message that conformed with the deepest spiritual realities. *Vita, Via, Veritas*—they are all summed up in Jesus. The whole movement, developing and expanding still, after nineteen centuries of growth, finds its secret and its meaning, its foundation and its prospects, in Him; He is the source of the life; He is the standard of the ethic; He is the revealer of the truth. He is the all in all; the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

E. G. LOOSLEY.

THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE METHODIST REVIVAL

WHATEVER may be said of some forms of Methodism in its subsequent development, it can certainly not be maintained that Wesley himself advocated a 'religion of emotion.' He had a natural distrust of 'enthusiasm,' and it was only his high sense of the urgency of his message which led him to risk attaching to himself people whose zeal was much less well controlled and directed than his own. In following the line of his strong conviction he necessarily found a lonely way. Often he was one against a crowd, whether a mob opposing his person, or, in general, the cautious intellectual and ecclesiastical opinion of his time. This was of the nature of his mission, but he did not cultivate eccentricity. He could tell his people not to be 'damned for company,' yet his first concern was for their sincere conviction, on which would depend their steadfastness and usefulness if they should be called on to stand alone.

He begins Sermon XX. with a warning on this very subject. His reading of the gospel shows him that Jesus was not a teacher of novelties, neither was He the exponent of an easy, unexact form of religion. Rather He taught a doctrine which required a high order of spiritual and intellectual discernment to grasp its relation to the old traditional law; and this was only the beginning, for, so far from being an easy religion, it remained unrealized except in so far as it was embodied in the normal conduct of life. Christianity, for Wesley, is eminently practical.

But a man cannot give consistent practical expression to his religion merely on the strength of an emotion. A good deal of Sermon XX. is, therefore, directed against the Antinomians, who held that

they need no longer be bound by any law whatever, not even by the moral law. But life must be regulated, and the moral law is that which should regulate it to the highest usefulness. It was this kind of irresponsible fanaticism which was so damaging to Wesley's work. Out of it his enemies made capital, but it was entirely alien to his own temper. He had no place for those 'mystics' who, finding that the written Word demanded too much of them, professed to have received a direct communication from the Divine Spirit. A private 'revelation' which was demonstrably at variance with the declared will of God, made for all time common property, was to be denounced at sight. Law and gospel are to Wesley mutually inherent when read with the aid of the Holy Spirit of God. As he says in Sermon XX. ii. 2, 'The very same words, considered in different aspects, are parts both of the law and of the gospel; if they are considered as commandments, they are parts of the law; if as promises, of the gospel.' But in no case is a man relieved of obligation.

Salvation is by faith alone, but, says Wesley, 'we esteem no faith but that which worketh by love.' Consequently he urges the definite application to the duties of life of those qualities of the Spirit which we have learned to value and approve by faith. He will avoid, on the one hand, an aimless and formless mysticism, and, on the other, an unspiritual formalism. The latter was the especial failing of the Pharisee, and we are taught to make our righteousness exceed that of the Pharisee. The Spirit actively indwelling will not be hindered by traditional limitations, confined to specific acts and courses. Sympathy or discretion may at the moment point to a larger activity or a temporary forbearance.

But Wesley is also concerned for the danger at the other extreme. If it is our duty to exceed the Pharisee's righteousness, it is plainly our equal duty first to achieve it, or its equivalent. So far as he goes, the Pharisee is indeed righteous, and a Christian ought not to be less scrupulous in fulfilling his obligations. 'Works' are the due and necessary outcomes of 'faith.' Wesley will not encourage his followers to pretend to a superior sanctity while neglecting their primary duties. Works of supererogation must be a natural development from a well built substructure.

In Sermon XXIII. he returns to the question of the bearing of the Christian's religious experience upon his secular conduct (so far as he would be inclined to admit the word 'secular'). Men's business affairs, he says, must be submitted to the definite teaching of Christ on this subject. The precept 'Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth' is categorical. Wesley allows that men must provide the necessities of life for themselves and for their dependants, and that we are entitled also 'to lay up, from time to time, what is needful for the carrying on of our worldly business.' Beyond that, he declares, we have no right to pursue wealth.

This is, of course, a point keenly at issue between our Lord and unbelievers. Not that He Himself stressed it heavily, but men have rightly recognized the revolutionary character of His teaching, even

when He scarcely more than mentions the subject. Acceptance of His message deepens a man's sense of responsibility, and he has to face the question of his relation to his possessions. It may fairly be said that, in a state of emotional excitement, men have read into His teaching more than was due. Wesley agrees that there is no universal injunction to 'sell all and give to the poor.' He himself, as holder of a college Fellowship, knew the value of a moderate regular source of income for which he did not indeed labour continually; being a responsible and serious man, he used it wisely and to the great advantage of others, but it was, in a sense, his capital for the extension of his enterprise, much as though he had been in commerce. Just as it is in the great majority of cases far nobler to go on bearing the responsibility of living than to seek a martyr's or any other kind of death, even though 'to be with Christ' may be 'very far better,' so it is, for the greater part of men, far nobler to continue carrying the burden of whatever possessions they have, with the moral responsibility entailed, than to find escape by abdication of their ownership. We may escape in a moment's uplift (or error); to go on with the steady execution of duty needs a lifetime of constantly renewed consecration and watchful courage. It is this which Wesley practised, and preached—later. In this sermon he does actually say that it would be better for a man to throw his riches into the sea than to lose his soul for them. But this he qualified afterwards. Nevertheless, that is precisely the point. The man of weak will, and swayed by emotion, would quite possibly sink his wealth in the sea. If, however, it was *only* the act of an emotional moment, he has not yet ensured that his soul is safe; all still depends on how he conducts himself for the rest of his life, just as it would have done had he kept his gold. There may be isolated cases where so to cut the knot is the only right thing to do; but the matter is so difficult that it must be decided coolly and deliberately, with a full sense of what is involved, and certainly not in some ecstatic momentary exaltation.

Wesley says that a man's conduct is according to 'the singleness of his eye,' which he takes to mean 'purity of intention,' which is thus the 'light of the soul,' as the eye is the light of the body. This light, he says, is shown as knowledge, holiness, and happiness. Now, all of these have been unfortunately misrepresented in different ways. Methodism has had its own varieties of gnostics, mystics, and Antinomians, offering travesties of these three great Christian experiences. But their error and failure have uniformly been the result of their not associating the ideal and the practical, the spiritual and the material, as Wesley himself did pre-eminently.

In summary, then, Methodism is misjudged if it is regarded as a religion of emotion. Its founder was a man of most sane and balanced judgement. Its genius is of calculation and discretion, not of precipitancy. It is laid open to the charge because, like the earliest Christianity—i.e. the personal preaching of Jesus—it is a revolt against mere formalism, and in emphasizing the spiritual it has had to run the risk of being misunderstood as to the nature of

the spiritual. But, though the need of the Church, Jewish or Christian, has always been for spiritual power, and ever more power, it was never intended that this powerful spiritual influence should be misdirected, unconfined. The aim has always been to provide in men and in institutions the most suitable agency by which the Spirit can work. The agency will be built up by foresight and careful counting of the cost, as well as by zeal, and Methodism has been true to its purpose, and has been successful, in so far as it has effected a working combination of these two. The first aim, from the days of Wesley onwards, has been to gain a clear vision of what must be done to work the will of God (he puts it differently, but it is the same); here we pass through the lowly gate of penitence, and accept our commission with diffident gratitude, for it is ever the Lord who worketh in us of His grace and for His pleasure. The second is to provide, by personal and corporate consecration, the best possible means for making the vision effective.

L. H. BUNN.

JESUS THE REFORMER

THAT is the title of the twenty-ninth Hartley Lecture delivered by the Rev. Edward McLellan and issued by the Holborn Publishing House. (5s.). It opens with dreams of the Golden Age when the children of the great Father shall live in love, caring for each other, and spreading peace throughout the earth. Man has in him the material for such a destiny and Jesus is powerful enough to help him to realize it. The lecturer shows that none of the other great religions goes deep enough or far enough to lead man to these heights. The gods of Greece and the moralists of Rome were not equal to the task. Jesus was the Reformer. His influence is traced through the ages with many pleasing sketches of standard bearers like Colet, Erasmus, and More. The last chapter describes the revolutionary change in country and town, the Methodist preparation for the new economic policy, and the contribution made by preachers, poets, and prophets to the chivalry of which Jesus is the inspiration and the hope. Mr. McLellan has a great subject which he handles with knowledge and insight. His lecture is both pleasant reading and thought-provoking.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Primitive Church. By B. H. Streeter. (Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d.)

