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THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1982

METHODISM MOVES FORWARD

The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Standard Edition.
Eight volumes. (Epworth Press. 1981.)

A Methodist Pageant. By B. AQUILA BARBER. (Holborn
Publishing House. 1982.)

The Living Word in a Changing World. By W. T. DAVISON,
M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 1982.)

Evangelism: Its Shame and Glory. By J. ERNEST
RATTENBURY, D.D. (Epworth Press. 1982.)

THERE is a page in the Standard Edition of John Wesley's *Letters* which has special significance to-day. It refers to a London Conference which met in September 1761, and was written to Charles Wesley: 'Our Conference ended, as it began, in peace and love. All found it a blessed time :

Excepto, quid non simul esses, caetera laeti.'

(Our minds with this exception gay,
That you, our friend, were far away.)

Henry Venn, the Vicar of Huddersfield, had found a Methodist Society in his new parish, and wished his old friend Wesley to withdraw his preachers. They compromised by agreeing that the preachers should come only once a month. The matter evidently came up at the Conference, which, John Manners told Mr. Merryweather of Yarm, was 'honoured with the presence of Mr. Whitefield and other clergy several times.' The Minutes of that Conference have vanished, but Wesley gives a clue to its discussions: 'I do not at all think (to tell you a secret) that the work will ever be destroyed, Church or no Church.' What would Wesley

have felt could he have stepped into the London Conference which, before this REVIEW appears, has seen the three great branches of British Methodism united with praise and thanksgiving? John Manners overflows with gladness in 1761. 'At present, there is the most glorious work in London I have ever seen. Many scores praise God from Monday morning till Saturday night. Their words and prayers are full of faith and fire. We have had the most solemn and satisfactory Conference that has been held for several years.'

The Conference of 1982 is a memorable confirmation of Wesley's forecast. The three Methodisms vie with each other in the honour they pay to his memory and the zeal with which they seek to carry out his programme, to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land. They have now united their forces with one overmastering purpose: to meet the claims of the twentieth century for spiritual light and grace in the same spirit as Wesley met the needs of the eighteenth century. Dr. Davison shows impressively, in *The Living Word in a Changing World*, how the faith of early days may be recaptured in its simplicity, freshness and power. The world in which we live is far different from that into which Wesley ventured in 1739. Southey says, 'There never was less religious feeling, either within the Establishment or without, than when Wesley blew his trumpet, and awakened those who slept.' Our age makes its own appeal. Men are restless without God, and those who share Wesley's zeal as the evangelist of England find that God still works with them and that the Living Word still gives life to those who heed it. Biblical research and physical science may march side by side with the simplicity of Christian faith in fullest unity of thought and life.

Methodist history, as we look back on it to-day, is nothing less than a chain of providences. Adam Clarke saw the hand of God in Wesley's own statesmanship. 'There was no man,' he said, 'whom God could trust with the work he

had to do but John Wesley. There were prejudices here and prejudices there ; but his prejudices always gave way to the force of truth. The personal religion sufficient for Mr. Fletcher, in his limited sphere, was far beneath that deep intimacy with God necessary for Mr. Wesley in the amazing labour he had to undergo, the calumnies he had to endure, his fightings without, the opposition arising from members of Society within, and his care of all his churches.'

Methodism had to face many problems after Wesley laid down his trust. He had himself been grappling with them for half a century. As far back as 1755 the question of separation from the Church of England was anxiously considered at the Leeds Conference. The two sons of Vincent Perronet, the gifted Joseph Cownley, and that saint and scholar Thomas Walsh, who was so dear to Wesley's heart, were at the head of the agitation, but Wesley held his ground, as his twelve ' Reasons against a Separation from the Church of England ' still bear witness. But the lapse of years brought new conditions, and the crying needs of America forced Wesley to translate into action the conviction that he was ' a Scriptural *ἐκκλησιαστής*, as much as any man in England or Europe.' The case for America was clear, but at home there were other problems. In 1785 he had ordained John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, and Joseph Taylor for the work in Scotland, and when they returned to English circuits they were unwilling to give up their privilege. Thomas Hanby has left few letters, but one has recently come to light dated Bury, 2 January, 1790, and written to James Oddie, formerly a Methodist preacher. Hanby writes : ' An honest man is in our day a great character. I am still pick'd at, because I will not, like the rest, give up my Authorities, which I trust I never shall, let the consequences be what they will. Because I verily believe those who cannot, for reasons that sufficiently satisfy themselves, go to the Church, or to have the Lord's Supper administered to them by *us*.' He wonders what will happen to him at the next Conference, but feels

bound 'to that people that they shall have the ordinance.' It is pleasant to add that nothing happened to him in Wesley's last Conference, and four years later, in 1794, his brethren rejoiced to seat him in Wesley's chair as President of the Conference.

The two years after Wesley's death made the situation acute. Wesley had been careful to give the Sacrament to the Societies which he visited, and they sorely missed that privilege. The Conference of 1798 found it necessary to decide that the Societies should have the privilege of the Lord's Supper where they unanimously desired it. The *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society for June last gives some extracts from the diary of William Dyer, who often attended the New Room in Bristol. He says it was believed that the Methodists possessed more of the spirit and life of Christianity before what he calls a separation from the Church of England than since that event.

Figures certainly do not justify that opinion, for in the next quarter of a century the membership in Great Britain and Ireland, the United States, and the mission field had risen from 120,288 to 442,077, and the ministers from 511 to 1,629. It is difficult to estimate the progress that might have been made but for the divisions now so happily brought to an end.

The address which the Wesleyan Conference of 1932 sent to the Societies points out: 'We are the heirs of a splendid inheritance. The influence of the mother Church of Methodism has gone out into all the earth. Her distinctive institutions, moulded by the deep realities of Christian experience and fellowship, have brought blessing unspeakable to multitudes both within and beyond her borders. She has never forgotten her primitive responsibility to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land. On the one hand, she has gone out to seek and to save those who were lost; on the other, she has nurtured saints in her midst who by the strength and beauty of their lives have demonstrated the greatness of the salvation which is in Christ Jesus.' That is

emphatically a record which bids us 'thank God and take courage.'

The other branches of Methodism tell the same story. Mr. Barber, the Primitive Methodist Connexional editor, has prepared a souvenir of his Church under the arresting title, *A Methodist Pageant*. Its founders were of the spiritual lineage of John Wesley. Hugh Bourne gained the religion of the heart by reading one of Wesley's sermons; William Clowes, after a riotous youth, found peace in a Methodist prayer-meeting. The Camp Meeting movement in which Primitive Methodism took its rise was a daring effort to counteract the evil influence of the wakes, which often became occasions of wild excess. Primitive Methodism has never lost its evangelical fervour, and the sketches of its consecrated workers make this *Pageant* a real portrait gallery. Its homely heroes have a charm of their own, which helps us to understand how they leavened the life of villages and drew working folk in all parts of England into the fold. Later days gave the Church a prince of philanthropists in Sir W. P. Hartley. He captured a man of genius in Arthur S. Peake, who for upwards of thirty years was 'the master influence that moulded the ministry' of his Church, and achieved international fame as a biblical scholar. Primitive Methodism brings into the union an impressive record of inspired evangelism, missionary enterprise, Christian fellowship, and a deep spiritual experience.

The United Methodist Church is itself a threefold union which was reached in 1907 and has prepared the way for the larger union of 1982. The causes which led to separation from the parent body have long since vanished. Methodism has broadened out, and the controversies of the past have been hushed. Such men as Frederick William Bourne have had a noble part in strengthening their Church and preparing for the reunion in which we now rejoice.

Nor can we forget such gifts as made Billy Bray a true apostle among Cornishmen, and filled the heart of William

O'Bryan, who 'longed for the whole world, if possible, to be gathered together, that he might rush in among them' and save them.

What contribution can united Methodism make to Christian life in this country and on the mission field? Its influence was never more needed, for religion seems for the moment under a cloud. Methodism has felt the influence of the new thought of our times, but it accepts with all its heart the central core of the evangelical faith which gave Wesley his gospel for the eighteenth century. It has an organization which knits all its churches into one living body and makes the strong the loving helpers of the weak. Its great missions have captured the masses; its Wesley Guilds have given new purpose and blessing to the young; its social work has made a notable contribution to temperance and purity, its foreign missions have carried gospel light to the dark places of the world and led hosts of men and women and children to the Saviour and Friend they need.

It is awake in all its branches to the essential importance of a trained ministry. Great advance has been made in that vital task, and the enlightened zeal of Sir William Hartley, Mr. Gutteridge, Mr. Greenhalgh, Mr. Lamplough, and others is equipping a host of young ministers who as scholars and evangelists are men after Wesley's own heart. Nor are its educated youth less rich an inheritance. Our schools and colleges have given us a host of devoted sons and daughters, and the hour is ripe for the consecration of all their gifts to the uplifting of the race.

What an army Methodism now puts in the field! There are more than 4,200 ministers and missionaries; 50,000 lay preachers; 1,162,000 members; 1,756,000 Sunday-school teachers and scholars, and more than 800,000 members of Wesley Guilds and Christian Endeavour Societies. Many sigh for the appearance of another John Wesley, but, if this huge host is baptized with his spirit, there are no limits to its influence in evangelizing the whole world.

Dr. Rattenbury's *Evangelism* makes a powerful appeal for a new devotion to this great crusade which would find expression in a passionate longing to save England and the world. The one real chance for the new Methodism is evangelism, and Dr. Rattenbury urges us 'to soak ourselves in the story of our historic beginnings.'

Wesley once told a little company of twelve whom he met in his Carlisle Society that if they were faithful they were enough to set the whole city on fire; then he himself took fire and saw them setting the whole world on fire. The world is open to us as it never was in Wesley's day, and united Methodism will now have larger scope and resources for the joyful task of making it see itself and its destiny in the face of Jesus Christ. A vast opportunity is set before us. Other Churches are doing great things for Christ, and the fellowship between them grows richer and more intimate year by year. Happy evidence of this appears in the programme of the Uniting Conference. It is a time to devote all our energies to the spread of the Kingdom of peace and purity. Village Methodism has much to gain by union. Many difficulties will vanish as the threefold cord binds Methodists together in work and worship. Rearrangement in larger centres of population will furnish means to meet the claims of new districts. The new *Methodist Hymn-Book* will bind the new Church together in praise and holy aspiration, and will lend new wings to our old Methodist witness. No Church ever had a richer golden opportunity, and we face it with John Wesley's word making music in our ears and hearts: 'The best of all is, God is with us.'

JOHN TELFORD.

DEMOCRACY IN PERICLEAN ATHENS

IT has been customary to compare the Periclean Age of Athens with that of Augustus at Rome, with the Elizabethan period in England, the era of Louis XIV in France, and the Florentine Renaissance in Italy. These periods were alike in witnessing a remarkable output of national energy and a rapid development of national culture, as shown by great achievements in literature or art or both. The Periclean Age is interesting for all these reasons, but it has, in addition, a peculiar claim upon our attention, as providing us with the earliest example in history of a state ruled and administered for some thirty years on liberal principles, and in accordance with a definite democratic ideal. 'The Athenians,' says a Corinthian critic in Thucydides,¹ 'were adventurous beyond their power, and daring beyond their judgement.' That spirit of adventure was never more signally manifested than in the courageous experiment in imperial democracy which Pericles initiated at Athens in the latter half of the fifth century, B.C.

Such experiments are possible only in times of great intellectual awakening, and the lifetime of Pericles coincided with one of the great advances in human thought. During the previous century the philosophers of Ionia had been making abortive attempts to explain the universe as having evolved by physical processes from some fundamental primary substance. In the fifth century these monistic theories were superseded by various forms of Pluralism, which explained the world as the product of the interaction of a number of primary substances. Among the Pluralists, 'like a sober man after random babblers,' as Aristotle phrased it,² there arose Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, famous for his doctrine of Mind—Mind which set up a rotation in

¹Thucydides, i. 70.

²Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, A, 4, 985 a17.

the primæval chaos of the world, 'when the seeds of all things were together,' and, by drawing like seeds together, caused the growth of individual creatures and brought about the ordered life of the universe. Along with the Mind theory, Anaxagoras promulgated various revolutionary ideas about the nature of the heavenly bodies, saying that the sun was a red-hot stone, and the moon was made of earth. Small wonder that his arrival at Athens (possibly as early as 480 B.C.) was the precursor of a remarkable interest in rational inquiry and scientific speculation at Athens. By 450 B.C., when Anaxagoras was expelled on a charge of heresy by the decree of Diopceithes, an intelligentsia of young Athenians had arisen, and foreigners, like the sophist Protagoras, were beginning to visit Athens for the purpose of teaching the youth. These new teachers strove to reduce all life to rational principles, and to reduce all occupations and crafts to definite rules. The sons of the richer and more aristocratic families were eager for the new instruction, and, with the advent of Socrates, the tendency to free thought and speculation increased.

Pericles was a true son of this age of enlightenment. Plato¹ tells us that Anaxagoras's discourse on the nature of the world and the true character of Mind had inspired him with 'highmindedness and a dignified manner of speech.' Although he swayed the people by his eloquence, he was singularly free from their traditional superstitions. When he was about to sail on his expedition to Epidaurus in 480 B.C., an eclipse of the sun, we are told,² threw the sailors into terror. Holding his cloak before the eyes of the steersman, Pericles assured them that the eclipse was of the same nature, only on a larger scale. If we recollect Nicias' action on a similar occasion, we shall realize the intellectual emancipation that this attitude implied.³

¹ Plato, *Phædrus*, 270 A.

² Plutarch, *Pericles*, 85, 1-2.

³ Thucydides, vii. 51.

Pericles understood likewise that the vicissitudes of human life are due to natural courses. Anaxagoras was reported to have said, on being told of his son's death, 'I knew that I had not begotten an immortal.'¹ Something of the same spirit of resignation pervaded Pericles' message to the bereaved parents of Athens, as recorded by Thucydides in the 'Funeral Speech.' He reminded them that human life was subject to all manner of chances, but their personal loss was compensated to some extent by the imperishable renown which the dead had won, and that their happiness, in conformity with the conception of Solon, had been commensurate with their lives. Here there is no fear of death, nor any expectation of an after-life; and the only immortality is undying fame.

The general impression which his personality produced at Athens is thus described by Plutarch: 'Pericles not only had a spirit that was solemn, a discourse that was lofty and free from plebeian and reckless effrontery, but also a composure of countenance that never relaxed into laughter, a gentleness of carriage and cast of attire that suffered no emotion to disturb it while he was speaking, and many similar characteristics that struck all his hearers with wondering amazement.'² Of his eloquence the comic poet Eupolis said: 'Persuasion sat upon his lips: such a charm he worked, and, alone of all the orators, he used to leave a sting in those who heard.'³

Such was the character of the man who began in 461 B.C. to direct the fortunes of his native city. At that period circumstances had combined in a most remarkable fashion to give Athens a leading position in Greece, and from every point of view the time was ripe for a social and political experiment. The foundations of democracy had been firmly laid by the earlier lawgivers, Solon and Cleisthenes,

¹ Diog. Laert. ii. 18.

² Plutarch, *Pericles*, 5, 1 (trans. Perrin).

³ Eupolis, Fr. 94.

and an era of military prestige, following the Persian wars, had given the citizens a sense of confidence and power. Themistocles had settled that Athens' future was to be on the sea, while Aristides and Cimon had conserved the fruits of her hegemony over the Delian League, and initiated the imperialist policy of the earlier part of the century. The oligarchic element in the constitution, the ancient Council of the Areopagus, had recently been shorn of its ancient privileges by Ephialtes, and the power of the ordinary citizen who sat in the jury-court and the assembly correspondingly increased. In a few years, by the time at any rate of Cimon's death in 450, all striving after a land-empire ceased, Pericles was content to dominate the sea, and for the next twenty years he devoted himself, with the Athenians, to working out in detail his scheme for a true democratic state.

About a half-century later, when this same state had been broken and vanquished by the power of Sparta, the historian Thucydides set down in memorable words some of the leading features of Pericles' ideal of democracy. The words occur in the 'Funeral Speech,' delivered by Pericles in the first year of the Peloponnesian War in memory of those who had fallen.

The Speech began by a brief tribute to their ancestors and predecessors, who had made the Athenian Empire a possibility. It proceeded to trace 'the road by which they reached their position, the form of government under which their greatness grew, and the national habits out of which it sprang.' In describing the form of government, Pericles said, 'Our administration favours the many instead of the few: this is why it is called a democracy. If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences: if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way: if a man is able to serve the State, he

is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition. Our public men have, besides politics, their private affairs to attend to, and our ordinary citizens, though occupied with the pursuits of industry, are still fair judges of public matters ; for unlike any other nation, regarding him who takes no part in these duties not as unambitious but as useless, we Athenians are able to judge, at all events if we cannot originate, and, instead of looking on discussion as a stumbling-block in the way of action, we think it an indispensable preliminary to any wise action at all !¹

This has long been regarded as the best account of true democracy that we possess ; and the machinery for its realization undoubtedly existed at Athens (if we except the restrictions placed upon women and all those of foreign descent). Theoretically, every citizen was responsible for, and able to participate in, the actual government of the state, and all the innovations made by Pericles were in the direction of making the people more and more responsible. By 458 B.C. the chief magistracies were thrown open even to the lowest class of citizens, and, at the suggestion of Damon the musician, Pericles introduced the principle of payment for state services, so that poverty was no bar to office.² Magistrates, councillors, and jurors all eventually received pay. In the assembly the people had the deciding voice in all matters of policy, while in the jury-courts they judged transgressions against the law. Committees of the Council of Five Hundred administered the government, received ambassadors, and prepared the agenda for the assembly. Magistrates and councillors were alike selected by lot, so that every citizen was held equally competent to serve. Election, however, prevailed in the choice of the ten generals, who were responsible for all naval and military undertakings, and for the maintenance of the food supply,

¹Thucydides, ii. 87-40 (trans. Crawley).

²Aristotle, *Athension Politicia*, 27, 4.

and it was as chief of the Board of Generals that Pericles was able for so many years to sway the destinies of Athens.

Mention is made in the same 'Funeral Speech' of the social and cultural aims which this elaborate political organization was meant to subserve. 'We provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business. We celebrate games and sacrifices all the year round, and the elegance of our private establishments forms a daily source of pleasure and helps to banish the spleen. . . . In short, I say that, as a city, we are the school of Hellas.'¹ Among the many 'refreshments of the mind' which Athens offered to her citizens and allies were the dramatic performances in the theatre of Dionysus. We are told that Pericles, in order to enable the poorer citizens to share these entertainments, provided them with two obols a day for their theatre-tickets out of state funds.² Every one, therefore, had the privilege of enjoying the masterpieces of Attic drama. Of all the poets who exhibited plays at this period there was none so well qualified to give embodiment to the Periclean ideal as Sophocles. In the sphere of poetry he appeared to have attained the same austere reserve that characterized Pericles as statesman and orator. He seemed, too, to have been impressed to some extent by the rationalism of Anaxagoras. At any rate, he was the first to 'secularise' the drama, that is, he concentrated on the human aspect of the mythical stories. Although these tales dealt of necessity with the activities of gods and with supernatural agencies, Sophocles kept these agencies strictly in the background. Throughout the seven plays that remain we can detect the calm, reasoned outlook of Pericles. Just as Pericles declared: 'Numberless are the chances to which the life of man is subject,' so at the close of the *Trachinian Maidens*, Sophocles makes Hyllus say: 'In all this there is naught but Zeus.' As Dr. Sheppard puts it: 'His gods are the embodiment of circumstance,

¹Thucydides ii. 38-41 (trans. Crawley). ²Plutarch, *Pericles*, 9, 3.

the representatives of stern realities, against which human energies are spent in vain.'¹

Thus, when Sophocles took the old Greek myths as his material, he re-created them in the light of the insight he had gained into human motives and character. He brought to the work wonderful skill in dramatic technique and poetic diction. His plays do not exhibit any moral teaching, unless it be the common exhortation to avoid Insolence and Excess, and seek after Moderation and Safe-Mindedness; nevertheless, he arouses in his readers an admiration for all that is noble and heroic in human nature. By representing the victims of circumstance, such as Antigone or Oedipus, as rising above their defeat or degradation or death, he attains the highest purpose of tragedy.

Perhaps there is no passage in his dramas that reflects so clearly the spirit and outlook of the Periclean age as the well-known chorus from the *Antigone* :

' Wonders are many, and none is more wonderful than man : the power that crosses the white sea, driven by the stormy south-wind, making a path under surges that threaten to engulf him ; and Earth, the eldest of the gods, the immortal, the unwearied, doth he wear, turning the soil with the offspring of horses, as the ploughs go to and fro from year to year. And the light-hearted race of birds, and the tribes of savage beasts, and the sea-brood of the deep, he snares in the meshes of his woven toils, he leads captive, man excellent in wit. And he masters by his arts the beast whose lair is in the wilds, who roams the hills ; he tames the horse of shaggy mane, he puts the yoke upon his neck, he tames the tireless mountain bull. And speech, and wind-swift thought, and all the moods that mould a state, hath he taught himself ; and how to flee the arrows of the frost, when 'tis hard lodging under the clear sky, and the arrows of the rushing rain, yea, he hath resource for all, without

¹ *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. V., p. 137.

resource he meets nothing that must come : only against Death shall he call for aid in vain ; but from baffling maladies he hath devised escapes. Cunning beyond fancy's dream is the fertile skill which brings him, now to evil, now to good. When he honours the laws of the land, and that justice which he hath sworn by the gods to uphold, proudly stands his city : no city hath he who, for his rashness, dwells with sin. Never may he share my hearth, never think my thoughts, who doth these things.'¹

Just as Sophocles created great characters in drama, so the sculptor Pheidias represented in stone the great moral qualities of the figures, human and divine, with which he adorned the city. It was Pheidias who, with the architects Ictinus and Mnesicles, was responsible to Pericles for the monumental works which arose on the Acropolis, and which were destined to become the admiration of the world. In regard to the abiding influence of these monuments, Plutarch says :

' So the works arose, no less towering in their grandeur than inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the workmen eagerly strove to surpass themselves in the beauty of their handicraft. They were created in a short time for all time. Each one of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique, but in the freshness of its vigour it is, even to the present day, recent and newly-wrought. Such is the bloom of perpetual newness, as it were, upon these works of his, which makes them ever to look untouched by time, as though the unfaltering breath of an ageless spirit had been infused into them.'²

One of these immortal works may, perhaps, be selected for special mention, since its characteristics are typical of the purpose of Periclean art. Within the colonnade of the Parthenon, around the top of the outer wall of the cella, there ran an Ionic frieze representing the great Panathenaic

¹ Sophocles, *Antigone*, 884-888 (trans. Jebb).

² Plutarch, *Pericles*, 1-8 (trans. Perrin).

procession held every four years in honour of the goddess Athena. Like all the other sculpture on the Acropolis, this frieze was carved under the supervision of Pheidias, and, in art, it is the counterpart, as it were, to the 'Funeral Oration' of Pericles. The subject is exclusively Athenian, representing Athens in the act of doing homage to her patron goddess. The procession begins at the west front, with knights making themselves ready, and their horses; then it advances along the sides until the two lines converge at the east. Here the central scene, the presentation of the sacred robe to the goddess, is shown as taking place in the presence of two groups of Olympian deities, seated and looking on. 'Four hundred human figures, two hundred animals, a living stream that flows without interruption, without a gap, without crowding, or confusion, preserving throughout an even pace, a regular order. . . . The Panathenaic procession, as Pheidias has interpreted it, has become a glorification, a triumph of Athens. We are shown here not a representation of a religious ceremony, but Athens herself, with her magistrates and her priests, her wives and daughters, the élite of her youthful citizens, the ambassadors from her colonies, her whole people, but her people purified of every blemish, every fault, glorified and exalted.'¹

All the schemes of Pericles, whether political or cultural, had an economic aspect. Just as his private life was characterized by a rigid economy in household expenditure, combined with an austere devotion to intellectual pursuits, so his purpose in public administration was to provide a livelihood for his citizens while he developed and educated their intellectual and artistic tastes. 'We are lovers of beauty without extravagance: we are philosophers, yet we lack not manliness.'² The works of art on the Acropolis were designed partly to provide employment, and Plutarch enumerates the lengthy list of craftsmen that were brought into service in

¹ H. Lechat's *Pheidias*, p. 106-7.

² Thucydides, ii. 40, 1.

the construction of the temples—‘carpenters, moulders, bronze-smiths, stone-cutters, dyers, workers in gold and ivory, painters, embroiderers, embossers, the forwarders and furnishers of material, rope-makers, weavers, leather-workers, road-builders, and miners.’¹ In reply to the criticisms of the aristocratic party, that Athens had no right to ‘bedizen’ herself with costly temples and statues at the expense of the allies (for the tribute provided the funds for all these activities, as well as for the pay attached to state offices) Pericles replied: ‘The people owe no account of their money to the allies, provided it carries on the war for them and keeps off the Persians. . . . And it is but meet that the city, when once she is sufficiently equipped with all that is necessary for prosecuting the war, should apply her abundance to such works as, by their completion, will bring her everlasting glory, and, while in process of completion, will bring that abundance into actual service, in that all sorts of activity and diversified demands arise, which rouse every art and stir every hand, and bring, as it were, the whole city under pay, so that she not only adorns, but supports herself as well from her own resources.’²

The same principle was applied in the organization of the government. Aristotle says that 20,000 of the citizens were in public employment.³ Estimates of the total citizen body vary from 40,000 to 60,000, so that one may assume that perhaps one man in three drew a salary as magistrate, councillor, or juryman, or for service in the army or navy. Plutarch declares that this payment for state offices was especially condemned by Pericles’ political opponents. ‘Many say that the people were first led on by him by allotments of public lands, festival-grants, and distributions of fees for public services, thereby falling into bad habits, and becoming luxurious and wanton under the influence of his public measures, instead of frugal and self-sufficing.’⁴

¹ Plutarch, *Pericles*, 12, 6.

² *Ibid.*, 12, 8–4.

³ Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia*, 24, 8.

⁴ Plutarch, *Pericles*, 9, 1.

This criticism was repeated at a later date by Plato in his famous indictment of democracy in the *Gorgias* (515 E). The consensus of modern opinion, however, appears to support Pericles, contending that the system of payment for work done was essential if the people were to take a real share in the government of the State, and that only by such methods could they be trained in intelligent self-government. Moreover, the councillors and magistrates, being usually men of moderate means, not paupers, would not regard their office as a livelihood. The class whom the payment did attract was the jurymen, older citizens past middle life, who could no longer perform hard manual labour, and who looked on the jurymen's fee as a kind of old-age pension.

Such were the main features of the Periclean democracy—in its political, cultural, and economic aspects. There remains the question: How far did it work in practice, and was Pericles' ideal for Athens actually attained? In regard to the political institutions which he developed and introduced, it would seem that they were never allowed to have free play in Pericles' own lifetime. This is the implication in the statement made by Thucydides: 'The government, in name a democracy, became in his hands government by the first citizen.'¹ So long as he was there guiding the policy of the assembly, it was impossible to know whether the machinery which he had devised would work if it were allowed to interact without such guidance. When, after his death, the citizens had more opportunity of exerting their power directly, they did so chiefly to their own confusion. The very fact that Pericles had set them a precedent in leadership put them at the disposal of the demagogues or mob-orators, who arose from time to time, and who were not, like Pericles himself, in an official position, and so subject to account for their political actions. One must, therefore, admit that, although during Pericles' lifetime the

¹Thucydides, ii. 65, 9.

state was well administered, especially in regard to domestic affairs, he failed to train the people in efficient self-government.

And how far was the average citizen uplifted by the Periclean culture? If we may form any conclusion from the comedies of Aristophanes, the rural inhabitants of Attica, who formed about one-third of the citizens, were not much changed in their habits since the days of Marathon. Farmers, like Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians*, still found their chief entertainment in the pleasures of the table and the jollity of their local vintage festivals. On the other hand, the well-to-do classes, to judge from Plato's dialogues, took an interest in intellectual matters that has seldom been paralleled, except in our own time. It would be impossible to assert that *all* the city-dwellers appreciated the art of Aeschylus and Sophocles. One cannot but conclude, however, that the Periclean régime, with the stimulus it gave to trade and handicrafts, the increased interest in politics and law, the progress made in the external adornment of the city, so developed the native intelligence of average Athenians that the Corinthian envoy at Sparta could describe them as alert, daring, sanguine, prompt, and swift to follow up a success, saying with truth that 'they were born into the world to take no rest themselves and to give none to others.'¹

In mutual tolerance and good-will, also, the citizens came short of Pericles' ideal for them. In the 'Funeral Speech' we read: 'The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There, far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbour for doing what he likes, or even to indulge in those injurious looks which cannot fail to be offensive, although they inflict no positive penalty.'² Freedom of thought and action, such as these words imply, was hardly possible in Periclean Athens.

¹ *Ibid.*, i. 70, 9.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 87, 2.

Despite the freedom of speech which was encouraged by the discussions of the Sophists and the dialectic of Socrates, the bulk of the rural, and many of the industrial, class must have remained conservative in their beliefs. This is proved by the treatment meted out to Pericles himself. His friendship with Damon and Anaxagoras called forth public antagonism, which resulted in the ostracism of the former and the impeachment of the latter for impiety. Aspasia, Socrates, and Euripides all had to face a charge of 'impiety,' because their views or their conduct did not square with that of the average Athenian. However, perhaps it is a tribute to the influence of Pericles that such cases were not more numerous at this period.

Periclean democracy fell, ultimately, because it had failed to provide any safe or sound policy regarding relations with subject-allies and foreign states. The pupils of Anaxagoras had exalted Reason, but, as Plato said, they failed to see that Reason should be directed towards a good end, and that its dispositions should be only for the best. The Athenians ignored the rights of the allies, and were unscrupulous in the use of their financial contributions. They aimed at realizing the good life, but only for their own citizens. Nevertheless, their effort was not entirely a vain one. For the thirty years that preceded the disastrous war that crushed them, the citizens had lived happily and prosperously, and very little was heard of class-friction or party-strife. The poorest citizen was the equal of the richest, and knew it. The laws were, on the whole, well-administered; seeing that from two hundred to five hundred jurymen sat on each case, little corruption could be practised. Athens became the commercial and intellectual centre of the Aegean, attracting to herself both the produce of the world and the best minds of Greece. She developed an ideal of democracy that is still unchallenged, and her literary and artistic achievements were such that they have become an education to mankind.

