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THE CHURCHMAN

February, 1914.

The Month.

Islington. WE are profoundly thankful for the Islington of 1914. There are many grounds for our thankfulness. The number present was larger than ever, and numbers count for something. Spirit and atmosphere count for more, and no one could be present without feeling that a new spirit has come upon us—a spirit of devotion and consecration, a spirit of trust and courage, a very presence of the Holy Spirit Himself to bless and to guide. Then, again, we rejoice that in this moment of tension no resolution was passed about Kikuyu. The silence was infinitely impressive—a witness that we will not make this thing a party question, that we will respect the wish of our beloved Archbishop, upon whom the burden of so great responsibility rests. We must pray and think; and when, if ever, the time for action comes, we must act at once and strongly. Bishop Willis stayed away. If he had come, he would have received an ovation of sympathy; but his absence was quite of a piece with the humble self-restraint which has marked his action all along.

Of the papers, we only need to say that never has a higher level been reached, and that high level was maintained all through. The *Record* has printed them all for us in pamphlet

form, and the circulation ought to be immense if the pamphlet is to receive its deserts. To compare or contrast them with each other would be difficult and futile, but the two splendid addresses by the two young dons, one from each of the old Universities, present a ground for splendid hope. Prebendary Burroughs has deserved well of Evangelicalism all these years, and he must have received at least some of his reward when his son rose from his side to win and hold the attention and respect of the vast audience by his brilliant and spiritual address. For his paper—for all the papers—for the whole meeting, we can, we must, thank God and take courage.

Kikuyu.

It is highly probable that for the majority of our readers all other topics of public interest have, during the last few weeks, been entirely dwarfed by the controversy in the daily and weekly press on the general subject of Kikuyu. Strictly speaking, and from one point of view, there should be no controversy, because the matter is, legally speaking, *sub judice*. A charge has been made, and the proper authorities will, presumably, investigate the charge. But the charge was made in pamphlet form, as an ordinary publication. As such, it has been the subject of legitimate press comment, and out of this comment the present controversy has arisen. The leading protagonists have expressed themselves, for the most part, in the columns of the *Times*, but the London press generally, and the provincial papers too, have given considerable attention to the matter. The whole topic is now so familiar to our readers that we need not do more than remind them that the debate does not so much concern itself with the proposals that have been put forth for future allied work in the mission field as with the Communion Service, in which an Anglican Bishop, officiating in a Presbyterian Church, welcomed to the Lord's Table the representatives of the various Christian bodies present at the Conference. And the vital question raised is, Did he do right or wrong? May Episcopalians hold communion with Christians of non-Episcopalian bodies?

Possible Disruption.

The question is not wholly academic and theoretical, but has a practical significance, for the issue is being raised whether the English Church is to remain united or is to suffer division. For the raising of this ominous practical consequence the Bishop of Oxford is largely responsible. His own words were these: "To the great mass (*sic*) of Churchmen the open Communion of Kikuyu seems to involve principles so subversive of catholic Orders and doctrine as to be strictly intolerable in the sense that they could not continue in a fellowship which required of them to tolerate the recurrence of such incidents." In other words, either the Church of England must repudiate the action of the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa, and forbid any repetition of it, or the Bishop of Oxford and those for whom he speaks will withdraw from the communion of the Church of England. This, at any rate, presents a clear issue, and we see where we stand. Over against this utterance we place the words of the Bishop of Durham: "If the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa are arraigned for heresy for their share of responsibility for a programme which I think to be true to the mind of our Master and full of promise for His work, I for one would willingly, if it may be, take my place beside them." It need hardly be said how cordially we for our part endorse every word of the Bishop of Durham, and should glory in standing by his side in any such position.

A Statement of Principles.

With one remark of the Bishop of Oxford we are in cordial agreement. He wishes the Anglican Church to "arrive at some statement of its principles such as will avail to pull it together again in a unity comprehensive, but intelligible, and compatible with the moral principle of sincerity of profession." In other words, let us have a clear statement of what the Church of England stands for and what she does not. Many people, with excellent intentions, are deprecating this. They say that in the interests of peace and the unity of the Church of England it must be averted. We

think this is a mistaken policy. We think that the good which will result from a clear enunciation of the principles of the Reformed Church of England will more than counterbalance any consequential results which may follow from such statement. We have no doubt whatever that the Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa will be found to have been in the strictest sense exponents of those principles. Once again we repeat the hope in the Bishop of Oxford's words. The issue that has, perhaps all unwittingly, been raised at Kikuyu is a living one, and cannot be stilled or hushed up. One thing has been made abundantly manifest by the press discussion, and that is, where the sympathy of the large majority of Christian Englishmen lies. For so much we are thankful. We have no wish for precipitate or ill-considered action, but the question of principles has been raised, and should now remain insistent till it has received an answer.

Kikuyu and Party Spirit.

We want to take this opportunity to express our intense gratitude for the comparative absence of party spirit in the controversy. It is true there has been some exhibited, but, speaking generally, men of all schools of thought have written and spoken with a sympathetic consideration for the feelings of others, and a simple desire to find the truth and act upon it. The *Times* correspondence, if it be a reflex of the common mind, has lifted the whole controversy out of the sphere of party. And to turn to a much smaller point, it was a real pleasure to us to notice the sympathetic way in which our own notes on the subject last month were referred to in the columns of the *Guardian* and the *Church Times*. We trust we shall remember the sympathy always shown, and the support not infrequently given by large numbers of High Churchmen, who realize their true catholicity.

Another point has its significance: the tremendous interest that the matter has aroused in the columns of the secular press. Leading articles in the *Times* and *Spectator*—and not one only in each—columns of correspondence in our leading journals and

in the halfpenny press, all these things go to show that the interest in religion is not dead, and that the man in the street cares more than we sometimes think. Good will come, good must come, even out of this anxious and trying controversy.

Hymn-Books. We trust that the letter of Mr. J. P. Baker, Vicar of Charles, Plymouth, in the *Record* of January 9, will not go unnoticed. Mr. Baker puts a point and asks a question. We doubt whether it is quite so easy to answer as Mr. Baker seems to think, but we are wholly with him in believing that it ought to be faced. Hymns have a tremendous influence on popular theology—popular religion. We have no entirely satisfactory hymn-book, and we ought not to be content that so it should be. We can do no more now than quote Mr. Baker's question and his point:

"The final question remains: Do we Evangelicals care sufficiently about the distinctive truths with which we have been put in trust, to guard them for our own and succeeding generations as carefully in our hymnal as they have been guarded for us in the Book of Common Prayer for the last three hundred years?

"'Hymns Ancient and Modern' is not in agreement with the Book of Common Prayer. Do we really see the importance of having a thoroughly good hymnal that is?"

Later on, perhaps, we may return to the subject.

Problems of Education. The year 1914 seems likely to have so many pressing problems on its hands concerning the size of the fleet, the government of Ireland, and the status of the Church in Wales, that others, of an equally important character in the long run, will tend to be crowded out. One such problem is that of the national education. It is there continually, but we become a little more vividly aware of it about this time of the year because of the various conferences in which educationalists gather together. In two that have been held recently interesting side-lights have been thrown on the present condition of things. Mr. M. E. Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, in an address given at Bradford,

spoke in a vein of cheerful optimism. He admitted that there was just now a "depression" in educational opinion, but he regards this as being only a temporary phase. In the existing mood of harassed uncertainty there will follow a clear perception of a purpose, and this perception will have an exhilarating effect. He holds that at no time have English teachers been so enthusiastic about their work as they are now, and so, even if present conditions are chaotic, it is, at any rate, a "cheerful chaos." So far as there is confusion and turmoil, it is an indication, not of decay, but of growth. The Vice-Chancellor's opinion is a weighty one, and we must do justice to it, as indicating the brighter side of the picture.

Words of Warning.

A warning note, equally deserving of attention, was sounded by Mr. Bryce in an address given to a conference of educational associations in London. He believes that we have now quite a sufficient quantity of educational machinery, and what we in England want is "intensive cultivation"—more attention to quality. With all our machinery we have not, Mr. Bryce thinks, succeeded in implanting in the English boy a love of learning. In his travels both in South America and the Far East, Mr. Bryce found evidence that the English youth in commercial life compares badly with his competitors from other parts of Europe. Not that he is inferior in talent or capacity, but he will not trouble as the others will to learn a foreign language, to study various local conditions, and other subjects subsidiary to his business. And the question has to be faced, Is there some deeply-seated cause for this? Is the whole system under which he has grown up a defective one? Is devotion to sport pushed to such an extreme, is sport so much a main object of life rather than one of its recreations, that a radically false ideal of life is developed? And apart from the predominance of athletic sports in our national scheme of life, there is the general and increasing passion for amusement. Mr. Bryce does not dogmatize on these points, but he suggests them for consideration, for he

thinks that the results of our educational system leave much to be desired.

Bible Teaching.

It is deeply significant that Mr. Bryce's first warning, uttered at the very forefront of his address, was about the teaching of the Bible. "He expressed an earnest hope that religious instruction and the Bible would not be left out of the schools. It was with great regret he saw in these days that the study of the Bible appeared to be declining in all classes of the community, and he was struck with the same thing in the United States. It would be an incalculable loss to the life of the country if a generation of children grew up who did not know their Bible and what the Bible meant." Words like these, coming from a statesman and politician of such ability and eminence, cannot fail to carry the greatest weight. They may well encourage those who hold that in any reconstruction of our national education Christian teaching, based on the Christian Scriptures, must have a fundamental place. Rumours are heard that the present Government is preparing a further set of proposals to lay before the country. It was with probable reference to these that Lord Haldane recently used the following significant words: "Larger and more liberal views would have to be entertained as to the facilities for religious teaching under State supervision if the problem was to be solved in the State schools." This has a hopeful sound, as coming from one who is not likely to undervalue the worth of Biblical Christianity.

Modern Christological Problems.

By the Rev. F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK, D.D.,
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IN his recent work, "Christologies Ancient and Modern," Canon Sanday contrasts two types of Christianity which he designates respectively the "fuller" and the "reduced." The latter, he says, has one immense advantage: "It aims at being, and I believe that it is, strictly scientific" (p. 98). It is the predominant Continental type as contrasted with the English, the modernist as contrasted with the traditional. He suggests Dr. Denney's phrase, "I believe in God through Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord and Saviour," as a possible meeting-ground between the two Christologies, and the Ritschlian watchword, "God in Christ," as the irreducible minimum of what Christianity means for us. Canon Sanday's subjective method lacks decision, but its very subjectivity is illuminative, and throws light not merely on the various currents of opinion on the subject of Christ, but also on the possible mingling of the waters.

In the doctrines of divine immanence and of the divinity of man, already commonplaces of religious thought, we have analogies which may help to explain certain difficulties of the Incarnation. The Christological problem is, however, essentially a problem of personality. The relation of the subconscious to the conscious ego, of the subliminal to the supraliminal self, may serve as an analogy to explain the commingling of the Divine and the human, the *commixtio et communio dei et hominis*, as Irenæus styled it, in Christ. But even assuming with Canon Sanday, that "the proper seat or *locus* of all Divine indwelling or Divine action upon the human soul is the subliminal consciousness" (p. 159), it does not follow that "the same or the corresponding subliminal consciousness is the proper seat or *locus* of the Deity of the incarnate Christ," that is, if that Deity is something more than an intensified degree of such a

Divine *indwelling in man.* Sir Oliver Lodge, in his contribution to "Jesus or Christ?", seeking the solution of the problem in the unconscious or subconscious world, "the larger and dominant entity belonging to us in some sense, or rather to which we belong," appears to find that Deity nothing more than a larger share of the Divine endowment of man.

He writes: "Each of us is greater than we know. We have our roots in an infinite past, not only in the bodies of our ancestors, but in the region of mind or spirit as well; we claim a transcendental existence, some part of which began to assume a temporary and local habitation at conception, and so gradually entered more and more fully into relation with matter, as the organism developed into fitness for it and harmony with it. . . . This is the experience through which every son of man must pass. Christianity tells us that a Divine Spirit—that the Deity Himself, indeed—went through the process in order to make Himself known to man, and also in order fully to realize the conditions and limitations of the free beings, which through evolution had gradually been permitted to exist. It teaches us that among all the lofty spirits which ever became incarnate on the earth, one supremely Divine Spirit entered our flesh and walked on the planet for a time, was born, loved, suffered, and died, even as one of us."

This is a noble tribute, and seems to express the irreducible minimum of what Christianity means for us. The writer, if he does not use the language of the Nicene Creed, appears to meet in some degree at least its requirements. The relation of the human to the Divine in the life and personality of Christ does not, however, seem to admit of scientific explanation, at all events in our present knowledge of psychological science. Philosophically, it has a better foundation in the metaphysics of thought, but its true foundation is in the domain of spiritual life. It appears, therefore, to be more accurate to speak of the Divine consciousness as the background—quiescent, but still there, and ready to be called forth whenever needed—of the thoughts of Christ, than to say with Canon Sanday that "the consciousness

of our Lord is a genuinely human consciousness" (p. 174), a statement which receives considerable modification in another passage in the same book, where he writes: "It is true that the *surface* of our Lord's life is entirely human. Even the Deity in Him, on its way to expression, had to pass through, and is in this respect (*i.e.*, in the forms of its expression) limited by the human medium" (p. 213). The practical suppression of this Divine consciousness, whether made once for all before the Incarnation, or made continually during the incarnate life, is one of the mysteries of the faith. It may be explained by what takes place after the passage from one environment to another, one existence to another—such as death, in which the soul passes forth into new surroundings, where it will manifestly not need, and therefore not exert, many of its present mental activities, but where it is equally probable that it will put forth others. The deliberate kenosis or self-emptying of His Divine powers and attributes may thus have been the *conditio sine qua non* of the Incarnation.

The hostility shown to this dogma by those who hold humanitarian views tends to confirm those who hold it in their convictions. It may be an "artificial theory" (Sir Oliver Lodge), a "metaphysical figment" (Professor Percy Gardner), "mythology" (Ritschl), "a process which conveys no intelligible meaning" (R. Roberts); but it seems to be St. Paul's view of the manner in which the Divine adapted itself to human conditions by a deliberate and conscious self-sacrifice and self-limitation. The life of Deity, to our finite minds, involves continual self-limitation and self-sacrifice on an infinite scale. Personality, will, thought, action in the case of man, and according to the greatness of his manhood, involve a certain degree of self-restraint or limitation, as they do of self-expression. And in the case of the Perfect Life and Thought and Personality, such self-expression and self-limitation might be expected to be found manifested in a perfect manner, as in the creation of the Universe, the Incarnation of the Divine, the Atonement of God and man. Regarded in this manner, the

theory of kenosis does not reduce either the Godhead or the personal identity of Christ to a myth, while in its less extreme form it serves to explain the limitations of Jesus and many phenomena in His human life. It does not necessarily imply two centres of activity or a dual consciousness in Christ, but regards the Logos as imposing conditions upon His human manifestations. In his "Life of Christ in Modern Research," Canon Sanday speaks of the time of our Lord's ministry as "a period of occultation in which the full display of His Divine power was deliberately restrained and held back." The question is not whether self-emptying (St. Paul), or "abandonment," or "surrender" (Bishop Gore), or "occultation" (Sanday), be the more accurate theological term, but which of them expresses more fully and forcibly the self-sacrifice and self-limitation of the Incarnate Word. The humiliation of Himself was His assumption of "our body of humiliation," subject to suffering, and the temporary cessation through His voluntary self-sacrifice —call it what one will—of the working of His power of subduing all things unto Himself (Phil. iii. 21). The more complete His humiliation, the more Divine His self-sacrifice.

It has also to be decided how far a doctrine of Incarnation is compatible with the apocalyptic view of Jesus, which has recently been put forward by Schweitzer in his book "From Reimarus to Wrede." Some elements of our Lord's teaching rejected by Rationalism may be restored to their true position by this theory ; but its thoroughgoing application of eschatology to the teaching, attitude, and Sacraments of our Lord, is not only opposed by Rationalism in the person of Wellhausen, who affirms that the manner of Christ's life "had not such an eschatological cast as that of His disciples, who renounced the world in order to prepare themselves for His advent," but also by the Church which clings to her faith in the Word become Flesh. It is not a purely apocalyptic Jesus who says, "Come unto Me, all ye that labour," "I *am* with you all the days," "I *am* the Way, the Truth, and the Life," "I *am* the Door," "I *am* the Good Shepherd," and "The kingdom of heaven is

within you" (Luke xvii. 21). Christian thought cannot regard with approval such a view of its Lord—even if, as is alleged, it confirms the historical trustworthiness of the Gospel—which presents Him as a beaten, baffled hero, a moral Samson rather than a Divine Saviour, Who lays hold "of the wheel of the world to set it moving on that last revolution which is to bring all ordinary history to a close. It refuses to turn, and He throws Himself upon it. Then it turns and crushes Him. . . . The wheel rolls onward, and the mangled body of the one immeasurably great Man, Who was strong enough to think of Himself as the Spiritual Ruler of mankind and to bend history to His purpose, is hanging on still."[1] This is not the New Testament view, though it may be the New German view of our Lord. Can such be the Saviour, Whose kingdom is universal and eternal, Whose Gospel has a living message for every age, and Who redeems man from sin to the service of the Father, and regenerates society by His indwelling Spirit? Such an apocalyptic Jesus, Whose predictions were proved false by the course of history, is neither an acceptable nor a logical personage.

