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# London Quarterly Review.

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THE CREDIBILITY OF RELIGION  
AND POPULAR INFIDELITY.<sup>1</sup>

THE title of this article is suggested by the appearance of the paradoxical book of Mr. W. H. Mallock, *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*, taken with the flood of cheap publications from the Rationalist Press Association,

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<sup>1</sup> *Religion as a Credible Doctrine: a Study of the Fundamental Difficulty.* By W. H. Mallock, Author of *Is Life Worth Living?* etc. (London: Chapman & Hall, Limited. 1903.)

Cheap Rationalist Reprints (6d.). Issued by the Rationalist Press Association, Limited. Watts & Co., London. The issues include:

*The Riddle of the Universe at the Close of the Nineteenth Century.* By Ernst Haeckel, Ph.D., M.D., LL.D., Sc.D., Jena. Translated by Joseph McCabe.

*The Evolution of the Idea of God: an Inquiry into the Origins of Religion.* By Grant Allen.

*Human Origins.* By Samuel Laing.

*The Pioneers of Evolution: from Thales to Huxley.* By Edward Clodd.

*Lectures and Essays.* By Thomas Henry Huxley.

*Literature and Dogma: an Essay Towards a Better Appreciation of the Bible.* By Matthew Arnold.

NEW SERIES, VOL. X., NO. I.

referred to along with it in the foot-note. The two phenomena are not unconnected, and both are related to facts of much wider significance in the general trend of the thought of the time. The sixpenny rationalist reprints, to refer first to these, are an indication of currents of opinion not to be neglected. It has hitherto been hard for secularist writers and secularist lecturers to get a hearing beyond a very narrow circle. Nevertheless, there has been steadily growing up, often in alliance with Socialism, a much more vigorous infidel sentiment among the working classes than many people realise. The sixpenny edition has given the popular assailant of Christianity his chance, and the "cheap rationalist reprints" are the result. What was known as Bradlaughism, secularism, free-thought, now blossoms out as "Rationalism," under the ægis of writers who claim to represent the best and most fearless scientific thought of the age. The selection, no doubt, is motley enough. One would greatly have liked had Matthew Arnold or Professor Huxley been spared to tell us what they thought of their association in such a series with Ernst Haeckel, Grant Allen, Samuel Laing, and Edward Clodd. What the dainty Arnold would have said of the truculent anti-Christian Philistinism of Haeckel one can perhaps imagine. As for Mr. Laing, we recall that on one occasion, at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone, he drew up a short negative creed of eight propositions, embodying the new scientific faith, on which performance Professor Huxley cruelly remarked :

I speak only for myself, and do not dream of anathematising and excommunicating Mr. Laing. But when I consider his creed, and compare it with the Athanasian, I think I have, on the whole, a clearer conception of the latter.<sup>1</sup>

The point of interest, however, is that these books, breathing an intensely hostile spirit to Christianity, *are* published, are circulating in their tens of thousands (a sale of 250,000 was claimed some time since), are found in piles on the shelves of the most respectable booksellers, who, a few

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<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1889.

years ago, would have rigidly excluded avowedly secularist publications, are eagerly read by multitudes whose minds are utterly unformed in the study of such questions, and who greedily drink in the new teaching as gospel. In some places, we have reason to know, they are actually cutting out the sixpenny story, which is a good deal to say. If all this indicates a praiseworthy eagerness on the part of the public to be instructed on the questions of the relations of science and religion, it also points to a danger to religion and morals, to the seriousness of which the friends of Christianity cannot become too soon awake.

Of the writers in the above list, the only one, apart from Huxley, of real scientific eminence is the Jena professor, Haeckel. Haeckel may fairly, on other grounds, be considered as the apostle and Coryphæus of the new movement. His book, *The Riddle of the Universe (Welträthsel)*, has rapidly gone through seven German editions, and in France, America, and England has passed through many editions in translations. Like the author's other works, it is written in a bold, clear, trenchant style, deals with the fundamental questions involved in the relations of religion and science, unfolds the new philosophy of Monism (on which see below), and is uncompromising in its assaults on Christian and theistic belief. It avowedly aims, in short, at the overthrow, by the aid of so-called science, of those "three buttresses of superstition"—the beliefs in God, freedom, and immortality. The work, says its admiring translator, Joseph McCabe, is "unanswered because it is unanswerable"; and certainly, if boundless self-confidence and vigour of assertion could destroy a cause, Christianity would be demolished beyond remedy. The unanswerableness of the book is another matter. We have no wish to detract from Professor Haeckel's eminence as a naturalist. What he is as a philosopher and speculator on world-problems will be considered afterwards. But this may be safely affirmed—that when he passes from the field of science to descant on Christianity he displays an ignorance, an animus, and a crudity of ideas such as could

hardly have been believed possible in a man who had received a university training, who had access to even elementary books on Church History and Biblical Introduction, and who had among his own colleagues at Jena men of outstanding distinction in theological scholarship, with whom he could confer in difficulty. Professor Loofs, of Halle, who, in his pamphlet *Anti-Haeckel* (which also has gone through several editions) has furnished a crushing rejoinder to Haeckel's seventeenth chapter on Christianity, can hardly find words strong enough to express his sense of the colossal ignorance and monstrous perversions of facts in this amazing chapter. For instance, in his account of the origin of the Gospels, this savant gravely reproduces the late fable that our four Gospels were selected from a mass of apocryphal writings by the Council of Nicæa (dated by him A.D. 327), by placing them all upon a table, when, after prayer, the four genuine ones leaped out!<sup>1</sup> He also blunderingly refers to an apocryphal gospel as authority for the story (a late synagogue slander) that Jesus was born from the infidelity of His mother with a Roman soldier named Pandera. The story he accepts as probably the origin of the belief in the miraculous conception! So much for Haeckel's knowledge of the religion whose walls are to come down at the blast of his trumpets.