MARIE V. WILLIAMS, M.A.

J. M. W. TURNER

ANDRÉ GIDE indulges somewhere in one of his brilliant asides—'Toute choses sont dites déjà, mais comme personne n'écoute il faut toujours recommencer'—and the truth of the remark alone justifies a new book on Turner. Everything that matters seems to have been said. Thornbury exhausted the scanty biographical data; Ruskin exhausted both Turner and himself; and the indefatigable labours of Mr. Finberg threaten to exhaust the mechanisms of Turner's artistic method. What is there left for the luckless biographer but the use of his imagination, unless he is to submit us to the indignity of a literary *réchauffé*? So his latest biographer concerns himself with ideas rather than facts. Not that he is unaware of the facts, but they are for him symbols of a deeper reality which the imagination must explore—and if the imaginative exploits and the facts are at variance, so much the worse for the facts.

No man is a hero to his valet, but I doubt if any artistic deity of the nineteenth century would be a god to Mr. Walter Bayes. For him the altar stairs are a little *démodé*, and, rather than put off his shoes in the popular sanctuary, he will don the cap and bells. Even so, we must not let the jester's rôle deceive us. This book¹ reveals not only a sparkling mind, but also a wise and discriminating one, to which is added a quality of insight that is rare in contemporary art criticism. It is this quality that has enabled Mr. Bayes to humanize the somewhat legendary figure of Turner, and if at moments he treats him with less dignity than we wish, he compensates for the lack by imparting a sense of reality to what he calls his speculative portrait. One, like Cromwell, prefers a portrait with the warts on, and, if we shrewdly

¹Turner: a Speculative Biography, by Walter Bayes (Bles, 10s. 6d.)

suspect that one or two have been added rather mischievously, that is to be preferred to an enamelled surface without personality or vitality.

Like all great creative artists, Turner has suffered less from his detractors than from his worshippers. His detractors were small men whose praise could hardly have been more pleasant than their blame, since it generally revealed a pitiable want of understanding of Turner's art. They were not to be compared with Ruskin, Lord Egremont or Sir Francis Chantry who were amongst his admirers. Nor did they realize, when they penned their sardonic comments, that they were to evoke the greatest work of art criticism in the English language. Ruskin was indignant, not merely at the neglect of Turner, but at the extravagant claims which were made for Claude. Claude was still the idol of the classical tradition, and Goethe's critique is a representative example of the popular point of view : ' Claude Lorraine knew the real world thoroughly, even to its smallest detail, and he made use of it to express the world contained in his own beautiful soul. He stands to nature in a double relation—he is both her slave and her master : her slave by the material means which he is obliged to employ to make himself understood ; her master because he subordinates these material means to a well-reasoned inspiration, to which he makes them serve as instruments.' Ruskin's long apprenticeship to nature taught him how false such a criticism was, since he knew then, as we know now, how little sensitiveness to nature there was in the work of Claude, and how profound was Turner's knowledge. With a right apprehension of his task, he realized that, before the real genius of Turner could be appreciated, the true relation of the landscape painter to nature must be realized, and it was in preparing the way for this that he was so often unfair in his treatment of Claude, some of the Italians, and all of the Dutchmen except Rembrandt. Ruskin had the instinct of pugnacity strongly developed, and the Middle Ages and the Crusades would have afforded him an excellent opportunity

for self-expression. Nothing of that kind happening, he rode forth as the champion of Turner, at times to the painter's discomfort.

For Turner has kept his place in the Pantheon, not because of Ruskin, but in spite of him, and *Modern Painters* lives, not as a defence of Turner, but as a necessary part of every painter's equipment. But if Turner is our goal, then Ruskin's masterpiece is a veritable Becher's Brook, and the most hardened of us can barely read the long passages of Ruskinian eloquence that delighted the shabby sentimentality of the Victorians without a shudder. 'Imagine what it was for a man to live seventy years in this hard world with the kindest heart and the noblest intellect of his time, and never to meet with a single word or ray of sympathy until he felt himself sinking into the grave. . . . Turner had no one to teach him in his youth and no one to love him in his old age. Respect and affection, if they came at all, came too late. . . . The deep heart was still beating, but it was beneath a dark and melancholy mail, between whose joints, however, sometimes the slightest arrow found entrance and power of giving pain.' Nor was this just the lachrymose rhetoric of the youthful Ruskin. Nearly twenty years after, when a maturer judgement might have ironed out the youthful enthusiasm, he still writes: 'This labour, continual and as tranquil in its course as a ploughman's in the field, by demanding an admirable humility and patience, averted the tragic passion of youth. Full of stern sorrow and fixed purpose, the boy set himself to his labours silently and meekly like a workman's child on its first day at the cotton mill. Without haste, but without relaxation, and accepting all modes and means of progress, he took the burden on his shoulders and began his march.' And the legend of a forlorn and disconsolate figure is continued in almost the last paragraph of *Modern Painters*: 'What Turner might have done for us, had he received help and love instead of disdain, I can hardly trust myself to imagine. Increasing calmly in

power and loneliness, his works would have formed one mighty series of poems, each as great as that which I have interpreted, but becoming brighter and kinder as he advanced to happy age.'

The prophecy that Turner might have done much greater things in art if he had lived in a kinder world is a doubtful one, and it may not be unfairly punctuated with Mr. Sickert's dictum that 'quiet persistent understatement of an artist's work is what does him good.' This, however, was an incitement to virtue that the youthful Turner never received. On the contrary, the authorities, the critics, the public, decided to welcome him as a heaven-sent genius. Had he not been a genius he would have been ruined before he was thirty. The Academy made him an associate at the age twenty-four, and a full Academician at the age of twenty-eight, and the critics of *The Times*, the *Morning Chronicle*, and the *Morning Post* welcomed him as a painter of genius, and his name was coupled with that of Claude and Gainsborough. Every one was talking about him, and a letter from Andrew Caldwell is probably characteristic of the period. 'A new artist has started up, one Turner. He had before exhibited stained drawings, he now paints landscapes in oils; and beats Louthembourg and every other artist all to nothing.' The *Morning Post*, then as now *l'enfant terrible*, said: 'Mr. Turner . . . looks at nature with a penetrating and discriminating eye, and arranges his representations with exquisite taste aided by a powerful genius. He has, in our opinion, more of that sublime faculty which we denominate genius than any other of the pictorial claimants.' But one of the most notable criticisms was that of Hazlitt, who wrote of 'Crossing the Brook' and 'Dido Building Carthage,' as works 'which will carry down to posterity the date of the present time, and cause it to be named with honour by those who are yet unborn.' Nor were patrons lacking, and their appreciation was of the kind which enabled Turner to start, the son of an impecunious barber, and to die leaving, to poor

and disabled painters and his heirs-at-law, close on £150,000 in addition to a priceless collection of pictures for the nation.

To a painter of the present day such a result must savour of the golden age, and if the legitimate objection be made that Turner was a genius and contemporary painters are not, we may shift the scene to Constable, whose reputation shows less signs of rust than Turner's. Constable had not sold a single picture in the ordinary way before he was thirty-eight, and he maintained himself by copying pictures for the nobility and a few insignificant portraits. He was forty-three before he was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, but the full membership of the Academy was delayed until eight years before his death, although in the meantime the influence of his art had revolutionized painting on the Continent. By comparison with either Constable or Gainsborough, Turner appears almost a darling of the gods.

Adverse criticism there was, but it came at a time when Turner's position and fortune were both assured, and he could follow the beckoning of his aesthetic desires quite heedless of his detractors. Not that the garrulous hostility of the critics bothered Turner as much as Ruskin, nor did he feel the flaming anger of the youthful writer when some of the criticisms were sent to him at Venice. True, some of the contemporary expressions of opinion seem to be a little outrageous, but we have to remember that the standard of critical good manners was not that of the present day. *Punch* in particular, as the home of 'Extravaganza,' naturally was not prepared to tolerate competitors elsewhere, and consequently was severe on Turner—but not as severe as on some of the other R.A.'s. It comments on the exhibit of the Professor of Painting at the Academy in terms which would probably end the critic's career now were he to dream of writing anything like the following: 'It is to be regretted that Mr. Howard, R.A., is not prohibited the use of paint-brushes . . . the motto "Away, Away, Away," is the only good point connected with the picture. The words come

naturally to the lips of all who look at it.' Such terse directness of criticism is no longer fashionable, though I recall the *Spectator* making a bold bid for it and describing one exhibition of vulgar colour as 'Rome butchered to make a painter's holiday,' but dull respectability soon smothered the critical *jeu d'esprit*. Hostile criticism, both incompetent and ill-natured, was directed at Turner, as it is directed at every original and creative artist. Such criticism is inevitable when the standards of judgement are traditional. 'In those rarer and critical moments when a new light dawns in the sky, when a new world is discovered or created, the judgement which relies on tradition can only be right by accident, by coincidence, and is in fact too often obstinately and fiercely wrong. Whenever poetry appears which is both new and strong, the power which can appreciate it is not the power of learning or of educated taste; it is the power of insight, of sympathy with the human spirit seeking expression.'¹

But the criticism was not all hostile. There were discerning admirers and judges, especially among his fellow R.A.s, who saw in the most revolutionary of Turner's work the evidence of a great genius. Disagreement there was, and disagreement as to the relative merits of his work still continues. Mr. Bayes himself has a cold douche for those of us who have admired 'The Temeraire' when he tells us that '“The Temeraire” is a thin picture, pretty in colour as a Christmas card—one of the most banal of Turner's works'; and, lest we should feel our rebuke too keenly, we may revive ourselves with a dose of D. S. MacColl: '“The Fighting Temeraire” is perhaps the nearest equivalent in masterly completeness and gravity to the earlier perfection. It ties up as closely as they were ever tied the strands of Turner's art. . . . As the creation of an art of tragic light, it is one of the century's master works.'

It is doubtful if Turner derived unqualified pleasure from

¹Sir Henry Newbolt.

Ruskin's defence, and, even if we do not credit Thornbury's statement that Turner had never read a line of Ruskin, we may estimate at their true value the thanks that he gave to Ruskin. No doubt there were times when he felt that Ruskin's elaborate explanations and defences were putting ideas into his head. Explaining an artist is always dangerous—for the artist. I remember one evening in an Art Club listening to a well-known art critic, expounding with much brilliance a piece of sculpture which had attained great notoriety. Unknown to him, the sculptor had come in and was standing behind him listening, and, when he had finished, the sculptor made the remark, 'Well, it's all very wonderful, and I wish I had thought of a few of these things when I was doing it.' Mr. Bayes has a much pithier story than that, but you must go to his book for it. But I think we are justified in assuming that Turner would resent the sentimental tone of many of Ruskin's remarks. 'Poor Turner' was not exactly the way in which he thought of himself, nor does one think that he regarded his youth as one of pitiful hardship. The Ruskinian legend of a neglected and sorrowful figure, a rough-shod compound of 'Werther' and 'Amiel,' bears little scrutiny. It was not in the least like Turner; it was really very little like Ruskin; but it was very much in the spirit of the age, and Ruskin may unwittingly have drunk a little at the tainted spring of French Romanticism. The young men of that movement insisted rather melodramatically on their spiritual miseries. They suffered from an inner conviction that suffering was the lot of genius, and were they not of that noble order, so how could they expect any generous hospitality from a universe with a malevolent bias against the artist? The chorus swells with the voices of Chateaubriand, de Musset, Stendhal, Senancour, recounting with a self-conscious rectitude the melancholy of their own souls. No spiritual modesty deters them from displaying their emotions with an indecent lack of spiritual covering. And Ruskin's picture of a forlorn, melancholy, and solitary figure

has an unpleasant flavour of that decadent sentimentality, and gives a false impression of Turner's personality.

It is true that he was a solitary figure for long periods, but that was due to his preoccupation with his art. No one but the painter knows how absorbing such work can be, and if the modern artist lived less in society, and more in solitude, the standard of artistic achievement would be immeasurably heightened. His travels were solitary, but such solitude was necessary for one who yielded himself to the thorough tutelage of nature, and to whom any companionship would be irksome. There are no congenial companions for a painting tour, and, if you desire to explore the possible depths of hate towards another human being, take a painter with you on such an occasion. But when Turner had for the moment laid down his palette and brushes, he could, as we know from other sources, be the most delightful of companions. Mrs. Wheeler has recorded that he was the most light-hearted and merry of all the light-hearted, merry creatures she knew.

Most of Mr. Bayes' 'speculative portrait' concerns itself with his private life, and here his imaginative power does not help very much. Elucidation of the secret places of a life such as Turner's cannot be done simply by a knowledge of the life and work of other artists. If Turner had been cast in the same mould as other artists, another book about him need never have been written. The puzzle of Turner's life lies, not in his resemblances to them, but in his distinctiveness from them. There are a number of normal impulses which will provoke a normal response, but there are others which are peculiar to each individual and which we cannot easily analyse. Nor can we be sure that the individual will always run true to type. He may be extrovert or introvert, intuitive or rationalistic, in successive experiences. Of Turner this was particularly true, and it should give us a certain caution in seeking to decipher the hieroglyphics of his private life.

It might be worth while considering if a major part of the

puzzle did not lie in his chronic inability to communicate his ideas in words. All his life he sought for ease and fluency in speech, but the logical sequence of ideas and their expression was impossible to him. Insight, instantaneous perception of the relationship between objects, subtle apprehension of colour harmonies and contrasts, were for him alogical processes. Such effects were impressed upon his consciousness almost instantaneously, to be recalled at will and fused together in a creative synthesis of form and colour. Every creative artist is at heart an egoist. But with most, and those not the greatest, the social contacts counterbalance the tyrannical sway of the artistic impulse. But with the supreme artists the impulse to create dominates everything. There is an incorruptible element before which all else is sacrificed, and which masters every personal contact of the artist with the world. He will articulate the half-conscious image and desires of mankind in his own language.

With Turner this language was plastic, because his thinking was plastic. The ability to hold ideas together, and to present them in literary form was almost an impossibility, and his conversation resolved itself into little more than a series of audible jerks. 'Painting was a rum go' seemed to be about the maximum length of his speeches. Such a mind is spatial rather than temporal in its activity, seeing the world as a whole with an immediacy of perception, and holding its several parts in one swift yet comprehensive vision. It is perhaps the only justification for Croce's judgement that art is intuition, and it differs from the literary mind which is temporal, and emphasizes the successive presentation of ideas. It is true that both functions overlap in the normal aesthetic consciousness, but with the painter the accent will be upon the spatial, whilst the literary genius will place it upon the temporal. With Turner, the spatial was so accentuated that the temporal or literary quality was almost obliterated.

Nowhere was this characteristic more inconvenient than in his Academy lectures on perspective. Teach he could not ;

put into words ideas that he apprehended with a singular clarity was an utter impossibility, and his appearances as professor at the Academy Schools were an occasion for mirth. The one man of his age who knew everything about perspective could say nothing upon it. Illustrate it by drawings and paintings he could ; but explain his paintings he could not. Nor was it his audience that impeded his powers of speech for the same disability marked his relationship with his friends. Touring with Dr. Monro, Turner observed the mess the doctor was in with his drawing ; borrowing a sheet of his paper, he brought it back with four sketches of the subject, illustrating its treatment from start to finish. That was for him a comparatively easy matter, but to explain the faults in words was quite impossible. On that side apparently his mind possessed no mechanism, and he is a conspicuous example of instinct rather than intelligence in art.

Turner never accepted easily this limitation of his genius. He was distressed by his lack of fluency, and tried all his life to write poetry. But unfortunately we cannot compare the quoted ' Fallacies of Hope,' or the other poetical lines found among his papers, with the sonnets of Michelangelo. They are ' the pathetic stammerings of a dumb man making noises and fancying himself an excellent speaker.' From his early ill-starred love-affair until the end of his life, he coveted learning and the gift of language, and both were denied him. He, rather than Michelangelo or Dante, is the illustration of Browning's poem :

No artist lives and loves, that longs not
Once, and only once, and for one only,
(Ah, the prize) to find his love a language
Fit and fair and simple and sufficient—
Using nature that's an art to others,
Not, this one time, one that's turned his nature.

Does he paint, he fain would write a poem ;
Does he write, he fain would paint a picture.

No one will solve the enigma of Turner's life who does not

put in its true perspective this aspect of his genius, because it probably offers the clue to the extraordinary complexity of his character. That complexity has always been something of a mysterious enigma to his biographers, and Ruskin was as conscious of it as any one. He writes, with reference to his prospective biographical study of Turner's character : ' That character is still in many respects inexplicable to me ; the materials within my reach are imperfect ; and my experience in the world not yet large enough to enable me to use them justly.' He was a cryptic compound of generosity and meanness, good-humoured companionship and brooding secretiveness, a regard for truth and studied deception.

These complexities are exactly what we should expect from a life in which the instinctive side is strongly developed. It may, and often does, give rise to a psychic atavism in the commonplace expressions of conscious life, and here probably is to be found the solution to the enigma of Turner's life and habits. It was the sufficiency and the strength of his creative instincts which occasioned his secretiveness, his apparent meanness, and his suspiciousness. These are all characteristics of individuals whose ordinary powers of physical communication are defective and who find themselves thrown back upon more rudimentary methods of indicating their needs and desires. If we are to have a speculative reconstruction of Turner's portrait, a more valuable approach would be from the side of comparative psychology, in which the relations between art and instinct are probed more deeply. This would possibly be more fruitful than judgments based upon the rather fly-blown experiences of vagrant painters in Montparnasse.

ARTHUR B. BATEMAN.

POPULAR ERRORS ABOUT BUDDHISM

ONE of my friends was recently lecturing to a London audience on the Jesus-message of 'the Kingdom of God' or 'of the heavens.' In this he saw an ideal of a fellowship of man, a fellowship of all good men, irrespective of place and time, of nation and creed : a Communion of Souls. At question time a man (an English Buddhist) asked : How could Buddhism share in and forward such an ideal when it 'had nothing to say about God or the soul' ?

As worded, the question struck me as obviously inaccurate. A little first-hand knowledge of the dialect, originally Indian, in which is written most of the Buddhism generally known, will show that Buddhism has a good deal to say about God and the soul. But not, it may be, in words that exactly coincide with our words, God and the soul. It has taken the duration of European tradition to bring in and build up the mediaeval tradition about these two words. We may render them in other European languages—*Deus*, *Zeus*, *Dieu*, *Gott*, and so on ; *anima*, *psyche*, *âme*, *Seele*, and so on—and feel we are keeping the while within the mediaeval European family. But when we come upon such words as *Brahma*, *deva*, *âtma* or *attā*, *jīva*, *puruṣa*, we know we are in a relatively alien pre-mediaeval tradition, wherein the meaning of the words may or may not coincide with our meanings. Here it behoves us to speak warily. We should be quick enough in tracing unwary misfits made in a similar question put by a Jew. Suppose that, in a lecture on an Indian ideal fellowship of faith uniting all good men, a heckling Jew were to ask : How can Judaism share in such when the Old Testament prophets have nothing to say about *âtma* or *dharma* ? We should say, or the lecturer would : Why, those prophets are ever speaking of *âtma* and *dharma* ; but not in those words, not with the coincident weight of meaning borne by those words. So, too, in such early Buddhist scriptures as we have,

references to those two supreme terms in all religions—the man and the greater-than-man—are everywhere to be found. But when, with a little first-hand knowledge, we can check the liberties taken by commentators and translators, when again we probe a little deeper into what we ourselves mean by ‘God and the soul,’ we shall then be less ready to assert that Buddhism has nothing to say about either.

But the words in the question, ‘say about,’ doubtless meant ‘teach about, believe in, profess concerning.’ It is a little less inexact to say : Buddhism may be said not to teach that there *is* God, there *is* the soul ; it has no creed inculcating it. Creeds its Church has fashioned, three at least in number—a creed of moral habits ; a creed of four truths ; a creed of the source and stopping of unhappiness. But it has no credal affirmation about ‘God or the soul.’ Nevertheless, the heckler’s question would have still been a misfit, even had he said ‘does not teach about’ ; ‘does not believe in.’ How would it have been misfitting ?

In the same way ; namely, he would still have been seeing in the terms ‘God and the soul’ just so much as his European mediaeval tradition suffered him to see. He would not have been looking deeper into the facts that those two words, limited by a tradition, are trying to express.

But let us go from the questioner to the kind of writer whom he has, in default of first-hand study, found authoritative. We may take up not a few popular manuals of the last half-century about Buddhism (I include my own), in which it is affirmed that so-called primitive Buddhism either ignores or denies ‘God and the soul.’ That the writers speak after this sort is largely due to the crude immaturity of first-hand studies in what is a very new subject. I refer to the comparative study of religion in general and to the intercomparative study of Buddhism in particular. This is much forgotten, but it is only since yesterday that there has come into being a so-called higher criticism of Christianity ; it is only to-day that there is dawning a similar criticism of other religions.

Of Buddhism in particular the materials in which to make comparative criticism are but just becoming accessible. And the immature opinions resulting from this newness reverberate among general readers, leading to what I have called, perhaps undeservedly, 'popular' errors.

Before me lies an instance. It is a criticism¹ by a first-hand student of Buddhist literature of Max Müller's statement in his *Lectures on the Science of Religion* (1878), p. 287, that there are five 'broad foundations on which all religions are built up: the belief in a divine power, the acknowledgement of sin, the habit of prayer, the desire to offer sacrifice, and the hope of a future life.' The critic refers in brief detail to certain Asiatic cults, Buddhism being one, as being called religions and yet as lacking every one of these five ingredients. And he contends that either we need a different definition of religion, or that these cults to which he refers (Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism) cannot be called religions.

At first sight this criticism is plausible. There are a few who would seek a solution by calling those three creeds 'philosophies.' But, in that they make appeal to the conscience and conduct of Everyman, they are fundamentally more than philosophy; they are creed and cult. And if we name Max Müller's five essentials in the *European mediaeval terms used by him*, it is possible to give a scriptural outline of Buddhism early and later without once employing those terms. Must we, then, put those five essentials aside and seek to define religion in its essentials otherwise?

May it not be that we need to be deeper, wider in just that fivefold definition of religion, and thereby see in it a universal human need, expressing itself differently in East and West, expressing itself not always in like manner in different ages?

Let us look more closely into these five heads; and first No. 2: 'acknowledgement of sin.' The word 'sin,' Teutonic,

¹ *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. viii. 1917. 'Cosmic Law in Ancient Thought,' by T. W. Rhys Davids.

Anglo-Saxon, has been for a long time associated with a Hebrew equivalent for transgression, iniquity, or defaulting in relation to a power greater than the single man, whether the power be a code, a community, or a higher being. And the making good is, in Hebrew scripture, bound up with confession or acknowledgement, and with offerings, which may count both as a fine and as a profession of contrite loyalty. But in its verbal form 'sin' is not any of these things; it is connected, scholars say, with the verb 'to be'; it means, in effect, identification of the sinner as such: 'Thou art the man'; 'It was he!' Or, as realized by the sinner: 'It was I!' I submit, then, that No. 2 might be worded as 'belief held by the man that he is not habitually what he may be, can be, should be, ought to be—yes, and will be.' It is awareness of mine, that I am but as a faulty child in comparison with my personal ideal. This awareness I confess, when I have proved myself defaulting and would make good. In other words, confession and reparation now appear as a *consequence* of the man as having this awareness.

Now, in the Buddhist canon law great weight is laid on the periodical rite of confession concerning any departure from what is held to be right; moreover, instances of such confession between man and man occur often in the Suttas. Max Müller's critic, as I happen to know, tied down 'sin' in meaning to 'offence against a divine power,' and this is why he rejects No. 2 as valid for Buddhism. If the former had worded his second point as acknowledgement of transgression, or offence, the latter would have ceded its validity at once.

But even in the meaning he saw in sin he was wrong. The Pali scriptures show us here and there the phrase: 'Does the self reproach the self?' Now this phrase, in the Indian idiom of Gotama's day, *could only mean* just this: the God (*Atta*) reproaching the human self (*atta*). There was in that idiom the same essential identity between man-the-self and God(Brahma)-the-self as there is for the Christian

between man the spirit and Holy Spirit. Our own Sir Thomas Browne wrote like a Hindu when he said : ' There is a Man within who is angry with me.' So did Shakespeare when he put into *The Tempest* the phrase ' your conscience . . . ay, this Deity within my bosom.' ' Your conscience '—here we have, more properly named, that which Max Müller should have made his second ingredient, for conscience is properly the ground for acknowledgement of sin. But, then, conscience is the *man as conscientious* ; the realizing of this will lead us to a sounder restatement of our five points.

Again, the next point, the habit of prayer, has also its deeper ground. This is the awareness of that ideal, greater Self, on whose side, under whose aegis, within whose will the wise son of man is ever seeking to place his life, his being, in utmost effort of co-operation. Now prayer, as I have tried to show elsewhere,¹ usually takes in Buddhism the form, not of petition, but of aspiration and of worship. I say ' usually,' because a fervent wish *may* be found in the form of asking or petitioning. Aspiration after some good is actually called ' asking ' in two of the Sutta collections.² And if the power petitioned is not named, it must never be forgotten that Buddhism began by accepting the immanent theism of its day, and that, where this is the accepted conception of Deity, prayer will take the form of a yearning to ' make-become ' in less imperfection. That Who one potentially is, rather than the form of an externally drafted petition. When this externalizing did take place in Buddhism, as, e.g., in what are called *parittās*, or warding runes, we see a tendency to transfer worship past all lesser powers to the deified man Gotama :

' The conqueror do we worship, Gotama.'³

¹ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, iii. 118 ff.

² *Kindred Sayings*, ii. 159, and *Gradual Sayings*, ii. 170 (P.T.S. edns.). The word 'asking' (*āyācamāna*) is in *K.S.* wrongly rendered 'admonishing.'

Now prayer or aspiration or self-commending is actually the *man doing these things*, and this gives us another guide to our restatement.

Again, the 'desire to offer sacrifice' is, more fundamentally, the desire to make vicarious surrender of the self, in the outward surrender of what the self has, in order the more purely and honestly to carry out that self-placing and that co-operating named above. The self-surrender may be sometimes a form of atonement, when awareness of some worse stumbling than usual is painfully felt; or it may be the 'Take me! Use me!' of morning or evening devotion. In many creeds the surrender has taken, and yet takes, the peculiar form of vicarious life-surrender, i.e., of animal sacrifice. But this and all outward rite of surrender is more accidental than essential. If there but be the votive altar of the perpetual flame as a constant figure of the loyal self-surrender to the Highest, it is not Buddhism that can be shown a defaulter when it makes its Founder say :

I lay no wood, brahman, for fires on altars ;
within the self burneth the fire I kindle ;
ever my fire burns ; ever tense and ardent,
I as worthy work out the life that's holy. (K.S. i. 212.)

Now this desire to maintain the votive flame takes meaning only as *the man offering himself* and all that he has in the service of his ideal.

Can we now reduce the five essentials of religion at this stage to three : (1) belief in a divine power ; (2) belief in the man as aware of imperfections as compared with (1) and yearning to get nearer in self-surrender to (1) ; (3) the hope in a future life ? Max Müller's 2, 3, and 4 are here resolved into one, viz. (2) above. We have taken his three religious activities of man and brought them under the one head of 'the religious man.' We have gone beneath the active expressions of religion and found their spring in the very nature of man-as-religious. Is not this a better way ? We

who are not on earth at the birth-throes of a new world-religion are ever tending, with all our ecclesiastical super-growths about us, to talk of religion in terms of cult and creed, of ritual and scripture. And so we lose sight of the man, and man's nature, wherein alone lies the meaning and explanation of it all. But once we see in that nature a being bent, of necessity, whether he admit it or not, upon a quest how to become, how to attain somehow past what he now is, what he has as yet attained, we can then rank certain ways in that quest, which vary in time and space, as expressions of what is universally present in that quest, namely awareness of imperfection in his becoming, in his growth, effort to gain right direction, utter devotion to the end of his quest.

I come now to (8)—Max Müller's (5)—the hope of future life. It is a tremendous quest that religion involves ; it is nothing less than to see in attainment of Godhead the birth-right of every man. And to enter upon that as a heritage must involve a very long period of becoming. Only a stupendous miracle could shorten it, and that the man has no reason to expect. 'Conversion,' 'faith,' are but the coming to a consciousness that he is a Wayfarer in the right Way. They do but open up possibility of surer progress. He grows into a More, but the Most before him grows for him with that More. A span of life on earth is as a mere mile in the Way. For the man-in-religion, future living of a very great duration is not merely a matter of 'hope' ; it is a conviction, deprived of which religion becomes a sham. With Bergson, he will 'instal himself in duration straight away,'¹ and see in it, not so much so many periods of time, but the very process of his becoming the More on the way to the Most.

And so I hold that my third point—Max Müller's fifth—is integral with my second. Namely, man in religion is man

¹*Creative Evolution.*

seen as bent upon a quest of becoming More in attaining, at an indefinite When, to a Most, a Best, a Highest. The five are for me more truly to be classed as two.

Here, too, Buddhism cannot rightly be called lacking, save only in the word 'hope.' No phase of Indian religion did more to strengthen and make relatively real man's life, as a matter, not of earth only, but of worlds, than did Buddhism. Its first teachers counted among them psychics, notably the founder; and *jhana*, or the disposing of the self to communion with other worlds, was constantly enjoined. The winning by a worthy life a happy survival in a better world, this being itself but a stage in becoming, was held out, from Gotama to Asoka, as a sure result. It was not till monastic pessimism gained the upper hand that future life ceased to be *hoped for*. And it can only be that word 'hope' which led our critic to rule out Buddhism under this head as well as under all the other four. Life in any world had come to mean, in the monk's outlook, life of body and of mind only; this meant the recurring processes of disease, old age, death—why hope for that recurrence? That the recurring processes were necessary opportunities in the long way to perfection he no longer saw. He had invented the way of the short cut to perfection, the *arahan* theory of perfection as attainable on earth, in spite of the obviously inadequate earthly body and mind.

There was the further reason, that he had come to banish from reality the *user* of those inadequate instruments, body and mind, the man as persistent, the man as persistently becoming. Under this aspect we call the man 'soul,' 'spirit,' 'self.' Under this aspect *India* called the man just 'man,' or self, or to a limited extent *jiva*, and *satta*. This ceasing to see, in the idea 'man,' or 'soul,' nothing more real than his 'vehicle,' the 'beminded body,' was the disastrous falling away from the right to be any longer called a religion, to which Buddhism succumbed. It became a teaching of man as a Less; a Less in both his nature and in his destiny.