CANON STREETER delivered these Hewett Lectures in Union Theological Seminary, New York, and the Theological School at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Thirty years ago he found Church history so dull that he dropped the subject, and offered textual criticism for his examination. He discovered afterwards that the dullness was due to the fact that it was not really history. His later studies have led him to detect 'a far greater diversity and variegation in primitive Christianity than is commonly recognized.' He saw, also, that primitive Church order was 'the most convenient skeleton, so to speak, round which to form the living body of early Church history.' As he surveyed the Christian literature of the first hundred years he reached two conclusions: that an evolution in Church order can be traced in the New Testament, comparable to the development in theological reflection detected by the scholarship of the last century; and that 'the most natural interpretation of the other evidence is that, at the end of the first century A.D., there existed, in different provinces of the Roman Empire, different systems of Church government. Among these the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and the Independent can each discover the prototype of the system to which he himself adheres.' Legend gives a vivacious account of the twelve apostles; history is strangely silent. Leucius (A.D. 150-70) produced, in his *Acts of John*, a novel with a Gnostic or semi-Gnostic interpretation of Christianity. Other *Acts* followed rapidly, and it is hardly realized to what extent the statements made by Fathers of the third and fourth centuries, and even our primary historian Eusebius, are dependent upon the earlier examples of this type of romance. The *Acts of Peter* is probably the ultimate source of the story, repeated later by Origen, that Peter, at his own request, was crucified head-downwards. Like the *Acts of John* it contains the glorious legend commemorated by the Church Domine Quo Vadis on the Appian Way outside the walls of Rome. Hippolytus writes: 'If we believe that, when Paul was condemned to the beasts, the lion that was set upon him laid down at his feet and licked him, how shall we not believe that which happened in the case of Daniel?'

Our debt to Eusebius, as the first to write the history of the Church during the preceding 250 years, cannot be overestimated. Canon Streeter thinks Eusebius was the first historian to quote original authorities consistently and on a large scale. He set an example which others followed. The fact that the early history of Christianity

is far less obscure than that of the other great religions is largely due to the initiative, learning, and historical gifts of Eusebius. Jerusalem was the Church of James, conservatively Jewish; Caesarea was the earliest centre of a liberal Gentile Christianity; Antioch, before A.D. 70, was what Rome became later, the capital of Gentile Christianity. Rome was international. The world's politics, administration, and commerce centred there. When Jerusalem was destroyed, it was inevitable that it should succeed to the vacant primacy of the Church. The evolution in Church organization which we can trace in the New Testament culminates in writings ascribed to St. John. The Elder John must be placed in the front of the 'Apostolic Fathers.' Dr. Streeter hazards the guess that 1 Peter was written by Aristion of Smyrna, and that such an identification would help to bridge the gulf between the more or less presbyterian organization of the Pauline Churches in Asia and the monarchical episcopate which we find established there in the time of Ignatius and Polycarp. If about A.D. 96, in Ephesus and Smyrna (the two largest cities of Asia, and intellectually the most alive), the presence of two such men as John and Aristion, and their successful administration, would lead neighbouring Churches to imitate what was, to all intents and purposes, episcopal government. The suggestion is interesting, but is scarcely probable. The chapter on the Church in Syria shows that the gulf between the Didache and the letters of Ignatius as to Church order was nothing like so wide as at first appears. The Gospel of Mark came from Rome, and was sent back from Syria 'vastly enriched, and with the apostolic name of "Matthew"—and that enrichment includes the words which give the keys to Peter.' There are solid reasons for connecting the Epistle of Barnabas with Alexandria, and Dr. Streeter thinks that Deutero-Clement is also of Alexandrian origin. The evidence they furnish as to Church order is scanty, but it is of an unusual character as to the office of reader. There seems to have been at Alexandria a president of the board of presbyters, and, when episcopacy arose, the bishop was elected by the twelve presbyters of the city churches, and by them consecrated to his office. Demetrius appointed bishops in other Egyptian cities, and thus became a patriarch. The primitive Church was favourable to experiment and our advance will gain much by recapturing its spirit.

Ourselves and Reality. By Ernest G. Braham, M.A.
(Epworth Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Braham has already established, by his earlier writings, a reputation as a philosophical student which is fully sustained by this large volume. It consists of three parts. The first deals with idealism in England and America as set forth in the writings of T. H. Green, F. H. Bradley, Bernard Bosanquet, Josiah Royce, and J. E. McTaggart. The second part gives an account of the reaction from idealism. This is necessarily treated in several aspects, and deals

with the teaching of Lotze and Martineau, of Schleiermacher and Ritschl, the pluralism of William James and James Ward, the neo-realism of Bertrand Russell and Professor Alexander, and the scientific standpoint of Mr. A. N. Whitehead. The third part is constructive, and presents Mr. Braham's theory of personality, with the inevitable connexions which arise with the doctrines of God and immortality. Obviously it is impossible, in a short notice, to give any adequate criticism of a book with such a wide scope. We must content ourselves with saying that there is evidence throughout of a thorough study of the writers whose teaching is reviewed, and of Mr. Braham's very real powers of philosophical insight and exposition. The style is refreshingly clear and readable. We congratulate Mr. Braham on a considerable and competent piece of work, and heartily commend the volume.

Popular Preaching. By Dinsdale T. Young, D.D. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.)

The Fernley Lecture for 1929 will have a host of eager readers. Dr. Young has chosen a subject on which he has earned the right to be heard, and he takes us all into his confidence and shares his experience, not only with ministers, but with congregations also. He describes popular preaching as that which is acceptable to the people, a royal ordinance, the chief instrumentality for the salvation of the world. 'Thrilled with the light and heat of the Holy Spirit, and used only for the glory of God in Christ, and bent only to one issue, it becomes the mightiest force in the universe.' Dr. Young pleads with his younger brethren to give themselves with ever-renewed ardour to this soul-saving work, and longs that a zeal for such popular preaching may be engendered among preachers and people. It must be perpetually biblical; essentially evangelical; always evangelistic; uniformly experimental; rich in tenderness. Each of these features is impressively enforced. Then we study our Lord as the eternal type of popular preaching in its persistent summons to faith as the sole condition of salvation. Its perennial effectiveness is shown in its converting and edifying power. Dr. Young pleads for no one type. He delights in the historic and present-day variety of the popular pulpit. Its perversions are not overlooked. Heterodoxy, irreverence, sensationalism are excluded. A noble-toned pulpit will achieve a solid and enduring popularity. Scenery is an important adjunct. 'Beautiful buildings ought to conduce to beautiful services.' The preacher's reverence may be a means of grace to the congregation; nor can he be careless about his appearance. The reading of the Scriptures is a vital matter, and the delivery of the Sermon is of tremendous importance. Dr. Young is persuaded that the less manuscript a preacher carries with him into the pulpit the better. 'In the average instance, it is a hindrance to the highest pulpit effect.' Wesley is held up as a popular preacher and Dr. Rigg's powerful championship of him in this respect is gratefully recognized.

He was a man of eminent intellect, yet he swayed the poor as not even Whitefield did. 'His sermons were expositions and applications of Scripture. And from youth to old age his sermons were welcomed and drunk in by the common people, and turned to their salvation.' Dr. Young does not forget to pay grateful and appreciative tribute to ministers and local preachers who have rendered right popular service, and his lecture will inspire many to give themselves with new ardour to a work that has such glorious possibilities and opportunities.

The Holy Spirit, from Arminius to Wesley. By H. Watkin-Jones, M.A., D.D. (Sharp. 12s. net.)