Turning now to the work of Mr. W. H. Mallock, mentioned at the beginning, ostensibly a vindication of the credibility of religion against the new scientific conceptions which threaten its destruction, we find in it a boldness of paradox which almost takes the breath away. This, no

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<sup>1</sup> He gives as his authority for this "the Synodicon of Pappus," evidently supposing Pappus to be a Church Father, instead of a seventeenth-century editor. The real source of his information is an obscure German translation of a still more obscure English book, full of similar crudities, *God and His Book: The Bible, where did we get it?* by Saladin (William Stewart Ross), described by Haeckel in a reply to Loofs as "the distinguished work of the learned and acute English theologian, Saladin (Stewart Ross)"!! Probably the latter, in turn, is dependent on the Preface to *Hone's Apocryphal Gospels* (on which cf. Salmon's *Introduction to New Testament*).

doubt, is precisely the effect which its clever author intended it to produce. Mr. Mallock is, we believe, a Roman Catholic in creed ;<sup>1</sup> but this work very clearly shows that he is essentially a sceptic in intellect. He delights to shock his reader by contradictions. The interest of his book is less the aid it brings to Christianity than the testimony it bears to the spreading influence of the monistic philosophy it affects to combat. The peculiarity of the book is simply this : that, under cover of *defending* the ideas of religion against Haeckel, and others of like mind, it really makes abject and absolute surrender to Haeckel in everyone of his contentions. The author spends six sevenths of his book in showing, and all the skill of his resourceful intellect in establishing, that science, as Haeckel declares, demolishes the three great fundamental ideas of religion—God, freedom, immortality ; leaves no place for them ; makes it impossible, on rational grounds, to believe them. Then, in two closing chapters, he argues that we must still hold fast by these ideas on the grounds of our moral convictions, and of their practical value for life. This is buttressed by the consideration that in every department of thought and life we are met by similar contradictions ; are compelled to accept and act on propositions “ which are, for the human intellect, absolutely irreconcilable and contradictory.”<sup>2</sup> He homologates Hume’s reasoning as to the contradiction between our speculative conclusions and our practical beliefs—the latter resting on instinct ; and claims that Hume should be “ regarded as the philosopher, not of scepticism, but of belief.”<sup>3</sup> One is strongly tempted to wonder if the whole performance is not a piece of irony, born of a love of paradox ; but the tone of the last chapters compels us to assume that the author is writing in all seriousness, and we shall treat him accordingly.

That we have not misrepresented Mr. Mallock in the general position he takes up may easily be made clear by a few sentences from his own pages. Sometimes, indeed, his

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<sup>1</sup> The authorities he cites are generally Roman Catholic.

<sup>2</sup> Page 282.

<sup>3</sup> Page 260.

argument is stated as if it went no farther than to show that science cannot prove (while not disproving) the truth of the ideas named ;<sup>1</sup> but this, as we shall see, is altogether too weak an account of the thesis he sets himself to establish. On particular points the verdict may be "not proven" ; not so when the religious view of things is taken as a whole.<sup>2</sup> The contention, then, is that between it and the scientific conception there exists an absolute and irreconcilable incompatibility. The one will not hold in thought with the other. Science does not only not prove, but actually *disproves*, the beliefs which religion must assume. The following are but samples of a multitude of assertions on this point :

To any individual immortality science opposes an unbroken and impregnable barrier.<sup>3</sup>

Since, in a word, the brain is shown to control the will in those very domains of conduct in which freedom is most vehemently claimed for it, to suppose that the will is a separate and independent force which imposes its orders on the organism of which it shows itself so frequently to be the slave, is to indulge in a supposition for which science not only affords no evidence, but which all the evidence collected by science contradicts.<sup>4</sup>

We have seen, as to his will, that he (man) is nothing but a mere machine, who, whatever he does, deserves neither praise nor blame, since whatever he does he could not have done otherwise. And as to his alleged immortality, we have seen that the more deeply we penetrate into the observable facts on which his life and his mind depend, the more clear does it become to us that these facts, all and singly, exhibit his life as a mere fleeting phenomenon, which appears with the body and disappears with it.<sup>5</sup>

We may, if we please, take refuge in attributing to it (the Supreme Mind) freedom, and a moral nature, as an hypothesis ; but the moment we do this, and apply our hypothesis to the facts, monistic science revenges itself on us by investing the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pages 84, 151, 157, 159.

<sup>2</sup> The author very rightly insists on thus taking it (p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> Page 85.

<sup>4</sup> Page 142.

<sup>5</sup> Page 149.



Supreme Mind with a character so monstrous that we subside on automatism and unconsciousness with moral as well as intellectual relief. Thus, then, if we fix our minds on the great primary doctrines which are assumed by and lie at the root of everything which we mean by religion, and if we compare them honestly with the actual facts of the universe, as science by research and experiment is day after day revealing them, we find that these doctrines, thus tested, are reduced to dreams and impossibilities—that in the universe of law and reason there is nowhere a place left for them.<sup>1</sup>

Finally :

We have seen that, consequently, the entire intellectual scheme of religion—the doctrines of immortality, of freedom, and a God who is, in His relation to ourselves, separable from the process—is not only a system which is unsupported by any single scientific fact, but is also a system for which amongst the facts of science it is utterly impossible for the intellect to find a place.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, in the view of Mr. Mallock, all the facts of the universe, as science and observation reveal them to us, unite in showing that the primary doctrines of religion—the doctrine of immortality, of the theistic God, and of human and divine freedom—are superfluous as hypotheses, unsupported by evidence as assertions, and not to be reconciled with the nature of things as ideas.<sup>3</sup>

What, one asks in amazement, are the grounds on which this extraordinary conclusion is based? And by what process of thought are we supposed to be able to accept these results, as on the scientific side of our nature we are told we must, and at the same time hold fast with firm and joyful confidence by convictions to which all the facts of reason are opposed? The demand, on the face of it, is too preposterous. It is hardly to be wondered at that the translator of Haeckel's book cites Mr. Mallock's work, not as a defence of Christianity, but as a triumphant vindication of the German professor's contentions.