It reduced him to be contemplating, not the more of evolving life that awaited his wayfaring, but the least possible length or duration to which he could contract it. Nevertheless Buddhism, *in its founder*, worships the Man, as very much the More, as somehow ever persisting. And in the *arahan* idea it also holds in more worth the Man shown as, in this way or that, master of both mind and body. In their diction also the Buddhist scriptures maintain a perpetual contradiction between (a) the reality of every man and woman, masters of, or slaves to, body and mind, and (b) their theory of the ultimate unreality of each and all.

But this was not the original teaching of Gotama and his men which the elastic term Buddhism is made to cover, and which I, to hold it distinct, call Sakya, the gospel of the sons of the Sakyans. That was no teaching of man as a Less. It was essentially, emphatically a teaching of Man-in-the-More. It sought to make the man, or self, of the Upanishad teaching, not perpetually static, but dynamic. In the figure of the Way it showed him as moving, as choosing, as becoming. It showed him as Wayfarer in lives which were repeated opportunities in that becoming more. It did not say in so many words: The real thing about you is the you, the self, the man. This was unnecessary; this was the established teaching. But it warned you, lest you should take the infirm temporary body and mind as the real self. It bade you not deny, but 'seek after that self'; it praised you when for you the self was 'well established,' 'well developed.' For in the nature of that self lay the very end and goal of your quest: not the child-self you yet are, but the matured perfected self. For that is in and of Deity.

How are we, then, to maintain that Buddhism 'says,' or teaches, 'nothing about the soul,' when once we leave our own tradition, and place ourselves in that Indian religion of which Buddhism at its birth was a new sprout?

Now turn to the first of those five essentials: belief in a divine power. Here again we can only find inquirer and

critical authority right in their negative assertion, if we cut Buddhism away from its parent stem, and seek to make it coincide with a European tradition having a partially Semitic source. The parent tree of Buddhism had been converted from the externally conceived theism of the Vedas to the immanent theism of Upanishadic teaching. The One Highest, of whom all devas were expressions, was none other than a perfect Self, so far as man on earth can as yet conceive such. And no man is not 'self'; hence is the Highest in and of every man. Our modern oddly depreciated meaning attaching to the words 'self, selfish,' did not exist for the Indian. His hope, his faith, his ideal, lay in that 'self,' a feeble, an immature specimen of whom he as yet was. For him, 'self as self' meant, not egoist, but Holy Spirit.

But Monastic Buddhism is anything but silent here. There is, *in all but its birth-teaching*, the consecutive expulsion, first of the self as divine, then of the self as a real human entity, when it was only a name or label. And here it has much to 'say,' to teach. In so doing, it has either misrepresented or overlooked that which its older sayings contain on this matter. Under the influence of alien skies and other traditions it sees in the teaching of the self, as the one true guide, *merely the individual actual man* of body and mind, uninspired, unprompted by that supreme Self, within and of him, who he potentially is. And the influence, the urge, the still small voice of that Self, that sense of right, which India knows as Dharma, Buddhism, has come to make the externalized, formulated statements of rule and precept in its scriptures. *It forgets* that its founder explicitly took this Dharma, a more dynamic conception of Deity than lies in the idea 'self,' *as the object of his worship*, before a single rule or precept had been uttered. Moreover, its scriptures often use the nearest Indian equivalent of God : Brahma, in such compounds as 'become-God,' 'God-life,' 'God-wheel' (or teaching), 'God-moods.' But commentators smooth down

these by using the word 'best.' 'Best' were indeed as good a synonym for God as Highest or Most. But it does not, for Buddhists now, or for us, mean 'supremely divine.' Hence, what with self and Brahma both severed from the meaning which they must have had for the founders of Buddhism, it has come about that, now and here, both man in the street and scholar may be found asserting, that concerning God and soul Buddhism is silent.

I have tried to show that this assertion can only be justified if the words 'God and the soul' be taken, not in their fundamental, their deepest meaning, but in the particular time-and-place meaning they have come to hold here and now. If we see, in the Indico-Buddhist words Brahma, Self, Dharma, equivalents for our 'God'; if we see, in the Indico-Buddhist words man, self, equivalents for our 'soul,' that assertion is manifested as a popular error. It is 'popular' even though launched by scholars, for these were pioneers confronted by incomplete materials of great historical complexity, and their conclusions were premature, not historically based.

It will be said: There is more in the idea 'God' beside the Supreme, the ultimate End, the Consummation. And it is this more that Buddhism implicitly rejects. I reply: Yes, there is the idea of creator, of disposer, of providence; and these ideas were worded in ancient India as they are worded in modern Europe. But in them man has worded his ignorance, the very childhood in which he still moves; problems they are, and matter for faith alone. But in fundamentals we seek our deepest certainties, and in this concept of a Highest, a Best, an End, a Consummation, we need not believe only; we know. We know that we do seek a More than we have been, than we are. And the More implies a Most, even if that Most be but an ideal point. Its reality alone makes the More have a meaning. The founder of Buddhism had no new mandate for man concerning those problems of faith. But he had a mandate for man concerning

the More and the Most in a very fundamental way. The Most he called *artha* : that which is reached after, the aim, the needed. The More he called *bhava* : becoming, coming-to-be ; and he figured this by a road, or way, of life, since it was only in living, in conduct, that the becoming could be realized, that growth could be made real. 'The way of growing'¹ : so his tradition called it. But that which gave very meaning to the way in the More towards the Most was the Wayfarer himself : the man, the soul. And it is by its monastic rejection of Wayfarer's reality² that Buddhism has, in its South Indian development, forfeited the claim to stand beside the more worthy religious traditions of the world. In its East Asian development it showed itself less a traitor to its great founder.

In one way our questioner was right, and in this way only. He did name the two ideas on which all religions hinge ; not five, but two. Post-Vedic India was trying to make them appear, as in a way, one, in its rune : 'Thou art That.' But there was always the relation, between the Thou and the That, of the *making identical*. This the Upanishads taught as a work of coming-to-know, of realizing in idea. Gotama taught this was not enough. The making identical was a very long work of becoming, of making to become. He taught the 'man,' i.e. the 'soul,' as not a fixed static 'is,' but an ever-moving 'becoming.' And so we get as our irreducible fundamentals of religion a belief in a Highest and a belief in man as a Less, identical in nature with the Highest, but ever in process of becoming a More travelling towards that Highest, that Most.

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¹ *Vaddhamāna-patipaddā*—Majjhima Commentary.

² E.g. 'There is way, but no goer.'—Buddhaghosa, &c.

NATURE WONDERS OF THE EQUATORIAL FOREST¹

IN the leafy fastnesses of the equatorial forest nature runs riot. With a mean temperature of about 80° F. and a heavy rainfall of about seventy to ninety inches, evenly distributed throughout the year, the vital processes exist in their wildest exuberance, displaying a teeming wealth and variety unequalled in any other region. This forest affords the greatest of all attractions for the naturalist. But how to exploit it is the problem. Many years ago the writer was fascinated by accounts of its nature wealth—of the dense growth of tropical trees, and their fierce fight for a place in the sun; of the immense riches of insect life inhabiting the tangled growth at the top, where flora and fauna alike abounded in wonder and variety. But no traveller of that period had ever been in a position to explore adequately this impenetrable treasure-house of nature. It needed a small army of well-equipped students to tackle even the fringe of this world of wonder. The handsome volume indicated at the foot of the page tells how an expedition was fitted out and financed for this purpose in 1929, the objective of which was British Guiana. The forest here probably exceeds in splendour any other forest of the kind. ‘The great trees are taller, the tangle of bush-ropes more profuse and spectacular, the crowding of growths on the stems and branches more riotous in their diversity and confusion.’ The expedition went out under the auspices of the Oxford University Exploration Club, financed largely by the trustees of the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund and with the sympathetic assistance

¹ *A Naturalist in the Guiana Forest*, by Major R. W. G. Hingston, M.C., M.B. With 16 plates and 151 illustrations in the text. (Edwin Arnold & Co., 18s. net.)

of the Colonial Office. The party chosen consisted of eleven persons, each eminent in some branch of science.

The Percy Sladen Memorial Fund has given valuable financial aid in the production of this sumptuous volume, which is chiefly devoted to a narrative of the forest experiences of the expedition and an account of those observations in natural history which happened to be most interesting to the author as the head of the party. The technical results of the expedition still await full study, and will be published independently hereafter. Camp was ultimately made on the Moraballi Creek, a small tributary of the Essequibo River, which is an estuary fifteen miles wide. The Moraballi was only from thirty to forty feet wide, and so completely enveloped in forest as to appear like a winding tunnel or arcade. Huge forest trees towered up on either side, roofing the waterway with their intermingling foliage. The branches of the tunnel roof supported a forest of creepers. Hundreds of vegetable cords and hawsers laced branch to branch across the arcade; great cables, like the stays and rigging of a ship, stretched down to the banks from the overhead awning like a latticed curtain. Intertwined with them was a riotous profusion of parasitic growths: orchids, ferns, mosses, decorated stems and twigs. Round every bend came some fresh scene, ever changing from gloom to brightness, the foliage glowing and sparkling, the creepers trailing their flowers.

Camp was made on the right bank about two miles from the mouth of the creek on a slightly elevated tract of forest. The trees were felled and the vegetation cleared, for two thousand square yards. This was done by Indians, who are expert at the work. Then suitable tents were erected. In seven days the camp was in order. The ground was thirty feet above creek level; the soil sandy and porous, sucking up torrential rain like a sponge, while the creek solved a crowd of problems in cooking, washing, photography. Here was a nook in the wilderness, yet within a day's reach by

motor-boat of Bartica, so that fresh supplies could be obtained and consignments of valuable specimens dispatched which would be ruined if kept in the bush.

The expedition was well housed, well fed, with a good water-supply and the possibility of a hot bath daily. In addition, they always had their meals off a clean tablecloth—all adding zest and volume to scientific work. The day began each morning at 6 a.m.; breakfast at 6.30. Then all dispersed to their several occupations: ornithology, entomology, botany, taxidermy. Back at midday to a light meal, unless provisions for the day were taken out. Once more into the forest till 4 p.m. Then tea and the evening tasks of journal writing, photograph developing, plant pressing, insect pinning. The evening meal at 7 p.m. Every hour was pleasantly occupied, and bedtime found everybody healthily tired. Sunday was a day of comparative rest, celebrated by an hour longer in the hammock, and for the Indians by the chanting of hymns.

To render the forest accessible for investigation the making of little trails was necessary. These spread out in various directions according to whim or need; the more haphazard and winding, the more likely you are to meet things unexpectedly. Hence the trails were all over the place, ten or twelve miles of them, twisting and rambling in every direction: known as the 'timber trail,' for hauling logs; the 'yackman trail,' leading to ants of that name; the 'waterfall trail,' which led to the cascade; the 'circular trail' and the 'ring trail.' In addition were forest roads ten or twelve feet wide, as localities for observation. Yet with all these it was quite easy to get lost, the safest guide being a compass. Yet, even so, it is wise to 'blaze the trail' by snapping twigs along the path. The Indians say that even forest birds may lose their way. There are two dry and two wet seasons, the average shade temperature being 80° F. The heat was not oppressive even at noon, and a single blanket was required at night. About one hundred inches of rain fall annually.

Thunderstorms of great violence accompanied tropical down-pours. The forest floor felt like a well-regulated greenhouse, with seldom a breath of wind at the foot of the trees. An exposed photograph plate would not give a sign of leaf-movement after half an hour. Damp was the great trouble, and you soon got used to starting off each day in the wet clothes of the evening before. So mould developed everywhere. Of forest pests, one of the worst is the red bug, the larva of the harvest-mite, almost invisible, but which sets up intolerable itching. Fortunately, in a few months you become immune. They are everywhere, and attack every bird, mammal, and reptile in the forest. Ticks lie in wait for a passing animal; they will wander about you for a time till they find a suitably delicate spot into which to plunge their proboscis. Then they suck in blood and swell to half an inch in diameter. Moral: do a delousing operation every evening, otherwise you may have a scratching and sleepless night. Mosquitoes are a nuisance to observers who have to keep still. Poisonous ants moving in armies may make violent attacks on your person, and the disturbance of a wasp's nest was likely to have serious consequences. No one even saw a jaguar, nor was any one bitten by a poisonous serpent.

The botanists secured much valuable information of the trees, several of which were of the greatest importance as timber. With the help of Indians huge trees were felled bringing down a mass of debris and striking the ground with a tremendous boom that reverberated for miles through the silent forest. Not always would the tree fall at once if held aloft by bushropes, and a dozen trees might have to be felled before the botanist secured his identifying flower. Twelve Indians—boatmen, cooks, tree climbers, a huntsman, a motor-engineer—were indispensable and of the greatest value—splendid fellows, quiet, willing, cheerful, and industrious. But they must be treated kindly or they will simply leak out of the landscape.

And so these eleven men of science went their several ways, exploring the treasures of this virgin forest : for virgin it undoubtedly was, and must have occupied a time measured by geological periods of rain-forest conditions in reaching its present state. But it was not in the floor but in the roof of the forest that was to be found the goal of the great exploitation. Not but what the floor proved rich in treasure, as this volume abundantly shows ; but for a century science had been at work there. Now at last this well-equipped expedition is in a position to bring to earth the treasures of the hitherto impenetrable tangle of vegetation overhead. The spiked ladder or spiked boots, the rocket-firing apparatus, the rope ladder, the observation chair, the tree-top platform, were among the devices employed. Then traps were hauled up in a string for investigating the layers of forest life. At forty feet, eighty feet, one hundred feet, the captures in one night's catch would greatly vary, giving beetles, leafhoppers, wasps, moths, crickets, spiders, bees, ants, cockroaches, and grasshoppers in different proportions. The explorer of the tree-tops needed elaborate protection against the wrath of bees, wasps, and ants. A curious fact was that so many insects mimicked in their appearance others armed with weapons of offence not possessed by themselves. Crickets, bugs, beetles, spiders, ran over the ground and up the tree-trunks the exact image of poisonous ants. But above all and through all the wonderful profusion and the ceaseless struggle of its innumerable forms of life was revealed in apparent chaos the endless harmony that pervades all nature.

This fascinating volume, however, is largely occupied with Major Hingston's own explorations. Here are new and marvellous revelations of the protective devices of the insect world. The most casual reader who only carelessly turns the leaves of this volume must be fascinated by the beautifully produced reproductions of the cartwheel devices of equatorial spiders, of which there are nearly forty. We have all seen and admired the clever and often singularly beautiful

snare of *Epeira Diadema* in this country. The spider in Guiana might be very small—in some cases a sixth of an inch in length—but with a snare several inches in diameter, and perhaps forty radii and fifty turns of the spiral. The marvel was the variety of devices resorted to by the spider in order to conceal itself from its enemies. It might be a carpet of debris exactly harmonizing with its own colour, made from the remains of captured insects or tiny fragments of vegetable matter that had fallen into the web. The variety of these devices is amazing. Now it is a carpet surrounding the spider on every side; now a cluster of packets; now a string of clustered packets; again a string of bark; another of a pellet and a surrounding circle imitating the hub of the web. Sometimes the device will take the form of a diametrical notched thread, vertical perhaps or horizontal. Among the most striking were diametrical notched bands, triradiate or triradiate and concentric bands combined. Sometimes the oblique diametrical thread would have a pellet at each end. There might be a string of cocoons, or a circular spiral thread—anything to confuse the sight of an enemy. But the most beautiful is the flower-like carpet of zigzags, arguing an almost incredible instinct of harmony and mathematical precision. Yes, it is instinct only. The spider whose web is broken is incapable of repairing it. In this it is far beneath the ant in intelligence.

And yet, and yet, what of those snares with a trap-door so cunningly designed and constructed—the cylindrical tube, the flattened purse, the sock-shaped tube, the cone-shaped wrap, the dome-shaped snare, and others too numerous to mention, but all exquisitely pictured here? Then there are the nests. Fabre has given us some marvellous descriptions of the construction of the spider's nest, but these must pale before the clever devices of tropical spiders as here figured.

We must pass over the protective devices of butterflies, caterpillars, and moths, ingenious and staggering though they be, as well as the chapter treating of the intimidating

and warning devices of insects, so as to reserve space for ants and termites.

And yet this section does not contain anything particularly new. The small ants which make their nests in the swellings of certain plants scarcely compare in interest with our own ants in this country. They would require, indeed, more careful and prolonged observation than the author was able to give them. Of the driver ants he tells us many interesting things, both in the text and the illustrations; but most of these things have been told by previous observers. But the marching termites are of a different order from those dealt with by Maeterlinck in his *Life of the White Ant* and other writers, as they come out into the open and work in the full light of day. They march in procession through the forest. Workers and soldiers are quite distinct in structure and behaviour. Both have red-brown heads, yellow thoraces, dark earthy abdomens; but the soldiers have a kind of spear projecting from the front of their heads. Yet we wonder whether they are termites proper or a species of ant. In their nests, their foraging expeditions, in which they march in procession like the driver ants, four or five abreast, with soldiers on the flanks, they differ wholly from the termites. These processions have for their goal the tops of the trees, where they break into clusters which sit stationary, tearing off fragments of bark, which they chew and swallow. They keep eating till their bodies are distended, when they are ready to return to the nest—for what purpose the author is uncertain. What guides the procession on its long journey? Not sight, for these ants are blind. Smell, probably. Draw a moistened finger across the track and the disorganization for a time is complete. The same thing happens with the black ant in this country, and *flavus niger* is not blind. Still, the surmise of the author is probably correct. The sense of smell resides in the antennae, which serve so many purposes in the ant economy.

The soldiers are a pure military caste. Any disturbance

of a procession and news of the alarm will spread immediately. Back on their tracks will rush the column of workers, while all the soldiers in the neighbourhood will rush to the scene of the disturbance. One soldier will begin to vibrate its body. It is a very rapid quiver, which no doubt serves as an alarm signal. This will be imitated by a second, a third, a fourth soldier, and so on till a crowd of soldiers has gathered on the spot. The author has no doubt that they are summoned by a vibrating signal, but whether it affects their auditory sense or acts by some more mysterious method he quite failed to understand. The nest in its structure and internal arrangements is different from that of the ordinary termite. It is a black conspicuous earthy structure placed against the trunk of a big tree, oval in shape, and often about a foot wide and two or three feet in length. Its flat, fairly smooth surface is marked by transverse curved ridges, which Major Hingston believes act like the eaves of a roof and shoot rain away from the nest. Without them the constant drip of the wet season would soon reduce the nest to pulp. The walls of the nest are friable and easily come to pieces; so differing from the nest of the ordinary termite, which requires dynamite to blow it to pieces. The interior is sponge-like, and reveals a complicated system of interstices separated by earth-walls and consisting of cells and galleries and passages that ramify in all directions. These cells and galleries are kept scrupulously clean, and are crowded with thousands of termites—workers, soldiers, larvae, eggs, a swarming, seething multitude of scrambling, crawling life. A careful search will reveal one or more queens. All this differs widely from the internal economy of the ordinary termite's nest. In nothing is the difference more striking than in the fact that the ordinary termite works out of sight, whereas these come out into the open, as we have seen. The author furnishes some interesting illustrations of the behaviour of workers and soldiers when a procession is interfered with. The termites have many enemies. One is a small active species of ant

which preys perpetually on the marching columns, so that the marchers must be constantly on guard. There is a much larger ant, a powerful ferocious species with protruding raptorial jaws, which hangs about on the ground at the foot of the tree and pounces swiftly on any termite that it can manage to grab from the line. There are also scorpions and spiders which prey on the termites. When the annual nuptial flight takes place, there is great slaughter not only from the usual enemies, but from birds as well. But for some mysterious reason birds do not interfere with the marching processions. This section of the volume, though interesting, apart from these unusual termites is not as novel as the other parts of the book.

The chapter on 'Caterpillar Cases' furnishes unusual varieties of a familiar theme. Obviously the caterpillar is exposed to many enemies. Its ingenuity in constructing all kinds of camouflage is endless. Fragments of bark, liverwort, lichen, fern, and pieces of stick are cleverly used as a disguise. The tube of folded leaf has its counterpart with us, but of a more complicated order here. But the author admits that not to one of these interesting little creatures could he give a name. Here is a big blank in our knowledge of tropical life.

Nest suspension is an interesting study. There is the pendent cone-nest of the spider, another of a bark-covered nest, a pendent cocoon, the purse-like nest, the cone-shaped nest, the prism-shaped nest, the bunch of grapes cocoon, and the mud-nest—all of which show how largely this method of preservation is resorted to in the tropical forest. But none of them surpasses in wonder the devices employed by many of the wasps in Fabre's books. In either case, it is instinct and not reason that devises these ingenious contraptions.

The concluding chapter on 'Notes from the Tree-Roof' brings out the essential difference between the forest-floor and the tree-roof. They are indeed different worlds. It has been calculated that in the forest floor the air moves one

mile daily, while in the canopy it is ten miles a day. The light in the canopy is twenty-five times more powerful than on the ground floor. Necessarily, therefore, the canopy inhabitants differ in character from those on the ground-level. The Guiana monkeys live entirely in the canopy—howler, beesa, marmoset. Of the thirty-six species of bats, several spend their lives in the canopy. Whole groups of striking birds live perpetually in the tree-roof. Few reptiles are found there. Insects of all kinds abound, and two thousand specimens have yet to be examined. Butterflies sail like birds over the tree-tops, and must spend all their lives there. Still more abundant are the moths. Crickets, cockroaches, and ants are found. An equatorial forest is never bare, though rest and activity alternate. Here indeed is a world of marvel still waiting to be adequately explored.

JOSEPH RITSON.

ORIGEN, THE CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIAN

NO teacher of the Early Church will better repay study than the great Origen—the Adamantine Man. He was born in Alexandria A.D.185, and was a pure Copt of ancient Egyptian race. His parents were Christians, and his father, Leonidas, died a martyr. Origen was, in those early days, eager to the point of imprudence, and would gladly have died with his father. Whilst still in his teens he taught grammar privately in order to support his mother and younger brothers and sisters. He was an ardent student of Greek philosophy and a lover of Plato, and his life's purpose was to state Christian truth as the highest form of philosophy, fulfilling Greek as well as Jewish ideals. The Logos, or Word of God, had been active in Plato as also in Moses. He was appointed by Bishop Demetrius head of the Catechetical School at Alexandria, where he taught in that cosmopolitan centre representatives of both sexes and many races. He gave all his books to a friend who allowed him a small weekly payment in order that he might not have to charge for his lectures. His manner of life in those days was very rigorous, and he carried asceticism to the point of self-mutilation. He made valiant efforts to carry out the Sermon on the Mount in a literal fashion, refusing even to possess more than one cloak. He learnt Hebrew in order to read the Old Testament in the original, and studied Neo-Platonism and made himself acquainted with every branch of ancient science and philosophy. His reputation as a great Christian teacher grew rapidly. He corresponded with the Emperor Philip, interviewed the Empress Julia Mammæa, visited Rome, Greece, Arabia, in the interests of the Church, and converted heretics by the charm of his persuasive discourse and by the force of his reasoned statements. Whilst visiting Palestine during a

period of persecution in Egypt, he accepted an invitation from the Palestine bishops to preach, though as yet only a layman. For this offence he was recalled and censured by the rather officious Bishop Demetrius, and later, when he accepted ordination as a presbyter at the hands of these Palestine bishops, the irate Bishop of Alexandria called a synod and Origen was expelled from the school and from Egypt. He endured this trial with humility and patience, and retired to Caesarea, where he spent the remaining years of his life. Eventually, after being imprisoned and tortured under the Decian persecution, he died at Tyre in 258, in his seventieth year.

He was a voluminous writer, and from his *De Principiis* and *Contra Celsum*, as well as from his various homilies and commentaries, it is possible to form a good judgement of the man and his teaching.

Now, Origen held to a *Rule of Faith* which he believed had been handed down from the apostles. This contained the minimum of Christian doctrine, such as the belief in one God and Father; the divine human Person of Jesus, who was the Incarnation of the Son; the Holy Ghost, the free will of man, the inspiration of the Scriptures, &c. Outside and beyond these limits he believed there was a large field of legitimate speculation for reverent and reasoned research. There is much to criticize, or even condemn, in these daring flights of reason or of fancy. It is quite easy to suggest that the allegorical method of interpreting the Scriptures might destroy the plain historic meaning of many texts, and lead to absurd results. His teaching about the Double Standard, his suggestion that you can pass beyond the Christ the Saviour, his teaching about the pre-existent life, are liable to grave abuse. Though he clearly denied 'there was a time where the Son was not,' his emphasis on the Subordination of the Son may have prepared the way for Arianism.

Nevertheless, though there was danger in these speculations, we should remember that Origen was a pioneer in

this realm of systematic theology, and he must not be held responsible for the inferences which smaller minds and less devout natures may have drawn from his flights of genius. The more we read Origen, the more we are impressed by his profound grasp of the essentials of Christian truth. How near he came to the centre, how much happier would have been the course of Church history, had the Church drawn closer to him and caught more of his spirit! His work is a constant witness to the spiritual and ethical against that which is grossly material and merely official.

(1) *Consider his doctrine of God.* He was not uninfluenced by the Neo-Platonic ideas of his age, but God to him was never a negative or vast abyss; rather the perfect expression of all ideals. God is a Spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit. God is good and just, is 'full of pity and grace.' He is 'Father of Mercy,' not impassible, but able to feel for His children. God's omnipotence is no mere uncontrolled power. He could not act contrary to His own nature, which is holiness and love. Origen is ever asking, 'Is it worthy of *Him*?' The one dominating fact is that God is Love. Love is His motive in creation, redemption, and even judgement; everything said about Him must be brought into real relationship with this fact of love.

(2) This governing thought influences *his views of the Bible*. He has no theory of development to help him, yet he must reject the theory of Marcion and maintain the inspiration of both Old and New Testaments in order to be faithful to apostolic tradition, the Rule of Faith. Nevertheless, his keen eye saw difficulties—the apparent cruelty there is in the Old Testament. He hints at degrees of inspiration, placing the Gospels before the Epistles, New Testament before Old in one passage, but his way of escape from the dilemma is to introduce the allegorical method and thus to find some inner meaning in difficult texts. It is a dangerously subjective method, but the motive is correct. Nothing must be ascribed to God which is unworthy of Him.

The whole Bible must be interpreted by the controlling thought that God's character is Love.

(3) *Take, again, his view of punishment.* It is refreshing to turn from later theologians—even some Patristic theology like Tertullian's, e.g., with the repeated emphasis on the fires of hell and arbitrary judgements—to Origen. To him, punishment is intended to be remedial and curative. The fires of Gehenna are purifying fires. The penalties are not arbitrarily fixed by an avenging and resentful deity. They are rather the inevitable consequences of sin in a moral universe which man imposes on himself when he joins himself to the great disturbing factor which sin always is, but these penalties are used by the gracious purpose of God so that sinful man might be restored through discipline to righteousness. The free will of man may for ever reject grace—that awful possibility remains—but Origen believes that the love of God, with all the resources of wisdom and power behind it, will in the end prevail over sin, and God will some day triumph in the salvation of all—universal restoration of all things He has made. At least God is able to deal with every situation as it arises, and His will is ever the will to heal.

(4) *The belief in the love of God leads to belief in the free will of man* made in the divine image and possessing a rational and moral nature. God's method must be persuasive rather than coercive, because that is love's method. Man must make a free response; any other response is worthless to God. God is ever seeking by appeal to win the response of that free will. There is no Calvinism in Origen, for God is not to him just Sovereign Will, but Sovereign Love. There is something wrong with human nature, for infant baptism to Origen implies some pollution in the new-born child to be cleansed away. He suggests a pre-existent cause, but the free will is there, and by the aid of divine grace man can do the right.

(5) *The theory of Atonement* most prominent in Origen's

writings is also in accord with the emphasis on God's love. To Origen, Jesus is the High Priest offering the prayers of the people, and he speaks of Jesus as the Propitiation, but God's wrath is, to Origen, a figure of speech. God's justice must never be separated from His goodness. It is love which gave Jesus to die 'for the benefit of all.' Along with other suggestions, Origen teaches clearly that the death of Christ broke the power of the demons, ransomed from Satan's bondage. This Jesus accomplished by His perfect representative obedience, by His endurance of suffering for others, by His steadfast loyalty, by the new spirit He creates in man. Origen hints at a close and mystical union. This theory has been criticized and can be very crudely stated, but it does seem to express a truth which later theories, from Anselm onwards, forgot to express. Let us remember that by the demon, or by Satan, Origen meant the sin which opposes God. This theory presupposes that the main difficulty is not some honour of God demanding satisfaction, nor some punishment which must be endured, but the destruction of the sin which so strongly holds human life in its grip. Sin is the obstacle. Origen seems to suggest that the love of God has overcome the difficulty by the overthrow of the power of evil. The love of Jesus is stronger than sin, the adversary, the Devil, and thus opens the way to the true life which is fellowship, and that is what the love of God always seeks. It is not true to say that Origen has a low view of sin. He may call it the 'shavings of the carpenter's shop,' but it is certainly more than that to him. It is degeneracy, the alien thing in the universe so terrible in its vicious results that it is well worth while suffering prolonged pain if that is the only way to destroy it, but sin is against love and it is love which destroys it at the Cross. Origen has seen this tremendous truth that the patient endurance of evil destroys its power.

(6) *The love of God is seen in Jesus.* Now Origen held steadfastly to the divinity of Christ. The Son who derived

His being from the Father 'by eternal generation' was present in Jesus, but Jesus was also truly human. Origen was the first Christian thinker to do justice to the human soul of Jesus. The humanity of Jesus is beautifully portrayed and he lovingly dwells on the Gospel stories. His theory of the human soul of Jesus is connected with his theory of pre-existence. One pre-existing soul did not sin as others had done, but, cleaving to the Son in perfect obedience and wholly receptive to Him, and completely united with Him, was therefore wholly one with Him; therefore, existing in Him as the 'iron in the fire,' was wholly permeated with the divine. In this figure there is some approach to the modern idea of the perfect human personality of Jesus so wholly penetrated with God in perfect fellowship as to be wholly one with God in mind, will, and purpose, and therefore equivalent to God in the experience of men. Jesus is the image of the unseen Father, therefore it is in the historic Jesus that Origen finds God, and He is seen as Love.