This dissertation, approved for the degree of Doctor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, carries the author's admirable researches into the history of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit a stage beyond that reached in his earlier volume, on *The Holy Spirit in the Mediæval Church*. The material in the period selected, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though less abundant, is probably less known than that available in the earlier period. The literature involved is often heavy reading, and the controversial discussions tedious and intricate; yet the author has made this book interesting and readable right through. Theological readers will be grateful to Dr. Watkin-Jones for the careful, brief—perhaps too brief—summaries of the results of his inquiries, which he presents in the form of an 'Historical Introduction' to his analyses of the contents of the theological and philosophical works of the period, which constitute the substance of his book. The results gained are also frequently thrown into bolder relief by suggestive contrasts that modern psychological and general scientific findings have contributed to the interpretation of the doctrine of the Spirit. These judgements upon the contents of the spiritual consciousness, though not strictly within the scope of the author's inquiry, are germane to the method of treatment he has chosen for his special subject. This method is more experimental than philosophical, dealing with the work rather than with the essential nature of the Holy Spirit. This preference, and the advantage of it for most readers, will be seen when the inevitable association of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit with the theological and philosophical problems involved in the doctrine of the Trinity are under consideration. For this reason, and also because our doctrine of the Holy Spirit must always be primarily based upon our experience of His work within us through His redemptive ministries of grace, we think the author would have been truer to both the empirical and logical order if his chapters on the 'Work of the Spirit' had preceded those in which he considers 'The Godhead of the Spirit' and 'His Place in the Absolute Trinity' and in 'The Trinity of Redemption.' It is always an interesting question how far the historian may allow subjective considerations or standardized judgements, accepted in his own time, to influence his estimate of the purely historical data with which he deals. In reading

Dr. Watkin-Jones's valuable review of the thought of the period selected, it has frequently occurred to us whether the scholarly value of his most useful contribution to the history of Christian doctrine would not have been enhanced if there had been a less obvious desire to guard and justify orthodox opinions on the difficult and abstract problems on which the Church has slowly, and not without hesitation, defined her teaching. Probably the fact that the writings of Wesley form the *terminus ad quem* of Dr. Watkin-Jones's present inquiry may justify the considerable place allotted to the views of Methodist writers as authorities for reference. Methodist readers will, however, appreciate this, and share in the expression of the hope that Dr. Watkin-Jones may, before long, complete the important research work he has undertaken, to the great advantage of Christian thinkers and teachers of all schools of thought, by preparing a constructive historical review of the literature dealing with the relation of the Christian doctrine of the Spirit to the remarkable and fascinating movements of thought in the nineteenth and the present centuries. This would be indeed a worthy crown to an enterprise wisely begun and ably carried forward.

The Stability of the Spiritual, and other Sermons. By William L. Watkinson, D.D. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.)

This is an unexpected and very precious legacy from a master whose extraordinary powers are acknowledged by all Churches. The sermons were written in the last months of Dr. Watkinson's life; three of them in the last weeks. They deal with the vital themes of religion, and are as pointed and as rich in insight as any that Dr. Watkinson ever produced. His illustrations have the well-known wizardry. That of the orchids, at the close of the first sermon, is arresting, and Doughty's *Wanderings in Arabia*, and other books, are used to bring out 'the finality of Christianity.' The great preacher was gathering treasures to the last from far and wide. The Rev. Beasley Austin's Appreciation is worthy of himself and his friend. The exquisite urbanity and not less exquisite modesty of Dr. Watkinson are emphasized, as well as his gift of appreciation. To him, beautiful words were full of music. 'He had the eyes of a hawk for pretence, affectation, insincerity, unreality, seeming,' yet he never failed to discern high purpose, even when the achievement was poor enough. A word of praise from him kindled a new ardour for high and holy things. His last days were a fitting crown to a consecrated life. It seemed 'as though the glory of the infinite God smote him full in the face, and that his transfiguration had already begun.' Such an appreciation adds to the value of this noble climax to a noble ministry.

Samaria in Ahab's Time. By J. W. Jack, M.A. (T. and T. Clark. 8s.)

The Harvard excavations at Samaria give fresh knowledge of Israel in Ahab's reign, and furnish a new picture of the royal and civil

administration. Mr. Jack puts this at the service of Bible students giving plans and illustrations which enable them to follow the successive periods of occupation. Before work was begun by the Harvard experts, the only vestiges of antiquity visible were some of the towers and columns of the Herodian period. The excavator had to disentangle the various strata, from the Arabic and Roman on the top, through the Seleucid and Babylonian, down to the lowest or Israelite, at the bottom. Ahab seems to have developed Israelite civilization, as the strong walls, palaces, and private houses built with hewn stone, now revealed, bear witness. The Samaria of Ahab's time had its perfect organization, its riches, and its power. The ostraka from Samaria are the earliest specimens we possess of Hebrew writing (if the Gezer agricultural tablet is excepted), and to these an important chapter is given. The survey of the religious situation brings out the commanding position of Elijah. 'That he was a genuine historic character cannot be questioned, although his actions have doubtless received some poetic and legendary embellishment in the prophetic schools.' He was 'an outstanding landmark in the history of Israel, the greatest since the era of Moses.' The vital issue was whether Israel should serve the Tyrian Baal or Jehovah and Elijah would have been lacking in faithfulness and moral courage if he had not risen to the occasion. The life and death conflict between the worship of Baal and Jehovah continued during the whole period of the monarchy. The foundations of the old life began to break up. 'Wealth began to accumulate in a few hands, to the corresponding impoverishment of the others, while constant exportation raised the price of the necessities of life. The mass of the people were loaded with debt, and were taken advantage of on all hands. Every kind of vice flourished luxuriantly.' The degeneration went on till, in 722 B.C., Sargon conquered the kingdom.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Amos.

By Richard S. Cripps, M.A., B.D. (S.P.C.K. 15s.)

Professor Kennett says in his Foreword that the Prophetic Books 'are now commonly recognized as of primary importance for the right understanding of that development of religion in Israel which culminated in the New Testament.' Amos is of peculiar interest in this connexion, as one of the earliest, and perhaps the most important, of the prophets. Mr. Cripps bases his commentary on the Revised Version, and indicates in his notes where it is necessary to depart from the Hebrew Massoretic text which lay behind that version, and to give a new rendering of various passages. His Introduction, with its summary of Israelite history, its bibliography and chronological table, is of great value for students. The preparation of Amos and his teaching, the literary problems connected with the book, are carefully discussed, and his influence on other prophets is well brought out. The teaching of Hosea had points of contact with that of Amos; a good deal of his distinctive message was known to Isaiah; the

genius of Jeremiah and Zephaniah owed much to him; Ezekiel must have been influenced by him, and the visions of Zechariah show a general resemblance to those in Amos. The Notes are full and comprehensive, and Additional Notes are given which may be used with the main commentary or independently of it. There are also important excursions on the Divine Names in the book; Jehovah's Relation to Israel; and Animal Sacrifice. It is a commentary which students will find invaluable.

The Dawn beyond the Sunset, by Norman T. McDonald (Epworth Press, 6s.), has a Foreword by Dr. Borcham, who says that for several years his son-in-law has devoted all his thought to this sublime theme of man's immortality. The volume has two parts. We enter 'The Valley of the Shadow,' we catch 'The Light which Shines beyond.' The Bible depicts death 'as a sleep from which one awakes refreshed; as an exodus from a state of bondage to one of liberty; and as a departure to a better world.' The universal testimony of mankind is clearly brought out; and it is shown that the contribution of Christ caused a complete revolution in the traditional ideas of life and death. Science in recent years has given 'such abundant evidence of the greatness of man's mind as to make it almost unthinkable that the Creator will ever allow him to perish, like a worthless thing, amid the dispersed particles of his body.' In his second part, Mr. McDonald seeks to throw light on the future life as pre-eminently social. 'It is a home, a city, a kingdom, in which love reigns supreme, and each labours unselfishly for the mutual good of all, and all for each. Every chapter is enriched by testimonies from saints and poets, and the book leaves us with faith in immortality more deeply rooted. It is an inspiring, comforting study of a subject that lies at the root of Christian hope and enterprise.