We put aside, meantime, the question of the reconciliation

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<sup>1</sup> Pages 184, 185.

<sup>2</sup> Page 217.

<sup>3</sup> Page 242.

of Mr. Mallock's faith with his admissions, and raise the more fundamental query as to the reality of the conflict alleged to exist between the facts of science and the three great ideas of religion. Is science really irreconcilable with these three great ideas of God, freedom, and immortality? Does it lend no support to them? Does it positively disprove them? Let us see.

One or two points may be noted at the outset as bearing on Mr. Mallock's *method*. In the opening of his book he rather plumes himself on occupying a position of detachment from professed men of science and scientific thinkers on the one side, and from professed theologians and theistic philosophers on the other; and describes his function as that of "a sorting, a summing up, a balancing," which is the work neither of the scientific nor of the theological specialist, but "of a person much humbler, whom we may call the intellectual accountant."<sup>1</sup> But is it not a curious delusion that expert knowledge on one side or the other should be regarded as necessarily disqualifying for work which it is supposed can be undertaken by one who has no thoroughness of knowledge on either side? The scientific man, who is a Christian, may, conceivably at least, have as much knowledge of religion as the non-specialist inquirer; while the theologian may have intelligence and interest enough in the facts of science bearing on his subject to equip him at least equally with the casual who poses as "accountant." The true view would seem to be that a satisfactory result will not be reached till the matter is taken in hand, not by sciolists, but by expert thinkers on both sides, each aiming at an understanding of the other's standpoint and seeking to do justice to the other's facts. Besides, how shall Mr. Mallock make good his own neutrality? What of those vital convictions of his, with the possession of which he must be supposed to start? Can he do more, if he is really a Christian believer, than simply try to keep himself impartial?

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<sup>1</sup> Pages 5, 6.

Again, in the course of his argument, Mr. Mallock frequently makes a strong point of the contrast of "metaphysics" and "science," and treats metaphysics with a fine scorn as something wholly outworn and discredited.<sup>1</sup> It is generally, however, with the ostentatious contemner of metaphysics as it is with the non-political candidate in elections. It is not that the candidate has no politics, but they are generally bad politics. It is not that the theorist has no metaphysics, but that his metaphysics are crude and unconscious. What but metaphysics, *e.g.*, is Mr. Mallock's proof that matter, as we know it, has no substantial existence apart from the mind knowing it—that apart from mind, there is only a "nexus of abstract relationships"—"invisible packing-cases enclosing unimaginable goods."<sup>2</sup> Or take the monistic theory itself, the alleged sufficient scientific substitute for theism. What is that? It is the doctrine that "the universe is self-subsisting, and that all its phenomena (matter and mind) are different modes of a single substance energising in accordance with its own laws"<sup>3</sup>—"of an inner unknown substance, which is the source and cause of energy, force, movement, just as it is of solidity, weight, and figure"<sup>4</sup>—a substance which is, in a sense, living, and is thus the vital source of its own movements and manifestations."<sup>5</sup> It is identified by Haeckel with Spinoza's "substance"—"the substance which embraces all things—the divine essence of the world";<sup>6</sup> and by Mr. Mallock with Spencer's "Unknowable"<sup>7</sup>—though it is apparently known about it that it is neither conscious, free, purposeful, nor ethical—"has no more free-will than a river or an electric current, since it has no consciousness, and consequently no moral qualities."<sup>8</sup> But very slight reflection might have saved Mr. Mallock and Professor Haeckel from supposing that in postulating this philosophical monstrosity (of which science knows nothing)

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<sup>1</sup> Pages 37, 38 ; 187 ff. Yet, elsewhere he can talk of science as having "been driven to go to school with philosophy, which at first it neglected, or scouted with a boorishness born of ignorance" (page 13).

<sup>2</sup> Page 16.

<sup>3</sup> Page 11.

<sup>4</sup> Page 18.

<sup>5</sup> Page 20.

<sup>6</sup> Page 18.

<sup>7</sup> Page 17.

<sup>8</sup> Page 20.

they were escaping from "metaphysics." An infinite, eternal, universal, energising substance—forsooth! Who is not aware that of all conceivable categories that of "substance" is the most metaphysical and obscure—the least warrantable, also, from the purely empirical point of view? "Forces and energies," not to speak of "cause" and "life," are in hardly better case.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mallock's philosopher of belief—David Hume—might have taught him that. Then this doctrine of unknowable substance "explains" the universe. "It explains, in fact, all the phenomena of the lifeless or inorganic universe; and, within limits, it not only explains them, but it forms the only hypothesis on which any explanation of them is possible."<sup>2</sup> As if an "unknowable" could "explain" anything! Mr. Mallock himself shows later that the same difficulties which inhere in theism recoil on the primary assumptions of the monistic philosophy.<sup>3</sup>

There is yet another feature in Mr. Mallock's method, which recurs so constantly, and in such important relations, that a few words must be said about it. It is the assumption that because an argument, or particular line of evidence, does not establish *everything*, therefore it proves *nothing*—is "worthless" as an argument for religion. Monism, *e.g.*, concedes that the Power which is the ground or cause of the universe, whatever it is, is *one* (eternal, infinite, etc.); but this concession is held to be worthless because it does not include the admission of the personality and transcendence of God.<sup>4</sup> Monism discards the older materialism. Science, says Haeckel, "has nothing to do with the materialism that denies the existence of spirit, and describes the universe as a heap of dead atoms"<sup>5</sup>; but this has no value because it is not allowed that spirit can be operative without matter. Science shows that the universe is a machine running down, and does not possess, so far as we can see, any

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<sup>1</sup> So with "space" and "time" (the reality of which Dr. Haeckel supposes to be established), and many other categories.

<sup>2</sup> Page 21.

<sup>3</sup> Page 235.