(7) The love of God in Christ gives the key to the whole *problem of Christian life and thought*. The Church is no merely administrative or external institution. It consists of all 'imitators of Jesus' who possess faith which prompts to obedient love; 'all who are as Peter was' can be considered as stones in the Temple, or even as rocks on which the Church is built. This is, of course, a shattering blow at the foundation of Papal claims, and gives the humblest member who imitates Jesus an important place in the Church. Apostolic succession is therefore a succession of apostolic service and life. Many in the visible Church may be outside the Kingdom and many outside the Church may be accepted by God. The bishop must be servant, not lord. The validity of binding and loosing depends on the character of the priest. The Sacrament is a real thanksgiving, and there is no place for transubstantiation; the bread and wine are symbolic of the Word and the Presence is spiritual, not material.

(8) *The ethical standard is splendidly maintained by Origen.* He is always appealing to the Sermon on the Mount. He believes in these maxims, Love your enemies and pray for them. We are to endure ills rather than inflict ills. He knows about the origin of wars, the greed for power, the love of glory, the shortage of necessities, &c. He is a Pacifist, for the Christian protects the empire by praying for Caesar, not by fighting. 'The gospel does not permit us to take vengeance on our enemies.' 'Jesus does nowhere teach it right for the disciples to offer violence, not even to the wicked, nor does He allow the killing of any individual whatever.'

Origen's defence of Christianity in his *Apology* is boldly to appeal to the character of Christians, their love and purity of life. If ever a man lived what he taught, that man was Origen. He faced trial and persecution from Church and State with patience without bitterness. In this ethic of love and loyalty, this breadth of mind and catholicity of spirit, this tenderness and self-denial and kindly ministry for others, and in the passionate love for Jesus, whom he 'calls his Saviour,' Origen brings us to the centre. He endeavoured by his life and teaching to witness to the truth he beautifully expressed in the words, 'God loves all and hates none'; so we can get some inspiration as we watch this mighty spirit, mighty in intellect and in quality of character, soaring on wings of loving speculation and adventurous faith towards the Eternal Truth, to find that to be the love of God in Jesus.

D. W. LOWIS.

ARMINIANISM IN SCOTLAND

FEW words can have been more familiar to the Scot of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than the word Arminianism. Whether its significance was widely understood is a different matter. It was generally agreed, however, that to call a man an Arminian was to use a term of strong opprobrium, like declaring him in our day, perhaps, a Bolshevik. Ministers preached as constantly against Arminianism as against Popery. There have been few systematizers so completely logical as Calvin; and Calvinism had, therefore, to be accepted or rejected as a whole; and even a very slight deviation was recognized as destructive of the whole direction of thought, and, in consequence, regarded as anathema.

It was unfortunate for Arminian teaching that it came into Scotland, not so much directly from Holland as via England, and associated not merely with hostility to Calvinism, but with hostility to Presbyterianism. Scotland was, indeed, suspicious of it before the Synod of Dort, as we know from the *Duplyes* of the Aberdeen Doctors; and the decisions of that Council were accepted in Scotland as practically ecumenical. Archbishop Laud was instrumental, more than any other, in proposing to the northern kingdom at once advanced views of Episcopacy and distinctive Arminian theology; and these two things became inseparably associated in the popular and even in the clerical mind. Sydserf and Maxwell, disciples of Laud, did what they could, though in vain, to have an Arminian appointed in 1629 to a place in Edinburgh University. In 1684 members of the Scottish Parliament were petitioning the King against uncensured Arminian preaching. Matters came to a head at the famous Glasgow General Assembly of 1688, when Episcopacy was abolished and all the bishops deposed or deprived, a general charge against them

being Arminian heresy, to the discussion of which much time and learning were devoted.

The close association between Laud's ecclesiastical views and his theology led practically to a curious identification of Arminianism with Popery, towards which the Archbishop was believed to be leading the Church. Thus a Scot could write of believing on certain questions either 'with Arminius and the worst of Papists, or with Austine, with the Synod of Dort, and the rest of the reformed.'

Some Episcopalians were definitely opposed to Arminianism. John Forbes of Corse, who had lived in Holland while the famous Synod of Dort was in session, went into exile rather than accept the Covenants and their condemnation of Episcopacy; but he remained a determined Calvinist. His writings are quite clear on the point; and even his enemies exonerated him of all Arminian sympathies. Forbes was one of the illustrious Aberdeen Doctors. Another was Robert Baron, whose writings are likewise Calvinistic, though not such as satisfied the somewhat extreme Samuel Rutherford. Still another was James Sibbald, who definitely adhered to the Calvinism of Dort. At Dundee a minister named Auchinleck, accused of Arminianism, denied the charge. Robert Baillie says, 'He cleared himself to us of all but some quirks in the second article,' and he indicates that accusations were being made by people who had little accurate knowledge of such theological matters, and were inclined to suspect 'capital heresy' everywhere.

On the other hand, William Forbes, first bishop of Edinburgh, a rare scholar and a preacher greatly admired by King Charles I, was an avowed Arminian. He was familiar with the writings on both sides of the controversy, but unhesitatingly condemned Dort and approved the Remonstrants. Row accuses William Forbes of emboldening others to put forward Arminian doctrines.

Another not quite so distinguished, but even more active, was Bishop Sydserf, one of Laud's strongest supporters in

Scotland. At the Glasgow Assembly he was found guilty of preaching Arminianism, and the charge was associated with the use of the crucifix and other Popish practices. Bishop Wedderburn was found to have been giving Arminian instruction to St. Andrews students. The Bishop of Argyll was charged with 'teaching universall grace, illustrating it by the simile of a pilot in a storme, who intends to save all within the shippe, but is hindered by the violence of the storme, not by the will of the maister of the shippe.' The Bishop of Ross was equally guilty. Panter, an able University professor, was charged with 'the grossest Pelagianisme in original sin, let be in other points of Arminianisme.' David Mitchell, a prominent Edinburgh minister, was guilty of 'Arminianisme in all the heads.' John Creighton, a minister in Paisley, was said to be 'enclyned to Popery and Arminianisme,' believing men could obey the law, mocking at Calvinism, teaching universal grace, emphasizing freewill, and holding that saints might fall from saving grace. Others were similarly accused and condemned in 1638 or soon afterwards. To the charges of Popery and Arminianism was frequently added that of immorality, these different crimes being seldom clearly distinguished by Presbyteries or Assemblies !

During the succeeding period, when the Covenanters were supreme in the Scottish ecclesiastical world, any suspicion of Arminianism was taken very seriously. Strang, the Professor of Divinity at Glasgow University, was subjected to strict inquisition. A little catechism printed at Edinburgh was condemned in 1648 for 'very grosse errors in the point of Universall Redemption.' The General Assembly showed itself nervous about Arminian influences from England ; and Robert Baillie complained that Cromwellian toleration was affording them protection. At this time we find a dispute between the Professor of Divinity at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and one of his students, who was airing Arminian views. The doctrines were thus not unknown, and were

greatly dreaded, but were kept in almost complete subjection.

A more difficult study is offered by the years 1661 to 1690, when Episcopacy once more prevailed in Scotland. We find very little of Laud, and in all essentials the more moderate beliefs and practices of the previous Covenanting period survived. Synods, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions operated as before; and, in church worship, much the order of the Westminster directory was observed, with extemporary prayers, only a few practices giving any evidence that a new régime existed. There can be no doubt that the same general continuity may be traced in the department of theology, and that as a rule the Episcopalians of this period in Scotland were orthodox Calvinists.

Officially the Rescissory Act of 1661 annulled all Parliamentary decisions as far back as 1638, including those which legalized the Westminster Confession. No confession was mentioned as now lawful in Scotland; but in 1681 the Test included a curious reference to the Scots Confession of 1560, and, indeed, theoretically that had been restored by the annulling of the Westminster Confession. It was not, however, actually used in the Episcopal period. In practice, the Westminster Confession was the only one with which people were acquainted; and Gilbert Burnet says definitely, writing of the year 1681: 'For these thirty years the only Confession of Faith that was read in Scotland was that which the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, anno 1648, had set out . . . and the Bishops had left it in possession, though the authority that enacted it was annulled.' That Burnet is right is proved by the fact that as many editions of the Westminster Confession were printed in Scotland in this period as in any other. Aldis notes issues in 1669, 1671, 1675, 1679, 1681, 1685, 1687, 1689.

The Shorter Catechism was naturally also put aside by the Rescissory Act: and yet it seems to have remained in use, there being no good substitute available. It was printed with most editions of the Confession of Faith. The official

visitors to Aberdeen University in 1690 found that the students were being instructed in the Westminster Confession and the Catechism of Thomas Vincent, which was excellent Calvinism. In 1667 we notice Bishop Leighton of Dunblane expressing a desire for a short and plain catechism, and in 1688, and for years afterwards, the Episcopalian Synod of Aberdeen discussed the production of a catechism; but nothing came of all this; and the Shorter Catechism continued to hold the field, and to be used in schools and parochial catechizings.

That Calvinism was the order of the day is evident from the alarm with which in 1678 Alexander Brodie heard that 'Dr. Laud's design in religion is coming in: Arminianism recommends men to preferment.' In the previous year he had recorded in his diary that there was 'much stir' about James Fraser of Brea, who was 'thought to inclin to Arminianism in some things.' Arminianism views were evidently rare and unpopular. We know that the doctrine taught to every divinity student at Marischal College, Aberdeen, by Professor John Meinzie till 1684 was unwavering Calvinism, and likewise Professor Douglas at King's College never hesitated in his praise of Calvin and his condemnation of the Remonstrants.

When Presbyterianism was restored in 1690, we find Episcopalians eager to deny that they were Arminians. An anonymous sermon of 1692 says, 'They nickname us an Arminian clergy . . . but Ja. Arminius and the Remonstrants in Holland were generallie no less Presbyterian than the Remonstrators in Scotland.' This same point was made in 1690 by Professor Strachan of Edinburgh, 'repute to be an Arminian,' and in 1704 in a pamphlet issued by George Garden, a stalwart upholder of Episcopacy.

The charge, however, was a common one. One pamphlet in 1694 says, 'Most of the Episcopalian party were infected with Arminianism,' and others declare that the Episcopalians were 'endeavouring to dispose the people to a good

likeing of Arminian tenets,' that 'it's but too well known that those of his party are deeply tainted with those tenets,' and that the bishops 'gave ground to the people of prejudice against them as favourers of Popery and Arminianism.' The accusation was thus not unusual; but its vagueness is indicated by the fact that Massie of Edinburgh University was charged with scepticism, atheism, popery, and Arminianism—a somewhat improbable combination.

An Episcopalian pamphlet of 1698 puts its finger on the point when it states that 'there are but very few of the clergy of Scotland that explain the doctrine of Grace and Freewill after the manner of Arminius . . . nor is it necessary for every country minister to read Alvarez and Dr. Twisse, Arminius and Episcopius.'

The fact is that many were somewhat ignorant of these rather abstruse theological problems, and somewhat confused in their theological utterances; and many were distinctly unsympathetic to rigid Calvinism, but not necessarily on that account correctly described as Arminians. The sermon-writer already mentioned disclaims that Calvinism which he identifies with 'presumptuous looking into the ark of God,' referring to the vast abysses of the divine decrees. This phrase carries us back to Bishop Leighton, who, like his friends the Scougals and others, believed himself a Calvinist, but was in fact little interested in dogma, and profoundly immersed in mysticism, and apt to make use of expressions theologically irreconcilable.

After the Revolution it became compulsory for ministers to sign the Westminster Confession. This most of the former clergy did, but there were also men who refused. One of the latter stated plainly that there were 'many doctrines and positions contain'd in it which are controverted among Protestant divines.' He pointed out at the same time that his difficulties with regard to these did not make him an Arminian. John Sage, an Episcopal writer who died in 1711, insisted that, while he was dissatisfied with the Calvinist

system, he was not pleased with the Remonstrant position. He called Arminians 'trimmers,' and thought them on the way to Arianism and Socinianism. George Garden gives us a summary of his belief, which may be quoted at length to establish the actual state of affairs as regards his party : ' That God created man for this end that he might love him and enjoy him for ever ; that man destroyed himself, and in God only is his help found ; that God takes no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but rather that he repent and live ; that he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance ; that he so loved the world that he sent his only begotten son, that whosoever believes in him might not perish, but have everlasting life ; that he sent not his son to condemn the world, but that the world thro' him might be saved ; that the son of man came to seek and to save that which was lost, that when he shall say to the righteous that he shall surely live, if he trust to his own righteousness and commit iniquity, all his righteousness shall not be remembered, but for his iniquity he shall die ; if he turn from his sins and do that which is lawful and right, none of his sins shall be remembered to him, he shall surely live ; that all our good comes from God, and all our evil from ourselves.'

If this is Arminianism, Garden is willing to accept the name ; but it is not his idea of an Arminian, as it is not his idea of a Calvinist.

The General Assembly in 1704 forbade the teaching of Arminianism, and in 1711 included it amongst the heresies to be repudiated by candidates for ordination. One of the most famous heresy hunts in Scotland was that of John Simson, which began in 1717 ; and against him the earliest charge was that of Arminianism. In eighteenth-century Scotland there was, after this, a certain amount of definitely unorthodox thinking ; but, though the word Arminianism had a way of creeping into almost all charges, the heretical influences at work were rather those of Samuel Clarke and

the Deists. The Arminian controversy nevertheless continued to occupy much of the time of divinity students; and preachers and writers of the Church of Scotland and of the Secession Churches agreed in hearty condemnation of Arminian teaching, the whole evangelical community being of one mind in this matter.

One result was suspicion of John Wesley when he came to Scotland. Whitefield, as a Calvinist, had not the same difficulty; but Wesley, although he was careful not to obtrude views which might be called Arminian, and endeavoured to keep first things first in delivering his message, suffered strong opposition. The leader of the Evangelical party in the Church of Scotland, Dr. John Erskine, did his very best to obstruct his work. Erskine's name is familiar to readers of Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*. He was a man of wide learning, of singular piety, and of great influence; and his very determined hostility must have contributed to render many persons impervious to the message of Wesley. Erskine published the Hervey letters in 1765, and soon afterwards issued a pamphlet directed against Wesley, in which is a well-known passage attacking the Societies for blending 'with some precious Gospel truths a medley of Arminian, Antinomian, and enthusiastic errors' against which he felt bound to raise an alarum in Calvinistic Scotland. Writing in 1771, Wesley himself refers to the opposition of Edinburgh ministers, who 'stealed the hearts of the people against all the good impressions which might otherwise have been made.' Wesleyan preachers were also dismissed by the pious Lady Glenorchy on account of their theology. There is no doubt that, to the religious people of Scotland in general, Wesley was a 'heretic'; and this partly explains why only very moderate success attended his twenty-two visits to Scotland.

That his work was not perhaps so fruitless as statistics might imply may be illustrated from the story of Newburgh, an Aberdeenshire fishing village. Towards the close of the

seventeenth century it had an Episcopalian clergyman who affirmed that the fishermen's employment was a kind of slavery, and they themselves grossly ignorant, so as to be 'incapable to witness as to points of doctrine even when they were hearers, which was very seldom,' being generally 'men of no conscience,' and such as he could not admit to Communion. Later we find the parish under Presbyterian government, and the minister reporting year after year that he had held no Communion Service, 'not haveing got the people in suitable fitness.' On one occasion, when questioned in Presbytery about the lives of his parishioners, he answered significantly 'with silence.' In view of all this, it is interesting to discover how different was the impression which the people of Newburgh made at a still later date upon John Wesley. He visited the village in 1779 and again in 1784, and records: 'The flame begins to kindle . . . most of all at Newburgh . . . where the Society swiftly increases'; and again: 'Here is at present, according to its bigness, the liveliest Society in the Kingdom.' Half a century had naturally made a change in the condition of the fishing population; but one cannot avoid concluding that something must have been lacking in the Christianity presented both by the Episcopalian and by the Presbyterian.

The small extent of Wesley's influence in Scotland does not obscure the reality and intensity of it; but a general survey does indicate that the popular suspicion of the word Arminian had power greatly to limit his usefulness.

The dominant ecclesiastical party in Scotland during at least the middle half of the eighteenth century was that of the Moderates, whose most distinguished leader was Principal William Robertson, the historian. Their attitude to Arminianism is interesting. Popularly, we constantly find them declared by Evangelicals to be Arminians; but the actual position was very much like that of the Episcopalians of a hundred years earlier. Some of the Moderates were unquestioningly Calvinist. Thus Alexander Gerard,

moderator of the General Assembly in 1764, was clearly Calvinistic in any utterances which affected theology ; and his son Gilbert, who was moderator in 1808, was regarded as perfectly orthodox by the Dutch classis of Amsterdam, which is surely a sufficient test. On the whole, however, the Moderates were simply not interested in theology, and were extremely shy of dogma, undue emphasis upon which they believed to have caused real injury to Scottish religion. Their concerns were ethics and culture, and they certainly produced high-class philosophical, literary, and historical work ; but their severest critic, John Wotherspoon, is perfectly justified in hinting that, so far from being Arminian, few of them even knew what the Five Points were. The most that can be said is that, though they had all signed the Westminster Confession of Faith, they were not enthusiastic Calvinists, and many of them, had they expressed their views, would have proved very bad Calvinists indeed.

When we come to the nineteenth century, we find the Scottish Churches still officially Calvinist, and most of the ministers and people giving sincere adherence to the Westminster Confession. Every child learned the Shorter Catechism by heart, and was regularly examined upon it. A knowledge of it was essential in those approaching the Communion table for the first time. Until 1889 every candidate for ordination explicitly repudiated Arminianism. The leaders of the Churches in the earlier half of the century—men such as Professor Mearns, Principal Hill, Dr. Candlish—were staunch Calvinists. To this day the Free, Free Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, and Original Secession Churches (the remnant Presbyterian bodies outside of the national Church of Scotland) are all strictly Calvinistic.

Certain influences, however, have gradually modified the general position ; and it cannot be said that there is now either the same knowledge or the same acceptance of the characteristic Calvinistic doctrines. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen and John Macleod Campbell took a strong hold

upon broader-minded Scots ; and Calvinistic ideas as to the extent of the Atonement began to give way. Dr. Thomas Chalmers expressed the view that, 'broadly as Calvin announces truth, he does not bring it forward in that free and spontaneous manner which I find in the New Testament.' Rabbi Duncan showed the new sense of proportion which was developing when he said, 'I am first a Christian, next a Catholic, then a Calvinist, fourthly a Paedobaptist, and fifth a Presbyterian.' Those who formed the United Presbyterian Church (the result of the earlier Secessions) had ever since the Marrow Controversy been opposed to the rigid Calvinism of the Covenanters, and in 1879 began the process of official relaxation. Other Churches followed, and a very formal acceptance of the Westminster Confession is all that is now required of ministers, while the Shorter Catechism has lost its place as a leading standard of the faith, and has ceased to be taught in its entirety in either day or Sunday schools.

The influence of Schleiermacher and acquaintance with later German theology and philosophy, the work of F. D. Maurice and A. P. Stanley, the teaching of Thomas Carlyle, 'a Calvinist without the Theology,' English literary and scientific advance, and extensive undermining by the Hegelian school of the Cairds and others, caused much collapse of the old orthodoxy. The *Scottish Sermons* of 1880 speak of 'the hidden beauty and greatness of our nature,' 'our nature . . . akin to the divine,' 'the reactive power of our higher nature,' and in other phrases and in definite statements reveal a departure from the spirit of the traditional Scottish theology. Norman Macleod was repelled by 'the narrow exclusive hyper-Calvinistic schools,' and desired abandonment of Calvinism and a putting of Christ's teaching in 'a form according to fact and not theory.' Principal Story of Glasgow University in 1901 spoke of the 'bald Calvinism of the Westminster Confession,' and 'the fetters of Calvinism,' and more recently Principal Galloway of St.

Andrews has stated that 'the intelligent have lost sympathy with the old Calvinism.' There has been a general attempt to undo the identification of Christianity with Calvinism, and duly to subordinate the Westminster Confession both to the ancient creeds and to God's revelation in modern thought. One can no longer say that Scotland is wholeheartedly Calvinist.

On the other hand, one cannot say that Arminianism has ousted Calvinism. The Evangelical Union (now part of the Congregational Union) was explicitly Arminian, and there are perhaps similar sympathies here and there elsewhere; but of Scotland in general one can merely state that, while something that Arminianism stood for has been accepted, its precise dogmatic positions excite quite as little interest as do those of the Synod of Dort. Indeed, the chief trouble seems to be that interest in all dogma has largely vanished, leaving vagueness and uncertainty supreme. The word Arminian has no longer the dreadful associations and implications which it held for the Covenanter or the eighteenth-century Evangelical, and an almost undue emphasis upon the love and mercy of God as contrasted with His sovereignty and justice is characteristic of Scottish preaching; but the best theological thought seems to concern itself with matters which are deeper than all distinctions of Calvinism and Arminianism, and the opposition of these two will doubtless come to be regarded as the opposition of poles within one system rather than as a struggle between Christ and anti-christ.

G. D. HENDERSON.

SOPHOCLES

THERE are two supreme masters of tragic drama, and two only: Aeschylus and Shakespeare. A very small band of men can challenge comparison with these two: Sophocles, Euripides, Calderon, Racine, Goethe; and, of that band, the man who can approach most nearly is Sophocles, not only as dramatist, but as poet and interpreter of life.

Colonus, a small village about a mile to the north of Athens, was the birthplace of Sophocles; and many details of its scenery are vividly described by him in a famous choric ode in the *Oedipus at Colonus*. He was born in the year 497 B.C., and died 405 B.C. As a boy he was chosen to lead the choral dance in celebration of the victory of the Greeks at Salamis, 480 B.C.; and at the age of twenty-eight he defeated Aeschylus, carrying off the prize at the great festival of Bacchus, at which the prizes for tragic plays were awarded. For more than forty years he continued to present plays, sometimes winning the first prize, occasionally defeated by a younger candidate. He is said to have written upwards of a hundred tragedies, but of these only seven remain to us complete. He had inherited a moderate income, and this was necessary, since the Greeks regarded the crown of wild olive as the supreme reward of the dramatist, and any payment or profit was thought of as base and sordid. The poet was supposed to receive his inspiration direct from heaven, and it would have been profanation to sell the very bread of life for money.

Sophocles is revealed in his plays as a typical Athenian, active in politics, taking his part in public life, concerned always with the art of noble living, but by temperament a poet first and a statesman second. While he lived in an age of heroes, amid the glory that was Athens, familiar with

Pericles, Herodotus, and Phidias, he preferred the country to the town, and, just as Wordsworth loved Grasmere, or Horace his Sabine farm, so Sophocles loved the quiet beauty of his home at Colonus. In the comedies of Aristophanes, when, with all his rough and tumble common sense, he makes fun of the bombast of Aeschylus and the affectations of Euripides, there is not a word against the 'good easy man' Sophocles, who was 'as gentle below the earth as he was gentle in his lifetime.'

We have said that, among the poets, Sophocles alone can approach most nearly to Aeschylus and Shakespeare. It must also be said that Sophocles cannot compare with Aeschylus as a prophet and religious teacher. And yet even that may be unfair, for the fame of Sophocles as a consummate artist has obscured his merit as a thinker and teacher; and, while he sees life steadily, it is with an earnestness and sympathy that are none the less intense for being subdued. 'The volcanic fires of Aeschylus are in him transmuted into a clear and smokeless flame.'¹ Sophocles has claims upon our attention as poet, as dramatist, and as interpreter of life.

As poet he has few or none of those vivid flashes of insight or imagery which carry us off our feet or dazzle our eyes in Aeschylus. His poetry is of a different quality. It has that majestic calm which, in the absence of the supreme quality of style, is the nearest approach to perfection. For example we may turn to the monologue in *Ajax* :

All things must yield to Time,
To unnumbered length of days.
Time brings to birth that which is not,
And to burial that which is.
Even I, who once was so stubborn,
Have been changed as iron. . . .
Well, let Time teach us . . .

¹ Lewis Campbell, *Tragic Drama in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare*, p. 165.

Thus doth snow-laden winter
 Make way for fruitful summer.
 The blast of terrible storms doth cease,
 And the groaning sea is laid to sleep. . . .
 So I, even I must learn to submit.

There is a story that, in extreme old age, Sophocles was brought before the court by his son, Iophon, accused of being a dotard. Sophocles answered by asking them to read the lines he had recently written: the choric ode in *Oedipus at Colonus*:

Friend, in our land of conquering steeds thou art come,
 To this Heaven-fostered haunt, Earth's fairest home,
 Gleaming Colonus, where the nightingale
 In cool green covert warbleth ever clear,
 True to the clustering ivy and the dear,
 Divine, impenetrable shade. . . .

That is one of the few passages in Greek which reveal a love of outward untamed nature.¹ In Homer, tamed nature is pictured in the garden of Calypso and the garden of Antinous. The only other instance of wild natural scenery in Greek writing is in the beginning of Plato's *Phaedrus*, where Socrates speaks of the plane-tree tall and spreading, and the running brook under the overhanging tree—'how cold its water, to judge by the foot—and, most charming of all, the abundant grass, with its gentle slope just made for the head to fall back on most luxuriously.' Such passages in Greek are as charming as they are rare.

The invocation to sleep in *Philoctetes* may be taken as an example of the kind of lyrical quality which marks the plays as a whole; it is a lyric of the poet's old age:

O sleep that know'st not pain!
 O sleep that know'st not care!
 Would thou mightst come with blessed balmy air,
 And blessing long remain,
 And from his eyes ward off the noontide blaze,
 Now full upon him poured,
 Come as our healer, lord.

¹ C. E. Vaughan, in his lectures in the University of Leeds, 1910-11. At many points the writer is indebted to Vaughan's Seminar Class in *Literary Criticism*.

Ajax is a tragedy of wounded honour, and when, in shame at his own madness and rage, Ajax is on the point of committing suicide, the appeal of his captive-bride, Tecmessa, is one of the most passionate poetry :

For I have naught
To lean on but thy life. Thou art all my stay.
Oh, of me too take thought. Shall men have joy,
And not remember ? Or shall kindness fade ?
Say, can the mind be noble, where the stream
Of gratitude is withered from the spring ?

Beauty in the world of nature, beauty in the dignity and pathos of human life, and the supreme beauty which shines out of tragedy, are the marks of the poetic genius of Sophocles.

Sophocles excels in portraying individual character. None who read him will forget the utter devotion of *Antigone*, the youthful generosity of Neoptolemus, in *Philoctetes*, or the bitter sense of lost honour in *Ajax*. Yet there is another feature in Sophocles' conception and handling of drama, in which he draws much nearer to Aeschylus than many of his critics would admit. He lays hold of the eternal principles that underlie the moral life of man, and he makes these principles live and move in the characters he has created.

Many poets have found inspiration in some particular theme : the House of Atreus was a chosen theme for Aeschylus, the Samson story for Milton, and the House of Oedipus for Sophocles. Upon that theme all his most imperishable work has been written. The *Antigone* was written in middle life, *Oedipus Tyrannus* a few years later, and *Oedipus at Colonus* at the very close of his long days.

In order of story, *Oedipus Tyrannus* comes first, and we may take it as a supreme example of the powers of Sophocles as dramatist. Aristotle regarded it as the ideal tragedy. If we contrast its terrific complexity with the massive simplicity of plot in Aeschylus, we can form some idea of

the power of Sophocles to master his material and mould it into dramatic unity. We may notice also the persistent use of tragic irony.¹ Every situation, every word uttered by Oedipus, is used in a different sense from that in which the reader or the audience sees it. Perhaps the art is something too elaborate. Compare it with Shakespeare's use of the same kind of irony in *Othello*: 'Perdition catch my soul, but I do love thee; and if I love thee not, chaos is come again.' Vaughan pointed out yet another instance of this, which modern editions, he said, are maladroit enough to obscure. Lady Macbeth sees her husband distraught, and reminds him of the hospitality due to his guests, and he replies, 'Sweet remembrancer!' At that very moment the ghost of Banquo enters. Such instances in Shakespeare are rare, but in Sophocles the tragic irony is an integral part of the dramatic art.

In simplicity and tenderness, compassionate interest in individual destiny, and in the power of grasping a complex situation and presenting it clearly and convincingly, Sophocles has few equals among the dramatists, and in intensity of concentration he stands almost alone. He presents to us at once individual character and dramatic situation with that universality of appeal which is the test of tragic feeling.

As an interpreter of life, Sophocles is less original and far-reaching than Aeschylus, but in some ways more sober and mature. Both look at the facts of life through the medium of religious feeling, and their work is a tremendous portrayal of sin, suffering, and atonement, but in Sophocles it is drawn in more human tones and colours. In *Oedipus at Colonus* he says, 'God sees and visits soon or late when one leaves hold of divine principles and turns to madness.' Yet when the error has been involuntary, though it inevitably brings suffering, the very power that punishes holds forth

¹ Lewis Campbell questions the use of irony, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

a better hope. The life that is crushed in this world finds acceptance in the end, and becomes a source of blessing to mankind. The primitive conception of sin is seen in Sophocles as clearly as in Aeschylus. Sin is unwittingly committed, and it is punished hideously, as if it were deliberate. Yet behind and above the tragedy, at once comprehending and transcending it, stands the vision of the moral law, which is the same from everlasting.

Oedipus at Colonus is a drama, not of action, but of suffering. It represents, therefore, one of the hardest tasks that a dramatic poet, who is in most cases solely concerned with action, can undertake. The result in this case is a triumph. One other play alone can compare with it. *King Lear* is a drama, not of action, but of suffering. Curiously enough, the words of Oedipus :

My life
Hath more of wrong endured than of wrong done,

are strikingly like the words of Lear :

I am a man more sinned against than sinning.

The second reflection which occurs at once is that *Oedipus at Colonus*, like the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus and like *King Lear*, is a tragedy of atonement and reconciliation. This element is essential in all great tragedy. Seldom, as in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare, is it made the theme of the whole play. It is the principal element in Shakespeare's later dramas, *A Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *The Tempest*. There is storm at the beginning, but peace at the close. Yet in these plays Shakespeare is still a young man, not yet fifty, but probably worn out by hard thought, and the suffering which the tragedies reveal. In any case, the temper is that of old age, and the dignity and serenity are akin to the greatness and nobleness of the last work of Sophocles.