In the second place, the position of the Incarnate Saviour in the Ritschlian school of theology is precarious for all its alleged centrality. He is described as possessing the religious value of a God for mankind, as the perfect revelation of the Father, as exhibiting a "solidaric unity with God," as possessing a supremacy over the world, but Who, as pre-existent, is hidden from our ken, and Who, as exalted, is withdrawn from our communion, "for there can be no mention of communion with the exalted Christ," Who may be conceived as present, but is not really present, and Who is, consequently, not a Being to be prayed to, but, aloof from us, is reduced to His temporal existence and His life-work upon earth and His activity as man. Such may be a fact *for* faith, but it is not a fact *of* faith; and is an instance of the facility with which those who approach the Christological problem with a prejudice against its theology and

[1] English translation, p. 369, Schweitzer's work.

its mysticism drift into humanitarian views and have recourse to self-contradictory explanations. We cannot conceive the historic Christ apart from His personal existence and our present fellowship with Him; nor can we appreciate the distinction between one Who has the value of God to faith, and yet is not God really. The Lord of the community, Who is not a Saviour to Whom we may have personal access, is not the Saviour of our souls. The witness of the Infant Church, especially that of St. Paul, to the personal influence of the exalted Lord may not be overlooked without injustice to the earliest conception of the Christ. The more we emphasize the power of the historical Christ, the more it recedes into supra-historical background. "To-day," writes Professor Schmiedel, "there is hardly a single member of that school (the Ritschlian) who does not admit a revelation of a God of love outside the person of Jesus, or who speaks of His Godhead."[1] This is but the logical result of an illogical position.

In the third place, with regard to the sinlessness of Jesus, we find Rev. R. J. Campbell writing: "To speak of Him as morally perfect is absurd; to call Him sinless is worse, for it introduces an entirely false emphasis into the relations of God and man."[2] Professor Schmiedel, who has laid in his nine[3] "pillar" texts—which he considers genuine because the self-limitation they imply could not have been invented, for they seem to disprove His sinlessness, divinity, omniscience, and power—the ground-plan for a genuinely scientific Life of Jesus, arrives at an affirmative answer to the question: "Was He at least the bringer of the perfect religion?"[4] "In the essential matter of genuine piety what has come down to us from the religion of Jesus has proved itself to be of infinite value," he writes, and he admits that "as far as Jesus is concerned, it is certain that all the writers of the New Testament assumed his sinlessness," although he considers their attitude determined by their veneration. But Sir Oliver Lodge

[1] "Jesus or Christ?" p. 77.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 192.
[3] Mark iii. 21, 31 35, xiii. 32, x. 18; Matt. xii. 32; Mark xv. 34, viii. 12, vi. 5; Matt. xi. 5, xvi. 5 and 12.
[4] "Jesus or Christ?" p. 75.

affirms: "The glory of that lofty Spirit shone through the fleshly covering and preserved it from the load of sins which follows from inadequate knowledge, imperfect insight, animal ancestry, and an alien will."[1]

This is more satisfactory to us, and it is the result of his belief in a God; "not immanent only, but actually incarnate, incarnate in it (the universe), and revealed in the Incarnation." The fact that he treats the doctrine of Incarnation as an intensification of the doctrine of immanence does not put him out of line with Christian apologetics, in which the doctrine of the immanent Logos, the Mediator of the Creation, which was consummated in His Incarnation, has played so great a part. That the self-revealing, self-imparting Logos expressed the relation of God to humanity and creation in a human life, as unifying thought and love, vitalizing spirit and energy, is the philosophy of our faith. It was, however, the consciousness of His Mission, His self-consciousness that He was the Saviour, a vicarious consciousness which is very prominent in the Fourth Gospel, rather than the consciousness that in Him "dwelt the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. ii. 9), that found expression in those self-assertive sayings of the Fourth Gospel which criticism would expunge from the records of the faith—not that Christ's great discovery was not Himself, but Himself in His relation to the work His Father had given Him to do, in His relation to God and man.

Whatever imperfection can be found in the method and the manner of Christ is accordingly due to the fact that such a Personality was compelled to adapt Himself, His message and His self-revelations, to the forms of thought employed by His age, which were all too small and meagre for the purpose. As Dr. Estlin Carpenter—who is not a believer—writes in "The Three First Gospels" (p. 349): "His principles far transcended the moulds which the time provided. The proofs of His greatness lie in history, for His conceptions have again and again prompted and guided vast movements of religious thought

[1] "Jesus or Christ?" p. 119.

and life, and they are even now rising into fresh power." "His fundamental principles have actually permeated the world like leaven, and are permeating it more and more," asserts Professor Schmiedel.[1] Had the world been forced to accept the disciple-made Christ of the Rationalist in place of the self-assertive Personality in the Gospels, that Divine effluence had long since passed away from the earth, just as the glorious form of one long dead, when the sunlight and air enter his tomb, falls away into a handful of dust and ashes.

But the dilemma—the terrible alternative used with such ability by Liddon, "Aut Deus aut homo non bonus"—has since lost much of its force. The choice does not really lie between "the hypothesis of conscious and culpable insincerity and the belief that Jesus speaks literal truth and must be taken at His word," for few doubt the sincerity of the man Jesus, though many profess to doubt His sanity. It is not the integrity of the Christ of the Gospels, but the integrity of the Gospels of Christ that is impugned. It is between the Christ of German idealism and the Christ of the Christian religion that we have to choose. The Christ-idea in the Hegelian philosophy represented the synthesis of the opposites, Deity and Humanity, the Finite and the Infinite. This was a philosophical explanation of the influence and personality of Christ. Strauss at one time held that what was ascribed to Christ by the Church was true of humanity as a whole, in which God becomes man; which is the child of the visible mother and the invisible Father, Nature and Spirit; which is a worker of miracles in so far as the Spirit becomes more completely master of Nature; which is sinless inasmuch as defilement attaches to the individual, but is outgrown in the history of the race; which dies and rises again, and ascends to heaven, in so far as out of the negation of its natural self there proceeds higher spiritual life. But how little the personality of Christ as conceived by the Church owes to this idealizing process and the mythopœic bent of the human mind is evident from a consideration of the fact that men are

[1] "Jesus or Christ?" p. 75.

never found to die for an idea unless it has some reality for them in the present, as well as a possible realization in the future. Patriotism is an idea, but it touches the home-life and the heart, and men die "for their altars and hearths," or for the idea of patriotism in a concrete form. But for a Christ Who owes His Divinity and Deity to the imagination of His followers or to the speculations of philosophers, no matter how He illuminates and explains the progress of life and thought, will men indeed be found to die? The answer is obvious. And therefore our deduction is that it is because the idea of a Divine Christ has a present reality for men, and also promises a fuller realization in the future, that men are ready to die for His Name. Otherwise, such an idea would have no formative power over the human character. And if our Christology is to be fresh and vigorous, applicable to the problems of life, and capable of being expressed in modern forms of thought and life, it must find its centre, not merely in the world of thought and philosophy, but in the sphere of spirit and life. The Christ of to-day is not a metaphysical dogma, but a living, loving Personality, the Chief Minister of the Father, Who sends forth His brethren to minister to the needs of men; not the Christ of the Church Councils of Nicæa and Chalcedon, so precisely defined as to substance and nature, so much as the Christ

> "Who wrought
> With human hands the creed of creeds;
> In loveliness of perfect deeds,
> More strong than all poetic thought."

He is not the Christ of feudalism, remote, aristocratic, and to be approached by mediators, but the human-hearted Son of Man, Who takes up His abode in the midst of the toiling masses; nor is He the Christ of medieval speculation, the logic of Whose Atonement overshadowed the Incarnation of His life; but He is the strong Son of God, Who became the Son of man to make the sons of men sons of God. It is not subtle distinctions between the humanity and divinity of our Lord that lead men to the "one far-off Divine event," but the moral distinctions between

what He called good and what He called evil that help us onward to the city of God. It is not metaphysical differences between God and man that lighten our darkness, but the conception of a human God, a God immanent and incarnate in human life that leads to the glory of God. For if man is to be the expression or image of God, God must be the truth or reality of man.

The Church and the Poor.

A SERIES OF HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

By W. EDWARD CHADWICK, D.D., B.Sc.

XIV.

The Rise of Collectivism.

IN this chapter I propose to deal with the work of the so-called Christian Socialists, who, under the leadership of Professor Maurice, inaugurated a movement whose effects are not only still with us, but are growing in both strength and in comprehensiveness of influence year by year. The history of the movement has been told so often and so fully,[1] that I shall not attempt to retell it. I prefer to deal rather with the causes which led to it, the principles which inspired it, and the chief results which issued from it.

In the two previous chapters I have shown that in the thirties and forties the condition of the poor had become worse and worse. During these years they "were passing through one of the most terrible experiences of all their long unhappy history"; they had been reduced to "a condition of penury and despair." In 1840 Lord John Russell stated in the House of Commons that the people of the British Isles were "in a worse condition than the negroes in the West Indies"; and Dr. Arnold wrote to Carlyle that he believed that "the state of society in England was never yet paralleled in history."[2] Doubt-

[1] *E.g.*, in "The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice," two volumes, by his son; also in Charles Kingsley's "Life"; in Kaufmann's "Christian Socialism," and in his "Socialism and Modern Thought"; also in a lecture (appended to his "Social Development under Christian Influence") upon "The Christian Socialist Movement and Co-operation." The best short account of F. D. Maurice is in the "Leaders of the Church" series, by Mr. C. F. G. Masterman.

[2] A graphic picture of the period will be found in Mr. Masterman's chapter on "The Shaking of the Earth," in his life of Maurice; also in "The Hungry Forties" (published by Fisher Unwin).

less, as I have already shown, there was more than one cause for this terrible condition of things; but however many the causes may have been, no one can, I think, deny that among them that of an absolutely unrestricted competition, coupled with, or perhaps rather as part of the issues of, the doctrine of *laissez faire*, pushed to its extremest limits, was the chiefest. Though, no doubt, to some extent unconsciously, yet none the less truly, men had actually become cannibals; they were living off each other—or, rather, the strong were engaged in devouring the weak. If ever the necessity of right social principles, or the inevitable evil result of wrong social principles, was clearly shown, it was so at this time. The necessity of being governed by self-interest, the right of absolutely unrestricted competition, and the non-interference of the State on behalf of individuals or certain classes, had become accepted as practically axiomatic rules of conduct. For at least three-quarters of a century men had been governed by, or had worked according to, these principles; the condition of the workers in 1848 was the inevitable issue.

It was against these principles, at that time so generally accepted, that Maurice and his co-workers vehemently protested. They proclaimed them to be absolutely false. In season and out they preached and taught and wrote and worked against them. But before stating Maurice's convictions, which I shall try to do, as far as possible, in his own words, one or two points must be noticed. Maurice came to his task with a rich equipment. He was no longer young, for in 1848 he was forty-three years of age[1]; he was well read in theology, in philosophy, and in history; he was not only a student, but also a hard, if not always a clear, thinker. Then the subjects upon which he now wrote had long been seething in his mind. Twenty years before he had been a member of a debating society founded by the Owenites[2]; there he must have been early "brought into acquaintance with the nature of the discussion between the Co-operators and

[1] Bishop Westcott was sixty when he wrote his "Social Aspects of Christianity," and Ruskin was forty-four when he published "Munera Pulveris."

[2] "Life of Maurice," vol. i., pp. 75 *et seq.*

those who specially called themselves political economists."[1] The advocates of competition and *laissez faire* were not only strong individualists; they were also strong utilitarians. Maurice, on the contrary, went for his inspiration to the first principles of theology.[2] This is the real key to all his teaching and all his work. It was in his Bible classes and through his sermons that he inspired his followers. He brings every conviction, indeed every opinion, to this test: Is it true to the primal verities of the Christian revelation? Of the Holy Trinity he writes: "If I have any work in the world, it is to bear witness of this Name . . . as the underground of all fellowship among men."[3] And again: "The preaching of the Trinity in its fulness will, I conceive, be the everlasting Gospel to the nations, which will involve the overthrow of the Babel polity and the brutal tyrannies as well as the foul superstitions of the earth."[4] Maurice believed and taught others to believe in a Heavenly Father—"a Father actually," whose Fatherhood expressed "an actual relation to us," not merely in "a Father about Whom we read in a book," but "One who is always near our spirits." He believed that "the Son is of one substance with the Father," and that "His mind is the perfect expression of the Father's mind"; also that "Christ the Divine Man is the Truster Himself and the Source of trust in all the race"; that "Christ's trust in the Father is the sign and witness of His Divine nature." He asserts that "the belief that the Son of God has interfered for His creatures and has grappled with their sin and death, is the one protection of nations and men against sloth, effeminacy, baseness, tyranny";[5] also that "a finished reconciliation and atonement is the one answer to the scheme of men for making atonement; if you part with it, all superstitions, all Moloch cruelties will reproduce themselves."[6] He bids us remember that "the Son went with

[1] "Life of Maurice," vol. i., p. 76.

[2] There is an excellent explanation of Maurice's teaching in Storr's "Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century," pp. 340 *et seq.*

[3] "Life of Maurice," vol. ii., p. 388.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 262.

the Father, fulfilling His will . . . we can but come . . . asking to have the Spirit of Sacrifice, and that that Spirit, Who is within us, convincing us of righteousness, of judgment, may dwell in us and quicken us to all the good works which God has prepared for us to walk in."[1] Maurice further believed in a Holy Spirit—"a universal Spirit working in others as well as ourselves, One who must have proceeded from the Father, but Who leads us not directly to the Father, but to One Who has come to redeem us . . . and perceiving in Christ that He is the infinite and eternal Love, we are certain that the Spirit which worketh in us, the Spirit of Love, is the eternal bond of unity between the Father and the Son, as He is between us on earth."[2]

Maurice was an intense "Realist" in the sense in which the term is applied to one section of the Schoolmen or Medieval philosophers;[3] he confidently believed in the principle of *universalia ante rem.* To him the lesson which the true scientific worker has been learning from physical nature was true of the whole universe, and especially true in those spheres which are defined as spiritual, moral, social. He believed that all the troubles which he saw around him were due to men following their own man-made ideas, to men having set up their own principles and theories and laws and rules and customs without first asking: What are *God's* laws? What does God's revelation of Himself (and so of His Will) in Christ, and through the Holy Spirit, say to us? This teaching is especially clear in his "Sermons on the Lord's Prayer," preached during the troublous spring of 1848. The sermon upon "Thy Kingdom Come," in particular, is full of it. There he speaks of the persistency, in all ages and under all conditions, of the belief "that there will be, some time or other, a better order in all our relations to each other and in all the circumstances which affect us here on this planet."[4] Also he speaks of those who "noticing the present distractions of the world are suggesting how

[1] "Life of Maurice," vol. ii., p. 394. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[3] Trench, "Medieval Church History," pp. 271 *et seq.* Maurice was, of course, a Platonist.
[4] P. 304.

these may be removed. All seem to assume that the constitution of things is evil; not that we are evil in departing from it."[1] What the religious teachers of the day ought to have said to the people was: "There has been a holy blessed order among you, which you have been darkening, confounding, hiding from men, by your sins and selfishness; but which must and will re-assert itself, in spite of you and all that resist it."[2]

To put it in another way, what Maurice saw was that people were seeking to justify their own methods and plans without first asking God what His method was, without studying the method revealed in Jesus Christ, and then obeying that. This conviction caused Maurice to say of himself: "I desire to labour in all ways, being most careful to choose none by self-will or from mere calculations of expediency, and to avoid none which God points out. . . . I believe whoever enters on this path . . . must have no confidence in himself, but must cultivate entire confidence in God and in the certainty of His purposes."[3] He attacked the generally received principle of unlimited competition, not from a simply humanitarian point of view, not merely because of the cruelties it perpetrated upon tens of thousands of more or less defenceless men and women, but because he saw it was contrary to God's nature and God's will, as revealed in the Lord Jesus Christ, and because it severed men and set them against each other, and therefore was also contrary to the teaching and power of a holy uniting Spirit. "Competition," he writes to Charles Kingsley, "is put forth as the law of the universe. That is a lie. The time has come for us to declare that it is a lie by word and deed. I see no way but associating for work and not for strikes. I do not say or think we feel that the relation of employer and employed is not a true relation. I do not determine that wages may not be a righteous mode of expressing that relation. But at present it is clear that this relation is destroyed, that the payment of wages is nothing but a deception. . . . God's voice has gone forth clearly bidding us come forward to fight against

[1] "Sermons on the Lord's Prayer," p. 311.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[3] "Life of Maurice," vol. ii., p. 10.

the present state of things; to call men to repentance first of all, but then also, as it seems to me, to give them an opportunity of showing their repentance and bringing forth fruits worthy of it."[1]