<sup>4</sup> Page 19.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mallock, p. 18.

power of ever winding itself up again (Entropy) : a Creator must therefore be posited at the beginning to set it a-going. But this is valueless, because it does not "suggest the existence of such a God as religion postulates."<sup>1</sup> The origin of life appears to be explicable only by ascribing it to the intervention of an omnipotent, living Being, or God ; but this has no religious significance, because it does not establish "a conscious and ethical being with a special regard for man,"<sup>2</sup> and because it applies as well to a yeast-germ as to the body of a Christian martyr.<sup>3</sup> Nature does not prove purpose ; but, if it did, it would serve no end, because it does not establish, but seems to contradict, the perfect wisdom and ethical perfection of God.<sup>4</sup> And so on. But this, surely, is a very foolish style of reasoning. We are presumed to be considering the subject intellectually, and it is undoubtedly a gain to start with if we are allowed to assume the unity (eternity, infinity, etc.) of the Power which is the cause or ground of the universe ; to assume that mind is not a function of matter, however close the connexion between them, but rather that matter is dependent on mind<sup>5</sup> ; that the existing condition of things is *not* (as the monist affirms) self-subsisting and eternal, but had a creative beginning ; that the introduction of life was, relatively to earlier stages, a miracle, etc. Even Haeckel admits the importance of this last fact, though Mr. Mallock out-Haeckel's Haeckel in denying it. "If physical and chemical forces," Haeckel says, "are alone at work in the entire field of inorganic nature, whilst in the organic world we find regulative or dominant forces, we must at once abandon the mechanical in favour of a teleological system" ; and still more emphatically he declares that "to reject abiogenesis (or the development of the organic from the inorganic) is practically to admit a miracle."<sup>6</sup> Yet this is exactly what science, strictly construed, requires us to do.

It is time, however, that we consider the positive evidence

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<sup>1</sup> Page 23 ; cf. p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Page 41.

<sup>3</sup> Page 44.

<sup>4</sup> Page 160.

<sup>5</sup> Pages 17, 18.

<sup>6</sup> Mallock, p. 27 (Mr. M. gives no references).

for the assertion that science disproves the truth of the three ideas of God, freedom, and immortality. We shall find that the proof generally proceeds on the threefold line (1) of the assertion of the sufficiency of Monism to explain the phenomena of nature and mind ; (2) of the denial of the cogency of the arguments usually adduced by "Christian apologists" ; and (3) of the attempt to show that evolutionary science and biology are incompatible with the admission of the separate existence of the soul, of freedom and immortality in man, and of purpose and ethical character in God. We take, naturally, the theistic position first, though this in part is shown to be dependent on the doctrine of man.

The first amazing assertion we meet with here is, that by admission of the defenders of religion—orthodox and liberal alike—there is no evidence of God to be found in inorganic nature ; that as respects the latter the sufficiency of the monistic explanation is universally conceded. "Accordingly, if we had only the inorganic universe to deal with, God, even if He existed, would be for us a negligible quantity."<sup>1</sup> With this may be taken another curious idea of Mr. Mallock's, *viz.* that it suffices to exclude God to show that results are produced by regular laws. Because life, *e.g.*, once introduced, obeys afterwards "certain and calculable" laws, it is held that "the religious thinker, having invoked the assistance of God to account for the advent of life in its first elementary form, to all intents and purposes shows him out of the room again."<sup>2</sup> We do not know what "religious thinkers" Mr. Mallock is in the habit of companying with, but we must own to having never met with the particular type he describes. To all theistic thinkers worthy of the name, known to us, the presence of order, plan, harmony, law, in the world—the simple fact that it is a cosmos, not a chaos—is justly the most convincing of all proofs that mind or thought has been at the making of it. Their argument is the simple one

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<sup>1</sup> Page 24 ; cf. p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 28, 29, 32 ; other examples *passim*.

that a rationally constituted universe must have a rational author. Science is the demonstration that the universe is rationally constituted. The intelligence of man spells out its meaning, and infers from it a kindred intelligence, whose thoughts it delights to trace. This applies to the inorganic universe as well as to the organic—to physics and chemistry as well as to biology. The Creator is not held to be apart from His universe, but is viewed as continually present and active in it. Its laws are regarded as the modes of His working. What has science done to disprove or weaken this conception? It has done nothing: it has enormously strengthened it. The "religious thinker" may go farther. He may point (as indeed Mr. Mallock himself does later<sup>1</sup>) to the need of postulating an original cause for the "specific arrangement" of the universe, and may reason from the very structure of matter—its atomic constitution, the identities, laws, relations, properties of its elements—that it is not self-originated, but must have had an intelligent Creator; that the *substance* as well as the *form* of the universe had a beginning. The despised "metaphysician" may take up the problem where science leaves it, and may seek to show that the constitution of the universe through reason is for him a self-evident truth; that the categories which the scientific man uses in his interpretation of nature—space, time, cause, substance, power, etc.—are functions of reason, and nothing else. What has Monism to reply? Nothing that we have ever seen that has an atom-weight of force in it.

Even in inorganic nature, therefore, it is not true to say that there is no evidence of God. Mr. Mallock will answer that we are still far from the personal, ethical God of Theism. It may conceivably be an *impersonal*, unconscious reason which is unfolding itself in the universe. We waive for the moment this question of an infinite, eternal intelligence, capable of giving rise to this wonderful universe, framed, as is admitted, on one grand plan, which

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<sup>1</sup> Pages 232-235.

is yet blind and necessitated in its operations. But it may be pertinent at this point to remark that in the proposal to reason from the inorganic, or from any, department of the universe, taken solely by itself, there is already involved an unreal abstraction. It is not on inorganic nature in its isolation from the organic, or from humanity, or on the facts of outward nature in divorce from the equally cogent facts of the spiritual life, that any sound thinker will base his argument for God. He will assume in fact, what the monist grants in name, that there is a true unity in the system of things. Even in inorganic nature we can never abstract from the fact that it is not nature alone we have to do with, but nature *plus* a mind knowing it, investigating it, and finding an intelligible system in it. No wise theist will propose to halve himself, and to interpret nature without mind, without personality, without the moral ideal—the Christian will add, without Christ. Those convictions and certainties which enable Mr. Mallock in the end to defy all his scientific doubts are facts also, and have to be taken into account. When these things are remembered, most of Mr. Mallock's spectres take to flight without more ado.