The last play of the House of Oedipus is the *Antigone*. Here the theme is suggested by the closing passage in

Aeschylus's Seven Against Thebes. Sophocles takes up the story where he left it in the *Oedipus at Colonus*. The army is repulsed by Eteocles. All the Argive leaders are slain. Eteocles and Polynices die by each other's hands. The play opens at the point where Creon issues his decree that Polynices, who has lifted up his sword against his country, shall remain unburied, and be left as carrion to the fowls of the air.

Antigone, who has cared for her banished father till his death, now comes forward and hears the decree that her brother shall not be buried, and she vows never to obey. They find her in the act of burying Polynices, and bring her a prisoner before Creon, who condemns her to be walled up, buried alive in a rockbound cave. Haemon, son of Creon, lover of Antigone, appears to plead for her, and speaks respectfully to the king, his father, but hints that the sympathies of the people are all with Antigone. At last he is compelled to defy his father, and, in a rage, Creon casts him out with scorn.

Teiresias, the blind prophet, appears, and declares the wrath of God on Creon and the city. His threats are so terrible that Creon, in fear, sets out to bury Polynices and release Antigone. He finds Antigone has put an end to her own life in the cave. Haemon is clinging to her knees, and on seeing Creon he slays himself. On hearing this, his mother takes her life.

Creon, having defied the gods, is bereft of wife and son and all his kin, and the end of the tragedy leaves him a desolate and broken man, with nothing left to live for. This seems to be filled with a pity and terror that combine the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* with that of *King Lear*.

One thing only need be noticed in this last and greatest play of Sophocles. According to Vaughan, it is typical of the whole spirit of Greek drama. Hegel has said that the essence of all tragedy, and assuredly of Greek tragedy, is found in the great eternal principles that underlie the moral

life of man. These eternal principles take tangible shape in very partial forms, such as duty to the family or duty to the State. In tragedy, each of these is appropriated and is identified with the characters in the play. Each character stands for a fragment of the law ; each staked his soul on that, and dashed himself to pieces against the other side, the other fragment. Out of that collision comes the result to which the whole tragedy was leading up. Thus we have a climax in which the collision between two truths, each sacred, hallowed, sublime, is at an end ; the discord that rent the heavens is over ; harmony is restored. The sense of exaltation at the end of tragedy is due to that ; at the heart of tragedy ultimate reconciliation is attained.¹ Applied to the *Antigone*, the two fragments of this law are duty to the family and duty to the State.

The State is sacred. It has watched over us from our birth, guarded our lives and our goods, given us the amenities of life, and has claim upon our gratitude and loyalty.

The family also is sacred. Loyalty to the family is a duty, defying all wishes and purposes which challenge it, and claiming obedience to the uttermost. Blood is thicker than water, we say. And one of the most ancient laws is that which bids us honour our parents. Yes ; generally that is true ; but not always. One hears a voice of higher authority saying, ' He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me.'

That collision is of the essence of the *Antigone*. It takes place before our eyes, when mere human beings are swept away as they cling to their fragments of truth. Yet this is not the last word about the *Antigone*, nor about the tragedies of Sophocles. There is one misconception. Look at the play. When you see it, or read it with insight and imagination, you will say : ' No.' It is not a conflict between

¹ Later forms of tragedy lose in grandeur because they lack this element ; cf. Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts*, and Galsworthy's tragic plays.

intellectual conceptions or contending categories. It is not an opposition of antinomies for the delight of philosophers. The conflict is one of vital needs and duties, of men and women, embodied, as in Ibsen's finest plays, in the very human beings whom we see upon the stage. The poet's mastery of his art enables him to present to us a most exalted view of the divine purpose, and at the same time he never loses his grip upon actuality in his characters. With clear and steady vision he holds firmly by the facts of experience, and, while never extenuating the sadness of life, he always sees a light beyond. The loyal heart of Antigone, the passionate courage of Electra, the essential purity and public spirit of Oedipus—these belong to the eternal things, however they may be frustrated and obscured. And at the end, it is the living human being we cannot forget. That is what Shelley meant when he said that in some previous existence we have all met an Antigone, and cannot long be satisfied with any earthly love.

In these forms of flesh and blood we have taken to our hearts a vision of life's meaning that is equally vital and unforgettable. To turn to Sophocles is to turn to one whose work for twenty-three centuries has charmed and inspired those who love beauty and truth. He has taught us that the deepest emotions of our human nature bear witness to the unwritten but eternal law of love which is the law of God. When Matthew Arnold was asked who most sustained his mind through anxious and arduous days, he referred to Homer and Epictetus, but continued, speaking of Sophocles :

But be his

My special thanks, whose even-balanced soul,
From first youth tested up to extreme old age,
Business could not make dull, nor passion wild ;

Who saw life steadily, and saw it whole ;
The mellow glory of the Attic stage,
Singer of sweet Colonus, and its child.

S. G. DIMOND.

SOME HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF IRRIGATION

THE application of water for agriculture in regions where rainfall is deficient or lacking is generally described as *irrigation*. By its aid the peoples of the tropics have cultivated food and fibre crops from remote antiquity, the co-operative nature of the work accounting for many of their tribal and political divisions.

In the modern world irrigation has arisen from other causes, and its results are immeasurably greater. Installed initially upon territories of small or no population, it has enabled communities of agricultural farmers to exploit and develop them, ultimately leading to the growth of townships, with their resulting industries and avenues for trade. The outcome is the peopling of a formerly barren region, which not seldom has offered homes and opportunity to emigrants from over-populated areas. The British Dominions and the United States of America have benefited greatly by this enforced 'blossoming' of land which is 'naturally' desert. Modern irrigation works established by the British in Egypt, and the French elsewhere in northern Africa, were designed to ensure the necessary food-supplies for the native peoples, but the new provision of water has fostered more purely commercial ventures, the one being connected with the production of raw cotton, and the other with the creation of fruit-farms as an investment for its new colonial population. The necessity of irrigation in connexion with food crops reaches its highest expression, perhaps, among the dense populations of the Far East : by its means famine has been banished from large areas in British India, while in China artificial watering has rendered possible the system of multiple cropping and inter-tillage by which alone the enormous hunger of the country can be satisfied.

Nearer home, and even in Europe, with its cooler temperatures and more equable distribution of the annual rainfall, the necessity of raising commodities of basic importance remains the leading impulse in countries which practise irrigation. A summer irrigation in the plains of northern Italy provides for rice and mulberry, the latter being cultivated in connexion with the silk industry. Irrigation in the Roman Campagna now promotes good pasture and forage crops for fattening livestock in winter, and a summer harvest of fruit. The famous *huerta* and terrace irrigation of Spain provides for fruit, especially oranges, esparto grass, and cereals, there being a considerable export in some of these commodities. In Spain the irrigation works are of age-long standing, but recently irrigation has been installed in the Ukraine and Caucasus districts of Russia, the production of wheat being the main objective of the enterprise.

The recovery of underground water by sinking wells made possible a little agriculture among the preponderately pastoral tribes of Old Testament times. Thus, while Abel was a keeper of sheep, Cain was a tiller of the soil; Jacob made 'bread and pottage of lentiles,' and Isaac, who constantly dug wells and set up his camping tents in their neighbourhood, for all his 'possession of flocks . . . and herds' sowed grain in Gerar. Reuben went out to the wheat harvest, and Jacob sent his sons down to Egypt for corn.

Surer results were obtained when rivers crossing arid countries could be dammed by means of a crude barrier of earth or stones, thus forming reservoirs from which the water was carried off in shallow ditches to the cultivated tracts. Much of the agricultural stability of the Aztec and Inca empires was due to the employment of this method of irrigation, and it is still to be met with upon the Deccan of India and elsewhere in both the Old and New Worlds.

Greater developments may be expected when riverine lands can be watered by an extensive but seasonal inundation. The 'basin' system of irrigation which has been

practised in Egypt for more than seven thousand years was based upon the regularity and magnitude of the Nile floods. Originally the banks of the Nile were much lower than at present, and more or less occupied by jungle growth, due to lack of draining after the inundation. A dike constructed parallel to the course of the stream safeguarded the left side of the valley from the exceptionally high flood that occurred every ten years or so. Transverse dikes were built from the river dike to the Libyan Hills, thus dividing the country into 'basins' of about 80,000 acres in area. Groups of four or five basins were fed by a canal, which led the turbid floodwaters into one basin after another, beginning at the lowest and farthest from the intake on the Nile. The water stood on the land for about seven weeks, when it was returned to the subsiding Nile through breaches in the embankment walls and escape channels from the lowest basin in each group. A deposit of fertile alluvium remained after each flood, and the ground was ready for sowing in November. The good quality of this silt may be gauged from the phenomenal simplicity of the seed-time operations :

The higher Nilus swells
The more it promises : as it ebbs, the seedsman
Upon the slime and ooze scatters his grain,
And shortly comes to harvest.¹

This process of reclamation was eventually repeated on the right side of the valley, and, to prevent the double diking parallel to the river from causing disastrous floods in Lower Egypt in the years of exceptionally 'high' Nile, the surplus waters were diverted to the Fayum depression in natural channels enlarged and diked for this purpose. Similar channels took the excess back to the Nile when the flood was over, but ultimately the river widened and built up a trough, in which it remained, and the Fayum reservoir, no longer needed as a safety-valve, has been drained and reclaimed for agriculture.

¹*Antony and Cleopatra* (Shakespeare).

The flood irrigation of Egypt made the winter, or 'cool-weather' crops paramount in the Nile valley. The contemporaneous irrigation of Babylonia developed of necessity on very different lines. Here it was a case of two rivers, each carrying about five times as much silt as the Nile. The floods, mainly produced by the summer melting of the snows upon the Armenian heights, were too late for winter, and rather too early for summer cultivation, so that in Babylonia the irrigation system was altogether more elaborate, and, favouring particularly neither the summer nor the winter months of the year, developed into a 'perennial' irrigation, with agriculture practically at all seasons.

The thin layer of salt deposited after each temporary overflow of the Euphrates, and the destructive inundations which were liable to occur upon the riverine lands of the flooded Tigris, made careful drainage an imperative necessity. Powerful escapes carried away the Euphrates excess into two depressions near Babylon, and from these reservoirs the river could be fed in the low season. Anciently the Tigris possessed two large canals, one on each bank and more or less parallel to it. The left-bank canal was the larger and more important; it was served by three 'heads,' so that when one was closed for the removal of silt the system was still in working order. The canals filled 'naturally' during the floods; at other times sections of the river were flooded with reserves stored behind huge dams of brickwork. The water was directed into and out of the canals by enormous regulators, and thousands of miles of subsidiary channels—the 'waters of Babylon'—were involved in the scheme. The result was a phenomenal agricultural return, supporting an empire of conspicuous magnificence.

Just as Egypt initiated the 'basin,' and Babylonia the 'perennial' system of irrigation, so Ceylon is important as the original home of the 'tank.' The larger tanks were natural depressions with walls heightened by earthworks. The tank was fed by a canal, drawing water from a reservoir

created in some river by a masonry or brickwork barrage. The largest tanks covered four to six thousand acres of surface, and their object was the irrigation of rice. The cost of construction was met by the Royal Exchequer. Similar gigantic tanks are still in operation in Madras, though more than 1,100 years old. The small tanks of Peninsular India and Ceylon are generally filled by the monsoon run-off; built by the co-operative labour of the village community, they too have been in use since remote times.

The final development in the evolution of irrigation works is connected with huge masonry erections designed to control or conserve the waters of some powerful stream. As far back as the second century B.C. such works were established in China upon the Min-ho tributary of the Yangtse-kiang. By means of ingenious diking the stupendous flood-waters were spread out laterally into innumerable channels, carrying irrigation to the territory, still known as the 'Garden of Szechewan.' This work continues to provide the major part of the irrigation to the Chengtufu Plain.

A different type of irrigation was practised long ago by the Moors in the Old World and the Amerinds in the New. This is the famous 'terrace' irrigation, so called because cultivation takes place on a series of terraces established on a sloping ground. Water drawn from mountain streams, or reservoirs filled by rain or water-lifts, flows over these terraces, beginning at the highest. Primitive harrowing or a low wall allows a thin sheet of water to remain after the general out-pouring has passed. The Arabs carried this method of irrigation across northern Africa and into Spain, as well as to India and the Far East. There has been an independent development of terrace irrigation among the aborigines of the Pacific ranges in South America.

In all these methods of irrigation the larger engineering constructions were installed by the State in the name of the king, while local boards of highly placed officials, as in Egypt, or peasants, as in Bengal, dealt with the practical distribution

of the water. In Egypt the basins and their connecting canals were kept in working order by local *corvée*, while slaves and captives were employed, without remuneration, upon the dikings. The State expenses, which were very small, were met by a *land* tax, the *water* being given free. In Babylonia the work of keeping the system in good order was so arduous that wars of aggression were deliberately fomented in order to provide the requisite number of slaves.

Though the prime object of the irrigation was the production of food or fibre crops, there were other real, if less easily defined, benefits. The mutual interest of the irrigators in the water promotes a spirit of association which is not without its results when the members of the community have need to unite for some other common end. The irrigation empires were the most coherent, strongest, and most highly developed empires of the ancient world. It is possible that the annual recurrence of a bountiful harvest, created their belief in rewards to be enjoyed hereafter in a future life only attained by obedience to rules for morality and conduct during the present life. It is also significant that religious rites became associated with agricultural observances. Wherever irrigation led to surplus crops there developed an overseas trade involving a cultural link with other lands, and a necessarily increased breadth of outlook.

The pioneer irrigation in the Far West may be regarded as the earliest attempt at modern irrigational processes in North America. The venture was co-operative, the necessary dams and ditches being constructed by the water-users themselves. Of these early experiments, the Mormon enterprises in Utah are especially important, a first hint of that 'blossoming' which since that time has transformed so many 'deserts.' To these pioneer irrigators we owe the first formulation of the law that riverine landowners must surrender their individual water-rights to the State, so that all using the State waters may receive their proper share. These early agricultural successes were followed by what

may be termed the 'era of the capitalist.' Irrigation companies were now formed for the single purpose of providing dividends for shareholders, the actual farmers being tenants of the company rather than owners of the soil. As easily irrigable land became used up, increasing expenses without proportionate returns ultimately brought about decline in the companies, though there still remains some flourishing pioneer and capitalistic irrigation. Modern irrigation has entered upon a third phase in the large-scale reclamation now carried out under the direct auspices of the State. In this respect the Reclamation Bureau is the controlling authority for the U.S.A., and similar authorities are directing irrigation in the British Dominions.

Government schemes for irrigation have sometimes met with unexpected results. The raising of a sufficiency of food crops, anciently the ideal, is no longer the single important aim. The conservation of the Nile waters by the modern system of dams now provides for extensive 'summer' crops of cotton, much of which is marketed in Britain, which thus obtains a raw commodity which she needs but cannot produce at home. In the French Sahara the creation of new oases is attracting some of the nomads to the agricultural life, and at the same time placing out in the desert steadily growing centres of law and order from which the wandering tribes can be better controlled.

These new schemes and especially the larger ones designed to confer the greater benefits, are not instituted without giving rise to somewhat serious problems. A few of the fundamental difficulties are concerned with such matters as means of equitable distribution of water from a river supplying a number of irrigating communities, and the arrangements possible where a river suitable for irrigation crosses territory under different Governments. Excessive use of the water upstream may affect adversely the navigation requirements lower down, and deficient drainage after irrigation is sometimes a real danger not easily overcome.

Accumulation of ground water under prolonged irrigation may lead to waterlogging and the creation of swamps. This underground water may seep up to the surface, depositing, upon evaporation, the mineral salt dissolved in its upward passage. In this way infertile 'alkali tracts' have developed upon the Nile Delta and elsewhere to the very great detriment of their agricultural farming. Finally, a very delicate situation is brought about where large-scale irrigation works ensuing a perennial irrigation have been imposed upon a densely populated country formerly relying mainly upon a seasonal irrigation. The continual use of the soil ultimately necessitates expensive manuring, while the increased food-supplies of the new régime may give rise to a population greater than even this increase can support, in bringing a return to those famines which it is the object of the new irrigation to avoid.

ELSIE H. CARRIER.

Carlyle. By Emery Neff. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.) Mr. Neff's Preface, dated from Columbia University, pays tribute to friends on both sides of the Atlantic who have helped him in his researches. It is comparatively a short Life, but it is rich in interest and very pleasantly told. Jane Welsh had been dreaming of life beside him as a famous London author, and was rudely awakened by the project of immediate union with a man not yet established, on a farm that she knew to be lonely and desolate. But she held to her engagement: 'How could I *part* from the only living soul that understands me? I merely wish to see you earning a *certain* income, and exercising the profession of a gentleman.' Their life at Craigenputtock, Edinburgh, and London, and Carlyle's rôle as prophet and his election as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, are described with much pleasant detail. 'Fifty Years After' shows that 'for a minority with sturdy intelligence and historical imagination, he remains one of the most fascinating of British authors. He lies square across the path of those who would understand the Victorian age as the best representative of its thought and feeling, the chief influence on its gifted youth.'

THE ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT

IT has been too frequently assumed by philosophers that Kant demolished the ontological argument for the existence of God. In order to understand exactly Kant's criticism of this famous argument it is necessary to grasp precisely how the argument was stated by its founder, St. Anselm of Canterbury, and why, and in what sense, it was supported by such eminent thinkers as Descartes and Leibnitz. Anselm's biographer, Eadmer, in his *Vitae Anselm*, informs us how the conviction was brought home to the mind of Anselm that there must be some cogent and simple argument which shows that not only God exists, but that He is the supreme Perfect Being who sums up all other perfections. This thought, we are told, troubled Anselm day and night, until one day, as he stood in his choir stall, the light flashed upon him as to the form the proof should take in his mind. The form of the ontological argument is developed by Anselm in the *Proslogium* *Sen Alloquium de Dei Extensia*.

The point of the argument is that the term 'God' means 'that than which nothing greater can be conceived.' This nature of which nothing greater can be conceived must necessarily exist independently of the human mind. If God were merely a subjective factor or creation of the human mind, something greater could be conceived, namely, a nature so great as not simply to exist in the mind. God therefore exists. Now, this argument of Anselm's is valid if we concede that this nature exists at all, but the point at issue is this: Is there such a nature? Or is it something that does not really exist outside the human imagination?

Gaulino tries to disprove Anselm's argument by using the following illustration. He urges that by using Anselm's method he could prove the existence of the lost island in a fable which possesses all riches and all conceivable delights.

'Let it be granted,' he argued, 'that the idea of the island is of a land which excels all others, and you must own that my fabulous region exists, for otherwise the idea of some really existent land would excel it.' This, however, is not a reply to Anselm, for in answering Gaulino he shows that his argument holds only of the Infinitely Perfect Being, and that to apply it to anything finite whatsoever is a complete misapprehension of its significance. It is, in fact, evident for Anselm that a Being possessed of infinite perfection necessarily exists and is self-existent. In this case only, and not in any other case, possibility implies existence. What, then, supposing Gaulino's objection for this reason to be wrong, is the real error, if there is one in Anselm's assumption that an Infinite Nature involves nothing contradictory, that its possibility is not open to question, and that consequently it necessarily exists? It is clearly one thing to be able to assert of some essence which we fully understand that we can see its possibility; it is quite another to content ourselves with saying as regards another, imperfectly and obscurely known, that we do not detect its impossibility.

We must also remember that our conception of the Infinite is negative; it gives no insight into the actual nature of the One Infinite Being. It only asserts the absence of limitation. I do not think that the possibility of an Infinite Nature is immediately self-evident. In any case, we find writers prepared to maintain belief in a finite God because to them an Infinite Nature is not self-evident. Really what Anselm's argument does prove is that it warrants the conclusion that an Infinite Nature must be conceived as necessarily existing if it exists at all. Seeing, however, that the finite mind lacks the power to frame an idea of the Infinite, we clearly cannot prove that it does exist.

Some of Anselm's critics have completely misunderstood his argument. I do not suggest that he has proved his case, but some of the objectors have entirely missed the point of his contention, and demolished an argument Anselm never

put forward. They have jumped at the illustration of Kant which says in effect, we cannot prove the existence of a hundred dollars in our pockets from the idea of them, even if the dollars are perfect dollars. Now Kant's illustration, and the logic behind it, is wide of the mark, because, as Professor Sorley contends, 'It misses the point of that proof which was the effort to discriminate between the idea of God and all other ideas.' Sorley rightly adds: 'Gaulino's objection comes nearer the point than does Kant's.' Anselm had argued that existence must belong to one idea only, that of an Infinitely Perfect Being, than which nothing greater can be conceived. Kant's argument based on the illustration of the dollars is quite irrelevant, because we can conceive greater things than one hundred dollars; and, in a sound coinage any one hundred dollars is not better than any other. Gaulino's illustration of a perfect island was at any rate the idea of something perfect or complete of its kind; that is, nothing greater of its kind can be conceived. We can, however, conceive something of a greater kind—perfect in its kind.

The weakness of Anselm's argument does not lie where Kant imagined it to be with his illustration. There have been acute minds which clearly saw wherein lay the real defect. The weak spot of Anselm's argument Leibnitz perceived when he pointed out that the argument was inconclusive because it cannot with certainty affirm the possibility of an Infinite Nature.¹ Whatever interpretation may be given, it is at least certain what Anselm himself meant. He believed that, just as in the real order all existence is of the essence of God, so it must be in the order of thought. He did not remember Aristotle's important principle that the area in which our cognitive powers function is strictly limited, and that the supersensuous world is known to us by discursive reasoning based upon the evidence of the senses, and for that

¹ *De la démonstration Cartésienne de l'existence de Dieu.*

reason it is not possible for us to know the Supreme Being except in an imperfect manner.

Descartes' statement of the ontological argument puts the emphasis in a different place from Anselm, for, according to Descartes, the concept of God is an innate idea. We have no immediate knowledge of anything except the ideas within the soul. These ideas he distinguishes as 'innate' and 'adventitious.' The latter include all our particular perceptions. Innate ideas are universal ideas, cosmic truths, and these have nothing to do with the world outside the mind. Such ideas are not produced by the actions of things, through the senses, upon the mind. Are, then, these innate ideas able to give us valid knowledge? Descartes endeavours to answer this question by his appeal to the criteria of truth, namely, clearness and distinctness. When applied to innate ideas, these tests convey perfectly valid knowledge, but in reference to possible existence only there is amongst these innate ideas one which differs from the rest, namely the idea of God. This idea contains the possibility of real existence. This idea is that of an Infinitely Perfect Being, and such a Being cannot be conceived as supremely perfect unless He is really existent. God therefore exists. Real existence is contained in the clear idea of God, therefore God really exists.

The answer to Descartes' argument seems to be fairly obvious. The idea of a supremely Perfect Being containing the note of necessary existence is not clear in the sense which is necessary for the validity of reasoning. Clear ideas may apply to geometrical figures and other mathematical propositions. There is no contradiction of terms in such mathematical propositions. But can it be claimed that we have such mathematical certainty in regard to the existence of Supreme Perfection? The ultimate principles of metaphysics and the varied richness of reality cannot be stretched out on the Procrustean bed of mathematics. It is not so easy to see how 'clear' and 'distinct' apply to reality not compassable by mathematical formulae. We have no such

certainty regarding the content of Supreme Perfection as we have in mathematics. For anything we know, some impossibility may be involved in such a nature as Infinite Perfection. Moreover, his theory of innate ideas favours the psychoanalysts' position (Freud) that the idea of God is purely subjective, and that God is a useful fiction.

Kant criticizes the ontological argument in his *Critique of Pure Reason*. Before venturing upon that criticism, the weakness of which has already partly been pointed out, it is necessary to trace the growth of Kant's ideas on the ontological argument in the pre-critical period of his philosophy.

In the pre-critical period of Kant's writings he has two arguments for the existence of an absolutely necessary being. First there is the argument from possibility in general; second, the argument from contingently creating things. These are called, in the *Beweis Grund*, the ontological and cosmological arguments respectively.

The significance of the ontological argument is brought out by contrast with its previous statement in the writings of Descartes, who argues 'from the possible as ground to the existence of God as consequence.' Kant refused to accept this, because existence cannot be included in the possible as a predicate. Neither here, nor in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, does Kant do justice to the argument of Descartes. The latter has this much in common with Kant's exposition on this point—that it is based ultimately upon the inconceivability of the non-existence of God. Both Descartes and Kant regard it as a contradictory notion to affirm that the Infinite does not exist since that in which all perfections find their place must necessarily exist. Although Kant argues that we cannot pass from a concept to the affirmation of existence, he does, however, maintain that we can and must pass from the inner possibility of things in general to an absolutely posited, the affirmation of the existence of that which makes possibility itself possible.

Kant arrived at this in his earlier writings. For him the

inconceivability of the non-existence of the divine was based upon the necessity of some one existent Being as the presupposition of all possibility. In his *Study in Kant*, James Ward does not sufficiently stress this contention of Kant. Ward accepts the propositions 'existence is not predicate' and 'existence is the absolutely posited of a thing' as fundamental, but he treats the third proposition—'all possibility implies something actual'—as a mere corollary of the two previous propositions. No special reason is given for this procedure, and I do not see why the third proposition of Kant is not to be regarded as quite as important, if not more so, than the other two.

By 'absolutely posited' Kant affirms the real ground which provides the material of that which is given in experience, 'that which is real in any notion cannot possibly be conceived to exist except in God, the Fount of all reality.'¹ The true significance of the ontological argument, according to Kant's earlier position, is that the existence of God must be affirmed because of the presupposition of all possibility and all determination. When, however, he bases his argument in the *Pre-Critical* writings for the existence of God on the ground of the inconceivability of the non-existence of God, and that all reality must exist in an absolutely necessary Being, he approximates very near to Descartes' argument, where he affirms, 'That which contains all perfection or reality must necessarily exist.'

I shall now proceed to give Kant's interpretation of the ontological argument as found in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, which develops upon other lines. Kant here clearly points out that thought does not involve existence. Being is a category which has no meaning or application outside the realm of existence. The idea of a centaur does not mean that a centaur exists. We have always to remember, in reading Kant, that the actual is always a synthetic product. An

¹ *Kant's Conception of God*, England, p. 54.

existence is only possible when we discover that it is presented to some concrete experience—that is, when it is proved that it is bound up in empirical laws. We cannot, therefore, think existence through a pure category, as is done in the ontological argument, for that would merely prove logical possibility and not a possible thing or existence.¹ Practically, what Kant means is that actual sensation is the only ultimate ground for believing in the existence of anything.

One may criticize the ontological argument on other grounds. The argument treats existential propositions with those which assert mere qualities, and treats them as if they were the same. It treats the proposition 'X is real' as if it were the same kind of proposition as 'X is red.' That is, it does not differentiate between an existential proposition and a qualifying one.

This confusion of different kinds of propositions does not work either negatively or positively. On the negative side, this can be illustrated in the following way. If I say, 'Donkeys are unintelligent,' I mean that if there are any intelligent donkeys they are unreal. Or, again, if I say 'Mermaids are unreal,' I mean if there are any mermaids, they are not real, which, of course, is a contradiction of terms. If, then, existential propositions are interpreted as if they were qualifying ones, the negative existential propositions become contradictions in terms.

If we take the argument positively, supposing I state the two propositions 'Lions are yellow' and 'Lions are real,' the first means that if there are any lions they are all yellow; the second means, if there are any lions they are all real, which is of course tautological. When, then, existential and qualifying propositions are confused, we get tautology on the positive side.

What, then, do existential propositions mean? When I

¹ 'It is absurd to introduce into the conception of a thing which is to be cogitated solely in reference to its possibility the conception of its existence.'—*Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 367 (Böhn's Trans.).

say 'Lions are real,' I mean that there is a set of qualities which define the term lion, and also something in the world that embodies them. When I say 'Mermaids are unreal,' I mean that there is nothing that combines the set of qualities used to define a mermaid. The lion characteristics qualify something; the mermaid characteristics do not qualify anything. When one interprets existential propositions in this way, it is clear that the ontological argument will not work.

Put also in the following way, the argument appears to be inadequate. If a most Perfect Being did not exist, it would lack perfection. But is this a sensible proposition? If the characteristics which define the most Perfect Being do not belong to anything, then it would lack perfection. But in this case what is 'it'? We are referred back by 'it' to the antecedent of information, and, if you refer back in this case, there is nothing to which one can refer. It would seem, therefore, that the major premise of the ontological argument looks like a sensible proposition, because existential propositions are interpreted as qualifying ones. But as soon as we discover that this will not do, and interpret them properly, the major premise is not a proposition at all, but a mere jumble of words. It may seem therefore that 'Kant exposed the fundamental assumption of the ontological argument, which is that existence is capable of being included in the conception of a possible being.'¹ I am convinced that if the ontological argument had been intended to apply to finite existences, Kant's argument would have been final, but Anselm never intended an argument from idea to existence on the finite level to be the essence of the argument; but rather that the idea of an Infinitely Perfect Being, the ground of all possibility, necessarily involves His existence. Can this claim of Anselm's be completely shattered? Or must we build up our belief in God solely on the moral consciousness, as Kant claims to do?

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

¹ *Commentary on Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 80, N. K. Smith.

BOLSHEVISM AS PHILOSOPHY

IN the world of to-day, with so much to claim our attention, with old hopes and new life surging in East and West alike, there is still one phenomenon to which, more than to any other, all eyes are turned. It is Communist Russia. Something of tremendous significance came to the birth there amid war, famine, and revolution. For some, what is happening in Russia portends the break-up of our civilization, while others see in it the promise of regeneration. We are coming to see that Bolshevism is neither an economic revolution merely nor even a new social order ; it is nothing less than a fresh and challenging attitude to life. It is, in fact, a philosophy—which it might be prepared to admit ; and in some sense a religion—which it would emphatically deny !

One approach to this aspect of Bolshevism is provided by a book published last year under the title, *Science at the Cross Roads*. Its chapters are various papers contributed by the Soviet delegation to the Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology. Here Bolshevism appears as a criticism of all previous scientific work and as offering a new method which is to lead to a quite different relation between the scientist and society from that to which we are accustomed. Its point of view may be given in a sentence : Science as it exists to-day is the bond-slave of capitalism, and only the Soviet system can set it free to become the servant of human good.