Maurice and his followers called themselves Christian Socialists, they named the second[2] paper which they published the *Christian Socialist*, and they issued a series of "Tracts on Christian Socialism." It was not that the name was applied to them by others. But as few terms have been used with a wider, indeed a looser, significance than "Socialist" and "Socialism," it will be well to examine what Maurice himself understood by them. In a letter to Ludlow he writes: "'Tracts on Christian Socialism' is, it seems to me, the only title which will define our object, and will commit us at once to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists. It is a great thing not to leave people to poke out our object and proclaim it with infinite triumph: 'Why, you are Socialists in disguise!' 'In disguise—not a bit of it. There it is staring you in the face upon the title-page.'"[3] It was he adds to his imaginary interlocutor: "Did we not profess that our intended something was quite different to what your Owenish lecturers meant?"[4] This last sentence is of very great importance, for it clearly implies that Maurice saw that by the term "Christian Socialism" the principles and objects of himself and his followers would be misunderstood. Unfortunately, this misunderstanding has continued to the present day. It was because Maurice felt that the term "Christian Socialist" so exactly described the convictions and the aims of himself and his colleagues that he was not prepared to give it up. What he wished it to imply he has made quite clear. In a letter to Daniel Macmillan he writes: "Our great desire is to Christianize Socialism."[5] Then in a pamphlet he states: "The watchword of the Socialist is co-operation; the watchword of the Anti-socialist is competition. Anyone who recognizes the

[1] "Life of Maurice," vol. ii., p. 32. [2] The first was "Politics for the People."
[3] "Life of Maurice," vol. ii., p. 36. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

principle of co-operation as a stronger and truer principle than that of competition has a right to the honour or the disgrace of being called a Christian Socialist." That by Socialism Maurice did not mean compulsory Socialism—*i.e.*, that the State should take over the material and instruments of production—is abundantly clear. "Schemes for reducing all things to a common stock" were to him only attempts "for establishing a fellowship upon a law of mutual selfishness."[1] In a letter to Ludlow he writes: "The State, I think, cannot be communist; never will be; never ought to be. It is by nature and law conservative of individual rights, individual possessions."[2] In his fifth sermon upon the Lord's Prayer, Maurice, in reference to the so-called communism of the early Church, says: "The selling of houses and lands was only one exhibition of a state of mind—an exhibition never enforced, as St. Peter told Ananias. But the principle implied in the words, 'No man said that which he had was his own' is the principle of the Church in all ages; its members stand while they confess this principle, they fall from her communion when they deny it. Property is holy: so speaks the *Law*, and the *Church* does not deny the assertion, but ratifies it. Only she must proclaim this other truth or perish. Beneath all distinctions of property and of rank lie the obligations of a common Creation, Redemption, Humanity; and these are not mere ultimate obligations to be confessed when others are fulfilled. They are not vague abstractions, which cannot quite be denied, but which have no direct bearing upon our daily existence; they are primary, eternal bonds, upon which all others depend."[3]

I have dwelt at considerable length upon the "Christian-social" teaching of Maurice, because it is essential that we should understand it, if we are to have a clear grasp of the "Christian-social Movement," of which he was the actual inspirer, which is still with us, and indeed, as I have already said, is growing in influence every year. I have said nothing of

[1] "The Prayer-Book and the Lord's Prayer," p. 341.
[2] "Life of Maurice," vol. ii., p. 8. [3] "The Prayer Book," p. 340.

his coadjutors—Kingsley, Ludlow, Vansittart Neale, Thomas Hughes, and others—not because their work was unimportant, but because when we have once grasped Maurice's principles we can understand that which each and all were striving to achieve. Charles Kingsley's celebrated placard addressed "To the Workmen of England,"[1] was doubtless written in his own particular style; the words were his, but the principles asserted were those of Maurice. Kingsley's plain declaration of distrust in any permanent benefit from mere measures of Parliamentary reform is a clear echo of Maurice's own teaching. His final assertion that freedom will be brought about by Almighty God and Jesus Christ, and that there can be no true industry without the fear of God, is exactly what Maurice was always proclaiming.

Judged by what the world terms "practical results," so far as getting the workmen (at any rate as producers) to combine together successfully, the "Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations" was a complete failure.[2] First one and then another of the little societies of co-operative producers, promoted, and to a great extent financed, by Maurice and his friends, came to grief.[3] The reasons for these failures were doubtless many, but certainly the chief one was that stated by the promoters in their final report—namely, the selfishness of the members. These quarrelled among themselves; they failed to look sufficiently forward, and to take a broad and Christian view of their work. But though the movement failed in its immediate results, it had far-reaching consequences. Among these was the passing of the "Industrial and Provident Partnerships Bill," which became law in the summer of 1852.[4] But though the co-operative movement—especially as regards production—was a failure in London and in the South of England,

[1] Charles Kingsley's "Life," p. 63.
[2] Kingsley's "Life," p. 209; Kaufmann, "Christian Socialism," p. 75.
[3] Mrs. Webb's "The Co-operative Movement," pp. 122 *et seq.* That the "Christian Socialists" were not true Socialists see Mrs. Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 *et seq.*
[4] "Life of Maurice," vol. ii., p. 121.

in the North, especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire, it took strong root and has grown and flourished ever since. In commending the movement to the shrewd industrial workers of the North, the followers of Maurice, particularly Ludlow, Hughes, and Neale, did yeoman service. Mrs. Webb believes that the Lancashire co-operators actually borrowed "the individualist ideal of self-employment" from these "Christian Socialists."[1] If a proof were needed of how little Maurice and his followers were either "Socialists" or "Socialistic" in the more strict, and now generally accepted, interpretation of these terms, it could be found in her indictment that "an industrial organization which substitutes for one profit-maker many profit-makers is not a step forward in the moralization of trade."[2] She admits, indeed praises highly, "the ethical sentiment of the highest order," which inspired the promoters; but at the same time she bids us remember that the working men who accepted their services and their capital were probably guided by a desire—a perfectly legitimate one—to better themselves, which, of course, is not in accordance with the true socialistic ideal, which would abolish all profit for individual gain.

In the warfare which was waged against the political economy then generally accepted—that is, against the principle of practically unlimited competition, one name must not be forgotten. John Ruskin had corresponded with Maurice, in connection with his "Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds," as early as 1851.[3] In 1854, when Maurice founded the Working Men's College, Ruskin, who had already been writing articles on education, taxation, and other social subjects, offered to undertake the teaching of the drawing classes, and to these classes for some time he devoted himself most assiduously.[4] I do not wish to lay stress upon Maurice's influence on Ruskin, though to deny that this existed would be not only unwise, but extremely difficult to prove. In 1857 Ruskin gave some

[1] Mrs. Webb, "The Co-operative Movement," pp. 171 *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[3] Collingwood, "Life of John Ruskin," p. 124. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

lectures in Manchester on "The Political Economy of Art." In these lectures he dealt with the government of a State, which, he asserted, should not be content with *laissez faire*, but should promote everything which was for the true interests of the State.[1] This proclamation of the paternal function of Government, of the right of the State to a wide range of interference, was, of course, entirely contrary to the prevailing tendency of thought at that time. From about 1860 Ruskin's faith in such experiments as the Working Men's College seemed to fail;[2] he began to feel that much more radical methods of reform were necessary if social welfare was to be realized.

After a period of solitude in Switzerland, passed in thinking out what these methods should be, he published "Unto this Last,"[3] and, two years later, "Munera Pulveris." The preface to the first of these, in which he plainly states his purpose, contains suggestions which can only be described as socialistic—*e.g.*, "manufactories and workshops, entirely under Government regulation, for the production and sale of every necessary of life";[4] he also advocates labour colonies, penal and otherwise, and old age pensions.[5] Ruskin's Socialism, though in many respects extremely advanced, was, no more than that of Maurice, what usually goes under that name.[6] His panacea for the evils he witnessed was far rather an ethical one than the promotion of any particular kind of social organization. He would interfere "no whit with private enterprise," and he believes that "if once we get a sufficient quantity of honesty in our captains, the organization of labour is easy, and will develop itself without quarrel or difficulty; but if we cannot get honesty in our captains, the organization of labour is for ever impossible."[7] That Ruskin had already looked carefully into the existing condition of the workers is evident from his scathing criticism of Ricardo's definition of "the natural rate of wages," as that which will maintain the labourer. "Maintain him! yes, but

[1] Collingwood, "Life of John Ruskin," p. 170. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 191.
[3] In 1860. [4] P. xvii. [5] Pp. xviii, xx.
[6] "Munera Pulveris," p. xxix. [7] "Unto this Last," pp. xv, xvi.

how?" asks Ruskin; "will you arrange their maintenance so as to kill them early—say at thirty or thirty-five on the average, including deaths of weakly or ill-fed children?—or so as to enable them to live out a natural life?"[1] In "Munera Pulveris," published in 1863, he exposes even more savagely what he considers to be the root-errors of the political economy then commonly accepted. He states, in the opening words of the book, that "the following pages contain, I believe, the first accurate analysis of the laws of Political Economy which has been published in England."[2] These words no doubt provoked many a smile in the followers of Adam Smith and Ricardo, but much that Ruskin had to say was not only entirely true, but was in desperate need of being said: such, for instance, as—"It is not the object of political economy to increase the numbers of a nation at the cost of common health or comfort; nor to increase indefinitely the comfort of individuals by sacrifice of surrounding lives, or possibilities of life."[3] But it was in "Time and Tide" (published in 1867) that Ruskin gave the completest exposition of his views as to the nature of the ideal commonwealth. Into this teaching I must not enter, except to say that many of Ruskin's views, however much they were ridiculed when first he expressed them, are now widely accepted by those who have at heart the welfare of the poor. Where Ruskin is strongest, and where he is entirely right, is in his insistence upon ethical conditions. In the rules which should be laid down for the welfare of any society, Ruskin, like John Calvin, would go back to what he believed to be the revealed will of God, and consequently an irrefragable law. Where things were wrong it was because this law, or some part of it, had been either ignored or wilfully disobeyed. Speaking of "the true connection between wages and work," he states that it is essential "to determine, even approximately, the real quantity of the one, that can, according to the laws of God and Nature, be given for the other; for, rely on it, make what laws you like,

[1] "Unto this Last," p. 163. [2] P. vii.
[3] P. 3. [As Engels saw it being done in Manchester in 1844.]

that quantity only can you at last get."[1] In the face of this teaching to deny that Ruskin was most strongly influenced by Maurice seems impossible; that he, in turn, had an immense influence upon Bishop Westcott appears equally certain. There is many a passage in Ruskin which expresses Maurice's teaching; there are still more in Bishop Westcott's later addresses which recall and accentuate lessons which Ruskin had been teaching twenty or thirty years before.

The period which stretches from 1848 to 1870 must be a deeply interesting one to those who are concerned in the welfare of the poor, because it was during these years that the principles of individualism, unlimited competition, and non-interference, or *laissez faire*, were attacked and finally undermined. The attack came from many sides. With the attack made by the "Christian Socialists," who were undoubtedly aided by their literary ability, I have already dealt. The exceptional literary power of John Ruskin, also, found him an immense circle of readers, as it also did Charles Dickens, who, in novel after novel, with an extraordinary insight into human nature, exposed one existing abuse after another, and revealed to thousands what the actual conditions were in contiguity to which they were living. Another extremely strong attack came from the "humanitarians," chief among whom were Southey, Oastler,[2] Michael Sadler, and, above all, Lord Shaftesbury.[3] These men concentrated their efforts upon revealing the horrors and iniquities of the factory system as it then existed, and upon passing the various Factory Acts which should at least mitigate its evils. And they did not belong to the party of the Whigs or Liberals, which had been mainly instrumental in passing the Reform Bill of 1832, and the Poor Law Act of 1834. Actually they were high Tories opposed to such legislation, and who had fought against such measures

[1] "Time and Tide" (ed. 1906), pp. 15, 16.

[2] Author of "Slavery in Yorkshire."

[3] In "The Manchester Politician" Mr. Hertz notices four lines of revolt against the school of *laissez faire*: (1) "The Humanitarian"; (2) "The Labourer"; (3) "The Imperialist"; (4) "The Economic." On the whole movement see Dicey, "Law and Opinion in England," pp. 219 *et seq.*

as those removing disabilities from Roman Catholics. Lord Shaftesbury, in his private diaries, records how his bitterest opponents at that time were not the Tories, but Liberals like O'Connell, Gladstone, Bright, and Lord Brougham.[1] The student of recent social legislation and the prophet in regard to such legislation in the future may find useful food for thought in the fact that it was by men of undoubtedly Tory traditions that the first great steps in the promotion of Collectivist or Socialistic legislation, of which during the last forty years so much has been passed, were taken. That there was urgent need for such legislation no one who knows the facts can for a moment doubt. In a letter to Lord Shaftesbury, Southey writes: "Thousands of thousands will bless you for taking up the cause of these poor children [in the factories]. I do not believe that anything more inhuman than the system has ever disgraced human nature in any age or country. Was I not right in saying that Moloch was a more merciful fiend than Mammon? Death in the brazen arms of the Carthaginian idol was mercy to the slow waste of life in the factories."[2]

Another attack upon individualism came from what Professor Dicey terms the "Changed Attitude of the Working Classes." He shows that after the defeat of Chartism in 1848 the workmen "devoted their efforts to movements of which the object was social and not political";[3] they directed their energies towards trade unionism, which "was a step in the direction of Collectivism"; for trade unionism implies collective bargaining, and puts restrictions upon individual freedom of contract. Strenuous efforts were made, and with gradual, if slow, success to alter the laws in favour of the right of workmen to combine. The workers pleaded for, and eventually won the right to bring, "the severest moral pressure to bear upon the action, and thus restrain the freedom of any workman who might be inclined to follow his own interest in defiance of union rules intended to

[1] Dicey, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 *et seq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 239. Actually they so far followed the advice of Kingsley and the "Christian Socialists."

promote the interest of all the workmen engaged in a particular trade."[1]

Two other influences at work during this period joined in the attack upon individualism. First, there was a growing sense of the value of combination in trade and commerce. The practice of combination in this sphere has, of course, in various directions grown enormously since the days we are considering, but the beginnings of it were then already at work.[2] Side by side with this we see various public bodies, fragments of the State, and popularly elected—*e.g.*, the municipalities—becoming in different ways traders for the benefit of the community which they represent. Also during this period we see another and striking interference by the State, both on behalf of, and in the management of, great trading concerns—viz., the railways of the United Kingdom. When a railway company obtains from Parliament the right of compulsory purchase of land for the public convenience, the principle that ultimately the land belongs to the nation has met with at least a measure of recognition; and when a railway has to obtain from the same authority the right to make certain charges, we have another very strong instance of State interference.[3]

The second influence to which I refer was that to which the Reform Bills of 1868 and 1884 were undoubtedly due, and to which the Acts in which they issued gave an enormously increased power. The causes which brought about household suffrage were doubtless many—among them being the victory of the North in the War of Secession; but the chief reason for the Reform Acts of 1868[4] and 1884[5] was undoubtedly a deference to the wish of the working classes "who desired, though in a vague and indefinite manner, the attainment of the ideals of Socialism or Collectivism."[6]

Of the history of the Poor Law between 1848 and 1870 there is nothing of outstanding importance to record. The old

[1] Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 240. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 244 *et. seq.*
[3] Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 246. [4] Passed by the Conservatives.
[5] Which equalized the County franchise with that of the Boroughs.
[6] Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

difficulties connected with Settlement and Removal were attacked, though never quite successfully, by more than one Act of Parliament. In 1861 an important Act[1] was passed in reference to "Union Rating," whereby certain burdens which fell heavily upon poor parishes were lightened by making these a common charge upon the Union. Another question which at this time began to claim serious attention was the appointment and payment of Poor Law medical officers—a subject which had certainly not met with the treatment due to it in the Act of 1834. Instead of a payment *per* case treated, it was decided in 1857[2] that medical officers "should be appointed for life, and should only cease to hold office upon their resignation, insanity, or other disqualification, or upon their removal by the Poor Law Board."[3] Half their salaries were now paid by the State, and extra remuneration was given for extra services. The same subject was again raised in 1864, but a Committee appointed to consider it decided that there was no need for further regulations.[4]

Possibly the severest test to which the Poor Law was ever put was that occasioned by the Lancashire Cotton Famine of 1861 to 1863,[5] which caused exceptional "abnormal" distress. At that time there were at least 440,000 persons employed in the trade, who were receiving some £11,500,000 a year in wages. The tremendous pressure put upon the Poor Law by the stoppage of the mills is shown by the fact that in February, 1862, the amount of pauperism in Ashton-under-Lyne, Glossop, and Preston, showed increases of 213 per cent., 300 per cent., and 320 per cent. respectively above the normal increases for that winter month. Under exceptional circumstances it is necessary to resort to exceptional measures, and during the famine two Acts were passed. By the first it was provided

[1] 24 and 25 Vict., c. 55; see Aschrott and Preston Thomas, "The English Poor Law," p. 59.

[2] By the "Medical Appointments Order" of May 25, 1857.