If Mr. Mallock, however, will not allow us to find God in inorganic nature, as little will he permit us to trace Him in the phenomena of life. He attaches no value to the facts of biogenesis as evidences of creative power, nor finds any trace of purposeful wisdom in the marvellous organic structures which life builds up from the primary germ. He appears content to hand the latter over to Haeckel's "physical and chemical forces," aided by the laws of evolution. Where "laws" can be discovered, the wonder ceases. "If organisms are to live at all, a certain adaptation to their environment is not marvellous, but inevitable. The wonder is not its presence. The wonder would have been its absence."<sup>1</sup> Very different has been the impression produced by the phenomena of life on minds as keenly

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<sup>1</sup> Page 166.



scientific as Haeckel's or Mr. Mallock's. This is what Lord Kelvin said of life at the close of a lecture in London on May 1 :

He could not say that with regard to the origin of life, science neither affirmed nor denied creative power. Science positively affirmed creative power. Science made everyone feel a miracle in himself. It was not in dead matter that they lived and moved and had their being, but in creating and directing power which science compelled them to assume as an article of belief. They could not escape from that when they studied the physics and dynamics of living and dead matter all round. Modern biologists were coming once more to a firm acceptance of something, and that was a vital principle. They only knew God in His works, but they were absolutely forced by science to admit and to believe with absolute confidence in a directive Power—in an influence other than physical, dynamical, electrical forces. . . . Was there, he asked, anyone so absurd as to believe that a number of atoms by falling together of their own accord could make a crystal, a sprig of moss, a microbe, a living animal? People thought that, given millions of years, these might come to pass, but they could not think that a million of millions of years could give them unaided a beautiful world like ours. They had a spiritual influence, and in science a knowledge that there was that influence in the world around them.

In a subsequent letter to the *Times*, Lord Kelvin withdraws the word "crystal," but reiterates his statement as regards living organisms. "Here scientific thought," he says, "is compelled to accept the idea of creative power," and adds :

Forty years ago I asked Liebig, walking somewhere in the country, if he believed that the grass and the flowers which we saw around us grew by mere chemical forces. He answered, "No, no more than I could believe that a book of botany describing them could grow by mere chemical forces. Every action of human will is a miracle to physical and chemical and mathematical science."

Even these statements are not so graphic as the description by Professor Huxley of the development of life in the egg of

a water-newt, as he stood watching it under his powerful microscope. It shows at least how near is the theistic inference. He tells how "the plastic matter undergoes changes so rapid and yet so steady and purpose-like in their succession that one can only compare them to those operated by a skilled modeller upon a formless lump of clay," and goes on :

And then it is as if a delicate finger traced out the line to be occupied by the spinal column, and moulded the contour of the body ; pinching up the head at one end, and the tail at the other, and fashioning flank and limb into due salamandrine proportions in so artistic a way, that, after watching the process hour by hour, one is almost involuntarily possessed by the notion that some more subtle aid to vision than an achromatic would show the hidden artist with his plan before him, striving with skilful manipulation to perfect his work.<sup>1</sup>

We advance next to man, with whom, according to Mr. Mallock, the real controversy between religion and science begins.<sup>2</sup> And science, through its proof of the gradual evolution of man in mind and body from the animal, and its demonstration of the thorough-going dependence of mind on brain, is held to have disproved (1) the existence of the soul as a distinct entity ; (2) its immortality, or life after death ; and (3) free-will. There are too many points to be dealt with in detail, but we may look at the subject in its broad aspects.

The life-cell, Mr. Mallock says—and it is evident—does not itself prove an immortal soul ;<sup>3</sup> man is an evolution in mind and body from the animals, who are granted not to be immortal ; therefore, unless a specific difference can be shown to exist between man's soul and that of the animals from which he sprang, there is no warrant for ascribing to him an immortality which they do not possess. But, our author exerts himself to prove,<sup>4</sup> that no such impassable gulf exists between animal and human intelligence as to forbid

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<sup>1</sup> *Lay Sermons*, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> Page 34.

<sup>3</sup> Page 44.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter IV.

the idea of the latter having been developed from the former. The animals display, in inferior degree, all the powers of reasoning and reflection which man exhibits. The difference is not greater than that which subsists between the babe and the philosopher, between the savage and the cultured races. This last argument, which is a favourite one with the author,<sup>1</sup> may be disposed of in a sentence. It is, in fact, too transparent a fallacy to impose on anyone. "If there is no break," he urges, "between the consciousness of the full-grown man and the baby's, how can we pretend that, as an actual and demonstrable fact, an impassable gulf yawns between the baby's consciousness and the dog's?"<sup>2</sup> The obvious answer is, that in the baby's consciousness there lie all the *potentialities* of the grown man, whereas in the dog's there do not. The savage, similarly, may be rude and unprogressive; but, when touched by higher civilisation, or, still more, by Christian influences, he exhibits likewise, often in remarkable degree, all the powers—intellectual and moral—of high manhood. If Christian missions have done nothing else, they have proved that from the lowest races of mankind noble and beautiful characters can be developed. When Darwin found what Christianity had done for the degraded Fuegians—placed by him at the bottom of the human scale—he became a life-long subscriber to the society which had effected the wonder. These people were proved to be no semi-animals, but true human beings—children of the kingdom of God.