1. To begin with, therefore, the Bolshevik philosophy is a criticism of all existing scientific theory in the light of its dogma of 'social determinism.' It is contended that the ultimate forces behind the work of the scientist, as behind everything else in human life, are not ideas in men's minds, but economic factors and the grim realities of the class war. The scientific theories of any age are a reflection of its economic condition, and science progresses along lines laid down

for it by the capitalist interests which control society. The intellectual life of any period is the shadow cast by its methods of production—the substance. ‘It is not the consciousness of human beings which determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.’ ‘Pure science’ is the creation of capitalism, and exists to serve its ends. ‘The ideas of the ruling class in every historical period are the ruling ideas, and the ruling class distinguishes its ideas from all previous ideas by putting them forward as eternal truths.’ The history of science must, therefore, be rewritten as an account of how expanding forces of production and the capitalist’s will-to-greater-gain set to science the task of enlarging man’s knowledge of nature as the means to a fuller mastery of it.

This subject is treated with considerable wealth of detail in connexion with Newton’s scientific work. An analysis is made of the structure of society in his days in order to show exactly what that sum of causes was whose effect was—Newton. The age in which he lived had left feudalism behind it, but had not yet reached the modern development of large-scale industry, i.e. it was the period of the merchant. It was interested in all means whereby its wealth could be increased or defended, therefore in simple machines, in navigation and mining, and also in fire-arms. Pre-Newtonian physics had been concerned primarily with problems arising out of these requirements, and the same can be said of Newton himself. What was distinctive about his work, and what gave it its wider and more theoretical character, can be traced to the fact that social evolution in his day had just reached the point at which the *bourgeoise* required to consolidate its position in preparation for further advance. The need of the moment was for a comprehensive survey of physical problems to serve as a base for operations in the future.

Another illustration of this derivation of changes in scientific thought from the brute facts of capitalist society and the class war is drawn from present trends in the scientific world.

Natural science last century rode for a time on the crest of a wave of materialism ; it even dreamed of reducing all the complexity and variety of the universe to a single formula. More than that, in the Darwinian theory of the origin of species by natural selection it promoted the methods of contemporary capitalism to the dignity of natural laws ! Unrestricted competition as the best means to industrial efficiency became the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest ! Capitalism was so sure of itself that it conceived the universe to be run on the same lines !

Towards the close of the century, however, disillusionment began to creep in. Crises of the first magnitude operated to upset the equilibrium of the capitalist system, the discontent of the masses found expression in widespread political agitation, and the race in armaments, itself the product of fear, gave rise to the war. There was a growing distrust of capitalism, and in consequence the complacent materialism of the previous generation gave place to a wistful seeking, a mood to which even mysticism was not unacceptable, and a friendly attitude towards religion. All this, from the point of view of the Bolshevik thinker, was a sign that the existing order was working out its own ruin. A *rapprochement* between science and religion corresponds in the realm of ideas to the social fact that capitalism has been found wanting, and must seek help from outside if it is to maintain itself.

2. So much for the first thesis of this philosophy of Soviet Russia. The second is what is known as 'dialectical materialism.' This is the new method with which Communist thought is to solve all problems in heaven and on earth. Dialectical materialism is, of course, that Hegelianism of the Left which exercised so powerful an influence over Karl Marx. It is dialectical because it teaches that every conception leads of necessity to its opposite and that truth is to be found, not by maintaining one of these against the other, but by effecting a synthesis of the two. It is materialism because it would reduce all phenomena to merely so many

forms of matter in motion. The world, human life, and social institutions are at bottom nothing but the advance of matter from one stage of complexity and organization to another.

Newton needed God, so it is said, because he had not yet seen that motion is an essential property of matter, so that he must have a *deus ex machina* to give the initial impulse that would set matter off on its career of universe-building. Hegel needed an Absolute Spirit because he started from the assumption that pure thought is the master-element in reality. But Marx could dispense with both. He dethroned Zeus and put Vortex in his place! Read 'Matter' for 'Spirit' in the lines

the one Spirit's plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there
All new successions to the forms they bear,

and you have dialectical materialism before you!

An illustration may serve to make this method clearer. There is a controversy in biology between mechanistic and vitalistic interpretations of living phenomena. Is life something which can be explained in terms of chemistry and physics, or is it more than that—an extra and unique something, a vital principle, call it what you will, which distinguishes the living from the non-living, so that one can never be explained by the other? The contribution of dialectical materialism is at one and the same time the denial of both these positions and the acceptance of them both—the Hegelian synthesis of opposites.

The writers who deal with this question urge that science is on the wrong track when it tries to show that everything complex is really something simple in disguise, and that what stands higher in the order of nature is really only another instance of something which has already been met with lower down in the scale. Life is not just a particular type of chemical reaction, and biology is a science with its own sphere and its own categories. The solution, they suggest,

lies in rejecting the Darwinian theory of evolution in favour of the Hegelian-Marxian. Evolution is the emergence—if one may use a word introduced into the discussion by a very different school of thought—of ever fresh and more complex types of material organization, of which life is one. Each such type has to be studied as a thing *sui generis*, not forced into moulds borrowed from some other sphere altogether. Life is purely material in character—mechanism is true so far; but it is not to be accounted for by chemistry and physics—vitalism is true so far. Whether such a position is a satisfactory one we shall see later on.

8. That the Bolshevist criticism of modern science as a reflection of the capitalist system and the capitalist mentality is entirely without foundation is more than one would dare to say. It is matter of common knowledge, for example, that the demand for new and deadlier weapons of destruction has been one of the forces behind scientific research. Our younger Universities tend to grow up in industrial cities under the shadow of great factories, supported by their directors and with lecturers whose business is to broaden the theoretical basis on which these industries rest. Nor can one quite refute the charge that our glorification of pure science is the offspring of a society divided into the privileged and the unprivileged, in which the pursuit of knowledge is the occupation of a select few and not the birthright of every individual. One cannot but be attracted by the ideal here set forth as that of the Soviet system, a state of things in which the manual labourer will feel himself to be at the same time a scientific worker and the scientific worker will hold himself at the service of the community.

The history of science might become a much more interesting thing if due account were taken in it of the part which social and economic factors have played. But the interrelation of science and economic conditions can be explained without recourse being had to the dogma of 'social determinism.' Nobody, to be sure, thinks of a man like Newton

as working away *in vacuo*, interested merely in problems which happen to come somehow into his head and which have no relation to contemporary life. But the fact that Newton served the age in which he lived does not necessarily mean that the totality of its economic forces pushed him from behind, so that he was no more than their driven victim. It is much more naturally to be explained by the hypothesis that Newton looked into his age, saw what it required, and set himself to supply the deficiency.

As regards dialectical materialism, it is open to the obvious criticism that it is a flat contradiction in terms. 'Dialectic' is surely the interpretation of reality in terms of thought, and as such what communion can it have with materialism? In fact, the method is merely the intellectualism of Hegel, with matter substituted everywhere for spirit, a substitution by which the whole thing is vitiated. That Bolshevism has borrowed its weapons from the armoury of Absolute Idealism is but the latest evidence that on materialism alone no movement can maintain its soul. Indeed, Russia to-day presents the spectacle of a strange fusion of idealism and materialism, as a new generation grows up to treat with equal scorn belief in a God and the notion that without a prospect of monetary reward no one will do his best work!

Dialectical materialism makes a parade of its attainment of truth by the synthesis of opposites. But it is as one-sided in the long run as any of its rivals. It is idle for it to claim that it has got beyond the controversy between mechanism and vitalism, for materialism can never be anything but mechanism. The so-called new conception of evolution is more unsatisfactory than anything it is intended to replace. There is no sense in saying that life is simply matter in motion and at the same time that it is qualitatively distinct from anything which has gone before! An 'emergent evolution' is impossible on a basis of matter.

It is not merely the Bolshevik philosophy which is mistaken here, but its master Hegel. The method of Absolute

Idealism arises out of a misunderstanding of the process by which thought progresses from one position to another. It is quite true that the theory of one generation tends to be followed by one in the next which is its opposite, at least in certain important respects. It is true, further, that advance is by the discovery of a third position which incorporates the elements of truth contained in the two preceding ones. But how is this higher synthesis arrived at?

We reach it, I submit, not by holding the balance level as between the two partial truths which are to be at once negated and affirmed, but by casting our weight in one scale rather than the other. As between mechanism and vitalism, for example, we select vitalism as being nearer to the truth as we see it, and incorporate with it such elements of mechanism as we feel need to be preserved in the final result. The passage from one conception to another is not by any impersonal logical process—the labour of the notion, as Hegel calls it—or by a crisis in the relation between social organization and productive forces, as the Bolshevist thinkers would urge, but by personal decision in the light of the facts as known to one. Advance is by the insight and decision of individuals; nowhere is there a world-process, whether material or spiritual in character, which bears us gently over its waters to the haven whereunto we would—or needs must—go.

E. L. ALLEN.

Notes and Discussions

CHARLES WESLEY : EVANGELIST AND POET

THIS is the second Drew Lecture in Biography founded by President and Mrs. Tipple in 1928. Dr. Ferrier Hulme gave the first, under the title *Voices of the New Room*, which lit up the early history of Methodism in Bristol and showed how closely it was linked to Francis Asbury and to the setting apart of Dr. Coke and Asbury as General Superintendents of American Methodism. The new lecture makes a wide appeal, for it is the story of Methodist song and its God-given singer. No one knows the subject more intimately than the Rev. F. Luke Wiseman, who is himself a master musician and has taken a life-long interest both in the music and the words of Charles Wesley's hymns. He says in his Preface that 'it would be easy to select twenty hymns whose literary charm entitled them to a permanent place in the anthology of eighteenth-century lyrics. But their chief value lies in their delineation of spiritual experience. To Charles Wesley, hymns were as natural a form of self-expression as was a *Journal* to his brother John. These lectures are a study of the life and character of the man who, with the doubtful exception of his brother John Wesley, has done more than any other to manifest to the world and to perpetuate to succeeding generations of Methodists the personal faith, ethical fervour, social zeal, and spiritual aspirations—in short, the essential spirit, of the Evangelical Revival.'

Mr. Wiseman asks what would have been the fortunes of Methodism had John Wesley's life closed in 1758, when it was trembling in the balance. Charles himself told the Society at the Foundery that he had 'neither a body, nor a mind, nor talents, nor grace' to fill his brother's place. 'He was richly endowed with the personal charm which makes and keeps friends, with dauntless courage, firm will, keen insight into character, strong intelligence, remarkable powers of expression, noble magnanimity—virtues which would have stood him in good stead had he been called to succeed his brother. But he was physically frail, impulsive, inclined to be partisan, highly sensitive, and constitutionally averse to assuming responsibility.' Had he been obliged to take his brother's place, 'Methodism as we know it would not have existed. It might, and probably would, still have grown, but its character would have undergone profound change; its individuality and enterprise, its power of expansion and adaptation, would have been severely straitened; its world-wide mission would never have been undertaken. It would have reverted to the type of the earlier Oxford Methodism. It would have hastened

and powerfully modified the Tractarian Movement. Possibly it would exist to-day as a kind of evangelical Franciscan order within the Anglican Church. And as for American Methodism, the predominant partner in the great world-wide Methodist concern, it is open to question whether it would ever have got fairly started. And it is pretty safe to add that the ordination of Coke, even under the inoffensive title of "General Superintendent," would have had to wait until after 1788 !'

All of which makes us supremely thankful that the chief control never passed into his hands, but that he was able 'by means of his extraordinary lyrical genius to express the adoration, lead the devotion, inform the mind, enlarge the understanding, quicken the imagination, purify the affection, guide the aspiration, build up the faith, enrich the experience, voice the call, inspire the testimony, provoke the zeal, unify the spirit of the Methodists, not only of his own time, but of future generations.' The orbit of Methodism revolves around two foci : John and Charles Wealey. John and his preachers gathered in the converts and bound them together in Christian fellowship ; Charles brought all the powers of song and of the music of the heart to charm them into a beauteous frame.

Mr. Wiseman tells the story of the poet's early days and preparation years. Charles came bravely through the battle of wits at Westminster School and won his way to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1786, at the head of the five successful candidates. He proved his prowess as champion of William Murray, afterwards Chief Justice ; rose to be captain of the school and himself refused to be adopted as heir of Garrett Wesley of Ireland. The story of his growing seriousness at Oxford and the way in which the first Methodists gathered round him in the University, of George Whitefield whom he led into the light, is told in a very impressive way. Charles was only in Georgia for eight or nine months, and, when he returned, suffered much from pleurisy, but he got to know Peter Böhler, and on Whit-Sunday, May 21, 1788, found the rest for his soul which he had long been seeking.

He had the poetic gifts of his father, his brother Samuel, and his sister Hetty. John had them also, but he left that field to his brother, who cultivated it unceasingly for the next half-century, and reaped golden harvests from it for the Church universal. He took his share in the evangelization of England, and shrank from no hardship or peril. Mr. Wiseman says 'he had a fortune in his face. It beamed with benevolence.' His piercing eye seemed to read the very depths of the hearts of whose on whom it rested, and he knew how to disarm opposition by his strokes of wit. When he gained the attention of his audience, he could hold it for an hour, or even two. The addresses were extemporaneous, and texts were starting-points for 'the plain preaching of the glad tidings, in the simple, short, pointed sentences which were the admiration of his brother.' Mr. Wiseman shows how his hymns reveal the preacher, churchman, and theologian. His poetic expositions of Scripture form a valuable commentary on

select passages. That on Deut. vi. 7, which was appropriately sung at the dedication of his house at Bristol in 1981, is specially cited :

When quiet in my house I sit,
Thy book be my companion still,

and the hymns on the Lord's Supper have a depth and a fervour which lay bare his very soul. Nor is the description of Charles Wesley as 'Mystic and Seeker after God' less suggestive. His *Short Hymns on Selected Passages of Scripture*, published in Bristol in 1762 caused his brother some uneasiness. Charles insisted on sanctification as a gradual work wrought out through discipline, and not finally achieved until death. John felt it necessary to warn Miss Furly to take care she was not hurt by anything in the *Short Hymns* contrary to the doctrines she had long received. His own conviction that entire sanctification might be received 'both suddenly and gradually' never wavered, and, though he never professed to have attained it, he said that his experience was embodied in two verses which appeared in these very *Short Hymns* : 'Jesus, confirm my heart's desire,' and 'Ready for all Thy perfect will.' Mr. Wiseman points out that, notwithstanding increasing divergence of view from his brother, his love and loyalty remained unabated. Charles was an evangelical mystic of the order of St. Paul and the Revelation. He has little to say of the beauties of nature. His sense of hearing and of rhythm were abnormally developed, but he was short-sighted, and probably perceived through his ears rather than his eyes.

His hymns were really his *Journal intime*. In such a vast output there must inevitably be weaker verses, but his brother says of those he included in the *Large Hymn-Book* : 'Here are no *cant* expressions, no words without meaning. We use no words but in a fixed and determinate sense. Here are both the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language ; and at the same time the utmost simplicity and plainness suited to every capacity.' The poet's chief care was that every expression should be lucid and every word true in its signification. He illustrates this by the verse :

The fire our graces shall refine
Till, moulded from above,
We bear the character divine,
The stamp of perfect love,

and that gem, 'Christ, whose glory fills the skies.' Mr. Wiseman says no lyric poet before, or probably since, uses so many different metres, and in all he seems equally at home. He thinks of him 'in the hey-day of his powers, fearless evangelist, gallant Knight of the Cross, ardent lover, chivalrous friend, humble saint, ecstatic singer, as, celebrating his thirty-eighth birthday, he sings :

Away with our fears !
The glad morning appears
When an heir of salvation was born !'

DR. MEECHAN'S HARTLEY LECTURE¹

THE choice of subject for the Hartley Lecture this year is naturally conditioned by the fact that the lecturer is a specialist in Greek. As a Wellington Scholar, he received the highest prize in that branch of learning which the University of Manchester can bestow. Coming also, as he did, under the influence of Professor James Hope Moulton and of Dr. Peake (to the memory of both of whom he dedicates this work), he has followed in their steps in the double task of attempting to provide, not only for the expert, but also for the general reader, matter to illuminate the understanding of Scripture.

Those coming fresh to the topic would do well to turn first to an Appendix on 'The Value of the Septuagint.' Those eight pages, together with a similar number at the beginning of the book, headed 'Introduction,' give the viewpoint which has determined the title of the lecture: *The Oldest Version of the Bible*.

The Greek Version of the Old Testament was probably begun in the first half of the third century before Christ. Apparently, Genesis to Deuteronomy were the earliest to be translated, and the other books of the Old Testament followed in due course. Owing to the tradition that seventy (or seventy-two) translators were responsible for the translation, the version received the name Septuagint, from the Latin word meaning seventy. This Septuagint (often referred to as LXX.) is termed the Oldest Version of the Bible, or, rather, of the Old Testament Scriptures, because the oldest manuscript of the Old Testament in Hebrew which we possess is dated A.D. 916, and the LXX. there carries us back a thousand years nearer to the original documents.

On that ground alone the LXX. would be of immense importance to all biblical scholars. But there are still other reasons why it must command our attention. It was the first attempt, so far as we know at translating the Scriptures into another language, and as a pioneer effort at that supremely important type of missionary service is deserving of our warmest admiration. Born outside Palestine, being produced apparently in the Egyptian city of Alexandria, though meant for all Jews everywhere who had no knowledge of Hebrew, its alien origin reminds us of Tyndale, who had to make his English version of the New Testament on the Continent. Like our Authorised Version, the LXX. retained its sway for some four hundred years. What will appeal to all our readers is the fact that it was the LXX. (more than the Hebrew original) that was the Bible of Jesus and of Paul: this we see from their quotations. Moreover, before the New Testament was written and in common use, it was the LXX. version of the Old Testament that provided texts for preachers of the early Christian Church. Distinctly interesting, too, is the point that the Psalter of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England is based upon the LXX. Ancient prayers that are woven into modern

¹ *The Oldest Version of the Bible: 'Aristeas' on its Traditional Origin*, by H. G. Meechan, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. (Holtborn Press, &c.)

liturgies show the influence of the LXX. in words and ideas of devotion.

The student of Scripture finds also that the LXX. sets him many problems. Thus, it adds about 107 verses to our book of Esther. These may be seen in English in the *Apocrypha: Revised Version* (Oxford University Press). On the other hand, in the case of the Book of Job, the text of the LXX. is nearly 400 lines shorter than the Hebrew from which our English Old Testament is translated. Sometimes, as with the Book of Jeremiah, the LXX. will take whole groups of chapters and put them in quite a different order from that to which we are accustomed in our version.

The LXX. has, therefore, for various reasons, considerable claim upon all who are interested in the Bible. Unfortunately, however, the reader who has no knowledge of Greek, but is dependent entirely on English renderings, is at present limited in his approach to it. There is, it is true, an edition of the LXX. with both Greek and English, published by Bagster, but the march of scholarship has made this now inadequate. Perhaps as good an example of the LXX. as an English reader might secure would be Volume I. of *Isaiah According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge University Press), in which the Rev. R. H. Ottley gives in parallel columns first a translation of the Hebrew text and then a rendering from the Greek LXX. The differences can there be seen in English immediately, and are sometimes emphatically arresting.

It may well be asked why, if the LXX. is of such importance, no better headway should have been made in making it available in English. The answer would partly be that much work has yet to be done in securing a fully reliable Greek text of the LXX., collated with all the extant manuscripts. A band of English scholars have been, and are still, busily engaged on this onerous task.

Dr. Meecham has translated from Greek into English a famous document known as 'The Letter of Aristeas,' which professes to give an account of the origin of the LXX. This Epistle, which occupies 70 pages of the Hartley Lecture, was perhaps written about 100 B.C., and indicates the high esteem in which the LXX. was held at that date among Jews. Though ostensibly written by a Greek named Aristeas, it is probably the work of a Jew. Legend mingles with fact in the pages of the letter, but Dr. Meecham, with much care and in great detail, exhibits the trustworthy residuum. The letter is also of value as showing the thought-world of the period round about 100 B.C. in which it was composed and during which the LXX. was rapidly gaining in prestige and extending its circulation. To bring out the ideas revealed in this letter, Dr. Meecham has devoted several chapters of exposition. The Religious Teaching of the Epistle concerning God, Man, The Law, Idol-worship, Suffering and Moral Evil, Prayer, Worship, and Sacrificial Offerings—these are all dealt with in telling fashion. Under the heading of 'Ethical and Psychological Teaching' we have valuable discussions on the relation of religion and morality, virtues, the golden rule, vices, and other topics. In still another

chapter, on 'Political and Social Teaching,' the ideal King and the ideal State are themes dealt with. One of the Appendices which deals with the Alexandrian Jewish Community should prove of service as exhibiting something of the characteristics and history of the circle from which the LXX. had its rise. A full bibliography and indices, with copious footnotes, must make the Hartley Lecture a source book to which many diligent students will turn with profit.

W. E. FARNDALE.

ARE MODERN CONDITIONS DYSGENIC ?

It is almost a commonplace with some modern writers that the present system of social economy, which cares greatly for the poor and the weak, and to do so bears hard on the rich and better-off, is destroying the ability of the nation. It is said that the middle-class is being forced to destruction, self-destruction, by limitation of families, that we are foolishly making it easier for the commonplace and the dull to survive than for the able, and that in this way we are leading towards a time when the initiative and ability of our nation will be destroyed. This conclusion is drawn from the supposition that offspring inherit only what is visible in their parents. This is only partly true, and it is as mistaken to invoke Darwinism in support of it as Lamarckianism in support of the present methods of social alleviation. Lamarckianism, it is true, is inferior to Darwinism, since there does not appear to be any definite evidence in its favour, and a good deal against it. On the whole, the conclusion seems a just one that acquired characteristics are not inherited, though natural ability and predispositions are. Darwinism, however, even in its nineteenth-century form, has a good deal of evidence in its favour, though it requires modification.

Probably it is owing to the extremely slow filtering of the knowledge of natural science into literary circles that men of outstanding ability are still found discussing this problem, and, indeed, the whole question of eugenics, as if Mendel had never lived and worked. Mendel, Abbot of Brünn, did work half a century ago that was unknown to the world until the beginning of the present century, since when a good deal of work, more especially by Punnett and Bateson, has been done along the same lines.

Roughly, the practical conclusions of Mendel's work are these. Some qualities are such that inheritance is generally on the lines of a mean between the degree in which they are possessed by the father and mother, some influence being exerted by more remote ancestors (for example, stature). Other qualities, such as eye-colour, are inherited whole or not at all. (This statement is subject to the fact that individual variation also appears to occur.) Such qualities, known as Mendelian characters, are of two kinds. One, known as 'recessive,' is found in roughly one-quarter of the offspring of any union of parents of diverse qualities. The other, called 'dominant,'

is found in three-quarters of the offspring. These numerical proportions are found with considerable regularity in plants, where there is a very large number of offspring. Among animals, many of whose possible offspring do not mature, or are not even born at all, the numbers are naturally much less regular, but nevertheless they conform in general to these proportions.

The interesting thing about these two types of qualities is this. The members of the group of offspring showing the 'recessive' qualities breed true to type amongst themselves. Conditions adverse to organisms with these qualities can stamp out the group showing them. But the recessive quality is not thereby destroyed from the whole race, for, though one-third of the offspring showing the 'dominant' quality will breed true to type, the other two-thirds will produce amongst their offspring again all three types—those breeding true to the 'recessive' type, those breeding true to the 'dominant' type, and a mixed breed. This last will keep on throwing up descendants of the 'recessive' type together with those showing the 'dominant' characters, some of which, again, will be of mixed breed, and so the 'recessive' characters must continue to appear. And this is true even if the general conditions do not suit the survival of that type. As it were, the 'dominant' characteristic, more suitable to its environment, acts as a shelter to the other, which persists in inheritance, and is always ready to re-establish itself when conditions become favourable.

On the other hand, if the conditions of life are very adverse to the 'dominant' type, it may be stamped out, for individuals of the 'recessive' type will not produce the other variety, but will breed true.

The question before eugenis, and all who would like to form an opinion as to whether modern civilization will stamp out ability, is this: What human characteristics are Mendelian, and, of those, which are 'recessive' and which are 'dominant'? If those qualities that in combination produce what we call talent or ability are mainly Mendelian and 'recessive,' no conditions that allow the race to survive at all can stamp them out. If they are non-Mendelian, or if they are 'dominant' characters, conditions can extinguish them. It is useless to try to make eugenics work without this knowledge, and no conclusion can be drawn as to the effects of our modern social system on the survival of the ability and talent of the nation without a knowledge of these facts.

It is true that they are not yet known, but this much is known—that to discover them is the first step towards acquiring the possibility of certainty on these matters. Yet one can look in vain in the writings of many men of high calibre about eugenics and the influence of modern life on the survival of talent without any indication, for the most part, that such things as these characters exist.

Two things might seem to indicate that possibly the characters that one would wish to see preserved are Mendelian and 'recessive.' One is the persistence in our history of families of ability, showing, generation after generation, talent of an unusual degree, such as the

Cecils and the Butlers. It would be rash, however, to base a conclusion on this. The other is the preponderance of the less able. Since not one characteristic alone is needed to produce ability, but several in combination, this is exactly what one would expect if most of these characters are 'recessive' Mendelian ones. My point is this, however—that to say that modern conditions, by favouring the second- and third-rate person, must inevitably stamp out ability is to make an entirely unjustified assertion, which may be the exact opposite of the truth. If the qualities that combine to make a man or woman one of ability are 'recessive' Mendelian characters, then the truth is that no conditions can stamp out ability, which the mass of the population will continue to throw up in the future as in the past.

What is needed is research into this matter. It will be extremely difficult, but it is needed before we can make any approach to a system of eugenics, or can even know whether our modern conditions are really dysgenic or not.

W. MACHIN.

JOHN WESLEY'S DICTIONARY

JOHN WESLEY was a man of exceptional energy and endurance, of great personal charm, good humour, and not a little wit, kindly and thoughtful and upright. All these qualities appear even in his dictionary. The first edition came out late in 1755; it was published at Bristol, as was the second edition early in 1764. To '*The Complete English Dictionary: Explaining most of those Hard Words, Which are found in the Best British Writers. By a Lover of Good English and Common Sense,*' he added, on the title-page, these provocative words: 'N.B. The author assures you, he thinks this is the best English Dictionary in the World.'

Certain biographers and critics have quoted that apparently fatuous boast without giving Wesley's own comment, and without pointing out that, until Johnson's abridged dictionary appeared some years later, Wesley's was actually the best small dictionary of English. But his comment is as delightful as it is shrewd; indeed, the whole preface should find a place in any comprehensive anthology of English prose. Referring to that title-page challenge, Wesley remarks: 'I have so often observed, the only way, according to the modern taste, for any author to procure commendation to his book is, vehemently to commend it himself. For want of this deference to the publick, several excellent tracts lately printed, but left to commend themselves by their intrinsic worth, are utterly unknown or forgotten. Whereas if a writer of tolerable sense will but bestow a few violent encomiums on his own work, especially if they are skilfully ranged in the title-page, it will pass thro' six editions in a trice; the world being too complaisant to give a gentleman the Lie, and taking it for granted, he understands his own performance best. In compliance therefore with the taste of the age, I add, that this little dictionary is not only the shortest and the cheapest, but likewise, by

many degrees, the most correct which is extant at this day. Many are the mistakes in all the other *English* dictionaries which I have yet seen. Whereas I can truly say, I know of none in this; and I conceive the reader will believe me: for if I had, I should not have left it there. Use then this help, till you find a better.' Much the same tone of raillery informs the note to the second edition: 'In this Edition I have added some hundreds of words, which were omitted in the former; chiefly from Mr. *Johnson's* dictionary, which I carefully looked over for that purpose. And I will now venture to affirm, that, small as it is, this dictionary is quite sufficient, for enabling any one to understand the best Writings now extant, in the *English* tongue.'

Wealey in many ways followed the older English lexicographers, who—and this holds till the eighteenth century—aimed not at completeness, but at explaining the more difficult words. In 1616, Dr. John Bullokar published his *English Expositour*; the next year saw Minsheu's remarkable *Guide into the Tongues* (the first English etymological dictionary); Cockeram's much more modest *Interpreter* appeared in 1728; Blount's *Glossographia* in 1656; in 1678 came what is often considered the first English dictionary in the modern sense, that compiled by Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton—*New World of Words*, often re-edited by the industrious and by no means foolish John Kersey; but it was Nathaniel Bailey who in 1780 (the smaller edition of 1781 followed the selective principle) brought out a *complete* dictionary, i.e. one admitting *dog, cat, the, of*, and so forth. It was Bailey who held the field for thirty-five years—until, in fact, Johnson, drawing largely on his work, put an end to his supremacy.¹ Wealey's first edition came out just in time to avoid being annihilated by the Doctor's magistral dictionary, whose appearance nevertheless prevented Wealey's little book from winning the popularity it deserved; *Johnson* was to the eighteenth century what *Webster* became for the next and *Wyld* may become for our own.

Wealey's aim and method cannot be described better than in his own words. 'As incredible as it may appear,' he begins his preface, 'I must avow, that this dictionary is not published to get money, but to assist persons of common sense and no learning, to understand the best *English* authors; and that, with as little expense of time or money, as the nature of the thing would allow.' He continues thus: 'To this end it contains, not a heap of *Greek* and *Latin* words, just tagged with *English* terminations (for no good *English* writer, none but vain or senseless pedants, give these any place in their writings): not a scroll of barbarous *law expressions*, which are neither *Greek, Latin*, nor good *English*: not a crowd of *technical* terms, the meaning whereof is to be sought in books expressly wrote on the subjects to

¹ I owe these facts (the list, I may add, is not complete) to the fascinating essay 'On Dictionaries' in Professor Ernest Weekley's suggestive and entertaining volume, *Adjectives and Other Words* (1st edition, 1900).

which they belong: not such *English* words as *and*, *of*, *but*¹. . .; but "most of those hard words which are found in the best *English* writers." He adds that he likewise omits 'all, the meaning of which may be easily gathered from those of the same derivation'; the whole with a view to convenience of size and to cheapness.

Wesley's dictionary was, within its self-imposed limits, a very able piece of work. On account of its omission of the small coin of speech, it was useless to foreigners—unless they happened to possess the rudimenta. Nor was it meant for scholars, as the absence of etymologies, illustrative phrases and illustrative passages (these last were to be introduced by Johnson), and of references to lexicographers, will show. But for the ordinary 'man of sense,' whom he rightly assumed to be indifferent to erudition and encyclopaedising, Wesley succeeded in producing a very serviceable dictionary.