The Epworth Press issues a set of volumes which many will welcome. In *A Psalm that has made Heroes* (2s.), the Rev. A. J. Farnsworth traces the influence of the Forty-sixth Psalm since it took its place in the great Book of Praise. It stamped itself on Jewish history; it was the battle-cry of Ivan the Terrible in his expedition against the Tartar hordes; Luther was nerved by it for the Diet of Worms; Wesley died to its music. It is a means of grace to see what this Psalm has done to build up heroic lives, and Mr. Farnsworth tells the story with so much feeling and sympathy that he inspires us with some of the spirit of the psalmist and sets us marching to its music. *The Glory of Going On* (8s.) is another volume of sermons by R. Moffat Gautrey. There is a fine ring about them. They are manly appeals to manliness; full of Christ as Saviour, Master, King. There is no room for laggards amid opportunities for service and possibilities of conquest such as the world has never seen before. The young men of to-day were born into the world to attempt great tasks, to commit themselves to a glorious crusade. Mr. Gautrey will not let them forget it or fail to rise to it. *The Parable of the Potter* (8s.) is a set of eight sermons by Horace Colley. Jeremiah's parable

is made to show what human nature can become when God moulds it. Zechariah's man with the measuring line is a stirring call to the young. Disregarding the Consequences, based on 'But if not' (Dan. iii. 18) claims that religion must be put first and must colour all our interests and enterprises. Each sermon has its message brought out with emphasis and power. *The Only Way*, by H. Mortimer Sinfeld (1s. 6d.), was born amid a tragic bereavement which leads to much heart-searching. The shock is almost too much for the girl of twenty, who feels that the joy has gone out of life, but as she talks with her friend about God and suffering, about Jesus, and Jesus as the living Friend, the light is kindled afresh and the girl's feet are on the Only Way. It is a little book which those who find life hard and mysterious will take to their hearts. It will strengthen faith and hope in all who turn its pages.

The Way of Victory. By W. L. Potest. (Milford. 7s.) These three lectures were given in the Methodist Church of Chapel Hill, under the auspices of the School of Religion prepared for the benefit of students of the University of North Carolina. The root idea is that our Lord's Via Dolorosa has become the Via Victoriosa. The search for a moral dynamic shuts us up to Him whose voice spreads like light over the whole round world: 'I am the real and living way; no man comes to the Father except by means of Me.' The social aim of Jesus concerns individuals and communities. Men 'must first experience that radical transformation best described as a new birth.' Then they must be infected with the ideal of Jesus, and committed to His purpose of redeeming the total life of man. 'Apart from this inward renewal of the units of society, there can be no reconstruction of the social order after the mind of Christ.' His object was to set up 'the universal reign of God in the earthly life of man—a New Republic of Man, not racial, but human, not Syrian, but world-wide, self-governing, with the law of God written in the hearts of men.' How this applies to business, government, and diplomacy is brought out impressively in the closing lecture. It is a golden book, full of strong sense, and fired by trust in Christ as the one hope of the world.

Biblical Doctrines. By Benjamin B. Warfield. (Oxford University Press. 18s.) Dr. Warfield was regarded, at the time of his death in 1921, as the leading Calvinistic theologian of the English speaking world. He provided in his will for the publication of his theological articles, and the committee entrusted with the work is issuing ten volumes, of which this is the second. It contains seventeen articles: on Predestination, The Foresight of Jesus, The Spirit of God in the Old Testament, The Person of Christ, The Christ that Paul Preached, The Prophecies of St. Paul, The Millennium and the Apocalypse, and other cardinal subjects. Every theme is handled with skill and knowledge; and, though other theologians will find much that they may question, their own thought will become more clear as they

study the views of this honoured American professor. In the chapter on Predestination we find a notable sentence: 'As the broader lines of God's gracious dealings with the world lying in its iniquity are more and more fully drawn for us, we are enabled ultimately to perceive that the Father of spirits has not distributed His elective grace with niggard hand, but from the beginning has had in view the restoration to Himself of the whole world.' He has 'ever been conducting the world in His loving wisdom and His wise love to its destined goal of salvation—now and again, indeed, shutting up this or that element of it unto disobedience, but never merely in order that it might fall, but that, in the end, He might have mercy upon all.'

The Christian Task in India. By Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. John McKenzie, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.) The most important Christian activities which are being carried on in India are here described in an interesting and practical way by men and women who are engaged in them. The task, as Mr. Datta sees it, is to create a Church 'whose agents will be a spiritual order of men and women, without distinction of race, who will give to India, through their lives and teaching the inexhaustible riches of Christ.' The educated Hindu greatly reverences Christ, and accepts the main principles of His teaching, but is quite content to remain a Hindu, and feels no difficulty in interpreting Hinduism in a way that is in no conflict with Christian teaching. We must make it clear that our campaign is against evil, not against other religions. Ninety per cent. of the population live in villages, a third of them in hamlets with less than 500 people. Ninety-three per cent. of the four and a half million Indian Christians are rural. The women of India offer a great field for wise social and religious effort. The large part played by fear among villagers makes its casting out a great part of the Christian message. Education of the illiterate, and higher education; the aim and opportunity of Christian literature, the ministry of healing, and many other vital problems, are wisely handled; and 'Towards Unity,' by the Bishop of Bombay, is confident that the movement has a great future.

Christian Discipleship, by H. Maldwyn Hughes, M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press, 1s.), is the ripe thinking of a Christian scholar on questions that concern us all. Christian discipleship begins in personal devotion to Jesus Christ; it expresses itself in imitation of Him; the character is framed on the model of the Beatitudes; it is ruled by love; it is inspired by prayer; it replenishes its spiritual energies by daily fellowship with Jesus Christ. All this, put in the clearest and most attractive way, is found in this golden book.—*The Study Bible: St. John; Acts.* (Cassell & Co. 8s. 6d.) Mr. Stirling has been fortunate in securing Principal Cairns and Professor Robertson for his volume on St. John, and Principal Cave and Professor W. F. Howard for that on the Acts of the Apostles. They deal with the

message of the books, and the critical points involved, in a lucid and helpful way, whilst the editor gathers notes and comments of richly varied interest from many quarters. The volumes will open the eyes of many readers to the beauty of the Fourth Gospel and the story of the founding of the Church, and will really promote Bible study.—*Senior Method in the Church School*. By Mary Anne Moore. (Abingdon Press. \$1.50.) The most recent developments in the religious education of elder boys and girls are here set out in a practical way by an experienced teacher. The characteristics of adolescence, the growth of body and mind in boys and girls, questions of sex, and methods of training are all discussed, and problems are set at the end of each chapter to test the student's grasp of the subject. It is a handbook which teachers will prize highly, and they will learn much from it.—*Pray*. By C. E. Locke. (Abingdon Press. \$1.) This little manual on prayer deals with many sides of the subject in a really helpful way. It illustrates its points by striking instances of the power of prayer, and Bishop Hughes has prefaced its chapters with short prayers by ministers and laymen which greatly enrich a very useful Manual.—*Youth and the Church*, (Dublin: Hely) is the report of addresses and discussion at the Youth Conference in Dublin. Studdert-Kennedy's vivid and inspiring words on 'The Influence of Modern Thought on Christianity' made a profound impression, and his answers to questions are of great interest. The little volume is full of wise suggestions for work among the young.

The Psalms. Book II. A Revised Translation. By F. H. Wales, B.D. (H. Milford. 1s.) Psalms xlii. to lxxii. are here rendered in a way that brings out their metrical structure and adds much to their meaning. The translation is often arresting, but it does not jar on the ear of those who love the Authorized Version, and new beauties shine out as we examine it carefully. It is a piece of scholarly work, for which many will be grateful.

Seekers and Saints. By W. J. Ferrar (S.P.C.K. 6s.) Three of these 'Studies of Religious Experience' have appeared in the *London Quarterly*, others in the *Church Quarterly*, the *Contemporary*, and the *Nineteenth Century*. They form a very catholic selection, ranging from Cleanthes the Stoic, and the Egyptian hermits, down to George Fox the Quaker and 'A. E.'—George William Russell. The studies are well informed and discriminating, and have a literary charm which makes them very attractive. They were not written as connected portraits, but they form a gallery of great personalities of East and West, of Christian and pagan times, and bring out the underlying spirituality of men who, amid varied conditions and far-separated ages, were true seekers after God.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

Lord Chief Baron Pollock. A Memoir by his grandson, Lord Hanworth, P.C., K.B.E. (John Murray. 10s. 6d.)

THE Master of the Rolls prepared this account for the benefit of his grandson, and many will be thankful that he has now given it to the public. The Chief Baron's father was born at Berwick-on-Tweed and settled in London, where he became saddler to George III and his sons. As a boy, his father had lifted him on his shoulder to see a gentleman, in Highland dress, walking on the bridge at Kelso. It was the Young Pretender, and Sir Edward Pollock, now living, can say that his grandfather saw Prince Charlie in 1745—that is, 184 years ago. The London saddler married Sarah Parsons, whose half-brothers were educated at one of the universities. Her family disowned her for marrying beneath her. But she had ample compensation in the ability of her sons. Frederick, the future Chief Baron, encouraged by his mother, was scarcely ever without a book in his hand. The boy had some serious difference with his head master, and refused to go to school any longer. Dr. Roberts, who was a friend, called and remonstrated; but, when he found that neither the boy nor his parents would alter their decision, he said angrily, 'That boy will live to be hanged.' Later on, when Frederick became Senior Wrangler, he came to congratulate the family, adding, 'I always said that boy would fill an elevated situation.' The mother thought of his earlier prophecy.