But the matter may be brought to a simpler test, and one which Mr. Mallock cannot refuse. In his closing chapters,<sup>3</sup> as already seen, he inverts his standpoint, and finds in man's being, feelings, and appreciations of value, instinctive beliefs, a moral nature and moral needs, which, in his judgment,

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<sup>1</sup> Pages 54, 55, 56, etc. "We may assume that the terrier is not an Hegel, a Sir Wm. Hamilton, or a Kant. But no more is an Andaman Islander; no more is an English baby" (p. 54).

<sup>2</sup> Page 57.

<sup>3</sup> Chapters XII. and XIII.

outweigh all the objections of science, and compel us to believe in the ideas science has rejected—God, freedom, and immortality. These higher elements, then, are facts of human nature; do they likewise originate by evolution from the animal? Are the germs of them to be found in humbler natures? The dilemma is obvious. If these characteristics of humanity originate in evolution, Mr. Mallock's own objections return on him in all their force; if they do not, then human nature, in that which constitutes its true essence, is proved to be *not* of like quality with animal nature, but to have that in it which points to nobler origin and higher destiny. The truly scientific view of man must have regard to the *totality* of the facts of man's nature.

Whilst arguing thus *ad hominem*, we are far from conceding that Mr. Mallock has in the least degree succeeded in breaking down the broad distinction which undeniably exists between the human and the animal mind. The real root of the peculiarity of the human mind lies in its *rationality*. Man is, as the animals are not, a self-conscious, personal, reflecting, abstracting, generalising being; thought in him is the principle of the universal; has in it the potentiality of infinitude. He alone is capable of rational, moral, self-guided, self-regulated life. He alone can form such ideas as those of infinity, eternity, God, religion, duty. He alone, therefore, is capable of rational speech, of education, of development, of progress.<sup>1</sup> All this puts a gulf between him and the animals which no evolutionary theory has yet succeeded in bridging. The animals, too, as everyone recognises, possess an intelligence of a kind, perform processes, and cherish feelings, which, within certain limits, are analogous to man's. But the enormous difference of *potentiality* in man's case—his capacity for education, progress, science, religion, morality, civilisation—proves that in him there is a *spirit* of which the highest of the animals are

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mallock finds the true secret of man's progress in his "hand" (p. 62).

destitute. His mind, in its true nature, transcends the finite. It is constituted for knowledge, love, fellowship with and service of God, and has capabilities and aspirations which only immortality can satisfy. On this point also, therefore, Mr. Mallock's argument must be held to break down.

There remains, however, the crowning demonstration on which, throughout, Mr. Mallock seems to lay most stress, *viz.* the dependence of mind on material functions in the brain. Science, it seems, has proved "that no mental change, of whatever degree or kind, is separable from an equivalent change amongst the molecules of the brain or body"—a proposition which is immediately converted into the other, that "the whole of our mental phenomena, will included," is "dependent on matter and energy."<sup>1</sup> Heredity is next brought in to establish "that as surely as our characters determine our will, and our brains our character, so do our physiological antecedents determine the idiosyncrasies of our brains."<sup>2</sup> By instances skilfully collated, this dependence on physical conditions is applied to destroy belief in the unity of the self, and in freewill. As respects the unity of the self, it may be safely left to look after itself. A very slight touch of "metaphysics" from Kant or Lotze would suffice to show that, if the soul were made up of "many bits," as Mr. Mallock suggests,<sup>3</sup> it could never appear to itself as a mind or soul at all. The other contention merits more consideration.

The dependence of mind on cerebral—more generally on bodily—conditions is not disputed: daily experience furnishes us with innumerable examples of it. A blow on the head stuns or kills; alcohol intoxicates; fever produces delirium; biliousness depresses; brain disorder upsets the mental balance and gives rise to delusions; injuries to the brain affect character, etc. But, in the first place, this does not help Mr. Mallock's case, unless he is prepared to deny that there is any difference between a healthy and unhealthy state of brain, and to defend the paradox that even in the

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<sup>1</sup> Page 93.<sup>2</sup> Page 93.<sup>3</sup> Page 135.

healthy and normal state the mind is incapable of just perception, sound reasoning, and self-regulated action. How the mind acts in madness, or under disordered bodily conditions, is no disproof of the fact that in the healthy state it is in possession of itself and its faculties, and can see clearly, think logically, and act rationally. It is, in fact, the healthy state which furnishes the standard by which we judge the disordered one. Then, secondly, it may be charged against Mr. Mallock's argument that it is guilty of great one-sidedness. He heaps up evidence to show, what no one disputes, that brain influences mind ; but he closes his eyes to, and declines to take account of, the vast mass of counter-evidence that mind, no less constantly, influences brain. This second fact is every whit as certain, and admits of as copious illustration, as the first. Impressions from without, resulting in brain changes, give rise to ideas and impulses—how, psychology cannot explain. But it is no less demonstrable that ideas, feelings, resolves, give rise to brain changes, resulting in bodily expression and action. I open a letter, and receive a piece of news which causes me to start up suddenly, to pen a letter in reply, to form a hurried plan, the result of a mental calculation of probabilities, and to initiate a series of actions bearing on matters that are to come about to-morrow, or a week hence. The indispensable link here is the idea I received from the letter—the mental apprehension of the information it conveyed. To represent all this as simply a train of physical antecedents and consequents, on which the mental fact has no effect whatever, is to outrage common-sense, not less than to contradict experience. But, says Mr. Mallock, "any such influence of mind on brain or body is precluded by the law of conservation of energy, or, if not by that, by the law of conservation of momentum."<sup>1</sup> Even if it were, this would only prove that the law of conservation had been carried beyond its proper limits, and would have to be re-cast. But there is no such antagonism as is alleged.

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<sup>1</sup> Pages 127, 129.

It is indeed involved that the changes and distributions of molecular energy in the brain are not determined solely by physical and chemical causes—that if they could be observed they would be found taking directions which implied the control of some invisible agent. But this we have already seen to be precisely what takes place in the development of life, yet without creation of new energy.<sup>1</sup> When Haeckel and Mr. Mallock declare that all mental phenomena, will included, are dependent on, and determined by, “matter and energy,” they make an assertion on *a priori* grounds which science can never justify.