[3] Aschrott and Preston Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Upon the Cotton Famine see "History of the English Poor Law," vol. iii. (Mackay), chap. xviii.

that when the poor rate in any parish in the three counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derby exceeded three shillings in the pound, the excess should be a Union charge; when it exceeded five shillings in the pound, the Poor Law Board might call upon other Unions in the county to make up the excess.[1] The second Act[2] was one to facilitate the execution of public works in certain manufacturing districts, etc. By this Act the Treasury was empowered to advance, out of the Consolidated Fund, sums in the aggregate not to exceed £1,200,000 to local bodies for the execution of permanent works. At that time in many of the manufacturing towns both the drainage and sewerage were imperfect, the water-supply was bad, and the roads were in an unsatisfactory state. It was thought that on these necessary works many of the unemployed, who were able-bodied, might be usefully employed. As a matter of experience only a very few operatives actually did find work under the provisions of the Act. The work was needed, and seems to have been well done, but as a means of relief the Act was not a success. It was hoped that the Act would provide employment for some 30,000 men, whereas, as a matter of fact, at the end of 1864, only some 3,978 factory operatives were working under its provisions.

It was during the period covered by this chapter that the Oxford Movement, the High Church revival, became widely influential. Of the leaders of this movement Bishop Westcott writes, "I cannot recall that they ever showed active sympathy with efforts for social reform."[3] Broadly speaking, this assertion is probably correct; but at the same time it may create a false impression, because it ignores certain kinds of work which may come under the head of "social reform." If the Bishop meant that we do not find any of the earlier leaders of the High Church

[1] The Union Relief Aid Act, 1862: 25 and 26 Vict., cap. 160. This Act also gave power to the Guardians, under certain circumstances, to borrow.

[2] The Public Works (Manufacturing Districts) Act, 1863: 26 and 27 Vict., cap. 70; on this Act see Mackay, *op. cit.*, pp. 398 *et seq.*

[3] "Lessons from Work," p. 24. [The whole context should be read.] Dicey, "Law and Opinion," p. 405, takes the same view as Bishop Westcott.

party taking a statesmanlike grasp of the evil social conditions then existing, endeavouring to penetrate into the causes of these, and then throwing themselves into a movement to remedy them, as Maurice, Kingsley, and their fellow-workers had done, his verdict is probably true. But if it implies, as it might be held to imply, that they were unconscious of, or made no effort to ameliorate, the sufferings of the poor, it is not true. What is true is, that we have to wait until the nineteenth century was drawing towards a close before we find the leaders in the High Church Movement taking that active and prominent part in social work which of recent years many of them so honourably and effectually have done.[1]

[1] In a note appended to the statement quoted, Bishop Westcott writes: "The Essays in 'Lux Mundi' mark a new departure."

The Image of Gold and the Feet of Clay.

By H. A. DALLAS.

THE title of this paper may give an impression that it deals with prophecy, for the image of gold and silver with feet of iron or clay was seen in a vision by Nebuchadnezzar, and the vision was interpreted by the prophet Daniel as referring to the future history of the world. I am not here using the imagery with any reference to its significance to the prophet Daniel. The imagery seems to me capable of another application, which I do not suppose was present to the mind of the prophet. The imagery is capable of being applied to spiritual ideals. The image of precious metals standing on the common clay and iron feet may be taken as symbolizing the loftiest aspirations and holiest beliefs of sons of God; these have had, and must have, their physical and historical basis. Eternal verities are revealed related to facts of objective experience. They are, indeed, made accessible by means of these feet of iron and clay—by means, *i.e.*, of the physical and historical foundations upon which they rest.

The idea is capable of being worked out in many directions which I cannot now enter upon. I must confine myself to one or two applications. There are two points I wish to emphasize at the outset. One is the *value* of the feet of clay. The objective, physical, historical aspect of eternal, spiritual truth should be respectfully studied and valued. To treat this aspect with indifference or contempt is presumptuous and foolish. The presumption may be unconscious, for it is those who care intensely for spiritual ideals who are most liable to fall into the error of belittling the feet of clay; nevertheless, there is presumption in so doing. We find ourselves awakened to consciousness in a wonderful universe—a universe of which we form an infinitesimal part; it behoves us to learn with all diligence what are the principles expressed, what is the order

observed in this marvellous cosmos; and to assert *our* preconceptions or proclaim *our* ideals without modest and reverent search into the order which *is*, and has been for ages before we were born, is presumption.

If we attentively observe that universal order, we discover everywhere that the loftiest ethics and the noblest beliefs have their roots in physical facts. All science teaches us this—history, geology, physiology, anthropology, and more particularly biology. We cannot get away from the fact; it is folly to ignore it; for the scheme of things is truly more sublime than any idealism which the human mind can conceive. *God's* cosmos is a grander poem than *man's* imagination can produce.

But whilst studying origins and examining the feet of iron and clay we must never forget that the feet exist for the image of gold, that the meaning of the former must be interpreted by our knowledge of the latter; and never must we fall into the error of interpreting man by his animal beginnings, or his spiritual and ethical attainments and aspirations by the rudimentary faculties in which they germinated. The significance of the embryo is only to be understood when we see its purpose fulfilled in the adult. Emerson has said that "the lesson of life is to believe what the years and the centuries say against the hours; to resist the usurpation of particulars; to penetrate to their catholic sense." We are constantly tempted to do otherwise. Either we ignore and put aside the "common," the "physical," that which belongs to the years, to the temporary, or, if we turn attention to it, we are apt to materialize our ideals—to say to ourselves of physical facts: "These be thy gods which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt. This physical appetite, this aggressive instinct, this *sense*-craving, this fear of the unknown—these have produced our mirage of love and progress and religion." And if we think thus, if we allow this delusion to undermine our spirituality, life loses its dignity, the lofty souls become sad, the lower natures cynical, and the lowest sensual. When under the influence of such a view of the universe Professor Romanes wrote:

"I am not ashamed to confess that with this virtual negation of God the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness. . . . When at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine, and the lonely mystery of existence as now I find it—at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible" ("Thoughts of Religion," p. 28).

But this was not Romanes' final position. Towards the close of his life he wrote:

"The religious consciousness of Christendom is unquestionably the highest product. When I wrote the preceding treatise I did not sufficiently appreciate the immense importance of *human* nature, as distinguished from *physical* nature, in any inquiry touching theism. But since then I have seriously studied anthropology (including the science of comparative religions), psychology, and metaphysics, with the result of clearly seeing that human nature is the most important part of nature as a whole whereby to investigate the theory of theism" (p. 154).

In fact, Romanes lost sight of the image of gold altogether by interpreting ideals in terms of atoms; he recovered it when he saw that the significance of the feet of clay could only be understood by studying that which was built up upon them.

To sum up, what I have claimed so far is simply this: (1) That in order to rightly appreciate our ideals at the apex of truth, we must value the lowly beginnings from which these ideals have sprung; and (2) that we must always interpret these beginnings in the light of the later evolution—not the later by the earlier.

If we thoroughly grasp these two principles and apply them widely to all our experience, we shall find dark places illuminated, and order will appear in what seemed confusion; moreover, our own course will be clearer when we seem torn between competing forces, and the feet of iron and clay threaten to kick down the very image for which they exist.

But I wish to make one special application of the principle to the tendencies of the present time.

It seems to me, looking back upon the history of the last hundred years, that whereas in the first half of the nineteenth century religion was very subjective in character, there has been through the last fifty years a strong tendency to objectivity.

The Methodist and Evangelical movements of religious thought produced saints of a very noble kind; religion was very deep in minds of that type. But whilst religious principle governed conduct, there was also a rather rigid demarcation between the secular and the sacred. *One* Book was inspired, *one* day was holy, etc., and any attempt to obliterate the distinction, or to blend secular and sacred things, was regarded as lacking in reverence. Then followed the Tractarian movement and the movement for critical study of the Bible. Perhaps my right to bracket together the Tractarian movement with the critical investigation of Christian documents by such men as Strauss and Baur, etc., will be questioned, but I do thus bracket them. I seem to see a distinct kinship between the two, and between both these and the developments of physical science. The feet of iron and clay had been too much ignored. And I regard these movements as the outcome of a renewed sense of the value of historical and physical origins, and of the objective expression of spiritual truth. The Tractarians appealed to the Fathers, and insisted on the value of Church order and sacramental *forms;* the critics urged the importance of examining the historical basis of our religious beliefs, and of the primitive forms out of which they have sprung. Men of science sought to discover the physical beginnings of human life. All alike stood for the value of the objective, the external, the historical. Their work has revolutionized our religious and intellectual and social life, and on the whole religion and society have immensely gained.

To quote again from the later writings of Professor George Romanes:

"I took it for granted that Christianity was played out . . . though this was doubtless inexcusable, I still think that the rational standing of Christianity has materially improved since then. . . . Prior to the new [Biblical] science, there was really no rational basis in thoughtful minds either for the date of any one of the New Testament books, or, consequently, for the historical truth of any one of the events narrated in them. Gospels, Acts, and Epistles were all alike shrouded in this uncertainty. Hence the validity of the eighteenth-century scepticism. But now this kind of scepticism has been rendered obsolete and for ever impossible, while the certainty of enough

of St. Paul's writings for the practical purpose of displaying the belief of the Apostles has been established, as well as the certainty of the publication of the Synoptists within the first century. An enormous gain thus accrued to the objective evidences of Christianity" (pp. 155, 156).

"This kind of scepticism has been rendered obsolete and for ever impossible," he says. This was a sanguine assertion. Is scepticism ever *impossible?* I trow not.

It seems as if the pendulum which for half a century swung so strongly in the direction of recognition of objective facts and the value of careful analysis of the historical basis of beliefs, was now again swinging in the other direction, perhaps only to gain ultimately a position of balance and equilibrium.

There are those who would have us believe that it does not matter to them how their religion originated, that they are so convinced of the reality of spiritual truths that they can even surrender belief in the historical reality of Him Who "made them current coin," almost without regret. If, after earnest and loving search, a man thinks himself *compelled* to make this surrender as the offering of the heart's blood to Truth (which must for ever claim our supreme allegiance), one can only respect and sympathize with anyone who sincerely makes so profound a sacrifice, although entirely disagreeing with the conclusion reached. Frederic Myers *at one time* thought he must abandon belief in Christ's resurrection, and he said it cost him more than anything in his life. But if the surrender is made without sufficiently thorough investigation, if it is made without any pain, if there is no empty place left where the Friend of Man once stood to guide and strengthen and console, if the loss of belief in Christ Jesus involves none of the heart's blood, *then* the surrender has a very different character. It is not our task to judge others, but we must needs examine ourselves as to whether we realize the value of the objective and historical basis of our faith.

The ideals of Christendom have for two thousand years centred in one sacred Personality. It is the thought of Him which has strengthened millions to strive for the uplifting of the race; it is the love of Him which has empowered them to do nobly

and die magnificently ; it is belief in Him which has been the inspiration of life. Romanes writes :

"If we estimate the greatness of a man by the influence which he has exerted on mankind, there can be no question, even from the secular point of view, that Christ is much the greatest man who has ever lived. . . . The revolution effected by Christianity in human life is immeasurable, and unparalleled by any other movement in history. . . . Consider what has all the science or all the philosophy of the world done for the thought of mankind to be compared with the one doctrine, 'God is Love'? Whether or not true, conceive what belief in it has been to thousands of millions of our race—*i.e.*, its influence on human thought, and thence on human conduct" (pp. 159, 160).

The spiritual truths which at the beginning of our era found expression in the Christian Church were not altogether new ideas. The conceptions of Divine Fatherhood, of incarnations of the Divine in humanity, of a Saviour dying and rising again, in some sense on behalf of the human race, have been embodied with various degrees of clearness in the myths and legends and sacred scriptures of pre-Christian races. What we have to explain is not so much how such ideas originated, *for if they embody* eternal truths it may well be that their origin lies too far back for us to discover it. Just as the eye exists for the pre-existent force called light, and is constituted to apprehend it, so the mind of man may be so constituted that certain eternal truths are intuitively apprehended ; it may be that man brings with him in his descent into matter a subliminal knowledge of certain pre-existing verities which thus become embodied in various religions.

The fact to be accounted for, and which the New Testament records claim to account for, is how these truths became the inspiration of new life in the first century of our era. The claim made in the Gospel is that the "Life which is the 'light of men,' the light which lighteneth *every* man" who has been born into the world, then shone forth in much fuller, clearer effulgence in the Person of Jesus Christ, who in His own incarnate experience revealed the essential truths which man's spiritual growth requires, and who thus became to mankind a Saviour by the potency of the Divine Spirit of which He was the pleroma—*i.e.*, the filled receptacle. Of this Spirit He was and is the medium.

The fact of mediumship, or of strength, wisdom, and grace being ministered to one person through another is a matter of common knowledge. The fact of such ministry is patent to all; therefore there is nothing foreign to existing experience in the recognition that Jesus Christ was the Divinely ordained medium or mediator whose contact with the human race has been the quickening means of salvation—*i.e.*, wholeness, health, and enlightenment.

No other hypothesis except this adequately accounts for the founding of the Christian Church or for the new ethical standard, the new life of love which came to birth at the beginning of our era. Christianity has survived in spite of the crimes and defections of its so-called adherents, by virtue of this quickening Spirit in the souls of the true disciples of Jesus Christ; and it seems to me that we are bound, as *trustees of Divine treasure*, to take pains to study the historical grounds of our belief in the Lord Jesus, not only for our own sake, but that we may pass on to others God's image of gold (*i.e.*, all the highest beauty of the Christian ideal) intact. If we neglect the facts of history, the physical basis of spiritual truth, the rational argument for Christian belief, and particularly if we fail to study the embodiment of these precious ideals as given to the world in the story of the earthly life of the MAN CHRIST JESUS we may find that, having allowed the feet of iron and clay to become covered by the dust of oblivion, future generations will lose sight also of the golden Image which they were intended to support. This, too, may become buried, and materialism may again smother (as it has so often done before) the aspirations of mankind—materialism not alone of intellectual belief, but that profounder materialism which doubts the image of God in the soul of man, and cynically regards human nature as nothing but dust and ashes.

Whilst preparing this paper I have been reading an article in *Modern Essays* by F. W. H. Myers, in which I have come across a paragraph bearing so forcibly on the ideas I have tried to express, that I will quote it here

"If, as we must hold, the common sense of mankind will insist on feeling that the marvels of the New Testament history have as yet neither been

explained away nor explained, so also will it assuredly refuse to concur with the views, often expressed both in the theological and scientific camps, according to which these marvels are after all unimportant, the spiritual content of the Gospel is everything, and religion and science alike may be glad to get rid of the miracles as soon as possible. . . .

"It is indeed true that Christianity—understood in our own days, it may perhaps be asserted, more profoundly than ever before—has brought to us inestimable blessings which no possible view of the wonders narrated in the Gospels could now take away. It has given us a conception of the universe which most minds accept as at once the loftiest and the most intelligible to which the spirit of man has attained; it has taught us a temper—the temper as of a child towards an unseen Father—which alone, as we now feel, can bring peace to the heart.

"It is true, moreover, that the best men of all schools of thought are ever uniting more closely in the resolve to be practically Christians—to look on the labouring universe with this high appliance, to shape life after this pattern of self-sacrificing love, whatever the universe and life may really be. . . .

"So far will philosophy carry good and wise men. But even the best and the wisest men would prefer to rest their practical philosophy upon a basis of ascertained facts, and for these 'hard-headed artisans,' 'the sceptical inquirer,' the myriads of struggling souls to which Christianity has a message to bring—for such men facts are everything, and philosophy without facts is a sentimental dream" (pp. 223, 224).

He goes on to touch upon the importance of facts brought to light by psychical research in relation to their bearing on "traditions which reach us faintly from an ever-receding past." In relation to these facts I will merely quote what he has said in his book on "Human Personality" and pass on, for it is not my object to go into this matter here. He says, *à propos* of the discoveries which through psychical research he believed had been made:

"Has any world-scheme yet been suggested so profoundly corroborative of the very core of the Christian revelation? Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light. . . . So far, then, as His unique message admitted of evidential support it is here supported. . . . I venture now on a bold saying, for I predict that, in consequence of the new evidence, all reasonable men a century hence will believe the resurrection of Christ; whereas, in default of the new evidence, no reasonable man a century hence would have believed it" ("Human Personality," ii., p. 288).

Without endorsing his "all" and his "no," which seem too sweeping, this passage, taken with the other, well illustrates my point—namely, the value of objective (scientific as well as

historical) evidence for the truth of our Christian faith. Many persons now ignore this; they claimed to have passed beyond the need for the feet of clay.

I would not have it supposed, however, that whilst I lay stress on the importance for each one to acquaint himself, as opportunity offers, with the historical and scientific argument for the Christian belief, I intend to imply that I regard this as the most essential means of grasping the truth "as it is in Jesus," and as it should be in the heart of every disciple. By no means; to be really imbued with the spirit of the New Testament is, as Frederic Myers has said in the article I have quoted, of far greater importance than to be instructed in Biblical criticism. And as a means towards communion with this spirit the study of the Gospels is of primary value. The study of the Gospels is within the reach of everyone, and no reading of books *about* the Gospels can be an adequate substitute for the study of the records themselves. A former Dean of Westminster has said:

> "Take the picture of Christ as drawn by the vigorous hand which wrote our Second Gospel. Read it as a whole; let the story grow upon you; watch the powerful, sympathetic, original Character; ask how the simple, illiterate author came by his story, if it were not that the story was a transcript of life."