His spelling is occasionally irregular, as in *burser*, *diphthong*, and the differentiation of *accessary* and *accessory*. There are also, of course, spellings that were current in the eighteenth century but now obsolete, such as *asphaltus* and *atchieve*. The eighteenth-century note appears further in some of the definitions. *Abcess* is 'an imposthume'; *behemoth*, 'the river-horse' (hippopotamus); *buxom* is 'pliant, wanton, merry,' and it reminds us that it is extremely unwise in the United States to describe a woman as 'buxom'; *campaign* is 'a summer's war,' for fighting was not carried on in the winter months; *decimate* is 'to take tithe'; *epicure* means 'a glutton, a sensual man'; 'one skilled in Hebrew' is not a *Hebraist*, as now, but a *Hebrician*; *meretricious* is bluntly 'whorish,' without any modern frills; *philology* is 'the study of polite literature: criticism'; *romantic* is 'such as is described in romances: wild'; *vapid* is 'dead (spoken of drink).'

Wesley, though rarely vague, is often reticent, sex being for the most part eschewed, though there are several words for a homosexual. He is brief and to the point: a dictionary is 'a book explaining the words of a language,' a glossary 'a dictionary to shew the sense of words in several languages'; and usually he is much briefer than that. Although he aims not at wit, nor at originality, some of his definitions, either intrinsically or with reference to his life and work, call for quotation. An *enthusiast* is 'a religious madman, one that fancies himself inspired' (Wesley knew that he was often described thus), while a *visionary* is 'one that sees, or pretends to, visions' (he was aware that he numbered a few among his followers); if a *Latitudinarian* means 'one that fancies all religions are saving,' a *Methodist* denotes 'one that lives according to the method laid down in the Bible.' *Anecdotes* are 'secret histories' (biography à la *Maurois*); *memoirs*, 'a plain history' (annals, in short); *grammar* is 'the art of speaking and writing properly'; *figure*, 'an elegantly-uncommon way of speaking'; and *rhapsody* signifies 'a confused collection of words.' *Alchymy* is narrowed down to 'the art of

¹ Nor the *cat* and *dog*, *door* and *bed*, *ah* and *oh*, *run* and *see* variations.

changing one metal into another'; *astrology* is 'the (supposed) art of foretelling things by the stars.' *Bastile* is 'the state-prison in Paris'; *Olympus*, 'a poetical name of heaven.' A *coquet* is 'a woman affectedly airy, seeking to make conquests.' A *tarantula* is 'a venomous spider, whose bite can be cured only by music' (especially that of the *tarantella*), which links up with *tarantism*, the modern name for dancing mania—not confined to *Taranto*. *Ventilator* is 'an engine to bring fresh air into any place,' and *refrigerate* means nothing more chilly than 'to cool.'

The scope of Wesley's dictionary can best be gauged, however, by a comparison with some modern work; for this purpose the *Pocket Oxford*¹ will serve admirably. The number of words treated by Wesley is about 5,300, that by the *Pocket Oxford* about 19,000²; but if we bear in mind the express omissions in the earlier work, we notice that the two dictionaries are (dates remembered) practically equivalent. At Q we find only thirty words in Wesley, just four times that number in the *Pocket Oxford*; X in Wesley supplies only two entries (*xenodochium* and *xystus*); in the modern work, six (*x*, *Xanthippe*, *xebec*, *xi*, *xylonite*, *xylophone*); Y in Wesley yields three words, in the other sixty; Z seven and thirty-eight respectively. (The learned and technical element is noticeable in the last two letters of the modern dictionary.)

The manner of definition can likewise be seen best from a few brief examples, in which, again, we must be careful to remember the difference in aim between these two dictionaries. *Debilitate*, says Wesley, is 'to weaken'; the Fowler brothers (the war most unfortunately removed one of them) are equally terse with 'to cause debility in,' but then they have previously defined *debility*. In Wesley, *fabric* means only 'a building'; in the Fowlers a 'thing put together; building; structure; (also *textile fabric*) woven material.' The former defines *professor* as 'a public reader of lectures,' the latter as a 'person making profession (of a religion, &c.), holder of university chair or other teacher of high rank.' *Student* in the earlier is 'a scholar, studious man'; in the later—well, the entry is rather too long to be given here.

Wesley has this in common with the Fowlers, as with such other notable dictionary-makers as Minsheu, Johnson, Weekley: he imprints on a book that the unthinking expect to be dry-as-dust and tedious a character at once unmistakable, personal, and enjoyable; for only the superhumanly conscientious or perhaps, rather, the portentously solemn among lexicographers can resist being personal now and again. It is certainly to our advantage that personality, humour, and wit do thus break the bounds of erudition in Wesley and those others.

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¹ I use the 1st edition (1936), edited by F. G. and H. W. Fowler.

² By headings; cognates and derivatives listed under a main word are ignored in this estimate.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Psalms. Westminster Commentary. Edited by W. E. Barnes. (Methuen & Co. 42s.)

THESE two volumes are a welcome addition to the interpretation of the Psalms. It is well, in reading them to remember the purpose of the Westminster Commentary: 'The series will be less elementary than the Cambridge Bible for Schools, less critical than the International Critical Commentary, less didactic than the Expositor's Bible.' Dr. Barnes has fulfilled these conditions, and, while not entering into many of the more difficult critical problems of the text, has brought a good deal of careful and accurate scholarship to his task, and has certainly illuminated many of the Psalms by his skill in interpretation. We have read these volumes with great interest, and, while noting some omissions in the discussion of problems relative to the Psalms, we have found in this work much valuable information. We heartily recommend this book to those who are studying the Psalms. Dr. Barnes has little patience with the more modern theories about the Psalms, and certainly belongs to the right wing. He sees, however, what is too often obscured by some critics: that there is a certain timelessness about the greatest of these hymns, and that their spiritual value is what matters most. For, when the soul is wrestling with the sorrows of life, and faces them squarely, and finds God at the heart of them, such an experience transcends the problem of place and date. Herein we have found this commentary of great value, for Dr. Barnes has revealed, in his interpretation of these Psalms, that to the Psalmist, as well as to John Henry Newman and all true spiritual seekers, there are only two self-luminous points—God and the soul. He finds in the Psalms the true drama of the quest for God. Dr. Barnes's accurate linguistic knowledge and his wide learning have enabled him to shed light upon many passages, and to give new meaning to the text. For instance, in Ps. li. the passage, 'Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned' is not without difficulties. Dr. Barnes realizes that the words might be explained, 'Against Thee only, O God, have I sinned, and not against man.' He goes on to say, 'But it is more probable that the Psalmist, whose sin has been rebellion, i.e. a turning aside to serve other gods, is implicitly confessing that Jehovah is indeed the only God. We might render, "Against Thee, who art the Only One, have I sinned." The same Hebrew word is used in Isa. xlv. 24: "that stretched out the heavens alone"—i.e. being alone, with no

company of assistant gods or spirits round me.' We have found the above suggestion of help, and it certainly overcomes a difficulty. Dr. Barnes dealt with Mowinkel's suggestion that a number of the Psalms contain allusions to the black arts. The enemies so often referred to by the Psalmist, on this theory refer to sorcerers who try to injure with their spells. The Psalmist's enemies are called 'workers of mischief.' Mowinkel asks, 'What was the mischief that was most feared by the Orientals of old time—was it not magic?' He sees in the Psalms clear signs of the influence of the Babylonian and Assyrian Psalms. Dr. Barnes, however, does not admit the arguments of Mowinkel, and says: 'Much is to be said for the view that Israel preserved to a large extent its religious independence, in spite of the glamour of Babylonian civilization and the prestige of the gods of Babylon.' Dr. Barnes discusses the problem as to whether the Psalms are personal utterances or national, and concludes that generally the Psalms have a personal reference. There are 81 pages of Introduction to these two volumes, and we should have liked more; and there are 677 pages of interpretation. We thank Dr. Barnes for this labour of love, and for the help which he has given to us. We shall still need the work of other commentators, for they supply us with some things with which Dr. Barnes has little sympathy; but we shall also need this new work. We believe that it will help many to a greater love of the Psalms and better understanding of their meaning. Dr. Barnes ends his book with a quotation from St. Bernard: 'This may be the end of the book, but it is not the end of seeking.' There can be no finality about any work on the Psalms; they are too great for that. It is, however, a great contribution when a commentary deepens the passion for seeking to understand a great book, and Dr. Barnes has certainly written such a commentary.

A Preface to Christian Faith in a New Age. By Rufus M. Jones. (Macmillan & Co. 10s.)

The Christian message and the spiritual task have broadened out and become world-wide issues. That involves some fresh power, some deeper interpretation of life that will transform our own civilization and inaugurate a new epoch of faith if we are to have an effective message or a dynamic gospel for China or India. Why is Christianity running on low gear? Dr. Jones here sets himself to inquire into the state of religion at home. He reviews the obstacles and hindrances to Christian faith in a new age and concludes that the present unsettlement in religion has in large measure been due to a widespread revolt on the part of the young against the unreal and immature features which have survived from earlier times. Really the central realities are unshaken and only the dead husks and outer shells are being shaken off. He cites Sir A. Eddington and Sir James Jeans to show that the stream of thought is heading towards a non-mechanical reality, describes the testimony of human experience, and shows that the task of building as labourers with God the harmonized society

which is to reveal His will ought to thrill man with enthusiasm. The true Church of the future will be recognized by its demonstration in love and service that it is an organ in the world for the revelation of the life of God to the lives of men. We need a genuine school of prophets as builders of the Church in this new epoch, and they must emphasise a way of life and complete moral and spiritual health. Dr. Jones's book and Dr. Davison's *The Living Word in a Changing World* will give new guidance and courage to all Christian workers.

This Ministry. By W. B. Selbie, M.A., D.D. (Student Christian Movement. 2s.)

Dr. Selbie's health prohibited the delivery of these six lectures to his students at Mansfield College, but every minister will welcome them as the ripe fruit of twenty years in the active ministry and more than twenty spent in training men and women for that work. He gives much attention to a teaching ministry, to preaching, the cure of souls, and the minister's personality. The last lecture deals with 'The Training of the Ministry' in a broadminded and Catholic spirit. The subject of evangelistic preaching is concerned with repentance, the need of salvation, conviction of sin, justification by faith. These form the background of all real religion. The need and value of individual dealing in pastoral work is emphasized. 'The minister must be able to inspire such confidence, and make himself so accessible, that people will come quite naturally to consult him on everything under the sun, and particularly on their religious needs and difficulties.' Dr. Selbie regards the ministry as the greatest work that any man can undertake, and his lectures will inspire those who study them with a new purpose to make full proof of their own ministry.

The Preacher's Life and Work. By Lauchlin Maclean Watt, D.D. (Allenson. 7s. 6d.)

Dr. Watt here combines the lectures he gave under the Warrack and McNeil Fraser Trusts. They embody thirty-four years' experience gained in the group of the largest congregations in Scotland. He gives some racy details of his student life and of his pastoral work, and describes methods which he has found valuable in his visiting and his pulpit preparation. A preacher's character can never stand too high. The constellation of the Cross is always to be above him in preaching to sinners. Sermons on some subjects almost need to be written out. If the unread sermon is as good in quality as that which is written, 'its effect is far better.' Dr. Watt feels that the value of a little knowledge of business—say three months in an accountant's office—is of immense value to a minister. Every service is special, and the preacher must put his best into it. Counsels on prayer and on reading are given in this practical and vivid set of lectures. They will be of real service to young preachers, and older preachers should not overlook them.

An Introduction to Schleiermacher. By J. Arundel Chapman, M.A., B.D. (Epworth Press. 4s.)

The great theologian died on February 12, 1884, so that this study of his *Addresses* is a herald of his approaching centenary. Professor Oman's *Schleiermacher on Religion* is out of print, but Mr. Chapman has been allowed to quote from it as well as from Professor Brunner's *Mysticism and the Word*, to which Chapter VI is devoted. Schleiermacher made the first real effort to restate Christian truth in the light of the new ideas and forces of the modern spirit. Mr. Chapman's biographical sketch shows how he struggled for liberty, and gained a reasonable amount of it for himself, but failed to obtain freedom for congregations to make their influence felt in synods and ecclesiastical gatherings. His fine *Addresses* which appeared in 1799, were like the breath of new life in a stagnant world, and opened the way to positions which have had a dominating influence in religion and religious thought ever since. They bear traces of Plato, of Spinoza and Leibnitz, and were influenced by Kant and Schelling. All these varying threads are present, but he weaves them into a pattern which is all his own. He started the modern interest in world religions, and set other momentous forces in action. Mr. Chapman finds many striking agreements between him and Wordsworth, though Wordsworth is more objective and Schleiermacher prevailingly subjective. Brunner holds that Schleiermacher shows his affinities with mysticism in seven ways. He substitutes the universe for God and leaves His relationship to the world in doubt. He holds that the radical error of Schleiermacher is that he never comes to terms with the objective revelation of the Bible. In a closing chapter Mr. Chapman points out that his God is the Deity of pantheistic mysticism. Because the idea of God is not primary and creative, he is entangled from beginning to end in the subjective. Ethics is left without ultimate support, and the *Addresses* have no sense of sin. Like much modern religious thought, his teaching is barren because it is not rich towards God.

Lands and Peoples of the Bible. By James Baikie, D.D. (A. & C. Black. 4s. 6d.)

This is a second edition of a book which provides the geographic and historic background necessary for the understanding of the Bible story. It makes the life of Palestine stand out clearly, and describes the art and monuments of Mesopotamia and Egypt in a way that lights up the life and times of the patriarchs. Special attention is given to Mr. Woolley's excavations at Ur, which have brought to light the ancient home of the Father of the Faithful. The book is one that no Bible student can afford to overlook. It is full of information, and its thirty-two full pages of illustrations taken from photographs add greatly to its value. The bibliography and table of comparative chronology will be of special service to students.

Studies in Theology. By Benjamin B. Warfield. (Oxford University Press. 20s.)

This spacious volume of 671 pages contains twenty-one of Dr. Warfield's best miscellaneous theological essays on Apologetics, Christian Supernaturalism, The Task of Systematic Theology, God, Charles Darwin's Religious Life, Mysticism and Christianity, and other subjects. A list of other studies in theology covers four and a half pages. Darwin's long-continued atrophying of his religious conceptions was not entered on without a word of faithful admonition from his old friend and preceptor, Professor A. Sidgwick, but the appeal came too late to aid him to conserve his Christian faith. Dr. Warfield quotes some of his last words, and adds,—is it not too severely?—'Thus he went out into the dark without God in all his thoughts; with no hope for immortality: and with no keenness of regret for all the high and noble aspirations and all the elevating imaginings which he had lost out of life.'

A Greek-English Lexicon compiled by H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. A new edition revised and augmented by Henry Stuart Jones, D.Litt., and others. Part VI. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10s. 6d. net).

The new *Liddell and Scott* marches steadily on its way, extending with this issue as far as the letter *omicron*. On the foundation so well and truly laid Dr. Jones and his many collaborators are rearing a noble monument of wide and exact Greek scholarship. For students of classical Greek the work is of course indispensable. But the references to the vocabulary of late Greek, especially the papyri, render the *Lexicon* of very great assistance to students of both halves of the Greek Bible. Where there is so much rich gleaning to be made in these pages it must suffice merely to call attention to the notes on such New Testament terms as *laleō* (the usual distinction from *legō* cannot always be pressed in late Greek; cf. Gen. xii., 4 *al.*), *leitourgeo*, *makrothumia*, *merisēs*, the local use of *meta* c. acc. as in Heb. ix. 8, *numphōn*, &c. With this thesaurus of the Greek language supplemented by Moulton-Milligan's *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* the student of the LXX. and New Testament language is indeed richly equipped.

An Idealist View of Life, by S. Radhakrishnan. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.) The Hibbert Lectures for 1929 set forth the modern challenge to religion, scientific and social, and mark the lengths to which we are willing to go to escape the *impassé*. Scientific certainty is not the only kind of certainty available to us, and the concluding lecture gives a view of ultimate reality which may safeguard the great spiritual interests of mankind. At a time when humanity is struggling to rise from a state of subjection to authority to one in which a perfect self-determination is possible, we need prophet souls to help us to fashion a goal. The lecture on human personality holds that

the immensities of the universe need not dishearten us. Matter, life, consciousness, are ideal constructions, not realities. The conception of God as wisdom, love, and goodness is not a mere abstract demand of thought, but is the concrete reality which satisfies the religious demand. God cannot be detached from the world. He is essentially bound up with the life in time. In Him man finds self-completion. He wants to grow into the image of God, perfect in power and wisdom.

Notes on St. Mark and St. Matthew. By Alex Pallis. (Oxford University Press. 8s.)

This is a new edition of a scholarly and suggestive set of notes. There are traditions that St. Matthew's Gospel was translated from Hebrew, St. Mark's from Latin, and it has been suggested that St. John's is a version from Aramaic and that the author of the Apocalypse, though he wrote in Greek, was really thinking in Hebrew. Mr. Pallis says that, if this were so, it would be a unique phenomenon. All the four narratives proceed throughout in a most charmingly unconstrained and homely style. The mystery deepens if we remember that the authors were not trained men of letters. He shows how involved and awkward is the translation by Eusebius of an imperial epistle, and is convinced that 'all the primitive scriptural works, whether canonical or apocryphal, were composed in Greek by authors whose mother tongue was Greek; some of them may have possessed a mere smattering of Aramaic, but practically none knew Latin.' The notes are acute and often of special interest.

Prayer: its Mysteries and Methods. By J. A. Clapperton, M.A. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.)

Prayer is here regarded as the highest wisdom of man, with forces of a spiritual nature which produce real results. Man exchanges thoughts with the Infinite Thinker and enters into real friendship with the Powers of the Unseen. The spiritual significance and the evolution of prayer lead up to a study of the philosophy of answers to prayer, and practical suggestions as to private prayer and devotional methods and programmes which are fresh and helpful. The subject is one of never-failing interest, and this study will open up its wonders and opportunities.

The Bible Confirmed by Science. By W. Bell Dawson, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S. Canada. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 8s. 6d.)

Dr. Dawson is a gold medallist in geology and natural science and a life-long Bible student. He holds that the Scriptures are corroborated by all that is most reliable in science. As to the evolutionary development of man, he calls attention to the brain capacity of the skull of prehistoric man, which discredits 'The gradual development of the human brain from the animal level.' The natural intelligence of

primitive people is quite remarkable. Dr. Dawson has strong convictions, and he states them in a way that deserves attention even where it does not win agreement.

The Sanctity of Daily Life. By Dinsdale T. Young, D.D. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.)

It is quite refreshing to turn over the pages of this volume. It deals with homely themes of everyday life in a gracious and humorous fashion. Every title arrests us, from 'Expenses' to 'Birthdays,' and we see how religion throws light on them all. What truth there is in the saying that 'Evangelical Morality is as beautiful as is evangelical doctrine.' Dr. Young aims to help his readers in their pursuit of that lovely morality. 'Our management of "expenses" may be an impressive exhibition of faith in Christ.' Dr. Young does not forget that every one is interested in 'meal-time,' and points out what a great opportunity it gives for mutual considerateness. His talks on Saturdays and Mondays have some happy suggestions, and, indeed, one meets them on every page of this pleasant and helpful book.

Oxford Sermons. By Walter Lock, D.D. (Oxford University Press. 6s.)

Many will be thankful that Dr. Lock has used his retirement from his strenuous life as Warden of Keble College and Lady Margaret Professor to publish this choice volume. Its range is wide and each sermon has some new light to throw on the Bible. That on 'The Things that are Excellent' is fresh and suggestive. The address on 'The Fourth Gospel' regards it as a narrative 'written primarily for contemporaries,' with the writer's eye on the history of the Church and on the opponents of the moment.' Dr. Lock feels that the nucleus of all the incidents and discourses runs back to the incidents of the Lord's life and to the substance of His teaching. 'Joseph: A Sermon to Men' is a beautiful unfolding of that 'incomparable story.' 'Civic Duty' is illustrated by a visit to the ruins of Timgad, where the Romans combined great beauty with all that makes for utility. 'The Study of Jesus and the Christ' dwells on the historic life of Jesus of Nazareth in a very helpful way. The blend of scholarship and practical insight give this volume a claim to a place on every minister's shelves.

The Challenge of Karl Barth. By Carl Heath. (Allenson. 1s.) This is a Quaker criticism of the School of Crisis, and a very acute and suggestive one. It rejects divine immanence, exalts divine transcendence, and lays stress on the helpless condition of man. It is a little book which will well repay attention.

The Life of a Christian (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1s.) is described by John Macbeath, M.A., in four addresses on its Beginning, Characteristics, Resources, and Duties. They are pleasantly written, and lighted up by many happy incidents. It is a book that will bear good fruit.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

Monsieur Thiers. By John M. S. Allison. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

THE Professor of History in Yale University opens his study of the French statesman with his own confession, 'I am sprung from the bourgeoisie. I am a child of the Revolution.' Thiers was born at Marseilles, and sealed with the belated seal of legitimacy when death removed his father's first wife from the scene. He found his way to Paris in 1821 and won his place in the political world by the new life and real daring which his articles put into the 'Old and stuffy' *Constitutionnel*. His *Voyage aux Pyrénées* won him the friendship of Talleyrand, and his *History of the French Revolution* took Paris by storm. Like the later *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, it is now regarded as untrustworthy and inaccurate, but it gave him a reputation, and he knew how to use it. He took a leading part in bringing Louis Philippe to the throne, but accepted the Republic and voted for the election of Louis Napoleon as President. As President after the Franco-German war he rendered conspicuous service to his country by his policy of regeneration, pursued at the expense of his own popularity and influence. He welcomed his return to private life in 1878, and once again made the conquest of Paris and won from Gambetta the tribute, 'There is the real Liberator of our Territory.' Tears streamed down the old statesman's face as he listened to that well-earned honour. A few months later, on September 8, 1878, he died of apoplexy at Saint-Germain. The Life gives a view of the man and the period which is of international interest.

Nicholas of Cusa. By Henry Bett, M.A. (Methuen. 7s. 6d.)

Following upon *Joachim of Flora* in the same series, Mr. Bett's study of Nicholas of Cusa suggests the contrast between a mystic and a saintly recluse engaged upon the evangelical quest of the 'Eternal Gospel' and a great Churchman, Bishop of Brixen and later a cardinal, who rose to prominence in an age of conflict arising out of the respective claims of Papacy and Council, with its personal repercussions within his own diocese; in particular a quarrel with Sigismund, Count of the Tyrol, in which the bishop suffered not entirely unmerited humiliation. But Nicholas's real claim to greatness lies in his philosophy, wherein he stands in the succession of Plotinus, Augustine, Dionysius, Erigena, and Eckhart. He was a voluminous writer whose interests ranged over the diverse fields of metaphysics, theology, mathematics, astronomy, ecclesiastical unity, and Islamic thought. His work had a profound influence on his age, and, though it marks the climax of the Neoplatonist conception of God and the universe, its influence reappears sporadically, as in the teaching of the Cambridge Platonists—Peter Sterry in particular. He has as deep a

passion for unity in thought as for unity in Christendom; for he laboured for the healing of the schism between East and West. The fundamental antinomies of infinite and finite, possibility and actuality, universal and particular, and the like absorbed his remarkable powers not only as a philosopher, but as a Christian thinker. A whole-hearted believer in the Trinity and the Incarnation, he sought to produce a rational system based on these truths. In his account of his highly abstract doctrine, Mr. Bett's admirable knowledge of mediæval metaphysics and its peculiar terminology is brought into play. It is obvious that his wide erudition could have produced a larger work, but he has chosen, greatly to the benefit of the average man, to compress his study into a lucid and adequate whole. He displays real scholarship and insight in disclosing the strength and weakness of Nicholas's abstract method. The latter shows itself in treatment of the problem of evil, and, further, in a feature characteristic of all mediæval thought—the obsession with abstractions unilluminated by a clear conception of human personality. It is, on the other hand, interesting to find the evangelical note in his doctrine of faith, which he regards as 'the presence of the power of Christ Himself in the soul of the believer.'

Oglethorpe: A Study of Philanthropy in England and Georgia. By Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d.)

Oglethorpe has not lacked biographers, but Dr. Church has outstripped them all in insight and in the use of contemporary correspondence. The Public Record Office and the Earl of Egmont's diary have furnished much new material which throws light on the founding of the colony of Georgia and on Oglethorpe's relations to John and Charles Wesley. The social and religious aspects of the great philanthropic scheme have naturally been foremost, but problems of administration and military defence have been clearly discussed. A glance at the footnotes will show what painstaking research has been lavished on the history. The movement for prison reform awoke Oglethorpe's keenest sympathy. The Fleet Prison had a grim record. Thomas Bambridge and Dougal Cuthbert bought the office of Warden for £5,000 and Bambridge's profit for the year was £4,682 18s. 8d., without including fees received on the appointment of subordinate officers. The treatment of prisoners was brutal, and when Bambridge feared exposure from some more than usually flagrant act he deliberately planned to cause his victims' death by increasing the hardships. Oglethorpe had an innate friendliness for the poor, the debtor, and the unemployed. He discovered a fund of £15,000 which a haberdasher had left in the hands of three trustees, and suggested that it should be used to found a new colony which would relieve the suffering of the London unemployed and provide a bulwark against the French and the Indians. A charter was granted in 1732, and on January 18, 1733, the first party of emigrants reached

Charleston under the care of Oglethorpe. He told the trustees in February that he had fixed on a healthy situation about ten miles from the sea, where the Savannah River formed a half-moon. A plain extended five or six miles from the river, and in its centre he had laid out the town. The emigrants arrived on February 1, and got up their tents before night. A little Indian nation desired to send their children to the English schools. 'Their chief, and his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation, desire to be instructed in the Christian religion.' So the curtain is rung up for the new colony. Three years later the Wesleys arrived. Dr. Church gives many interesting details of their labours and sorrows, also of Whitefield and his orphanage. Oglethorpe 'stands sharply outlined against the blue sky of Georgia, dreaming of prisoners who might be free, and speaking again the words he had just written, "I know there will be a great deal of trouble in it, but I am accustomed to difficulties, so that they never make me despair."'

John Alfred Sharp. By Walter H. Armstrong. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d.)

Shaftesbury was the birthplace of John Alfred Sharp, and it showed its pride in him by conferring on him its honorary freedom in 1921. He was led into the peace of God under a sermon preached by Alexander McAulay, and made himself an honoured name in the Methodist ministry, served with distinction for six years on the Birmingham School Board, and filled the post of Connexional Temperance Secretary with marked success. As Book Steward and Chairman of the First London Synod he rendered service which made the whole Church his debtor. He became President of the Conference in 1921, President of the Free Church Council in 1930, and in both positions did noble service for temperance and purity. This biography describes the features of his work in an impressive way, and gives estimates of the man and his character from many friends. Mr. Armstrong's chapter, 'Some Characteristics of the Man,' brings out his many interests as stamp collector, book collector, student of Wesley relics. He was passionately evangelistic, delighted in preaching, won a high reputation as a Conference debater, and showed rare ability as an administrator. His brethren, young and old, found him a staunch friend, and the whole Church relied on his fidelity to conviction, his courage and insight. He was a great gift of God not only to Methodism, but to all the Free Churches. Mr. Armstrong was on intimate terms with him for many years, and tells the story of a richly fruitful life with insight and sympathy.

Chudleigh: A Triumph of Sacrifice. By R. G. Burnett. (Epworth Press. 3s. 6d.)

The Rev. Ensor Walters says in his Foreword that Frederick W. Chudleigh will rank amongst the greatest servants of Christ who have toiled amongst the hard-pressed poor. Mr. Burnett has described his friend's work in *Christ down East*, where he wrought wonders

inspired by love for Jesus and for humanity. No one dreamed that such a vocation awaited the Bristol boy who early showed his delight in music, and loved to wrestle with the intricacies of Brahms or Mozart better than any boyish sport. The ministry of Samuel Keeble made a profound impression on the youth of eighteen. He was drawn to Christ, and began to work among the boys and girls who swarmed around Old King Street Chapel, Bristol. Then he found his way into the Methodist ministry, and began the years of preparation which led through the Shetland Islands to his crowning sphere in East London. He loved the sea, and his mastery of his little sailing-boat made the fisher-folk of the Shetlands admit him to the inner circle of their fellowship. He formed there an intimate friendship with Peter Fraser, who became a skilled artist and finally married Chudleigh's sister. In 1916 Chudleigh took charge of the Lycett Chapel in the East End, where in the following March he opened the first national war kitchen. It proved an immediate and extraordinary success, and developed into a nation-wide movement which did much to feed the people and maintain their morale. Three years later he became superintendent of the East London Mission, where his gifts found a great field for action. He introduced the cinema, and long queues of boys and girls lined up on the pavement for the penny pictures, which were always carefully selected, full of action and humour and good drama, and giving some knowledge of nature and geography and history. East End boys and girls got happy thoughts of religion through the man and his ministry. The Sunday night film service filled the hall to overflowing. His breakfasts for the children, his medical mission, and a host of other agencies filled his hands and heart, and his sixteen years were rich in blessing to multitudes who almost worshipped him. It is a delightful story, and Mr. Burnett's record is enriched by a host of details which are of extraordinary interest. Frederick Chudleigh is gone, but he will long live in these glowing pages.

Alexander Gordon. By H. McLachlan, M.A., D.D. (Manchester University Press. 7s. 6d.)

Alexander Gordon's grandfather was admitted into the Methodist society at Wolverhampton by John Wealey, and became a local preacher. He had one son, John, who was assistant to Henry Moore at City Road, and served as a Methodist preacher till 1885. He entered the Unitarian ministry in 1889, and died in 1890. His son, Alexander, of whom Dr. McLachlan writes, is an old student, who held various charges as a Unitarian minister from 1862 to 1889, and from 1898 to 1911 was Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary College in Manchester, and was connected with it in one capacity or another for fifty-two years. He wrote 720 articles for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Dr. Rigg described that on John Wealey as a 'careful and catholic-spiritual article.' The biography describes him as a character and something of an enigma, 'gruff, independent,

self-reliant, yet modest and retiring.' He died in February 1961, and this intimate memoir will be welcomed by a host of friends and pupils. His literary activity will be understood by those who find that the list of his published articles and other writings covers sixty-two pages—one-third of the book.

The Punjab of To-day. Vol. I. By Hugh K. Trevaskis, M.A. (Lahore: Pioneer Press. 15s.)