We must now briefly return to Theism, to observe how Mr. Mallock applies his doctrine to it. Free-will having been disproved for man, it is supposed to be disproved also for God. But special assault is now made (1) on the idea of purpose in God; and (2) on His ethical character as evidenced by nature. As respects the former, purpose is supposed to be superseded by the deeper cosmic view in which the forces of nature are identified with the universe itself (“we realise that order, instead of being the marvel of the universe, is the indispensable condition of its existence—that it is a physical platitude, not a divine paradox”<sup>2</sup>); but a more ingenious attack is made upon it on the ground that so much apparently purposeful action in nature and in the human mind itself is unconscious. The theistic argument, it is held, “derives its whole force from the assumption, once universal, that mind and consciousness are co-extensive”<sup>3</sup>; science has demolished this by showing “that conscious activity, instead of comprising mental activity as a whole, forms, in all probability, an exceedingly small part of it.”<sup>4</sup> “The human mind, from its first day to its last, has more of itself below the level of consciousness than ever appears above

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<sup>1</sup> To follow this out would require a fuller discussion of the relations of force and energy than is here possible. Force and energy, however, are distinguishable ideas. The force of cohesion or of gravitation, *e.g.*, is not a measurable quantity. It is constant and inexhaustible in its action. Force produces and controls energies.

<sup>2</sup> Page 163.

<sup>3</sup> Page 155.

<sup>4</sup> Page 155.

it."<sup>1</sup> The fact of unconscious mental activity, or what appears to be such, is indeed one which suggests many problems ; but the argument here based upon it may readily be shown to be invalid. As respects nature and the organic function in man, it is, indeed, manifestly irrelevant. The immanent, organising, directive power in nature may be conscious of itself and its operations, though the beings in whom it operates are unconscious of its agency and designs ; and the same may be said, perhaps, of mind, so far as its action is purely instinctive and involuntary. The argument becomes relevant only when we deal with the really voluntary, purposeful action of man. But the question here is pertinent—Is action of this kind ever really absolutely unconscious ? When we speak of unconscious mental activity in this connexion, do we not generally mean simply that thought is too quick and nimble in its operations for us to be able to follow it in our *reflective* consciousness ? Or perhaps we are not reflectively attending to it at all. But does this imply that the mind itself is not aware of what it is about in these processes ; that it is not really intelligently thinking, purposing, recalling, selecting, adapting means to foreseen ends—though the movement is too spontaneous and instantaneous to be followed by the halting foot of reflection ? If this be so, it is plain that the analogy does not disprove purpose in the Supreme Mind. Purposeful action stands ; conscious purpose stands ; and he who remembers that it is by admission an infinite, eternal, and unconditioned mind we speak of, will hardly be disposed to question that the *self*-consciousness which is imperfect in us will be perfect in the Highest.

On the ethical question we shall speak briefly. There are passages in Mr. Mallock's book we would willingly pass over—so reckless, irreverent, almost positively blasphemous, they seem to us to be. It is hardly the part of a defender of religion to speak of God, even as revealed by nature, as chargeable with "cynical cruelty" and "mad stupidity,"<sup>2</sup> as "burning down the house in order to roast the pig,"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Page 156.<sup>2</sup> Page 165.<sup>3</sup> Page 168.



as "not only a stupid God, but a morally reckless God,"<sup>1</sup> as "either a dolt or a monster,"<sup>2</sup> as "a scatter-brained, semi-powerful, semi-impotent monster."<sup>3</sup> Such inexcusable language defeats itself by its own exaggeration. These are certainly tremendous accusations to base upon such facts as that out of a myriad seeds only one comes to fruition, or that in the economy of nature one species preys upon another. The goodness of God, shall we say, is refuted because man feeds on beef, and fowl, and pork! Part of the argument, again, rests on a conception of evolution as a result of infinite fortuities—a conception which we decline to accept. Part rests on admitted anomalies and difficulties of Providence which the theist can only meet, as Mr. Mallock himself has, in the end, to meet them, through his faith in the moral ideal, and his conviction that the scene he sees unfolded to him are only "parts of His ways." One awful fact, however, Mr. Mallock leaves entirely out of consideration in his survey of the disorder and misery of the world, which the Christian theist cannot similarly ignore: that is Sin. Eliminate that factor, and how small a part of the problem of evil would remain! Mr. Mallock has studied Augustine, but he has here something yet to learn from him.<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Mallock's *tour de force* method of relieving himself from the difficulties in which his logic has involved him has already been indicated. It is not one which will commend itself to many minds. As we are compelled, he says, by irresistible instinct to believe in the reality of our fellow-man, and of an external world, though science can prove neither; so we are compelled, at least justified, by irresistible moral instincts and beliefs—by "subjective valuations"—to rehabilitate the three great ideas which science has discarded, and enthrone them once more among our most sacred convictions. Our faith is vindicated by the

<sup>1</sup> Page 169.<sup>2</sup> Page 173.<sup>3</sup> Page 176.

<sup>4</sup> He will find it hard, however, to find justification for the statement: "To Augustine the angel with the book appears, saying, 'Tolle lege'!" (p. 119).

beneficial effects which these beliefs produce in freeing life from "the stifling limitations" which time and space, failure and imperfection, impose on it.<sup>1</sup> We cordially admit that the few pages on the impossibility of living on any high scale without these beliefs are among the best in Mr. Mallock's book. But to what a state of impotence is the human mind here reduced? And how futile the injunction to go on believing in the name of religion what, in the name of philosophy and science, reason requires us to reject? Happily, as we have endeavoured to show in this article, we are in no such *impasse* as Mr. Mallock would conduct us to. We reject even his allegation that reason shuts us up to hopeless contradiction in the sphere of ordinary thought. We cannot indeed *prove* the existence of the external world; but that is simply because we can trust our faculties in their direct *knowledge* of it. If Mr. Mallock's idealistic argument, formerly adverted to, were theoretically sound, we should decline to believe in the existence of the world on the ground of any instinct. But it is not sound, and as little valid is his Agnosticism in religion.