Such study of the history of the incarnate life of Christ should be an effectual means by which we may be enabled to see that which "eye hath not seen," and to hear that which no merely *physical* ear can hear, even those things which God reveals by His Spirit in the high and holy place of the heart and conscience and will. My point is that, whilst a devotional use of Scripture in which imagination and affection have their share is very valuable, the intellectual study of Scripture is also important and ought not to be neglected.

Of course, the plea that there is no time for such study is always ready to suggest itself, and we all feel its force under the present unwholesome conditions of hurry to which we have accustomed ourselves; but most persons find time somehow for

those pursuits which are considered of serious importance. The careful perusal of a few works written by those who are acknowledged to have made prolonged study of the New Testament and of the historical basis of our faith would not make an exorbitant demand on time.

The following books, for instance, would repay study, and would be read in a short space of time: "Luke the Physician," by Adolf Harnack; "The Acts of the Apostles," "The Date of the Acts," by the same author; "The Gospel and its Transmission," by Professor Burkitt.

But these are details; it is the principle rather than the way in which each should apply it that I have tried to present, and for which the image of gold with feet of clay has seemed to me a fitting symbol.

On Guard.

By the Rev. CHARLES COURTENAY, M.A.,
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THE life-history of a minister of Christ is not unlike the progress of a traveller through a swampy country when the sun is striking vertically down, and calling out all the light and heavy infantry of the air. He walks with his head encompassed with a swarm of bloodthirsty flies, little and big, all eager to taste the quality of his blood. Some alight, some buzz and hover. All intend to use the very first opportunity of a halt to settle and bite. The only difference seems to be that the ministerial foes aim at the heart and attack vital parts, and that they come round at all seasons, hot or cold, and cease not day or night. It is the presence of so many spiritual vampires which makes it so necessary that we should ever be on guard.

Sometimes we are off our guard, and then the evil things fasten and incapacitate and envenom, so that for a time we find ourselves on the spiritual sick-list, and not the less on the sick-list because we are still able to move about and look healthy and well. A pallid heart can well coexist with the outer hue of brown and red.

Now, to play the sentinel over ourselves and our attacking foes is one of the supreme arts of life for those who would fain minister to others, and minister happily and successfully. In fact, to do this continually and thoroughly is to protect the soul's outworks, and to break down the very first line of assault. To fail here lays us open to terrible defeat when the enemy chooses to bring up his next line of attack.

It is wise also to remember that, unlike the ordinary military sentinel, we are never relieved. Our hearts are under the care of ourselves, and nobody else can share our watch. It is a solitary, personal business which knows no vacations. Other people have to watch over their own affairs, and have their hands full, so that, had they the inclination, they would not

have the time or the power, which is an additional reason for keeping watch and guard over ourselves.

Some might expect that the high office of a minister of Christ would protect him, and that he of all men might well be let alone. And this is the tragedy of it, that so high an office should be borne by so lowly and temptable a man. He is not let alone, as we all know too well by bitter experience. He is the butt of more foes than an ordinary man. As a wise enemy tries to pick off the officers, so is he singled out for special assault. He is the vulnerable attacking point of the Church of Christ, for the reason that, if he can be depreciated and deteriorated, the rank and file will surrender at discretion. It is therefore useless to shelter himself under his vocation or profession or his high dignity, for they are naught as a shield. In truth, his position insists on a clearer, sharper eye, a more alert mind, and a more continuous guard.

But one blessed help we have of vital efficacy. We have the help of the Master to keep us awake, and to give us penetration of instinct and vision. Little should we achieve but for His presence. He shares our watch with us, and when we watch and pray we do not even enter into temptation, because we see the foe afar off, and give the alarm in time to keep him at a distance. He keeps the mirror bright, so that the slightest world stain is immediately made visible. He keeps the eyes clear to enable us to detect the foe under his many disguises. He strips the angel of light, and reveals the malicious devil underneath the feathers of white. With His eyesalve so perfect and glorious, He prevents the eyes from sealing over, and it is this assurance which gives us the sufficiency, to say nothing of the patience and courage, which we who are to be on guard require. Without Him watching would be in vain.

I think the purpose of this homily will be better achieved if I descend to particulars, and set down in so many words what we ministers and workers ought especially to guard against in our daily lives. It is impossible to enumerate all the dangers which demand the watchful eye, but we may look at some samples of them, and to these we may add as many more as we please.

For instance, we require to watch carefully against *lowered ideals.* A servant of God may be known as a rule by his ideals and standards of work. What does he aim at? What does he realize as his highest ideal in the Master's service? What does he in his highest moments of elevation and vision desire to accomplish? Well, he must maintain this ideal, and, if possible, raise it higher. He must never allow it to sink lower. Here he will find his fiercest temptations will congregate. And if he yield, and his ideals descend, so much the less will he be an efficient minister of God. He will descend with his ideals, or, rather, his ideals will descend to his own lowered level of spirituality. For a low standard has been pulled down by a lower experience. We shall easily understand, then, the need of keeping an eye on our ideals, seeing how fraught the down-drag is with failure and disappointment. And the discovery will enable us to apply the remedy, which will be not so much by raising the ideal as by raising ourselves and our spirituality.

Much akin to this danger is the necessity of watching against a *lowered tone* of soul. Physicians tell us sometimes that there is nothing positively wrong with us, but that we are suffering from a loss of tone in the system. And they order rest and change of air and tonic medicines to raise the tone again, and to screw us up to concert pitch. The soul frequently suffers from the same thing, and this manifests itself in similar ways. There is a disinclination to take exercise, a lack of the old robust enjoyment in work, a lack of interest in things, a jaded feeling, a tendency to worry and fume, a sensitiveness to take offence and to imagine slights, and a general inability to throw off the minor ailments and ills of the ministerial life. It is of no use denying the tonelessness when it comes, or of trying to ignore it. It is a real thing, and nothing but disaster can come from letting it steal in upon us unnoticed. We must be on our guard against it, and apply the proper remedies. We must ascend to the breezy high levels of God, and be braced by fresh and special contact with Him. We must call in the Great Physician, and put ourselves under His immediate care. We must take the cordials of the

Spirit, and we must get away from those swampy spots which engendered the loss of tone. Certainly, we must not aquiesce in its continuance, for loss of tone can easily proceed to the loss of a hundred other precious things which cannot be done without.

The *loss of temperature and temper* has to be guarded against most assiduously, for their loss spells disaster sooner or later. Heat soon evaporates unless the inner fires be well stoked, and may die down and disappear unless we keep a watchful eye on the heart. To lose our first love, to grow cold within, to change into a spiritual iceberg, is to throw up the main elements of a successful ministerial life. And because it is easier to stop the loss at the beginning, we do well to ascertain when the first degree of lost heat is registered. This is the reason for being constantly on guard, for when the temperature goes down the temperament alters for the worse, and the temper deteriorates. Thus, what more workable quality is there than hopefulness, the optimism which looks brightly around and faithfully up? What is more essential in our dealings with other workers than the genial spirit which keeps smiling even when the rest of the world frowns? A cheery temper which has a touch of the South in it, and a buoyant temperament which steadily looks at the bright side of things, are simply invaluable. To lose them, therefore, is a calamity. And we need not lose them if only we are willing to be at the pains to keep a sharp eye on the heart and stop the leak.

Now, it is not of much avail to make discoveries unless we know how to deal with them when they are made. We must go farther back, and see if we can find the sources from whence the lowered ideals, the lowered tone, the lowered temper, come. They do not come by chance. Only thus, I think, can we get at the roots of the mischief to cut them out.

I fancy that most of us know what leads to inward troubles, for have we not been under our own inspection for many a long year, winter and summer? We have experimented on ourselves until we know almost unerringly the reaction from the test.

There are dangers from the *social side* which we need to be on our guard against. We are not hermits; we walk in the open world unconfined by walls. And the consequence of this free and unconstrained life is that we rub shoulders with others constantly. At many social functions our presence is welcomed if we will come out of our dens and accept their hospitality. And, not being solitaries, with more or less alacrity we go. For, undoubtedly, we do well to see our people under such free conditions. And, could we always go with a right spirit, the good that we might do is great, to say nothing of the good that we might get for ourselves. Then, where is the danger which bids us be on our guard? Well, we may overdo them. We may spend time in their enjoyment which might have been better expended in visiting and ministerial work. We may find social affairs so absorbing as to soil the soul and weaken the will. We may unbend too much, and play the layman to such perfection that we forget the minister. We may descend too low. Here are the directions in which we may expect danger and guard ourselves carefully. Due vigilance will tell us where to stop. And lest we let the social spirit trespass too far, we had better put an arrest on ourselves on the nearer instead of on the farther side.

There are also dangers from *absorbing occupations and hobbies*. Hobbies are amongst the most beneficent gifts which have been granted to busy man. Blessed is the minister who has one or more. Hobbies are the opiate of a worker's life, calming and soothing his tired brain. They turn him off the main road for a season, and send him rushing along quite another, small, insignificant, and undignified, if you like, but refreshingly different. And there, with his coat off and his muscles stiff and taut, he plays the small boy again or the youngster on his holidays. Perhaps he spends an honest hour or two in catching butterflies; perhaps he pursues a ball, racket or bat or golf-club in hand; perhaps he dabbles in colours, and wonderfully or unrecognizably represents on paper some bit of God's world; perhaps he messes his fingers and spoils his

clothing—handkerchiefs, mostly—in photographic work, and if he carries a heavy camera over stiff country, all the better; perhaps he botanizes, and is for ever peering through his glasses at something curious; perhaps he dabbles in still pools, and enchants the home circle with something grotesque under the microscopic lens. But why endeavour to enumerate what cannot be counted? Blessed is that man, I say again, and he needs to be humoured instead of ridiculed in his pursuit. The wife who does not see this ought never to have married. But if a hobby be so beneficent, where can the danger come in? It may encroach on higher work. It may throw the main coach off the rails. It may absorb too much thought and anxiety and interest. It may, in fact, cease to be a hobby, and become a business, displacing the greater concern for which he became a minister. To ride a hobby is excellent so long as you amble along, and keep a tight rein, and stop at the cross-roads; but if the hobby run away with you, and your control be lost, then you will be thrown and hurt considerably. So long as we master our hobbies, so long are we safe; but the moment they ride us we are in the wrong box.

The *itch of publicity* is a danger against which we do well to be on guard. We are not all constituted alike, and the tendency with some is to retire farther and farther into the background, and perhaps not to assert themselves enough. But the forward spirit acts in a public direction, and impels men to rush to the front, to pose before the footlights, to appear in newspapers, to be continually in evidence. And it may easily be overdone. For it is quite possible that the public does not take as much interest in us and our doings as we do, and it is more than possible that the fine bloom of our modesty will become somewhat rubbed by the perpetual obtrusion of ourselves. We may be wonderful men, and may do wonderful exploits in our parishes and eclipse everybody else; but if we are, why not let others find it out and advertise our excellences? Besides, wire-pulling is not a good attitude for a minister to assume, and he had far better work in silence. The only One who matters in life is the

Master, and if He is pleased we may be content. The less we splash, the farther we shall swim, and the more easily. The less we think of man, the more we shall be disposed to think of the Lord. The more we do for God's glory, the less we shall do for our own. This desire for public notice is especially repugnant in the deeper spiritual departments of our work, as, for instance, in the parading of the number of our communicants, as if in our longing for numbers we may not open the meshes so wide as to let just anybody through, worthy or unworthy. Our parishes are not, like racehorses, set into competition with others, the prize coming to him who outdistances his neighbour. The fear is that, with a ministerial lead in this competitive direction, the congregation may follow suit, and start on a nauseous course of brag, pointing with proud finger to their larger congregation, their larger subscription lists, their larger Confirmation numbers, their bigger missionary fund success. A people are on the downgrade who catch this evil spirit.

We shall do well to be on our guard, too, on *matters which may compromise us.* There are many innocent occupations and pleasures which have somehow acquired a bad name, and which, if we indulge in them, will set us in a wrong light and damage our influence. We may insist on our liberty, and do as we please in these misunderstood amusements, but we shall not be in quite the same position as before. We are refusing a small concession to a weakness, if you will; but the public opinion to which we are most exposed is against us decidedly, and we have secured our liberty at the costly expense of our chances of doing a hundred or more souls good. For, after all, the opinion which is most important to us is that of the weakest among those to whom we are called to minister. If they feel that we are not denying ourselves of a doubtful pleasure, that we are self-indulgent, then they cannot trust us as they did. And if we become so compromised we shall feel the difference, and it will spring back upon us in a disastrous fashion. Illustrations of the amusements or indulgences I am referring to will occur to my readers, and I think that we shall do wisely to be

on our guard against doing anything which will in the remotest degree outrage a weak conscience.

The *student habit* requires a word of caution, too, lest by our intense application to our books we steal away the time which other duties demand. The general reproach is that ministers read too little, and are left in the lurch by abler laymen. It is no doubt true with many that, from want of time or from want of inclination, they are not keen on books that count in the world of thought. It is a calamity which can hardly be repaired by any other application of our energies. It is the fruitful root of staleness and rashness of utterance and beating the air. We cannot even know our own side well unless we have studied the other side too. But if the unreading man suffers, so does the overreading student. He needs to be on his guard lest in the cultivation of his mind he neglects the minds and spirits of his flock. Our studies, too, may be off the line of our life's work, having no relation to the ministry or to the needs of the people. The tendency of over-absorption in books is to dry up the soul and stale the interests which ought to be vigorous in a minister of the Gospel. Many students have declared the difficulty of the struggle between the love of books and the love of souls. Not that there is any real antagonism between books and souls, but where the interests are too wholly absorbed in one thing, another is apt to feel the detrimental effects. Over-study may lead to unpracticalness, to dreaminess, to unreality, and to evaporation of interests in a religious direction. Anyway, it is well to be on our guard concerning the danger.

Over-organization is another danger. I suppose there has never been such elaborate organization of parish work as now. Machinery has reached stupendous proportions, and the parish workers are at it hard to stoke the fires and keep the wheels revolving. The present-day ambition is to make meetings, classes, and services, fly like the pictures in a panorama. Guilds, clubs, bands, and societies, are the order of the day, and the rushing minister, looking over his party walls at his slowly-moving brother who has fewer irons in the fire, feels that there

is nothing going on in that parish. But the difficulty for our fussy brother, who scarcely allows himself time to breathe or eat or sleep, is how to keep pace spiritually with all this organization, and to maintain a high tone in himself and his flock. And the danger is lest, underneath all the dust of movement, there may be just nothing at all in the way of life or spirituality. I do not say that it will be, but that it may be, so. It takes a large fire to keep so many irons even passably hot. And if so be that there are too many, and these too cold, he had better pause a while, and remember that a faithful minister is not content with a big machine and a small output; that, unless the kettle boils, nothing is palatable either to God or man. Surface perfection may be bought in too dear a market, therefore, and we do well to inspect our machinery now and then to see whether it really moves forward or not, and whether it achieves what it promises to our self-satisfied complacency. And alongside of the machinery we had better also inspect ourselves, to ascertain whether the inner steam is vigorous enough to match the big flywheels. Machinery at a standstill for want of power to push it is of no more good than scrap-iron, unless for the possibility of coming potency.

It is important that we do not allow one portion of our creed to overshadow the rest by *doctrinal one-sidedness*. Intense natures find this a common tendency. We may easily push a truth into undue prominence, and defraud our people of other truths which are in their way quite as essential. Thus, some men can preach of scarcely anything but the Second Coming of the Lord, and prophecy, than which nothing is more important, is the predominating theme in every sermon. Others find their interests absorbed in Sacramental truth, which they feel drawn by their deep concern to introduce on all occasions, as if no other truth could hold the candle to it. With some it has even attained to the place of a magical formula which may be depended on to achieve spiritual wonders apart from the attitude of the recipients, and it is pressed on all hands, as if the condition of mind were entirely subordinate. Social subjects

hold the field with many to-day, and the social is driving the spiritual out of view. Change the conditions of life, they say, and the downtrodden masses will stream into our churches, and be found, with the most submissive of minds, to accept all that we may tell them. The gospel of economics is not to be ignored, but at the same time it is not to take the place of the Gospel of our Master, and must not even obscure it. Eschatology with not a few is treated as the main subject of their messages; and while in some the sulphur is strong, in others all heat, sulphur, and pain, are entirely eliminated. Some earnest spirits stop at the Cross, and scarcely ever deal with a Risen and Glorified Saviour and the risen life in Him. It is impossible to exhaust the list of such ministerial absorptions, but we can each fill in what may be our own tendencies for ourselves. I am only concerned to point out the danger, and to suggest that we all be on our guard against it.