This book takes a wide survey of life in a country as large as Great Britain and is based on first-hand information gained during twenty-three years spent in the province as judge, Director of Land Records and Inspector-General of Registration. The only practicable highway between the nomad breeding-ground of Central Asia and the rich and fertile valley of the Ganges lies through the Punjab, which has been the arena of conflict between political systems far greater than itself. It has a bracing winter which can hardly be rivalled outside the Riviera, followed by more than tropical hot weather. Such a climate breeds a hardy martial race, and in the war the Punjab peasant was equally capable of enduring a winter in the mud of Flanders or a summer amid the sands of Mesopotamia. The province was annexed by Britain in 1849, and a valuable sketch of its administration is given. Four hundred and eighty thousand Punjabis served in the Great War, one man in 28 compared with one in 160 in the rest of India. The effect of General Dyer's action in the Amritsar riots 'was electric. The news ended all danger of further disturbance in the province. It was taken far and wide as an assurance that the hand of Government was not, as it was thought, paralysed, and all who were waiting on events hastened to declare for constituted authority, the Sikhs going so far as to confer on General Dyer the unprecedented honour of being enrolled as a Sikh in the Golden Temple.' Dyer, 'a straightforward, blunt, truth-telling soldier, entirely unversed in the ways of politicians,' was marked out for sacrifice by the Government of India. Detailed information is given as to the administrative system, Mr. Montagu's reforms, and financial problems. Nature has given the Punjab plains every gift save water. With manure in a condition of rapid nitrification, the response both in the rate of growth and the total yield is marvellous. After the question of fodder, the next essential to progress is to protect the cattle against contagious disease and to supply good bulls. The value of the forests is being realized, but at present only about ten per cent. are being used commercially. Afforestation is vital to the preservation of the hill country and the plains below; in the plains it is vital in the interests of the fuel supply. Valuable information is given as to crops, trees, and shrubs. Mr. Trevaskis urges that Government should eschew politics and develop agriculture and cognate industries, relying on the Mohammedans and the rural classes as against the Congress Party. British goods would then find a market sufficiently large to cure our unemployment.

The Platonic Epistles. Translated with Introduction and Notes, by J. Harwood, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 15s.)

The Epistles of Plato were concerned mainly with the events which took place in Sicily under Dionysius and his son in the fourth century B.C. The editor and translator has set himself the task of examining the epistles in the light of Sicilian history at that time, and especially of Plato's own part in the events of the period. It was a dark and troublous chapter in Sicilian history, and the author, applying Machiavelli's judgement of fifteenth-century Milan to the Syracusans, comments that 'she was so corrupt that nothing could make her free.' And yet Plato, well aware of the risk he was taking, placed his service at the disposal of his friend Dion, counsellor of Dionysius II, in the attempt to establish the permanent well-being of the State upon a foundation of sound morals. Interest centres chiefly in Epp. vii. and viii., especially the former, *To the Relatives and Friends of Dion.* Mr. Harwood is convinced of the genuineness of the epistle, but regards it as written, not for circulation in Sicily, but in Athens. It is 'actually Plato's apologia for himself. He describes and justifies his career, so far as it brought him into contact with the political affairs of his day, his detachment from the political affairs of Athens and his intervention in those of Syracuse.' It was the philosopher's opportunity of putting to the test of practical experience his theories of life and government. And it was so urged upon Plato by his friend and pupil Dion. The experiment failed, not through any inherent weakness in the philosophy of Plato, but through the moral weakness of the king and the lawlessness and criminal ignorance of the Sicilians. The situation thus presented by the epistles is not without perplexity. Plato's ideal State was a communistic Republic in which the rulers were philosophers, the philosophers rulers. Why, then, did he lend himself to the doubtful experiment in Sicily under the weak and unprincipled Dionysius? Plato's defence is that he could not refuse to act when called upon by a friend he esteemed and whom he knew to be a high-minded ruler, viz., Dion, the adviser of Dionysius. Plato was far from perfect, but the episode throws a clear light upon the noble mind of the philosopher. His action proved him to be not merely an abstract thinker, but a true lover of wisdom as a way of life for men and States. He risked his life and, more important still, his reputation in the endeavour to lead the Sicilians to a higher state of well-being. Plato failed, as the high-minded thinker who would lead men to virtue and happiness too often does fail; but, although he laid himself open by the experiment to a certain charge of inconsistency as a thinker, the nobility of his example enforces the challenge of his own precept 'to follow the argument whithersoever it may lead.' It may lead to the passing defeat of the ideal at the hands of unprincipled men, but the ideal must thereby become more deeply enshrined in the souls of all good men. This volume ought to be widely known and used. The careful

historical introduction which precedes and the valuable notes which follow the translation combine to make the work indispensable to English students of the philosophy of Plato.

A History of Israel. Vol. I.: From the Exodus to the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C. By Theodore H. Robinson, M.A., D.D. Vol. II.: From the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B.C., to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, A.D. 135. By W. E. Oesterley, M.A., D.D. (H. Milford. 15s.net each volume.)

Dr. Oesterley and Dr. Robinson have for many years collaborated in the critical study of the Old Testament. They are the joint authors of *Hebrew Religion*, a volume highly prized by students as an admirable summary of Israel's supreme contribution to human thought. Dr. Robinson has made a prolonged study of the history of Israel before the Exile, whilst Dr. Oesterley has made special investigations into the period after the Exile. To the comprehensive and erudite work recently published by the Oxford University Press, and bearing the general title *A History of Israel*, each of these scholars has contributed a volume for which he is solely responsible, but close co-operation has enabled them to produce a single work though the authorship is divided.

In Vol. I., Dr. Robinson gives an Introductory Survey of 'Israel's Heritage,' sketching the physical ancestry of the various races of Palestine, but insisting that 'the controlling factor in Israel's recognition of herself as a nation was that supplied by Aramaean blood and, still more, by Aramaean tradition.' The national life of Israel beginning with the Exodus is divided into three sections, entitled respectively 'The Birth and Growth of the Nation,' 'The Israelite Monarchy: Its Rise and its Zenith,' 'The Israelite Monarchies: Their Decline and Fall.'

Dr. Robinson, recognizing the difficulties of his task, felicitously says 'the historian's vision must be, at one and the same time, microscopic and telescopic; failure in the one respect means unsound conclusions, and failure in the other reduces the work to a chronicle or a set of annals.' He has been remarkably successful in combining accuracy in detail with breadth of outlook. An outstanding example of this ability to discover the general principle revealed and illustrated in the history of Israel is found in the frequent references to the significance of the nation's transition from the life of the nomad to that of the agriculturist. Its history is regarded as 'a record of the interaction of these two orders of society, or rather of the spiritual principles which they embody.' The narratives show that the two ideals were frequently in conflict and that in highly organized States there was a weakening of the tradition of the wilderness. 'But within Israel, though outside the agricultural community, there still remained those who stood for the old ideals.' Most suggestive are the recurring references to this 'key to the whole history'; in the closing chapter, Israel's unique conception of God as supremely righteous is traced to 'the effect of the impact of the nomad ideals

on the settled community, and it was the old faith, originating with Moses and interpreted by the prophets, which ultimately gave to Israel her place in human history.'

In estimating the value of different, and sometimes conflicting, accounts of the same event, Dr. Robinson lays down sound principles for the guidance of students of the Old Testament. Some narratives are, doubtless, based on older traditions, but 'the traditions themselves are facts.' There are passages in which 'the names indicate, not so much individuals, as personified tribes,' but this does not involve denial of the historicity of the patriarchs: 'I have not the slightest doubt that . . . there were men named Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though I am equally convinced that some of the stories which have gathered about them are not historical in every detail.'

The lessons of Israel's history are often effectively applied to modern conditions, as, e.g., when referring to the prophetic protest against social evils, Dr. Robinson says: 'No lesson seems harder for mankind to learn than that of an altruistic commercialism, yet there is no other basis on which a mercantile community can build its social order.'

In Vol. II., Dr. Oesterley deals with extremely complicated eras in the history of Israel. The headings of the sections are 'The Period of the Exile,' 'The Period of Restoration,' 'The Period of Nehemiah and Ezra,' 'The Greek Period,' 'The Maccabean Period,' 'The Roman Period.' Israel accepted political subordination so long as her characteristic moral and spiritual concepts were not threatened. From different points of view this primary fact is elucidated and illustrated. 'The essentially ideal basis of this passion for self-determination is attested by the readiness with which the orthodox party later acquiesced in a foreign domination so long as their religious susceptibilities were not violated.'

It is not possible, in a brief notice, to do more than give a few specimens of Dr. Oesterley's solutions of difficult problems. For some of them he claims only that 'the balance of probability' lies on the side of the view he has set forth. Owing to the different statements in the sources it is not easy to determine the actual sequence of events after the return of the exiles. It is suggested that 'when the exiles returned from Babylon they found the Temple still standing, but in a dilapidated state.' But, for the chronicler, 'a ruined Temple was no Temple.' A correction of the generally accepted view is involved in the judgement arrived at, after a careful examination of the records, that the evidence clearly shows that Nehemiah preceded Ezra. In the character of Herod the Great 'much that was dark' is found, but it is contended that 'he has been unduly blackened by posterity.'

In each of these volumes there are eleven excellent maps, also numerous additional notes treating fully subjects requiring knowledge of Assyriology, philology, textual and higher criticism. This great work furnishes English readers with trustworthy and discriminating estimates of the researches of many experts, and focuses, upon

the biblical narratives, light gained from many sources, especially from Egyptology and Assyriology. It is a solid contribution to 'the interpretation of that people whose full meaning became manifest only in the Incarnation.'

Changes in Family Life, by Sir William Beveridge and others (Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.), gathers together seven wireless talks, and the returns received to certain questions on the subject of the age of marriage, the estimate of births, marriages, and real income; married women's employment, and kindred matters, are discussed in a way that is not merely interesting, but of real practical service.—*Truth about India: Can we get it?*, by Verrier Elwin (Allen & Unwin, 1s. and 2s. 6d.), comes from one who has had long experience of Indian life, and feels that the only solution of the present difficulties is to grant India her claim and hand over the solution of the problems to her elected spokesmen. England must open her eyes and face the truth. Father Elwin thinks that the solution lies with Gandhi, and his little book deserves attention, though one's estimate of Gandhi may be very different from his.—*The Recording Angel*, by J. A. Hobson (Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.), contains fragments of the report which the celestial messenger gives every hundred years to the Recorder. The report deals with man's life in the western world, the betterment of human relations, the dangers of nationalism, the lack of interest in another world, and the possibility of a spiritual revival. We seem to see the world and ourselves in clearer light as we listen to this novel report.

A History of the Public Library Movement in Great Britain and Ireland. By John Minto, M.A. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.) This is an important addition to the Library Association Series. It shows how the spread of education led to a growing demand for books and for libraries freely open to the public. The Library legislation followed, and training for librarianship became more and more recognized as essential. Mr. Minto writes on county and school libraries, on prominent workers and benefactors, and discusses everything with a wealth of practical experience which makes this an invaluable guide.

The Anglo-Catholic Revival. By W. J. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. (Allen & Unwin. 8s. 6d.) This history begins after Newman's secession in 1845, when troublous times lay before the Catholic Revival. The Tractarians laid stress on Apostolic Succession, which, if 'liable to over-valuation, is also liable to be insufficiently esteemed. Incorporation in the Apostolic Succession is an essential in all Catholicizing aims.' Dr. Simpson examines the decisions of the Courts on doctrine, describes the rise of Ritualism, Eucharistic Vestments, the practice of confession, the treatment of Ritualism in four successive periods, and has chapters on The Revival of Convocation, The Spiritual Independence of the Church, and the Revival of Religious Orders. The atmosphere has greatly changed in this century, and no desire appears to exist for the repetition of Ritual

prosecutions. As he looks back he is struck by the wonderful achievements of the Revival. It has driven out the spirit of neglect, restored the outward signs of reverence, dignity, and beauty, and has profoundly affected the whole conduct of devotion. The secessions to Rome introduced among Roman Catholics in England a wealth of ideas which did much to change the attitude of the older Roman families, but was an indescribable calamity for the English Church. Dr. Simpson writes from the Anglo-Catholic position, but that makes his estimate the more worth study.

The Contribution of Ancient Greece to Modern Life, by G. Lowes Dickinson (Allen & Unwin, 2s.), is the inaugural lecture at the summer meeting of the University of Cambridge in 1932. It lays stress on the perennial freshness of Greek literature, and describes and illustrates its great flowering-time both in prose and poetry. From literature Mr. Dickinson turns to the substance and spirit of Greek thought. The lecture formed a happy introduction to the summer studies of the subject, and ends on the note: 'Greek studies are nothing unless they live; and they live only when we breathe into them the life of our own age.' Mr. Dickinson was not able to deliver the lecture. He died in Guy's Hospital on August 8, after an operation. That gives additional interest to a beautiful piece of work. 'Many of the speculations of Greek science may seem to us entirely absurd; we can hardly guess what they meant when they taught that the world was made of water, or air, or fire, and we smile a little when they equate justice with the number four, or tell us that it is not the same sun that rises next morning as the one that rose to-day, or that eclipses occur because the sun tumbles into a hole when it comes to certain uninhabited regions of the earth. But really to smile is to be unimaginative and therefore unintelligent. For put yourself back to that early age and imagine the world to be dawning upon thought as a new and astonishing marvel. Forget what you know of Ptolemy and Galileo and Copernicus, forget all that you have read in modern text-books, and dare you say you would have guessed better or as well yourself?'

Red Russia. By Theodor Seibert. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.) This is a translation by Eden and Cedar Paul of the third edition of Seibert's work, which does for the new Russia what Wallace's *Russia* did for the old. The writer spent four years in the country as a journalist, and his second edition was sold out in six months after the first. He describes the Bolshevik State, the training of the mass-man, the instruments of Soviet authority, Bolshevik economics, and the mission of Bolshevism. Russia can produce all the treasures of the earth, and Herr Seibert sees good reason to expect an economic expansion exceeding that of the United States during the last hundred years. The menace of Bolshevism becomes a vigorous exhortation for other countries to do their utmost to promote social equality and economic reform. That is a strong reason for the study of this popular volume.

GENERAL

Ethics. By Nicolai Hartmann. Authorized translation by Stanton Coit. Vol. III.: 'Moral Freedom.' (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

THE third volume of this important work opens with a discussion of 'Man's Power to Choose.' Morality is real human life. It is the power of deciding, of taking up an attitude towards what is comprehended. 'Freedom of the will' is too narrow an expression, for every inner attitude and tendency is involved. The historical development of the problem of freedom is traced, erroneous conceptions are considered, and the present state of the problem is clearly brought out. Freedom of the moral person is ethically necessary and ontologically possible. A rigid proof of freedom cannot be given, but, though the door stands open to ethical scepticism, it cannot cross the threshold. 'The burden of proof falls upon it; it must explain the appearance of freedom, when it challenges the reality of it; for it is scepticism which takes upon itself the contest against the significance of the phenomena.' Scepticism cannot of itself 'cross the threshold. And if any one, although dazzled by its jugglery, does not extend his hand to it, he remains within the field of ethics, untroubled by it.' The whole treatment is luminous. One follows the discussion with pleasure and with growing appreciation.

Man and Medicine. By Dr. Henry E. Sigerist. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

Professor Welch, of Johns Hopkins University, says in a Foreword that he knows of no other work that combines in an equal degree complete command of the history of medicine with full knowledge of the present state of the science and art of medicine. Dr. Sigerist is a distinguished professor in the University of Leipzig, and his purpose in this volume is to show young medical students the nature of their future profession and the steps by which men like Vesalius, Pasteur, Koch, and others have been led to their discoveries. The lectures are so lucid and so full of historic detail that it is a pleasure to read them, and one which laymen will enjoy as much as medical students. They have been admirably translated by Miss Boise, and centre round man and anatomy, the sick man, disease, and medical aid. Dr. Sigerist is intensely practical. 'A man is cured,' he says, 'and our leadership has been rewarded when the person is equal to the demands made upon him by life again, when he is again a useful member of his community in his old place, or, if this is not possible, in a new position.' The duty of medicine is not only to heal, but to protect healthy man from disease. Surgery has made great

advance in our times, and its work and the use of anaesthetics are described in an impressive way. Medical students will find this book an inspiring introduction to a great profession.

Life in Nature. By James Hinton. Edited, with an Introduction, by Havelock Ellis. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

When Thackeray accepted Hinton's articles for the *Cornhill* he said, 'Whatever else he can do, this man can write!' They were published as a volume in 1862. Mr. Ellis read it in his teens, when the universe seemed 'like a factory with a deafening whirl of machinery, through which those who desired to find in it a home wandered disconsolately.' Hinton regards life as 'the bright blossom wherein Nature's hidden force comes forth to display itself, the necessary outpouring of the universal life that circulates within her veins unseen.' The stream that has run darkling underground here bursts forth to sparkle in the sun. Mr. Ellis notes various points at which the book must be brought into line with scientific advance, but regards the work 'as one of the ladders which daring and imaginative men have set up on earth to reach that home of the soul which is sometimes called heaven.' Such subjects as 'How we Act'; 'Why we Grow'; 'The Living World,' and 'The Life of Man' are discussed by one who felt thinking to be 'the most beautiful and enchanting of arts.'

The Glory in the Garret. By Walter Spencer. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d., 3s. 6d.)

This is a book of thrills. It embodies nineteen years of rescue work in South London, and every page has its wonders of sin and of grace. Mr. Spencer keeps close to facts, but he knows how to tell a story. We watch the ravages of drunkenness, the woes of little children, and the joy that Sister Sunshine brings with her to these garrets and cellars. The artist, Mr. Ernest Hasseldine, knows the mission intimately, and his pictures add vivid touches to a wonderful record.

Out of Doors in Dorset. By Mary Oakden. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

These outdoor studies of birds, bees, and butterflies take a reader out into the natural scenes of a beautiful county. We find ourselves among falcon and tiercel in West Bay. 'No boat is on the water, which, moment by moment, breaks noisily on the beach. Yet above the noise of the breaking waves comes the high-pitched call of the birds. A thousand feet up there hang in the sky, like spiders by threads of silk from a ceiling, two large dark birds.' Birds in winter, plants on the landward edge of the Fleet, bees and butterflies, all have their place in Mrs. Oakden's bright pictures. She does not forget the buried past, or the churches with their founts, crosses, and gargoyles. Barnes has a chapter to himself as a writer of rural verse. The visitor to Dorset will find this book a very pleasant companion.

A Witch's Brewing. By F. W. Boreham, D.D. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

The witch's cauldron yields up its riches in a fashion that will delight Dr. Boreham's friends and lovers. He begins with a sixtieth birthday, when a man in many respects is at his very best; his judgements become kindlier, his temperament becomes sweeter, his character takes on a mellow winsomeness that it has never before revealed. Meditations such as these are interspersed with a pair of scenes in St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, a beautiful sketch of the Vicar of Madeley, and pictures of 'How Christmas Came to Roaring Camp.' The variety is surprising, and its charm is as great as its kaleidoscopic changes.

A Professional Christian. By J. C. Hardwick. (Jonathan Cape. 7s. 6d.)

The fortunes of three curates are chronicled in this story with a spice of bitterness which is not altogether pleasant. Crewe, the pork-butcher's son, makes his way to position and fortune by his keen sense of all that will speed him onward, whilst Curtiss and Culpepper smart for their convictions. The life of the parish where Crewe serves first as curate and then as vicar, and marries a wife who knows how to advance his fortunes, is painted in sombre colours. There may be truth in it, but it is exaggerated. Still, the book is a protest against self-seeking which has its purpose and its value.

Faraway. By J. B. Priestley. (William Heineman. 10s. 6d.)

Faraway is the island in the Pacific where William Dursley goes in quest of pitchblende. His strange old Uncle Baldwin brings news of the treasure and hands over the secret to Dursley before he dies. The quest carries the nephew to scenes far different from his quiet little Suffolk town. He gains no riches, but he has no end of adventures, and sees in San Francisco's China-town antique and inscrutable faces, displays of porcelain and jade. He wanders down streets that looked as if they were going to drop him into the Mediterranean. These pages have caught the glamour of the city. 'It was America, China, and the Mediterranean all mixed up, but its incredible hills, its clear, cool sunlight and sharp shadows, its side-walks piled high with gigantic blooms, were all its own.' William has his love-affair with Terry, who also had an interest in Faraway, and sails with him on the ship to Tahiti. It is a different world from that with which Mr. Priestley makes us familiar in *The Good Companions* and *Angel Pavement*, but his characters live and move and one adventure crowds on another till he gets his hero back to his Suffolk fireside, where one stormy night Terry makes her final bow to the astonished William and vanishes.

Norway in Articum. By Baron Staël-Holstein. (Williams & Norgate. 6s.) The baron has been studying the Danish-Norwegian

dispute concerning sovereignty over Greenland, and here gives a more detailed picture of the Spitzbergen status. The riches of its fisheries and mines are great, but hunting forms a sad chapter. The reindeer frequent ice-free valleys, but are now rare in the west, owing to excessive hunting. The blue and brown fox, the latter almost white in the winter, used to be abundant on all the coasts, but they, too, are almost exterminated in the west. The walrus has been hunted almost to extinction. The Swedish expert, Erik Lundström, said in 1920 : ' The whales are attacked and hunted until the animal is so decimated that they are not profitable any more. The reindeer are persecuted in veritable massacres. And just as little care is taken of the eider and wildgoose during the breeding season. Even the existence of the so-called bird-cliffs seems to be threatened.' The Arctic heritage can only be saved by a union of national forces.

The Psychology of Methodism. By S. G. Dimond, M.A. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d.) This valuable volume looks at Methodism in the light of psychology and philosophy. Two of its twelve chapters are given to the Wesleys and Whitefield, two to conversion. Psychology, and crowd psychology, social conditions and values, perfection and experience, are all dealt with in an illuminating way. Study-circles will find it of great service, and members of other Churches will gain a clear insight from it into the genius of Methodism.

Building a Girl's Personality. By Ruth and Jordan Cavan. (Abingdon Press. \$1.50.) The problems of a girl's life are here faced with experience and sympathy. Many instances are given which show how acute they are, and throw light on their solution. ' The Emotional Balance-wheel ' is a good chapter and a helpful one.

Seeing Europe Cheaply. (Methuen & Co. 2s. 6d.) Mr. Sid Hedges has done this, and he makes his methods so clear and his tours so attractive that many will be tempted to see Paris, the Alps, Germany, Holland and Italy with their own eyes, and will know how to do it at small cost and in the happiest fashion.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (July).—‘Socrates in Zion’ is an attempt to show what the Greek sage thought of Judaism on a supposed visit to the Holy Land with Sophron, a young Athenian. Canon Tollington makes Socrates set his seal on the Delphic saying, ‘Know thyself,’ but admits that ‘The fear of Jahve is the beginning of wisdom’ is perhaps good also, and indicates another way of life, but the two are not the same. Mr. Montefiore says in ‘The Old Testament and the Modern Jew,’ that the liberal Jew rejects and dislikes the crudities and cruelties of the Old Testament, but thinks Paul’s universalism a glorious and ‘a most noble development of Jonah and Isaiah xix. And the inwardness, the spirituality, the originality, of the religious teaching of Jesus, who can rightly pass them over?’

Expository Times (July).—Dr. Moffatt writes on Professor Bacon, who died last February. His *Gospel of Mark* and *Studies in Matthew* ‘are almost certain to hold a permanent place among the foremost scientific works upon the New Testament which our generation has produced. They are rich in suggestiveness, as well as in historical perspective.’ Dr. Lofthouse contributes an important study of ‘Fatherhood and Sonship in the Fourth Gospel.’ ‘In John, Christ is primarily and pre-eminently the Son of the Father. From this relationship spring all the various functions of Christ. It is because He is the Son, and holds this unique relation to the Father, that He is the source of all our blessings.’ Dr. McConnachie’s third article on ‘The Barthian School’ is on Friedrich Gogarten.—Professor Vincent Taylor writes in August on Rudolf Bultmann’s *Jesus*, ‘one of the most interesting and important studies of recent years.’ Its aim is to describe the teaching, rather than the life and personality of Jesus. ‘The exposition is powerful and moving, and, one by one, ideas with which Barth, Brunner, and Gogarten have made us familiar are found in the mind and teaching of the historical Jesus.’ ‘Radical as they are, Bultmann’s works are serious and valuable contributions to our understanding of Gospel origins, and his *Jesus*, if not a religious classic, is one of the most stimulating studies of our time.’ Dr. MacNicol, in ‘Mysticism, Past and Present,’ says: ‘The very attraction that the Fourth Gospel so often has for Indian minds may give them a hint of the danger that they have to be on their guard against. For it is undoubtedly true that this attraction, in the case of some, springs from a feeling that that Gospel is less rooted in history than

the others, that it presents Christianity as a body of ideas for which temporal happenings are superfluous. But Christianity is, and must remain, the religion of the Incarnation, rooted thus in time and history.'

Church Quarterly Review (July).—Dr. Headlam writes on 'Authority.' Two things are required of a clergyman: he must sincerely believe that conception of Christianity and of the Person of Christ which is taught in the Creeds. That does not mean that he regards the Creed as infallible in each word or statement, but that 'he accepts the faith thus defined by the Christian Church, in the best terminology that was available for it.' There must also be loyalty in carrying out the directions of the Church to which a man belongs, as all his powers must be devoted to its well-being. 'A desire to reform is quite compatible with loyalty, disobedience is not.' Mr. Sparrow-Simpson writes on 'Suffragan Bishops.' Other articles are 'The Star of the Magi'; Goethe; Nicolai Hartmann.

Congregational Quarterly (July).—The editorial notes cover a wide range, and that on 'Preaching' expresses the wish that preachers of all denominations should read Mr. Chapman's article in our April number. Dr. Watt's volume on *The Preacher's Life and Work* receives due praise. Dr. Garvie writes on 'Christ's Lordship in the Social Order.' What we supremely need is a realization of the unity of all men in Christ. Christian universalism issues in an internationalism which must dominate policy at home and abroad if the world's peace is to be preserved and the progress of mankind secured. Mr. Moore, in a valuable paper on 'Hymns in Modern Worship,' holds that the real standard by which hymns should be judged is the degree in which they transmit a living experience.

Science Progress (July).—Mr. Heathcote writes on 'Christopher Columbus and the Discovery of Magnetic Variation.' Columbus was the first definitely to record an observation of the variation of the compass. This led to a considerable amount of interest in the subject. The phenomenon was well known to northern Europe at the time, though apparently not to the Mediterranean navigators. The number is full of important Notes and Notices.

British Journal of Inebriety (July).—Dr. Rolleston's paper on 'The Cigarette Habit' shows that the Egyptian campaign of 1862 led to the introduction of Egyptian cigarettes. An enormous increase in the habit was due to the Great War. The average annual number of cigarettes smoked in England before the war was 211 per head of the population, and rose in 1927 to 811. The effect on health and character is discussed, and rules laid down for the regulation of the habit are cited.

Cornhill (August).—This is a very racy holiday number. 'A Pioneer Shop-girl' is a glimpse into West End life; 'Into the Melting Pot' is a fantasy where bracelets and snuff-boxes sing their own requiem. 'A Nimrod of the Vosges' is a French innkeeper whose ways of sport completely debauch the traveller who goes out with him fishing and shooting.

The Society for Promotion of the Study of Religions issues a **Journal of Transactions**. (Luzac & Co. 2s.) Such subjects as Vedic Religion, The Man in Early Buddhism, Personality in Various Religions, The Spirit in Man, and Man in Sufism are treated by experts in the most instructive way.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library (July).—The Notes and News are of great interest, and are followed by important lectures on 'The Taming of the Shrew,' 'Roman Religion,' 'The Gospel Parables,' and other subjects.

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—The April number is almost entirely devoted to a learned and deeply interesting account of 'The Serabit Expedition of 1900.' The investigations were pursued by the Harvard expedition in a district situated on the western slope of central Sinai, facing the Gulf of Suez. Serabit-el-Khadim is a desolate mountain 'rendered famous by the ruins of a temple of the Egyptian goddess Hathor and by many exhausted turquoise mines.' The provisional conclusions arrived at are that the proto-sinaitic inscriptions date from the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the eighteenth century B.C. The language is Old Semitic, the script being an imitation of, but probably not a direct borrowing from, the hieroglyphs. Apart from the votive statuettes found in the temple, most of the inscriptions seem to refer to shelters, &c., where the miners protected themselves against the wind and sand. Numerous photographs accompany and add greatly to the value of the letterpress.

Journal of Religion (July) is a Recent Literature number, which covers about seventy notices of books prefaced by three short articles. Nicol MacNicol in 'The Religious Background of the Indian People' says that the civilization which has invaded India is hostile to the old religious ideals of the land, and the educated and awakened Indian stands at the present time uncertain and perplexed. 'The long travail of the Indian spirit is not yet accomplished. What course will ultimately be chosen and followed by the spirit of India in its future journeyings cannot as yet be forecast. But, when one reviews its record of spiritual adventures and aspirations through the ages, one cannot believe that it will fail to reach in the end—however long the end may be delayed—the true goal of all human seeking.'

Moslem World (July).—An interesting account is given of Professor Hurgronje's *Mekka*, published in 1888. No other visitor had such opportunities of investigating the life of Mecca. 'Medievalism in Arabia' shows that cruelty there goes far deeper than what one sees in streets or market-places. There is no phase of private or public life which does not contribute its share to the great total of useless and unnecessary suffering. 'Nathaniel Nazif' describes a Turkish evangelist in Bulgaria who preaches regularly in the Baptist Church at Rustchuk. His is largely pioneer work, but gives hope that companies of believing Turks will soon be seen in the principal cities of Bulgaria.

The Colgate-Rochester Divinity School Bulletin (May), gives an account of the recent Alumni Week, with a personal narrative of work in the Far East and a full account of 'Dr. Luke, the First Christian Physician.'

CANADIAN

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (March—May).—Tribute is paid to Sir Robert Falconer, who retires after twenty-five years' service as President of the University of Toronto, and to his earlier work at Pine Hill College, Halifax, when as the one young man on the staff he was a great power among the students. At Toronto he has faced many critical problems with transparent sincerity and devotion to high aims. Mr. E. A. Dale writes on Sir Walter Scott. The heroic note in his works arises 'from a deep understanding of human character and destiny and is founded on unwavering faith in God.'

INDIAN

Calcutta Review (June).—S. C. Sarkar writes on 'The Clash in the Far East.' 'Japan,' he holds, 'has placed herself in a false position, but the troubles in China are mainly part of a much wider problem—that of capitalist imperialism.' A. K. Sen has an extended article on Francis Thompson.