He was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, and took a first-class in the college examination at the end of his first year. It was generally understood that he was first in the first class. That made him feel his power and resolve to work day and night. His father's income became so small that he could no longer afford to keep him at Cambridge. His tutor, Mr. Tavel, generously offered to meet the college expenses till Pollock could repay him by taking pupils. He had taken so pains to prepare for his first year's examination, but had discovered his great rapidity and perfect accuracy, and said to himself, 'If you're not an ass, you'll be Senior Wrangler.' He took to 'reading' accordingly. When the list came out he could not find his name. He looked down till he came to the name of another student. 'My pride took fire, and I said, "I must have beaten *that man*, so I will look up again"; and, on looking up carefully, I found the nail had been passed through my name, and I was at the top, bracketed *alone*.' That made him independent, and gave him an immense college reputation. It was said that he was more than half the examination above any one else. When one of the examiners congratulated him, Pollock said that he might, perhaps, be challenged. The examiner replied: 'Well, if you are, you're quite safe—you may sit down and do nothing, and no one could get up to you in a whole

day.' He had fallen in love with the conic and its sections, and had discovered an error in Newton's *Principia* which had escaped all other readers. He never acquired the differential calculus, but at any moment could produce with perfect accuracy what he did know. He could repeat the first book of Euclid word by word and letter by letter. He was First Smith's Prizeman, and was next year elected a Fellow of Trinity.

That enabled him to go to the Bar in 1807. He joined the Northern Circuit, and gradually won a large practice. In 1815 he expects to make about £1,400, 'which is scarcely more than I shall spend.' He took silk in 1827 and that is about the time when Samuel Warren describes him as Mr. Sterling in *Ten Thousand a Year*: 'He was a man of great power; and, on important occasions, no man at the Bar could acquit himself with more distinction. As a speaker, he was eloquent and impressive, perhaps deficient in vitality; but he was a man of clear and powerful intellect; prompt in seizing the bearings of a case; a capital lawyer, and possessing, even on the most trying occasions, imperturbable self-possession.' His chief rival was Brougham, and he acquired great glory by getting ahead of him on the Northern Circuit in 1827. The two men always remained on good terms, though their politics and their natures were antagonistic.

He was offered a puisne judgeship in 1830, but declined it. In 1834 he became Attorney-General in the Government of Sir Robert Peel, and made a great advance in his political reputation and influence. He was elected member for Huntingdon with Peel's brother Jonathan, who was afterwards Major-General and Secretary for War. On the announcement of a General Election some one had to post down to Huntingdon to secure all the public houses in the Tory interest, whence flowed unlimited beer. That duty once fell to Pollock. Those were the days of bribery. Lord Campbell says that in Stamford £7 was paid for a single vote, £14 for a plumper, to be paid about a twelvemonth after the election. That meant between £8,000 and £4,000, and the expenses during the election were not much less.

Pollock was Attorney-General a second time in 1841, and continued its heavy work and his large private practice till 1844, when he became Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He had married Miss Rivers in 1818. She died in 1827, leaving six sons and five daughters. In 1834 he married Miss Langslow, who had two sons and eight daughters who grew up, and three children who died in infancy. He was father to a patriarchal family of twenty-four, and had affection enough for them all. Lord Hanworth gives many pleasant incidents of the family and social life. Thackeray was a constant visitor at his London house in Guilford Street, and at Hatton, near Hanworth, where he once greeted Miss Pollock with the words, 'How do you do, Miss Pollock? Dickens has killed his mother, so mine must continue to live on.' Mrs. Copperfield had just died in the serial that was appearing; Helen Pendennis probably owed her lengthened life to the death of Mrs. Copperfield.

Lord Hanworth describes the Chartist trial at Monmouth, when Sir Frederick's defence of the prisoners, found guilty of high treason, had much to do in saving their lives. He was also engaged in the famous will case of *Wright v. Tatham*, which passed through a succession of courts, and engaged many distinguished advocates. As a judge he showed strong common sense, leaning to substantial justice, rather than to technicalities. He abated two and a half years of the sentence that was the rule, in the case of a postman who had a pound a week to keep a wife and six children and twenty miles to walk every day. He had stolen a money letter, but the Chief Baron had pity and only gave him eighteen months' imprisonment and hard labour.

One page of the *Life* makes a special appeal to Methodists. He asks his niece in 1857, 'Did you take a volume of *Wesley's Sermons*? You are quite welcome to take one to Ireland, not both—for I read them much. I like the general tone of good sense which I find there. I am charmed with the *spirit of toleration*, or, rather, "*Charity*," and I love the spirit of kindness which everywhere breaks out. He seems to put an *ungracious expression* in a rich man on the same level of morality as a dishonest act in a poor man—and he is right in doing so—therefore he constantly enforces the *control of Temper*, the suppression of anger, or (if that may not be) of *angry words*, and recommends the "*soft answer*."'

He retired in 1866, after twenty-two years distinguished service as Chief Baron, and died in 1870 at Hanworth. He was keenly interested in photography, and continued the serious study of mathematical problems, to which he had devoted much time of recent years. He rejoices, in 1869, over his eighty-first descendant—twenty children, fifty-four grandchildren, seven great-grandchildren—and delighted in them all, as they all delighted in him.

Wolsey. By A. F. Pollard, M.A., D.Lit. (Longmans & Co. 21s.)

Wolsey is one of the outstanding figures of English history, and Professor Pollard shows that his greatness really rests on his domestic administration and his accumulation of power in State and Church, which made him the first man to exercise something like modern sovereignty in this country. He describes his advent as boy bachelor, fellow, and bursar of Magdalen College, Oxford, and master of the college school. His earliest letter that is extant, dated September 30, 1511, suggests to Foxe that, with a little help, Surrey might be utterly excluded from Court. He had already begun to exercise influence over Henry VIII. The previous May he had procured for Foxe a bill, signed by the King, which had gone through none of the official channels. 'The man, who had come into conflict with the college authorities at Magdalen and with the justices of the peace in Somerset, was already relying on his favour with the King to short-circuit administrative rules and circumvent his official superiors.' When

he became Lord Chancellor he restricted all classes to the garments and food suitable to their social station. Ordinary gentlemen were limited to three dishes a meal; lords of Parliament, mayors, Knights of the Garter, were allowed six; Wolsey fixed nine as the number for himself and for the festive boards honoured by his presence. West, Bishop of Ely, congratulates him on 'keeping this noble realm in such good order, tranquility, and peace as never was seen within the memory of man.' The Venetian Ambassador reported that he was extremely just, and favoured the poor especially. He was at his best in the Star Chamber. As legate of three successive popes, he controlled the whole system of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the provinces of both Canterbury and York. That combination of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the same hand facilitated a conveyance which profoundly affected the whole of English legal and constitutional history. Dr. Pollard throws much light on Wolsey's ambitions, his fall, and the last phase of his career. The chapters on 'Character and Environment' and 'Place in English History' sum up the great story. His colleagues bear witness to his personal ascendancy in council. It was due to superior intellectual vigour and vitality. His 'egotism exceeded even Tudor arrogance, and it was exhibited in more than Tudor ostentation.' He became the richest subject in England, with revenues estimated at £35,000—that is, at least £350,000 in present values. York was probably worth £8,000, the Winchester lands were valued at £8,820 a year, and those of St. Albans at £2,102. 'His kingdom was all outside him, and he had little within on which to rely. His courage did not consist in the fortitude of his mind: no great man was ever more pitiously dependent upon externals.' 'He was endowed by nature with an unsurpassed ability, an insatiable appetite for work, and a hunger and thirst, sometimes after righteousness, but always after wealth and power; absorbed in his passion for getting, he lost sight and sense of the ends for which he got.'

Let's Go to Poplar. By William H. Lax. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.)