It is easy, too, to be *drawn aside into topics* which are not rightly ours as ministers of truth. We may become partisans and preach politics, and forget that in matters of opinion the truth may lie on both sides, and that as a matter of fact all sensible people are in the main agreed. It is the fault of our party system that this agreement is obscured. Rightly are we bound to have our views on vital political questions, and rightly must we vote for them; but it is well to confine our energies, so far as the pulpit is concerned, to the Divine truths which are revealed, and to wait until the dust of party conflict has settled, before we venture publicly to enter into the arena and expose ourselves to indignant protest from some of our own good people who are on the other side. The form that our politics must take is to go down to the root of all questions, and to deal with principles, which our flocks must apply for themselves. Here is safe ground, and better ground by far. To wave red rags in the neighbourhood of bulls may be a display of courage, but it is also a display of folly and rashness. Here, too, we must be on our guard.

One very common danger which every minister and worker

is more or less conscious of is the tendency, amidst the stress of life, to *devotional neglect*—the failure to apportion sufficient time for devotion. The active life may too easily encroach on the contemplative one. We know that it is folly to allow it to do so, and we know that it spells ministerial suicide to cheat the soul for the presumed benefit of the parish. Yet, in spite of our knowledge, how often are we tempted to do it! Put it into other words, and we see the absurdity of the contention that we have no time to be quiet and to pray. What if the cook were to say: "I was so busy preparing the dinner that I had no time to keep my fire alight?" Or the reaper might say: "I had so much to do, and so large a field to cut, that I really could not afford the time to sharpen my scythe." Or the engine-driver, having to make up for lost time, might say: "I was so busy observing my speed, oiling my engine, manipulating the levers, and looking ahead, that I really could not bother myself about the fire." The fact is that we spoil the whole work of a parish by neglect behind the scenes, and we cannot expect any spiritual returns unless we keep our communications with heaven perfectly open and always open. We may do quite as much work as we did before, but, having lost our first love, heaven's register records, "No results."

It is of the very first importance that we play the watchman over our *attitude to our fellow-ministers*, for, probably, there are none concerning whom we have more abundant cause to be on guard than our ministerial neighbours. We are but poor frail mortals at the best, and have the fragile tempers appertaining to such mortals. So it is possible that we may not rejoice in another's success. We may not feel quite friendly to those who steal our sheep. We may not feel charity to men of divergent views, albeit they be close neighbours. We may pick holes and search carefully for defects, and criticize them. We may be jealous, envious, bitter, and unbending. This is certainly not edifying, and the world, detecting it in our words and manner, will make dismal capital out of it. Of course, we cannot speak a good word for this temper ourselves, and very possibly we

fight against it tooth and nail. But do we deal with it in the thought? There it has to be met and conquered. And do we seek that spirit of love which when it comes swamps and drowns all the spiteful products of the natural heart?

The beauty of the Church of England is that her ministers are more independent than any others, and have no need to cringe. They enjoy a veritable English freedom, and require to kow-tow to nobody. All the same, there is a distinct danger of *undue submission to others.* The Bishop, the squire, the man with money, the old ladies with their keen scent for heresies and advancing or receding churchmanship, the newspapers, and such-like powers, may have a damping effect upon our courage, and may have a real effect in bending the knee. We shall be tempted to preach to please, to drop an unpalatable truth, to hide up a perilous conviction, to emphasize a popular cry, to join in heresy-hunting, and to halloo with the rest, in order to ingratiate ourselves with the powers that be, or at least to keep in with them by small sacrifices or big ones; all these things and more we shall be tempted to concede for fear of man. We require to be on our guard religiously against any duplicity or wrong compromise. But, on the other hand, let us not, to protect ourselves, be too independent, too rough, and too uncompromising. The reaction may be equally perilous. Needlessly to rub people the wrong way because we may be tempted to rub them too vigorously the other way is the sheerest idiocy. "The Lord God of Israel before whom I stand" must be our cry and our attitude, and this conviction must be the secret of boldness.

Now, with the soul as with the body, most ailments are curable if taken in time. The first evil symptoms are the signal to act. And like weeds which are easily extracted when small, so minor spiritual evils are easily checked at the start. There are warning signals of most ministerial ills, and if we strike in when we see them, and deal with them, we may keep ourselves in excellent spiritual health. But in order to act promptly we must occupy our watch-tower and be perpetually on guard.

The Genius of Jane Austen.

By GEORGE LOWE.

THE annals of English fictional literature of the early nineteenth century show nothing more striking than the remarkable genius of Jane Austen.

In an age when the whole duty of woman was considered to be in attendance to her home and near connections, and in observing diligently the social obligations of her own special *milieu*, Jane Austen flung aside the conventionalities of that age and courted popularity and public attention by means of her caustic pen.

This action on the part of a gentlewoman was a bold one, for the men of that period still held some rather Oriental ideas on the position of woman in the social cosmos. Metaphorically, they veiled her with the *yashmak* and allowed her small freedom to exercise her individuality. Though they coveted her for her sympathetic qualities, they never regarded her as their mental equal. She was an ornamental addition to their households rather than a comrade to share their pursuits and ambitions; and in this valuation of their sex it must also be acknowledged that the majority of women were content to concur.

It was a world dominated by these opinions, then, that Jane Austen sought to depict in her novels, and if she is rather more lenient in the characterization of her male characters than one might expect, her sense of humour doubtless saved any bitterness from creeping into her cynicism. Moreover, although she may be accounted as one of the pioneers in the emancipation of women, it is evident that she also adhered fairly strictly to the tastes and prejudices of those around her. She had no affinities with the so-called "new woman" and was in no sense in revolt with her age, but being a woman with a great deal of independence, she had no qualms against determining upon a course of untrammelled action for herself, so long as it was in

accordance with her own firm views upon propriety and gentility.

Nor was she at all inimical to the other sex. Instead of that, man loomed large upon her mental horizon. He was an object for interesting study—a being whose actions were deemed worthy of supplying the basis of innumerable interesting and speculative discussions. The problem concerning whom he might be deemed to be honouring with his attentions was an all-important one. It was the home-keeping habits of her sex, doubtless, that caused Jane Austen to indulge in sentiment to the extent that she did.

Jane Austen, however, only depicted the life that she saw around her. She did not allow herself to soar on flights of imagination in search of sensational effects. It was her object to paint the conditions of life among which she moved and to procreate characters out of types with which she was familiar. In this manner she found abundant scope for the exercise of the gentle satire of her pen. It was in the delineation of the female characters of the age in which she lived, however, that she was most successful. Here, indeed, she reigned supreme! In the characterization of her men she showed a good deal of feminine reserve, and was careful not to make their coarseness too obtrusive. Here her methods were very dissimilar to those of her contemporaries; nor had she any relish for wallowing in painful subjects after the manner of the twentieth-century realistic writer. Readers with a broad knowledge of general modern literature find the peccadilloes of the men whom Jane Austen affected to despise very mild affairs.

One of the most noticeable things, indeed, about the work of Jane Austen is that, with the work of Sir Walter Scott, it stands out as a sort of silent protest against the scurrilities and obscenities with which that age and the one that immediately preceded it were rife; for when Jane Austen began to write, the most popular novelists were Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne; one of the most popular playwrights was Congreve; whilst art had its most favoured exponent in Hogarth. Thus, the greatest

men of genius of the day were those who were content to bestrew their works with the most broadly coarse incidents, or, like Sterne, to court attention by means of filthily subtle innuendos; yet to a certain extent the age excused these writers, for it was a period of laxity, both in manners and in morals, and they merely depicted life as they saw it, and often, indeed, as they lived it.

Nevertheless, it was only when a few novelists, such as Scott and Jane Austen, began to write of a purer state of existence and in a more elevated style that the morals of the country began to improve. The effect of these two novelists upon social manners and also upon literature in general has been immense, and it has never yet been fully recognized. They demonstrated, once and for all, that abiding popularity was to be won without ploughing up furrows in search of ordure.

True genius, indeed, is bound to win through some day, whilst it is, also, much longer lived than the genius that merely panders to the tastes of the age. For instance, is it not an incontestable fact that the works of Scott and Jane Austen are far more popular to-day than are the works of either Fielding, Smollett, or Sterne? Yet in many respects Fielding's "Tom Jones" is one of the greatest novels ever written. In delineation of character and in its fine pictures of old English life, it remains a commanding monument of literary ability; yet in the author's apparent lack of censure for the many foibles of his hero, one cannot help feeling the general trend of the book to be repellant. We observe the same in the work of Tobias Smollett. As a humorist he was one of the most striking figures of the eighteenth century, and the whimsical nature of his excellent character sketches did much to open up the course that the later genius of Dickens was to take; yet his "Roderick Random" and "Peregrine Pickle" are libertines of contemptible disposition who are made, nevertheless, to reap good rewards in the end. Smollett's gift of defining character was also shared by Sterne, whose "Uncle Toby" and "Corporal

Trim" have become embodied in the literary portrait gallery of the nation. He was also a fine master of style, but the disgusting suggestiveness and lack of decorum of his work does much to mar its merit.

It was in the midst of such a waste of genius, then, that the influence of Jane Austen sprang to life and flourished. Though from the first her novels were well received, only in isolated cases were her wonderful powers of observation fully recognized. Her novels possessed no startling qualities calculated to set the whole country discussing them, and it was only by very gradual degrees that they insinuated themselves into recognition as works of superlative craftsmanship. Their veracity to nature was the first thing to claim attention. It attracted the notice, as also the enthusiastic appreciation, of Scott. He, at least, could appreciate the carefulness of detail and the kindly humour and satire on which the novels were based. The skilful little touches by which the characters were introduced and then maintained in the picture was little short of marvellous. As it has been already remarked, the novels of Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne were all distinguished for the excellence of their character sketches, but the novels of Jane Austen, though dealing with the more sober aspects of life, do not lag behind them in this respect. She is, indeed, superior to Smollett, for his characterization suffered somewhat from exaggeration, as was the case with that partial imitator of his method, Dickens, whilst Sterne worked upon too small a canvas to bring himself greatly into comparison with her.

The types of character that Jane Austen has portrayed, however, are absolutely convincing. There is no trace of exaggeration about them, and they are generally as true to-day as they were at the time when she wrote. No other novelist was more free from exaggeration than Jane Austen.

Especially noticeable is the manner in which she depicted the various aspects of *family life*. The custom of the earlier novelists had generally been to take a hero and conduct him through a series of adventures among a varied class of characters

(often quite unconnected with each other) and to let the interest of the narrative centre entirely around him. Just a few slender threads held him to his home and relations, and the importance of that connection was small. Fielding attempted the portraiture of family life, to a certain extent, in his "Amelia," but the interest of that novel is chiefly due to the scenes of prison-life and to the lengthy histories of some of the minor characters that it contains, so that the interest in the fates of Amelia and her husband becomes rather overshadowed. In each of Jane Austen's novels, however, we find ourselves engrossed in the home-life of some particular family. In "Northanger Abbey," it is the Tilney family; in "Sense and Sensibility," the Dashwood family; in "Pride and Prejudice," the Bennet family; in "Mansfield Park," the Bertram and Price families; in "Emma," the Woodhouse family; and in "Persuasion," the Elliott and Musgrove families.

The life that Jane Austen depicts for us, too, is a smoothly flowing one. In it there is rarely any place for tragedy. The fate of Maria Bertram of "Mansfield Park" is the nearest approach to it that her novels contain. Her general outlook upon life, indeed, is particularly genial and happy. Nearly all her characters dwell in easy circumstances. No spectre of poverty comes to haunt them with painful problems. They meet, talk, and amuse themselves with careless indifference to what the working part of the world is doing. Their interests are centred in the little trivial affairs of everyday life; in little speculations upon the motives and comments upon the actions of their acquaintances and relatives; in little loves and little jealousies. Life is not a thing to take too seriously or to be filled with troublesome thoughts upon the graver problems of humanity. The world is rather a place in which to spend one's holiday-time in careless indifference to anything save that which is nearest. Social obligations, then, become paramount in this state of *dolce far niente*. Time has to be killed, and therefore the incidents in these novels mainly centre around a series of house-to-house visits and meetings. The serenity of the life

depicted by Jane Austen has a peculiarly restful effect upon readers of her pages. There are no shocks and no surprises, and it is rarely, even, that we read of any serious illness to cause us anxiety on behalf of any of her characters. The case of Marianne Dashwood is an exception; yet, even here, we feel that the puling, love-sick girl will ultimately recover. Jane Austen's own life was passed in tranquillity, and she sketched scenes and events of a nature with which she was familiar. Possibly, too, she shrank from painting the harder aspects of life.

Her manner of writing, despite its cleverness and great charm, was still a little superficial, for we find in it none of that minute probing into processes of thought, and none of that subtle psychological tracing of the sequence of motive and action such as we encounter in the novels of Balzac, for instance. That is left to the reader's fancy to supply. Jane Austen gives us a history of events, but not of the subtle currents and by-currents of the thoughts that led up to them.

Speaking generally, too, her novels may be said to be lacking in emotionalism. They flow on placidly, and our deeper feelings are not stirred. Love, which occupies so prominent a place in the thoughts of most of her characters, takes the form of mild sentiment. It is rarely allowed to become an inconvenience; when it does, it degenerates into mawkishness, as in the case of Marianne Dashwood. Nearly all Jane Austen's young women characters give one the impression that they consider marriage to be the paramount aim in life. Their thoughts are always directed towards it, but they always love genteelly and with reserve, and are never carried away upon waves of passion. Probably the authoress would have considered such lack of restraint on their part "unladylike." It was left to a later woman-writer, Charlotte Brontë, to show more vividly the stirrings of love in a woman's heart, as it was left to George Eliot to depict the more serious phases of the social life of our country.

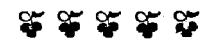
As it has been before mentioned, however, no one was a

truer copyist of character, as it appeared on the surface, than was Jane Austen, and it was in portraying the amusing traits and idiosyncrasies of her own sex that she excelled. Her male characters were less convincing; still, no one is likely to forget the hearty country gentleman, Sir John Middleton, and the disagreeable husband, Mr. Palmer, of "Sense and Sensibility," the cynical Mr. Bennet and the self-satisfied Mr. Collins of "Pride and Prejudice," the upright, kindly Sir Thomas Bertram of "Mansfield Park," the fussy hypochondriac, Mr. Woodhouse, and the calmly sensible Mr. Knightley of "Emma," and the vain Sir Walter Elliott of "Persuasion"; but these are all eclipsed by the wonderful gallery of women portraits that she has created. The careful and illuminating details that go to make up the various pictures of that gallery are manœuvred with a master-hand. Who can think of the vulgar, but generous-hearted Mrs. Jennings and the "Mark Tapley" like Mrs. Palmer of "Sense and Sensibility," the delightfully coy Elizabeth Bennet and her inquisitive, match-making mother of "Pride and Prejudice," the ungenerous Mrs. Norris and the negligent Mrs. Price of "Mansfield Park," and the self-important Mrs. Elton and the kindly, voluble Miss Bates of "Emma," without a smile of grateful recognition of their creator's genius arising to the lips?

Jane Austen may be regarded, in many respects, as a pioneer in favour of the novel of manners as opposed to the novel of action. Certainly, Samuel Richardson had preceded her with his "Pamela," "Clarissa Harlowe," and "Sir Charles Grandison," but though these novels contained much subtle psychological analysis of character, they were very dull affairs. The reader is satiated with their excess of sentiment long before the end of them is reached, and the writer's lack of humour places his novels in a much lower category than those of the creator of "Pride and Prejudice," "Emma," and "Persuasion."

To sum up, Jane Austen may be ranked as the first really *great* woman-novelist. One other woman-writer had preceded her whose fame had been very widely spread — namely,

Mrs. Radcliffe, the authoress of "The Mysteries of Udolpho," "The Romance of the Forest," and "The Italian." Her novels showed great fertility of invention, and, by reason of their gruesome horrors, found great favour with the public; but as works of art they cannot be taken very seriously. Jane Austen herself, in "Northanger Abbey," satirized the first of these novels to a certain extent. Many women-writers have gained fame since Mrs. Radcliffe and Jane Austen began to write, but the latter's position in English literature cannot be dislodged; for Jane Austen, upon her own ground, is unapproachable. Though the range of her knowledge was limited and the canvas upon which she painted was a miniature one, her genius itself was not of the miniature order. She was a great reformer of morals, a marvellous reader of character, a humorist, and a stylist, and in an age when morbid ideas and sensationalism are rampant, the geniality of her style and the saneness of her mental outlook stand out like an oasis in a dreary desert.



Forty Years and Not Yet.

By CHARLES BAILEY, Esq.

TWO important temperance anniversaries pointedly emphasize the fact of the extreme slowness of temperance legislative progress. Forty-five years ago—February, 1869—the special committee appointed by the Convocation of Canterbury presented its report of a prolonged investigation into the subject of national intemperance, and, consequent thereon, Convocation memorialized Queen Victoria to take measures to discourage intoxication, and diminish the great moral and social evils resultant therefrom. Two years later, the spring of 1871, a Committee appointed by the Convocation of York pursued a similar inquiry into the extent, causes, and remedies of the curse of national insobriety. Notwithstanding four decades have intervened, scarcely one of the leading recommendations of the reports issued under the ægis of the two Convocations is to-day the law of the land.

The wheels of true progress move slowly. The histories of all great moral movements demonstrate this. For twenty years Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce pleaded and wrought ere the African slave traffic was abolished. Another period of twenty-five years was requisite before the slave himself was freed. Long and wearily the noble Shaftesbury had laboured when success crowned his efforts for factory worker and mine employé. So the movement for emancipation from the thraldom and miseries of intemperance advances at an exceedingly slow pace. Over forty years ago the investigation by the Canterbury Committee clearly revealed the drink evil in its appalling vastness and horrors. Eloquently in 1877 the late Dean Farrar predicted the speedy overthrow of alcoholism's fell power: "The tide of public opinion is rising and rising until I venture to prophesy it shall have risen so high that before another twenty years are over it will have resistlessly

swept away the strong rock of opposing interests, and have utterly overwhelmed under fathoms of national shame and national indignation that sunken reef of vice on which we are now suffering so many a gallant and noble vessel to crash, and to be irremediably shipwrecked." Yet, despite the Committee's revelation and Dean Farrar's prediction, the curse of alcoholism is still with us, with its widespread seductive allurements and appalling horrors.

Prison governors and chaplains, chief constables, asylum superintendents, judges, recorders, coroners, workhouse masters, and like officials responded to the Canterbury Committee's invitation for information. Overwhelming was the proof both of the practically universal prevalence of the curse, and of the dire character of the consequences which everywhere ensued. In the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural centres, notwithstanding the multiplied efforts of religion and philanthropy, and various counteractive agencies, alcoholism existed "to a frightful extent," and the evils therefrom such as "to defy computation." Thereby prisons, asylums, workhouses, and penitentiaries were filled, and more than by any other cause or complication of causes, endeavours for the people's elevation and welfare frustrated. "No question," declared the Committee, "more *immediately demands* the zeal of our clergy, the attention of our statesmen, the action of our legislators, and the thoughtful aid of our philanthropists." True to-day!

Similar information constrained the York Committee to declare it impossible adequately to represent the baneful effect of alcoholism upon public and private morality. Giving intemperate habits the foremost place in the prolific causes of crime, pauperism, and lunacy, the Committee expressed "an earnest hope that some plan may be devised for abating this gigantic evil"; and "Christian people may be stirred up to co-operate for the removal of that which is the chief hindrance to all social progress, educational development, and material prosperity, and which is also the principal stumbling-block to

the advancement of Christ's kingdom in this great nation." Also true to-day!

For the curtailment and eradication of the curse, many valuable suggestions were made by both Committees. Some were of non-legistative character, and, put into operation, have worked well. Amongst the proposals for Parliamentary action, five were specially important: great reduction of licensed houses throughout the country, reduction in the hours of sale, closing of public-houses on election days, Sunday closing, and some measure of definite local popular control over licensing matters. Recommending "a large diminution in the number of licensed houses," the York Committee cited the statement of a clergyman whose parishioners were principally ironworkers that, though the population had nearly doubled in three and a half years, yet the public-houses being reduced from twenty-one to fourteen, drunkenness and crime had considerably decreased, and the moral atmosphere of the locality greatly improved. "As the ancient and avowed object of licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors is to supply a supposed public want without detriment to the public welfare," said the Canterbury Report, "the issue or renewal of licences should be placed in the hands of the persons most deeply interested and affected—namely, the inhabitants themselves, who are entitled to protection from the injurious consequences of the present system."

Not one of these five recommendations is to-day the law of the land, though an earnest attempt was made to enact most of them in the comprehensive Licensing Bill five years ago. Forty-five years have nearly elapsed since the Convocation of Canterbury memorialized Queen Victoria! Forty-three years since the York Committee commenced its investigation! The only portion of these suggestions enacted is that of Sunday closing for Wales. Public-houses still are open hours longer than proposed then; and still tempt to drunkenness and corruption by their open doors on election days. The total number of licensed houses has been reduced, but the reduction has been by no means of that considerable character urged by the Convoca-

tion Committees. Against this decrease, too, must be placed the marked increase in the number of clubs which sell intoxicants, and the enlargement with additional attractiveness which in numerous instances licensed houses have in recent years undergone. Frequently Sunday closing has received favourable consideration in Parliament, but has not been enacted for England. Accordingly, therefore, open saloons still entice on the Lord's Day from Sunday-school and from worship. No control is yet exercised by the people over the licences in their midst. Unenacted these recommendations, though in 1876 thirteen thousand of the clergy publicly endorsed the recommendations, and Nonconformist leaders and assemblies have frequently done the same.

Certainly disheartening is the retrospective glance along the years of temperance effort, bringing as it does realization of the relatively small legislative progress achieved. Urgent is the need for increased temperance endeavour. The more stupendous the task, the greater must be the resolution to conquer. It is essential that information on the temperance question be scattered broadcast, the people be clearly taught the enormities of the alcohol evil, the conscience of the Christian portion of the nation be deeply stirred, and the religious and temperance forces of the land be concentrated in one solid phalanx to demand that Parliament shall do something speedily and of real value to combat this appalling curse. Though four decades have not brought the leading reforms recommended, the day will assuredly come when these and greater reforms will be enacted, securing alcoholism's complete, and not merely partial, overthrow. Plain and imperative is the call to plead, to educate, agitate, work and pray, that by Heaven's abundant blessing the inauguration of this glorious era of full emancipation from drink thraldom may no longer be unduly delayed.

"O, let all the soul within you
For the truth's sake go abroad.
Strike! let every nerve and sinew
Tell on ages, tell for God."

Studies in Texts:

SUGGESTIONS FOR SERMONS FROM CURRENT LITERATURE.

By Rev. HARRINGTON C. LEES, M.A.

I.—ECHOES OF A FORGOTTEN EPIPHANY.

Texts:—"O Tyre, thy borders are in the heart of the seas."
Ezek. xxvii. 4, R.V.M.

"He went away into the borders of Tyre."
Mark vii. 24, R.V.M.

[Book of the Month: "Unwritten Sayings of our Lord"[1]=S. Other references: Smith's "Days of His Flesh"=D.F.; "Hastings' Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels"=C.G.]

"Our Lord with the Twelve visited Tyre, and obtained a ready hearing." "Incidental evidence that ministry attended with success" (S. 78). "Tyre built on island, at this time connected with mainland by celebrated mole" (S. 79).

I. A Rest for Christ (Mark vii. 24, R.V.M.).—He needed a lull in life; *cf.* vi. 31-46 (=John vi. 15), vii. 36, viii. 10, 13. "He must seek a new retreat." "Abhorred as unclean in Jewish eyes, it seemed to promise retirement" (D.F. 247). Possibly, also, "intensive instruction for Twelve" (C.G. ii. 774).

II. A Recovery through Christ (vii. 30).—His fame preceded Him; Mark iii. 8 (=Luke vi. 17). He was disturbed, petitioned, compliant. He never fails.

III. A Readiness for Christ.—"He tarried awhile preaching. Momentous episode, only occasion outside Holy Land" (S. 77). "Instead of retracing steps He visited Tyre" (D.F. 253), *cf.* Mark vii. 31, R.V. "Jesus quoted reception in Tyre as a melancholy contrast to Galilee" (D.F. 253). See Matt. xi. 20-22.

IV. A Reminiscence of Christ.—"His manner to employ surroundings for illustration. Would point His hearers to mole

[1] By David Smith, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton. Price 2s. 6d. A mine of fruitful thought.

spanning channel, thronged by brisk passengers" (S. 80, 81). Perhaps now uttered Logion carved on Akbar's mosque. "Jesus said, 'The world is only a bridge: pass over it, but build not thy house on it.'" "Strong presumption of truth" (S. 71, 73). Akbar "culled from every faith and race the best" (Tennyson, "Akbar's Dream"). "No bridges in Holy Land" (S. 74). Perhaps mole of Tyre supplied image. "Attractive possibility" (S. 75).

So haven of rest turned into door of work, one cure into many calls, echo of Tyrian sermon found in Indian mosque at Futtehpur Sikri.

The Missionary World.

MANY of us welcomed the formation of the Missionary Press Bureau, under the auspices of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, and have watched its development in the hands of its efficient Secretary, Mr. C. T. Bateman. But the activities of the Bureau have been almost obscured by the extraordinary predominance of missionary matters in the public Press these last few weeks. The *Times*, in its "Review of the Year," on January 1 had an admirable section which opened by stating that "Foreign missions continue to claim an increasingly important place in the attention of almost every religious body in England," and then went on to refer to the Livingstone Centenary, the meeting of the Continuation Committee in Holland, the Archbishop's Fund for Western Canada, the C.M.S. Conference at Swanwick, the Conference of the Laymen's Missionary Movement at Buxton, the Centenary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, the deficit which burdens the L.M.S., the action of the Chinese Government in soliciting Christian intercession, the Kikuyu Conference, and the consecration of Bishop Azariah, which, by the way, fell within the last three days of 1912.

One of these topics—the Kikuyu Conference—has had unparalled publicity. There are few daily and weekly papers which have not had leaders, comments, and correspondence. A further stream of articles is probably on its way to us in the monthly and quarterly periodicals, and then there will be fresh utterance when the next stage of the problem unfolds. Some things have been written on both sides that cause regret, but on the whole there is cause for thankfulness, especially from the missionary point of view, which alone concerns us here. There is ample evidence that the need for co-operation is being realized, and that a new conscience is awakening as regards the Church in the mission field. This is a solid gain.

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The East and the West begins the year with a strong number, mainly Anglican. The first place is given to an article by a consulting surgeon at the Royal Portsmouth Hospital on "Medicine and Missions." Canon Scott Holland follows with a somewhat whimsical but really useful paper on "The Call of Empire." He pictures the "unhappy Englishman" driven at last to exercise "coercive tyranny" to keep his empire together, unless he brings Christianity into active play: "with the mission lies the key to the Imperial situation." The newly consecrated Bishop in North China (Dr. Norris) discusses with cautious broad-mindedness the future problems of co-operation in missions in China. Miss E. R. McNeile contributes another well-informed article on "Truth and Error in Theosophy"; an unnamed Indian missionary records some remarkable instances of the healing of the sick after prayer and anointing, carried out in connection with medical mission work, and with the sanction and support of the Diocesan; and the Rev. A. Crosthwaite writes of "Hindu Hopes and their Christian Fulfilment." An article by Dr. Gailor, Bishop of Tennessee, in which the arguments for and against racial as distinguished from geographical missionary jurisdiction are clearly set forth, has application to many mission fields. Finally, Canon Tupper Carey's "Intercessory Prayer on Behalf of Christian Missions" is full of the spirit which makes

for the reviving of the Church. "What we need at the present moment is not more meetings, nor better organization, but more real, living, earnest, united prayer." Many clergy will welcome his practical suggestions.

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Among the editorial notes is one on the liquor trade in West Africa. A fact quoted in it is worth a sheaf of arguments. The Rev. F. C. Cleaver, S.P.G. missionary at Accra, writes:

"One day in July I went to the Customs warehouses at Seccondee to find the case of Bibles that had arrived for me, and to 'clear' it through the Customs. One of the officials in charge jokingly said that he hoped I should find my case, but as there were 1,600 cases of gin and some hundreds of cases of whisky being dealt with just then, he thought I might have some difficulty. But in a very few days all these had been cleared away and despatched up the railway. Strong drink is coming out in shiploads."

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In the *Moslem World*, besides many other papers of interest, there is a striking survey, historical and statistical, of "Islam in Bengal," by the Rev. John Takle. It will be news to many that in the Province of Bengal, as now constituted, over 52 per cent. of the population are Moslems, and that in the decade covered by the last census the Moslem increase was 10·4 per cent., as against an increase of 3·9 per cent. among the Hindus. The Government account for this, not by conversions, but by the later age of marriage among Moslem girls (of Hindus, 67 per cent. marry between ten and fifteen years of age; of Moslems, 56 per cent.), and by the greater frequency of widow re-marriage. Mr. Takle, in addition to noting that the last census shows an increase of 21·7 per cent. among the Christians, records one most striking fact. Having stated that in nearly every district converts from Islam are to be found in the Bengal Christian Church, and that in most mission stations there are workers who have turned from Mohammed to the service of the Saviour, he adds: "In one district, Nadia, there is a Christian community, at least five thousand of whom are either converts, or descendants of converts, from the Mohammedan faith."

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The outstanding feature of the *International Review of Missions* is the "Survey of 1913," to which we referred last month. The appreciation of it, expressed in a full notice in the *Times* of December 29, will be generally endorsed: "The survey is no mere statistical record, but it deals with men and movements in an illuminative way, and provides the best account we have of missionary endeavour during the past year. . . . It is impossible to summarize the valuable information of this notable survey." Here and there, in the midst of the vast array of well-ordered facts, there are passages with deep spiritual significance. For instance, on p. 79:

"To those who know Christ to be a sure refuge amid the storms of change, the source of fresh springs of life, and the good Shepherd who leads men from the barrenness and weariness of a material civilization into the green and shady pastures of the Father's home, there is a deeply moving appeal in the reaching out of many thousands in the non-Christian world towards what they dimly apprehend to be a fuller life, and in the eager search of Eastern peoples for a spiritual foundation on which the new order may be built."

* * * * *

Readers of the CHURCHMAN will be specially interested in the opening articles of the series on "The Home Ministry and Foreign Missions" in this same Review. One of the writers is an American; another is a Dane, who states in charming English some of his own problems, which are also ours; the third is Canon Joynt, of Christ Church, Gipsy Hill, who tells the splendid story of what his congregation has been enabled to do in support of foreign missions.

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The question of missionary service comes to the front in the January magazines. The *Student Movement* prints its annual list of student volunteers. During 1913, 127 have sailed from Great Britain, 37 of these being women. The distribution is very widespread; for instance, 14 went out under C.M.S., 13 under S.P.G., 12 under the L.M.S., and 28 under the Wesleyan Missionary Society. As to fields, about 40 went to India, and just one-tenth of that number to Japan; Africa and China receive between 20 and 25 each. The list in the pages

of the *Student Movement* looks a long one; when divided among fields and societies its inadequacy is revealed. The *C.M. Review* contains an urgent plea for "a new body of volunteers . . . men and women capable of filling positions of leadership and responsibility."

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There is recognition, too, that the missionary motive needs to be re-awakened in the Church. The Rev. W. E. Selbie, D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford, writes upon it in the *L.M.S. Chronicle;* Mr. T. R. Glover, Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, has a fine paper in the *International Review of Missions.* Both men base their articles on "The Missionary Motive," a study textbook recently issued by the Student Christian Movement for use in colleges and in the Church.

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It may be that the new emphasis upon the need for specialized missionary preparation has a little checked the flow of offers. This will be readjusted as soon as more adequate arrangement for the preparation of missionaries has been made. At present the realization of the need has scarcely had time to translate itself into the provision of the facilities which will meet it. There is little doubt that a move in this direction from the side of the societies would materially improve the situation. Nothing can, it is needless to say, take the place of true spiritual vocation, but vocation in most cases comes slowly to full growth, and its processes may be retarded by obstacles not of Divine ordering.

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Here, after all, lies the ultimate test of the reality of Swanwick and all the movements of revival. No giving of substance can obviate the giving of oneself. There are vacant places on the central staff of some of our great societies waiting for those whom God is calling to forego the comparative independence of some responsible ministerial charge in order to give themselves to the discipline of associated service in a board-room. And there are those now serving at home who are called for vacant posts and unworked openings in the mission field. In the *Record*

of January 8 there is a statement as to the ordained workers in the Punjab and Sindh Mission of the C.M.S., prepared by the Rev. E. F. E. Wigram, which fairly burns into heart and brain. Commenting on a copy of what he calls "this heart-sickening paper," an Indian missionary on furlough writes in the *Student Movement*:

"The number of ordained C.M.S. missionaries in the Central Punjab at this time is 13; in 1902 it was 17. Between these years the number of adherents connected with C.M.S has risen from 8,684 to 23,175; the congregations have increased 260 per cent., and the European pastors have decreased 24 per cent. Nor can it be claimed that the disproportion is because the Indian Church itself is taking up the work of leadership. There are only two more Indian clergy than there were in 1902."

Surely these facts are the voice of God. G.

Notices of Books.

THE CHURCH AT ROME IN THE FIRST CENTURY. By G. Edmundson, M.A. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.*

The Bampton Lectures for 1913, now published in this handsome volume, form a welcome contribution to the study of the early Church and the origins of the Christian ministry. The book is typically Anglican; the argument is based on a careful study of original authorities, and the "tendency," unlike that of most modern writers, is to accept as *much* as possible of ancient traditions. Yet some of the theories advocated would seriously disturb the "generally accepted scheme" of sub-Apostolic Church history.