There is as much human nature and adventure in this volume as in *Lax of Poplar* itself. It opens with a thrill. The Didsbury student had the great escape of his life before he set foot in the East End. When he got there, his life was a drama. He marries a young aristocrat to a poor girl and sees their fortunes change on their wedding-day. He rescues hopeless drunkards, finds a Christmas dinner for a family that had spoiled their goose, reclaims young hooligans, and moves about like an angel of light in sick-rooms and hospitals. His Lion Tamer is a woman, and a redoubtable one, as her poor victims discovered. There is rare humour in the book, and a faith in human nature which twenty-seven years in *Poplar* has only made to burn more brightly.

Temple Gairdner of Cairo. By C. E. Padwick. (S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.)

Canon Gairdner was mistaken when he said that his work in Egypt was not the sort that makes an effective biography, or one that is called for, or that the public would be interested in. Miss Padwick, who was one of his colleagues, has really given us a book of unusual interest and real value. Gairdner was born when his father was Professor of Medicine at Glasgow University and afterwards President of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh. His mother came from Norfolk. Temple went up from Rossall with a classical exhibition to Trinity College, Oxford, where friends regarded him as the greatest and most richly endowed among his contemporaries. The death of a younger brother sent him back to Oxford, 'having tasted eternity at first hand,' and a Congress of Christian University Unions led to his entire consecration to Christ. He almost seemed to feel our Lord's embrace. Everything had a delicious sense of newness. 'It makes new the Bible, and friends, and all mankind, and love, and spiritual things, and Sunday, and church and God Himself; so I've found.' After he left Oxford he spent some time in planting Christian unions in colleges all over the country, and in 1897 was accepted by the Church Missionary Society for work in Cairo among students and other educated Moslems. He was very happy in his relations with his colleague Mr. Douglas Thornton, and when the way opened for his marriage to his childhood's friend, Margaret Mitchell, he had an earthly paradise. His passion for music never failed, and some of the brightest pages of the biography describe the delight it brought to all around him. The hospitality of his home was mainly musical. One guest said, 'He seemed in a real ecstasy of music and fun that helped him and us through some dark times.' He became a great Arabic scholar and showed infinite tact and patience with Moslem controversialists. His devotion to Egypt knew no bounds. Guests came from his home feeling that he was the greatest living testimony of the joyfulness of Christianity. His love of Shakespeare always refreshed him. He would tramp the desert discussing favourite characters, and act the parts at home with real understanding of those characters. It is refreshing to be 'in the company of such a man, and to see how work that was often discouraging was brightened by his music and his love of choice and beautiful things.' His devotion to Christ and his delight in prayer marked his thirty years' work in Egypt, and he did not labour in vain.

Wesley as a World Force. Edited by John Telford, B.A., with Contributions by Eminent Writers. (Epworth Press. 8s.)

John Wesley's influence is growing greater and spreading more widely every day. It is not merely that the Methodist vine which he planted is bearing fruit all over the world, he is a leaven working in all Churches and enforcing the vital truths of personal religion among all Churches.

The Principal of Mansfield College thinks we may note the depth, reality, and sincerity of Wesley's personal religion; his concern for the bodies and souls of men; his initiative, independence, and originality; and that courage, cheerfulness, and even optimism which he showed throughout his ceaseless labours. Sir William Ashley, in his striking paper, says 'the gospel of spiritual opportunity which he offered to every man and woman was assuredly, in its measure, a return to the teaching of Jesus.' Wesley's influence on England, Scotland, and Ireland is described in three important papers; then Dr. Parkes Cadman describes his impact on America, where a group of qualified authorities give him the first place among the English-speaking peoples of his age, because he cherished nobler ideals and sacrificed more for their fulfilment than any of the celebrities of his century. Dr. Chown writes of his influence in Canada; Mr. Watkinson of South Africa; Dr. Sugden of Australia; Dr. Pinfold of New Zealand; and two American bishops, Dr. Nuelsen and Dr. Welch, show what Methodism has done in Germany and in Japan and Korea. It is an uplifting record, based on nearly two centuries of service, and it should provoke Methodists all over the world to increased devotion to the great gospel truths which Wesley made current coin in so many lands and in so many other Churches beyond the borders of Methodism.

Aggrey of Africa. A Study in Black and White. By Edwin W. Smith. (Student Christian Movement. 7s. 6d.)

Aggrey was felt by competent judges to be 'the finest interpreter which the present century has produced of the white man to the black, and of the black to the white.' He was a pure African, born on the Gold Coast in 1875 of a long line of paramount chiefs. His father was highly honoured by the chief of Anamabu, to whom he was spokesman and confidential adviser. Mr. Smith gives a delightful account of the boy's upbringing and of the influence of the Rev. Dennis Kemp and his wife, which were the chief means of launching Aggrey on his career as scholar and teacher. The youth's gaiety was infectious, and he never lost it. 'His laughter bubbled up from a blithe-some heart; his soul was a smile.' After his death a lady stopped suddenly in a London street and said to her companion: 'I love to think he is making them merry in heaven.' In 1898 he went to the United States as a student at Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina. This was the chief educational institution of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. He was ordained elder in 1908, and was closely connected with it for twenty years. At Salisbury he distinguished himself as student and professor, and in November 1908 married Miss Douglass, who, like himself, loved all beautiful things in art and literature. In 1914 he added to his professorship the charge of two small churches, and taught the negro congregations how to raise their social position by producing things that were useful

to whites. 'You must make yourselves indispensable.' It is astonishing to read about Aggrey's studies at Columba University, and the way in which he roused and inspired his own people by his eloquence. It was somewhat flamboyant, but it never failed to increase good feeling and to show both white and black what fruit co-operation between them would bear. He found his right sphere on two commissions sent to Africa by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and finally became Professor in the new University College at Accra. But he had exhausted his physical strength, and died suddenly in New York on July 30, 1927. It is a great story, and Mr. Smith makes us feel the intense vitality, the unselfishness, and the outstanding gifts of a really noble man.

Gilbert Warren of Hunan, by his son (Epworth Press. 8s.), is the story of forty years' heroic service in China. The young missionary from Exeter went out in 1886, and, after some years in the Teian Circuit, spent his second term in Hankow and Wuchang. In 1906 he became first Chairman of the Hunan District. His son quotes letters and diaries which show what an ever-growing influence his father exerted during the next twenty years. He loved above all things the training of native preachers, which he declared to be unrivalled in interest. He waged constant war against opium and used the press vigorously to fight against injustice and wrong. He was on intimate terms with General Feng, and for ten years did much work at Nanyoh, the Southern Peak, the most important scene of Buddhist pilgrimage in Hunan. He was a tireless student, a man of affairs who was also a mystic; he had artistic and musical tastes, and delighted in walking and swimming. Life was full and rich for him, and it was crowned in January 1927 with life for evermore.

Child of the Deep. By Joan Lowell. (Heinemann. 8s. 6d.). There can be no doubt about the power of this sea-girl's autobiography. Miss Lowell tells us that she has truthfully traced the story of her life at sea, adding very little fictitious trimming, and the book confirms her statement. She was carried off to sea when eleven months old by her father, who said of his eleventh child, 'This is the last one and I'm going to save it.' A baby hammock was made for her; a goat was found when all patent foods disagreed with the infant, till at last the little girl grew into a sturdy sailor, who learnt in her seventeen years at sea to steer the ship, handle the ropes, and take her place at the pumps with any one on board. Her father was ranking captain of the Alaska Packers fleet of salmon ships, and the description of their peril from icebergs and from a water-spout are thrilling. The fight between a swordfish and a whale is another realistic story. When the schooner traded in the South Seas we get vivid pictures of native life and of the virgin's dance when the girls chose their husbands. The mutiny of the crew, mad for want of water, and the account of their sufferings from scurvy, relieved at last by the capture of a porpoise, are heart-rending. The life on

board ship is as exciting as the wonders of sea and land. The kindness shown the girl by rough men was wonderful, and Stitches lost his life in saving her from the burning ship. After these exciting adventures at sea, the girl had all manner of experiences at home as film artist and actress. Two author friends in New York, to whom she told her adventures, encouraged her to write this book, of which 200,000 copies were sold in America in five weeks. It is indeed a unique story, told with a vigour and a vividness that makes us live through it all and wonder that a girl with such a training could have produced a record of such simple and masterly artistry as this.

Margaret Ethel Macdonald (Allen & Unwin. 5s.) is an eleventh impression of the Prime Minister's beautiful biography. In a Prefatory Note, Mr. Macdonald says, 'The movement in which my wife worked is at this moment entering on a new phase of its evolution. Its faith is undimmed. Midst the dusty ways, not always precisely clear or free of doubt, where reformers called upon to govern have to walk, the vision and spirit of the pioneers remain bright and undimmed, exhorting, warning, and guiding. We must continue to refresh ourselves in companionship with them. They keep for us in perennial youth the faith which made us go out in our journeyings, and whilst we remember them, we may fail in our plans, but no permanent evil can befall us.' The book brings one into living touch with a noble woman who was never more in the van of social progress than she is to-day.

Twenty Years among Primitive Papuans. By W. E. Bromilow, D.D. (Epworth Press. 5s.) Dr. Bromilow was prepared for his pioneer life in Papua by some years in Fiji, which was then nominally Christian. In Papua he found cannibalism rampant, and accompanied by fiendish cruelties. Despite such horrors, the people had an artistic sense and much ingenuity. How the gospel won its way among people who buried a living babe with its dead mother is a great story, and it is vividly told. Dr. Bromilow has seen the savage Papuan become a new creature.

The Great St. Bernard Pass and Hospice. By Jane Dee Thompson. (Epworth Press. 2s.) This is an intimate record of visits to the hospice, where the writer saw the monks at work and made friends with the famous dogs. She has written it all in a way that will delight readers both young and old, and the illustrations add much to the charm of the little book.

The new Blue Guide to *Southern Spain and Portugal* (Macmillan & Co. 18s.), edited by Findlay Muirhead, includes Madeira, the Canary Islands, and the Azores. It has an atlas with 88 other maps and plans and gives exact information as to passports, hotels, and modes of travel. History, painting, sculpture, architecture, all receive expert treatment, and visitors to the great cities and to other centres will find themselves almost personally conducted by this invaluable Blue Guide.

GENERAL

The Penn Country and the Chilterns. By Ralph M. Robinson, with 24 Illustrations by Charles J. Bathurst. (John Lane. 15s. net.)

THIS is a book that will give rare pleasure to lovers of beautiful country, historic houses, and men and women whose names are famous. Mr. Robinson takes pains to guide those who wish to visit the scenes he describes. He points out the most picturesque routes, and keeps at one's side, drawing attention to things which ought not to be overlooked by a tourist. He is very ably supported by the artist, who has chosen the most attractive scenes, and helps us almost to see them with our own eyes. The matter is arranged along thirteen routes, and before we start Mr. Robinson reminds us that 'Pennsylvania was founded in the narrow lanes and woodlands between Rickmansworth and Jordans. Beneath the trees of Great Hampden were set the limits of constitutional monarchy; and from Burke's home at Beaconsfield came the clarion call for sympathy with the American colonists. On the lawns of Hughenden the "Young England" party was born.' We enter the Penn country at Chorley Wood, with its genuine Chiltern common, and are soon on our way to the Chalfonts, with their memories of Milton's friend, Ellwood, and the Quaker family of Penningtons. Another ramble leads to Jordans, the little meeting-house with the three houses around that have helped it to make history. Restfulness is the prevailing note of the simple, unornamented building, with its whitewashed walls inside and wooden forms. Milton's cottage is the show-place of Chalfont St. Giles. It was purchased by subscription in 1887, and is now a well-kept museum. 'Among Great Houses' leads to Bulstrode, once the home of Judge Jeffreys. The second Duke of Portland made Bulstrode his favourite residence, and was robbed in his park by Dick Turpin. Dropmore was the home of Lord Grenville, cousin of the younger Pitt. We get a view of Clievden and Taplow Court, and linger in the old town of Beaconsfield, with its memories of Edmund Waller the poet, of Edmund Burke, and of Disraeli. The Disraeli country has a charming chapter to itself. The manor-house of Chequers is making history as the home of our Prime Ministers. No stone marks John Hampden's grave in Great Hampden, but there is a tablet in the church to his first wife—the love and glory of a well-ordered family, the delight and happiness of tender parents, but a crown of blessings to a husband.' It is a country rich in gracious memories, and this book is altogether admirable as a guide to its present beauties and its past history.

The Charm of Surrey. By Gordon Home. (A. & C. Black. 7s. 6d.)

This is really a charming book. The twenty-four full-page reproductions from Mr. Home's pencil drawings are not merely works of

art; they are vivid pictures of well-chosen scenes in the country, and the letter-press is as pleasing as the illustrations. The chief features of Surrey towns and villages are brought out in a way that will send many to the scenes described and will provoke further study. The first chapter, 'The Charm as a Whole,' shows that we are in the company of one who regards Surrey as the 'loveliest of English counties,' and prepares us to wander with him along the banks of the Mole and the Wey, to climb its hills, and visit Guildford the county capital, and other towns which make their own appeal. The two chapters on the villages of the hills and the plains are effectively grouped, and form clusters of scenic beauty and old-world history. Then we find ourselves among the great houses—Sutton Place, Loseley House, Ham House, Baynards, West Horsey Place, Great Tangle Manor being the most notable. We are sorry when Mr. Home bids us farewell at Claremont. He would admit that Surrey is even more charming than his delightful book could make it, but he will make many eager to tread in his steps, and they can scarcely fail to be as much in love with the county as Mr. Home is himself. It is a wonder to get such a volume for so modest a price.

From the Tops of the Hills. By Arthur Hoyle. (Epworth Press. 5s.) Those who read these essays when they appeared in the *Methodist Recorder* will be eager to possess them in this volume, and others will feel something of the delight with which they were welcomed every Thursday for a succession of years. There is rich variety, and Arthur Hoyle touched nothing which he did not adorn. He is easy to read, but he sets us thinking, and the thinking always makes us richer. 'The Burden of Souls' is shown as the seal of a saint, the fellowship of Christ's sufferings; 'Lonely Saints' challenge and accuse our worldliness by their very tones; they 'allure to brighter worlds and lead the way.' There are twenty-eight of these essays, and every one has its charm and its message.

The Protestant Faith and Challenge. By R. Pyke. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.) This volume has grown out of a set of week-night lectures which were much appreciated, and deals with a controversial subject in a gracious and reasonable way. The New Testament knows nothing of 'the priest, functioning in the Church with spiritual and exclusive powers.' It was 'the coming of the priest into the Church that made possible the terrible lapses of later days; and it is his presence in the Church to-day which is the greatest stumbling-block to Christian unity.' Mr. Pyke traces the growth of the Papacy, and describes the work of Wycliffe and his preachers, who prepared the way for the full Protestant gospel in England. Luther and the Reformation, with its doctrines and developments, are described with knowledge and insight, and the closing chapter lays stress on the duty of the Free Churches to be eager and dauntless in witnessing against Romish error, and to train their young people in the faith that freed Europe from tyranny. Questions for further study are added to this wise and timely book.

The Aim of Human Existence. By Eugenio Rignano of Milan. (Open Court Co. \$1.) This is a system of morality based on the harmony of life. It cuts itself loose from divine revelation, and would substitute for the believer's mystical communion with God the communion of his own life with the whole of life. We can prolong the existence of our beloved who have died, and feel them living again in us if we seek to bring our feelings and acts into 'conformity with such of theirs which best corresponded to the supreme and beneficent end of the harmony of life.' That is poor comfort for sorrowing hearts, and Signor Rignano does not make it appear attractive or convincing.—*School and Adventure Annuals for Boys and For Girls*, 1900. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. each.) These are handsome volumes bound in picture boards, with full-page illustrations in colour and in black-and-white. The Boys' annual is full of stories and schoolboy adventure, with a lively narrative of Francis Drake in the Spanish Main and 'Trooper Smith's Great Coup,' the single-handed capture of 'Smiler's Gang.' It is an almost incredible feat for the new recruit to the Australian Mounted Police. The annual for girls has its own excitements. School rivals turn into friends; a poor girl rescues a rich one from blackmailers; Grizel Cochrane masters the courier and destroys the warrant which he carried for her father's execution. These are only a few of the excitements in these annuals, which will delight and amuse boys and girls, and will teach them to hate everything mean or selfish.—*Teeny-Weeny's Annual* and *The Tip-Top Annual*. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d. each) are as entertaining as clever pictures in colours and in black-and-white, bright stories, and racy poetry can make them. It is quite refreshing to turn their pages. In *Tip-Top* Miss Waterhouse has a lively serial about 'Ben Dickenson at School,' and Miss Talbot will delight wolf cubs. 'Old English Fairy Tales and Legends' and 'How Far is it to Bethlehem?' ends with a great surprise.—*Ayala's Angel*, by Anthony Trollope, is a welcome addition to *The World's Classics* (Milford. 2s.). It was first published in 1891; and Mr. Hugh Walpole thinks it the most unjustly neglected of Trollope's novels. He puts Ayala Dormer next to Lucy Robarts and Lady Glencorn among Trollope's heroines. It is a pleasure to get such a pocket edition of a story brimming over with human nature in strong love-lights.