With regard to the beginnings of Christianity in Rome, Mr. Edmundson considers that the well-known ("impulsore Chresto") passage in Suetonius indicates that by A.D. 50 "Christianity in Rome had become a force sufficiently potent to draw down upon it the fanatical antagonism of the Jews" (p. 9); while St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans proves that by A.D. 57 there was "a distinguished and well-established Christian Church in Rome" (p. 14). He maintains that Rom. xvi. is an integral part of the Epistle, and concludes from the list of names therein that "the Roman Christians mainly belonged to the class of Greek-speaking freedmen and slaves" (p. 25).

The "episcopate" of St. Peter at Rome is discussed in Lectures II. and III. The author holds that *three* sojourns of the Apostle in Rome may be traced—one in the reign of Claudius, another *circa* A.D. 54-56, and a third (ending with the martyrdom) towards the close of Nero's reign (pp. 72-86). It was because St. Peter was the real founder of the Church at Rome that St. Paul was "hindered" (Rom. xv. 22) from going there "by the restriction he had imposed on himself of not building on another man's foundation" (p. 56; contrast Sanday and Headlam, *ad loc.*).

The influence of St. Paul at Rome during his imprisonment, and the history of the Neronian persecution, receive full and careful treatment; but the most interesting part of the book is found in the last three chapters, which deal with the last three decades of the century and the writings which may be assigned to this period. On this subject the author's views are generally definite, and sometimes distinctly unconventional. The Epistle to the Hebrews, he tells us, was written by Barnabas, perhaps at the desire of St. Paul, and addressed to the Jewish Christians at Rome (p. 159); the Johannine Apocalypse "can be dated with great exactitude . . . at the beginning of the year A.D. 70" (p. 164). This last assertion is supported by a careful and thorough examination of the internal evidence as to date—one of the best sections in the book.

Mr. Edmundson's explanation of the origin of episcopacy is as follows: At first "presbyters" were appointed by the Apostles, after the model of the synagogue elders, the system being modified later on in accordance with the organization of the Gentile "guilds" (p. 181). Of these presbyters, some were "overseers" (*episcopi*); but "while all *episcopi* were presbyters, only a limited number of the presbyters were *episcopi*. In other words, these titles cannot be used convertibly" (p. 183). The author thus recognizes that the *monarchical* episcopate is of somewhat later growth; but it may be questioned whether his theory of a distinct order of "presbyter-bishops," existing from the earliest days of the Church, does not go beyond the conclusions warranted by the New Testament and other evidence.

However, one witness, whose testimony does not readily accord with the theory of a threefold ministry deriving its authority from apostolic commission—viz., the *Didache*—is somewhat light-heartedly dismissed as a document of the fourth century, "whose author . . . drew largely upon his imagination" (p. 187); while Clement of Rome's Epistle to the Corinthians is assigned to the year A.D. 70, a quarter of a century *earlier* than the date commonly received. This last-named contention is, perhaps, the most important in the book; for if Clement's letter can be dated so early, then its witness to primitive Church life and organization would appear in a new historical setting, and in particular the famous passage asserting the "apostolic succession" of *episcopi* and *diaconi* (§ 44) would acquire an added significance. An adequate discussion of Mr. Edmundson's theory is impossible here. He presents his case clearly and well, but a reference to Lightfoot (vol. i., pp. 346-358) will show that the arguments for the "received date" are weighty and cogent. Nor does it seem very likely that a letter so authoritative as "Clement ad Cor." would have been written by a comparatively young presbyter, such as Clement must have been in A.D. 70.

The closing lecture deals mainly with the "Shepherd" of Hermas. The evidence of the Muratorian fragment, implying that the "Shepherd" was written *circa* A.D. 140-155, is set aside as "a blunder" (p. 209). Mr. Edmundson holds that "the allusion [in Hermas] to Clement as a living man entrusted with the task of communicating with foreign cities, seems to fix the date at which the Visions were written as being previous to the accession of the said Clement to the episcopate—*i.e.*, before A.D. 92" (p. 215). But why should not Clement have been entrusted with this task *after* he became "bishop"—in fact, as part of his "episcopal" functions?

The appendices at the close contain much useful information, and increase the value of a book which will be of real service to all students of primitive Christianity. E. C. DEWICK.

LOLLARDY AND THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By James Gairdner, C.B., LL.D., D.Litt. Vol. IV. London: *Macmillan and Co.* 1913. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Dr. Gairdner set himself at the age of seventy-eight the stupendous task of compiling this exhaustive history down to the year 1570, but in spite of his prodigious energy and unflagging zeal, even in the midst of the physical sufferings consequent upon his advancing years, this fourth volume, which he left in an unfinished form at his death last year, only takes us to the middle of 1554. It has been edited and completed by his friend Dr. Hunt, and gives us a further illustration of the author's diligent research and immense knowledge of the Reformation period. The present volume covers only the first year of Mary's reign, but by a careful investigation of original State papers and foreign despatches, Dr. Gairdner has rendered valuable service to the historical student, not only in once again demonstrating the great difficulties which beset Mary at the commencement of her reign, but also by clearly pointing out that political rather than religious interests were the preponderating influence in accomplishing the Spanish marriage, and in the intrigues carried on between the rival Powers of France and the Empire.

In dealing, however, with the critical religious events of the period, Dr. Gairdner unfortunately preserves the character of the transparently religious partisan which is so evident in his previous volumes. Thus this part of his history consists largely of unsparing, but for the most part unsuccessful, efforts to discredit the accounts given in Foxe's "Acts and Monuments" by unsupported statements, careful suppression of inconvenient facts, and by gratuitous and caustic observations on the lengthy quotations inserted.

Moreover, our author clings throughout to his main thesis, amazing in such a close student of contemporary life and thought, that the breach with Rome was in no sense due to a genuine popular or spiritual movement, but was merely accomplished to gratify Henry VIII.'s "mad and transient passion"! But even here he makes some remarkably contradictory assertions, for on p. 75 he tells us that "Mary and most of her subjects believed in the Papal system," while in several other places he quotes the testimony of Renard, the Imperial ambassador, and of Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, proving that neither the Parliament nor the people "would hear of a restoration of the Pope's authority" (pp. 90, 117)—a view which is borne out by Bishop Tunstall's letter to Cardinal Pole as early as 1536.

Dr. Gairdner's personal animus against the Reformers is displayed in cheap sneers and a thinly veiled sarcasm throughout his narrative. Thus Gardiner's fickle conduct in the divorce question, and especially his book in support of Henry's ecclesiastical supremacy, in which he treated Mary as a bastard, are excused and almost justified as necessary concessions to a tyrannical rule; while the harsh imprisonment of the Reformers by Mary for their constancy in defending their conscientious convictions by dis-

obedience to an arbitrary and invidious injunction against preaching is applauded as a just punishment of "sedition and treason"! No censures are bestowed on those who presumed to celebrate Mass before it was legally restored, while Dr. Gairdner boasts much of Mary's "religious toleration," which consisted in muzzling the Reformed religion by prohibiting preaching, although it permitted the undisturbed exercise of the *still* illegal medieval and Roman worship, and was, moreover, admittedly only a temporary policy until the Queen could obtain the necessary power to persecute the Reformers! Every incident is emphasized which can in any way tend to illustrate the superior virtue and integrity of the Romanists, while no attempts are spared to discover some real or supposed scandal which can blacken the characters or detract from the piety of those whom Dr. Gairdner religiously terms the "heretics"! and the *Times* reviewer has done good service in exposing the very serious historical blunder which this process has entailed in the case of Thomas Mountain, whom our author falsely accuses of sacrilege.

The illustrations of the sacrifice of a calm, unbiassed historical judgment at the shrine of intense religious prejudice are, in fact, so numerous throughout this volume that it would be almost safe to say that Dr. Gairdner's superfluous comments and criticisms are as misleading and worthless as his careful and judicious presentation of historical facts are valuable and instructive.

C. SYDNEY CARTER.

ROME, ST. PAUL, AND THE EARLY CHURCH. By W. S. Muntz, D.D. London: *John Murray*. Price 5s. net.

The author's aim is to trace "the influence of Roman law on St. Paul's teaching and phraseology, and on the development of the Church." In his opening chapters he traverses much familiar ground in describing the conditions of the pagan world as a preparation for the Gospel. Dr. Muntz points out the advantages and hindrances which the Roman Empire presented to the spread of Christianity, and concludes that "Roman power and Roman law were preparing the civilized world as a fruitful soil wherein the seed of Pauline theology might be cast" (p. 52). He gives a short but valuable summary of the history and development of Roman law, and discusses the extent of St. Paul's employment of Roman legal terms in expounding Christian doctrine, declaring that "it is unquestionable that passages of the Pauline Epistles, obscure to many readers, will impart a clearer signification, and reveal fresh aspects of truth, if examined in the light of Roman law or its Hellenistic form" (p. 58). In support of this assertion Dr. Muntz explains the significance of the Roman ceremonies of manumission and adoption, and the Roman law concerning inheritance, whereby a son became the "heir" of his father, not through death, but at the moment of birth or adoption into the family. In his concluding chapters Dr. Muntz summarizes the causes which led to the gradual growth of Papal claims and supremacy, and estimates the influence of the Imperial law and institutions on this development. The author sustains his argument throughout by well-chosen quotations from the best modern writers, and applies his deductions practically to the problems and needs of the Christian life; so that his comprehensive little book is not only valuable as a guide to the student of theology, but the earnest Christian will also find in these pages much that is spiritually stimulating and helpful.

BY THE EQUATOR'S SNOWY PEAK. By Mrs. Crawford. London: *C.M.S.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

Graphic first-hand description of life, travel, social conditions, and missionary pioneering, will be found in plenty in this excellent book. Mrs. Crawford is the wife of a C.M.S. medical missionary in Central Africa, and together they broke virgin soil by starting work among the Embus, a pagan tribe who had never heard a word of the Gospel, nor had they ever seen a white woman. The whole story, from the first journeyings to the crowning baptisms, is most interestingly told. The printing, binding, illustrating, and general appearance, of the book deserve special commendation.

THE GOSPEL OF FREEDOM. By H. D. A. Major, M.A. London: *Fisher Unwin.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

It is certainly true that the battle-ground within the Church is shifting, and that a new generation will argue less about vestments and the sixteenth century, and more about teaching and the twentieth. The modern mind, which is impatient of dogma, suspicious of miracles, critical of the Bible, and busy with social problems, is said to require a restatement, or, as we are boldly told by Mr. Major, another Reformation. If the situation has been misjudged, the matter becomes, therefore, somewhat serious. The book deals bravely with matters of the greatest interest and importance to the parochial clergy, and they will find it stimulating. Considerable freedom of thought is allowed by Mr. Major as to the Bible and dogmatic tests. He pushes aside both "Bibliolatry" and "ecclesiolatry," and will not have a "superstitious, magical" Christianity. The religion of the world is to be a plain, simple Christianity of love and humanitarianism which has no superstitions and has abolished slums. The clergy should read the book, though many of us will not agree with its conclusions.

THE LAYMAN'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By G. R. Balleine. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.* Price 1s. 6d.

It has been Mr. Balleine's endeavour to tell the varied story of English Church history in a popular form. With this in view, he has imagined a village parish of "Durford," and has traced its development from days of wattled huts and human sacrifice to the twentieth-century incumbent who is using all he has learnt from all schools of thought. Roman soldiers, Danish pirates, Italian monks, Norman priests, Papal Legates, Grey Friars, Wycliffe preachers, monastery commissioners, Reformation martyrs, Popish recusants, Puritan orators, Latitudinarian vicars, Evangelical leaders, Oxford ritualists, in turn trod the village street, and under these conflicting influences there grew up the village church and the village congregation as it exists to-day. The book serves its purpose admirably, and makes an excellent gift to Church-workers.

MISSIONARY PRINCIPLES. By Roland Allen, M.A. London: *Robert Scott.* Price 2s. 6d. net.

There is beautiful teaching in this book, and Mr. Allen writes as a man possessed by the Spirit. Details are not dealt with save as illustrative of the main argument, which is that the beginning, the end, the means, the motive, of the missionary endeavour are, all of them, the all-embracing Spirit of Christ. Just as the initial impulse from within is Christ, so the final

hope is the revelation of Christ. The means by which we strive towards that hope, urged by that impulse, must be spiritual only, and the more thoroughly this world-spirit controls us, the more blessing there will be in the home parishes. An excellent analytical contents table make reference easy.

SOME MISTAKES OF THE HIGHER CRITICS. By S. B. Macey. London: *H. R. Allenson.* Price 1s.

Reverently and kindly worded, nicely printed and bound, it is a most suitable book to hand to any young Christian worker who may be troubled by the reading of some modern critical attack.

Received: PRIVATE PRAYERS FOR YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN. By A. B. Macaulay, M.A., with Foreword by Rev. Principal Alex. Whyte, D.D., LL.D. London: *Hodder and Stoughton.* Price 1s. net. THE GLORIOUS APPEARING OF THE SAVIOUR. By Rev. J. Gosset-Tanner, M.A. London: *Samuel E. Roberts*, 5A, Paternoster Row. Price 1s. 6d. net. THE LAYMAN'S OLD TESTAMENT. By M. G. Glazebrook, D.D., Canon of Ely. With Maps. London: *Oxford University Press.* Price 4s. 6d., or in two parts, 2s. 6d. each. THE CHERUBIM AND THE THRONE. By A. Stacy Watson. London: *Morgan and Scott.* Price 1s. 6d. net. RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND CHRISTIAN FAITH. By Rev. Albert Way, M.A. London: *Longmans, Green and Co.*, 39, Paternoster Row. Price 6d. net. WHEN THE KING CAME SOUTH. By Helen H. Watson. London: *R.T.S.*, 65, St. Paul's Churchyard. Price 2s. 6d. HURRISH; A Study. By Hon. Emily Lawless, Litt.D. London: *T. Nelson and Sons.* Price 7d. FOREST FOLK. By James Prior. London: *T. Nelson and Sons.* Price 7d. MINISTER'S DIARY, 1914. London: *Hodder and Stoughton.* Price 2s. net. SEA WOLVES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. By Commander E. Hamilton Currey, R.N. London: *T. Nelson and Sons.* Price 1s. IN THE YEAR ONE IN THE FAR EAST. By Edith M. E. Baring-Gould. London: *Church Missionary Society*, Salisbury Square. Price 1s. 6d. PRAYERS FOR HEALING. By E. B. H., with Foreword by Rev. the Hon. E. Lyttelton, D.D. London: *H. R. Allenson.* Price 1s. net. THE UPWARD CALLING. A book of poems. By Pleasant Hurst. London: *Marshall Brothers.* CHATS WITH MY CHILDREN ON THE CHURCH CATECHISM. By Sarah Brine, with a Preface by the Bishop of Durham. London: *Charles J. Thynne*, Kingsway, W.C. Price 1s. net. IMMORTALITY, CONDITIONAL OR INHERENT. By Captain M. McNeile, R.N. (retired). London: *Elliot Stock*, 7, Paternoster Row. THE DAYBREAK CALL. By A. J. Costain. London: *Church Missionary Society*, Salisbury Square. Price 1s. and 1s. 6d. A WHITE FLOWER (Mary Rebie Hazledine). In Memoriam. London: *Marshall Brothers.* Foreword by the Bishop of London. THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE. By Sybil Smith. With Preface by Aylmer Maude. London: *Humphrey Milford*, Oxford University Press. Price 3s. 6d. net. A series of lessons for children on the first half of the Book of Genesis. GOLDEN SUNBEAMS. No. 6. 1913. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 1s. 4d. A Church magazine for children. POPULAR ATTACKS ON CHRISTIANITY. By the Rev. C. L. Drawbridge, M.A. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 6d. net. A MORNING PRAYER. By Rev. Walter Lock, D.D. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 1d. THE RELATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO THE CHURCH OF ROME IN PRE-REFORMATION TIMES. By the Rev. C. A. H. Green, D.D. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 1d. WHY WE OPPOSE DIVORCE. By the Rev. G. R. Oakley, M.A., B.D. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 2d. net. THE PROMISE OF HIS COMING. By Rev. R. V. Faithfull Davies, M.A. London: *S.P.C.K.* Price 1s. per 100. THE JOURNEYS OF JESUS CHRIST THE SON OF GOD. By A. T. Schofield, M.D. London: *Humphrey Milford*, Oxford University Press. Price 3s. 6d. net. STUDIES OF MEN MENDED. By Edward Smith, J.P. London: *Religious Tract Society.* Price 1s. THE FAITH OF A LITTLE CHILD. Talks with little children on some great truths. By Rev. H. A. Wilson, M.A. London: *Robert Scott*, Paternoster Row. Price 2s. net. A really valuable book for parent and teachers. It deserves a cordial welcome and a large circulation. MESSAGES FOR WORKERS. By Annie W. Marston. London: *Marshall Brothers.* Price 2s. 6d. MODERN CRITICISM OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By Dean Ovenden. London: *Charles J. Thynne*, Wycliffe House, Kingsway. Price 9d. net. THE CAROLINE CHURCH. By the Rev. C. Sydney Carter. London: *Charles J. Thynne*, Wycliffe House, Kingsway. Price 9d. net. An excellent piece of work, and particularly apposite just now. LOVE'S LONG CAMPAIGN. By Campbell N. Moody, M.A. London: *Robert Scott.* Price 5s. net.