The New Company Law. By Herbert W. Jordan. (Jordan & Sons. 4s.). The writer is an expert in this subject, on which he has lectured and written. He has closely followed the enactment of 1929 dealing with Joint Stock Companies, and shows the principal changes which it introduces as they concern directors and officers of Private Companies, and those which exclusively concern Public Companies. It is clearly arranged in paragraphs, and will be of great service to all concerned in commercial affairs.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (July).—Mr. Orlo Williams, in 'England, Europe, and America,' says that 'England is closer to America than is the rest of Europe: she can best serve Europe by remaining English, and, in all probability, English she will remain.' 'A Century of the Zoo,' by H. P. Robinson, based on the recent history, points out that the Zoo has done more to encourage friendliness to animals, and to teach how they can most healthfully and comfortably be kept in captivity, than all the books that were ever written and all the sermons that were ever preached. 'The Multiplication of the Less Fit' is an interesting study of eugenics. Mr. Barnes writes on 'The New Italian Constitution,' in which 'all that is vital in the life of the nation, all that is not definitely anti-national or anti-moral, has free and manifold channels in which to circulate.'

Hibbert Journal (July).—Professor Boodin of California University says, in his article on 'God,' that 'The loveliness of God's unique expression and birth in beauty in His own spiritual medium is the perfect fulfilment of the highest love—fairer than the sun, sweeter than the moon, surpassing infinitely the beauty of earthly art—God at harmony with Himself.' Mr. Blyton shows 'Where Humanism Breaks Down.' 'The religion that will endure and matter will be first of all august; it will massively proclaim the mastery and majesty of the Eternal, and our human littleness against the background of that vastness.' Dr. Harrison deals with 'The New Spirit in Education,' which aims at the development of the individual along his own lines rather than at simultaneous class movements. That experiment is traced in the methods of three pioneers—a German, an Italian, and a Czech.

Expository Times (June).—Mr. Wood of Selby Oak, discusses *Essays and Reviews* as a book that has influenced our epoch. The reaction it provoked was unexpectedly violent. The contributions of Temple, Mark Pattison, and Jowett are on a higher level and of more permanent worth than the other essays. Temple's 'Education of the World' impresses a modern reader with its vigour and freshness; Mark Pattison's 'Tendencies of Religious Thought' is a classic of historical scholarship; Jowett's 'Interpretation of Scripture' is an admirable introduction to Bible study. Dr. Urquhart writes a first article on 'The Gospel for India'—'What preparation or receptivity can be found in Hinduism for the central truth of the Incarnation?' Dr. Sparrow-Simpson, in 'Some German Thinkers, on Christianity,' discusses the position of Ihmels, von Dobschütz, Loofs,

Kaftan, and Kirgensohn. 'Teaching the Child,' by F. J. Rae, Director of Aberdeen Training Centre, stresses the importance of giving teachers a sound view of the Bible, especially of its spiritual truths.—(July).—Professor Nairne, writing on Renan's *Life of Jesus* surveys the long succession of Lives of our Lord down to Bishop Gore's *Jesus of Nazareth*, which is impressive through its simplicity. Renan used the Gospel of St. John freely as contributing most valuably to history, and to the schools of his day that was heresy indeed.

Holborn Review (July).—A translation of Baron de Tremont's 'Beethoven at Home' gives a vivid picture of the great musician in his untidy rooms at Vienna. 'Religion and Education' and Mr. Chirgwin's article, 'Should Missionary Societies continue to do Educational work?' are followed by 'The New Plant Discoveries,' 'Browning's Nescience,' and other important articles. Professor Peake's Editorial Notes deal with the memorial volume of Dr. Estlin Carpenter, Dr. Lidgett's *Reminiscences* which are 'full of interest,' and *Thomas Jackson of Whitechapel*.

Church Quarterly (July).—Dr. Carnegie-Simpson writes on 'The Scottish Settlement of Church and State.' The Free Church of Scotland failed to state its claim for spiritual freedom clearly and unambiguously in its constitution, and the House of Lords, therefore, decided against them in 1904. This claim is so clearly set out in the constitution of the Church of Scotland that its spiritual liberty seems secure. Mr. Tremenheere, in 'Dr. Bernard on the Fourth Gospel,' quotes his conclusion that John the Evangelist derived the material for the Fourth Gospel from John the Son of Zebedee, who was the ultimate author. To Mr. Tremenheere 'no lesser conclusion is consistent with the photographic life-likeness of the narratives, and with the superhuman spirituality of the discourses.' Mr. Moxon thinks a strong case may be made for identifying the rich young ruler with St. Paul.

Congregational Quarterly (July).—The Editor's Notes on the election, and on various educational questions, are of special interest. Professor H. R. Mackintosh writes on 'The Theology of Kierkegaard,' the most original mind Denmark ever produced. 'He tears into rags all religion that is utilitarian and anthropocentric. He dwells with unrivalled power on the sense of creatureliness that overmasters us as we worship and stops every mouth before God.' Mr. Chirgwin describes John Philip, as 'The Wilberforce of Africa'; Mr. G. V. Jones of Mansfield College deals with 'Modernism and Eschatology.'

Science Progress (July).—Recent Advances in various branches of science are clearly explained in seven articles. Fuller treatment is given to Theories of Coral Reefs; Gas Laws; Synthetic Perfumes, which are an important branch of chemistry, requiring great technical skill and artistic sensibility. 'The Cuckoo' is an interesting study in popular science. Mr. Armstrong tells how he has imitated its call, and enjoyed 'a little fun with the bird which loves to make a dupe of others.'

Cornhill Magazine.—Mr. Mitton's 'On Solway Bridge' is a serial that keeps one keenly interested by striking characters and surprising situations. 'The Letters of Mrs. Browning' give a charming picture of her happy married life; and 'The True History of the Tichborne Case' professes to set at rest many questions. *Cornhill* is a monthly delight.

AMERICAN

Methodist Review (July—August).—Mr. Kingdon says Bishop Henderson belonged to the tradition of the Wesleys and the Asburys. In him were combined their restless energy, ceaseless evangelism; executive genius, and sleepless industry. He touched many hearts with his pledge to Christ's programme: 'Whatever, wherever, whenever pleases Him.' His five years' achievement in the Cincinnati area seems absolutely incredible. He knew every man in his Conferences, and loved them. 'Paul and Timothy' is a veteran's counsel to the young Christian prophet of to-day. In 'Charles Wesley and His Hymns' Mr. Kellock says, the hymns 'strike universal notes and touch every heart, under whatever banner it beats, that knows God or wants to know Him.' Mr. Snowden describes the *Abingdon Commentary* as a triumph of evangelical scholarship and of catholicity.

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (May—June).—In 'Christianity and Justice' Dr. Richard Roberts shows that war, litigation, intolerance, class consciousness, sectarianism and all derivative things stand condemned at the bar of Christ. Mr. Philp finds the 'Primacy of Peter' to consist in 'no formal appointment or ecclesiastical preferment. He first, in a great religious experience, came forth from earth-bound ideals of Messianism. With Paul he marshals the great missionary movement of the Early Church.' Principal Selbie's article on Wesley in the *London Quarterly*, is quoted at length, and Mr. Belden's on George Whitefield. Professor Peake's estimate of Gore's *Commentary* is also given, from the *Holborn*.

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review (June).—'The Regeneration of Rural Bengal' lays stress on attracting good men to the villages and retaining those few who have not deserted them. The obstacles to the economic prosperity of the villager are want of capital, of education, and of organization. Peasant proprietorship would automatically bring in energy and enterprise, and the development of industrial centres in the rural areas would give new scope for economic virtues.

Moslem World (July).—'Christians at Mecca,' by the Rev. Arthur Jeffery, associate editor with Dr. Zwemer, gives interesting details of those who have left published accounts of their visit—from Varthema, the Italian, who was in Mecca in 1508, down to C. E. Rutter, whose *Holy Cities of Arabia* appeared in 1928.