JAMES ORR.

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<sup>1</sup> Page 252.

## THE PAULINE DOCTRINE OF SIN AND REDEMPTION.

**P**ARADOXICAL though it may sound, the best rationale of sin is to say that it has no rationale. How can we give a reason for what is in itself irrational? Sin is chaos, disorder, unreason. In Biblical language the sinner is a "fool"; that is, he contradicts the idea of his being, defies the purpose of his existence. Every man represents to the eye of God a unique thought to be actualised, an end to be fulfilled. The supreme tragedy is failure to appropriate the divine ideal and make it a reality in life. The causal reason of this standing discouragement of the race appears to be an insoluble problem. Sin has an historical commencement, but *why* it commences—who can tell?

Now St. Paul, urged by his desire to set forth the universal significance of Christ's redemptive work, expounds a theory as to the starting-point in history, though not the reason of moral evil. And this theory is the key to the Pauline system. With it stand in organic connexion the Pauline doctrines of the nature of man, the constitution of the race, the law, justification, and the method of divine Providence. To misinterpret the apostle here is to misinterpret him everywhere.

### I.

#### 1. *The Origin of Sin.*

The *locus classicus* is, of course, Romans v. 12-21, which opens thus: "Therefore, as through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned." At this point the apostle makes a digression, and does not return to the comparison

instituted till the eighteenth verse: "So then as through one trespass the judgment came unto all men to condemnation; even so through one act of righteousness the free gift came unto all men to justification of life." An analysis of this famous passage yields the following results: (a) The moral history of the race is summed up in a series of great antitheses, Adam and Christ, two typical or representative persons; the acts of these persons, sin and righteousness; the results of these acts, death and life respectively. By birth we belong to the order or society of Adam, are members of a sinful race, and so share in the condition of loss or evil in which the race is involved; by faith we belong to the society of Christ, are members of a new humanity, and so share in the state of righteousness belonging to it. St. Paul here foreshadows one of the great ideas of the philosophic historian of to-day, the organic solidarity of the race. Sin entering into the world at the very fountain-head of our common nature has, in virtue of that solidarity, polluted the whole stream of human existence, entailing spiritual loss and penalty. In Christ, however, the race has found a new Head, a second point of departure, who has achieved a flawless victory over ill, and who can make us share in that victory by His Spirit and in the power of faith. (b) When the apostle says, "And so death passed upon all men, for that all sinned," does he mean that all sinned in Adam, or that all sinned in their own persons? The best exegesis decides that the two positions must be united. Man is responsible, for he sins on his own initiative. As a contemporary of St. Paul expresses it: "Each one of us has become the Adam of his own soul."<sup>1</sup> And yet man's sin is due in part to tendencies transmitted from the first man.<sup>2</sup> (c) St. Paul distinguishes between the state of sin common to the race and individual acts of transgression. The first does not involve guilt or culpability, and for it no man will be condemned; the second, as "offence" or "transgression," incurs penalty. The former is, say, objective, a

<sup>1</sup> Apocalypse of Baruch, liv. 19.

<sup>2</sup> See Sanday and Headlam on *Romans in loco*.

principle or power entering into and reigning in human life and history; the latter is subjective, that is, this principle revealing itself in positive acts contravening divine law. By natural birth man is a potential centre of sin; but as Principal Fairbairn well says:

This means that man's nature, quite apart from acts of wrong, does not conform to an absolute standard; it has slumbering energies that may wake in actual transgressions. And so God must judge natures as well as acts. From inherited sin everyone needs to be saved, but on its account alone no one will be lost.<sup>1</sup>

We are confirmed in our interpretation by the fact that it has points of contact with the rabbinical theology of St. Paul's day. Weber sums up the teaching of the Talmud (the germs of which would doubtless go back to the apostle's time) as follows:

Freewill remained to man after the Fall. There is such a thing as transmission of guilt (*Erbsschuld*), but not a transmission of sin. The fall of Adam occasioned death to the whole race, but not sinfulness in the sense of necessity to sin. Sin is the result of the decision of each individual; as experience shows that it is universal, but in itself, even after the Fall, it was not absolutely necessary.<sup>2</sup>

For St. Paul these ideas, or something like them, seemed to express a truth in harmony with experience and reflection. He appropriates it and makes it contribute to his main thesis, the contrast between the First and Second Adam.

What has modern theology to say of this doctrine of inherited or "original" sin? As is well known, Ritschl rejects the idea, and holds that "what is clear in St. Paul's presentation of the subject is rather the fact that he says not a word about the transmission and the inheritance of

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<sup>1</sup> *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 460. Compare Du Bose, *Soteriology of the New Testament*, p. 41: "The so-called sin of nature only becomes properly ours, and in fact only becomes properly sin, when we through the weakness of our nature have yielded a personal obedience to it and have transgressed the law."

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, p. 38.

bias by natural generation.”<sup>1</sup> And again: “Since Paul neither asserts nor suggests the transmission of sin by generation, he offers no other reason for the universality of sin than the sinning of all individual men.”<sup>2</sup> The notion of original sin weakens the sense of responsibility, makes education unthinkable, and is incompatible with the recognition of distinct degrees of evil in individuals.<sup>3</sup> We ought to speak not of original sin, but of a kingdom of sin. This phrase expresses the idea that sin is not an isolated fact, but a web of intercalated and closely knit phenomena. Just as there is a kingdom of God in which men encourage each other to acts of goodness, so there is an anti-kingdom, an empire of evil, in which sin propagates itself and men develop in others by example an evil character, and in turn are determined towards evil by others. It must be confessed that this is a very fascinating theory, getting rid, as it does by one stroke, of the many perplexing difficulties of the traditional view. But on deeper reflection it appears to contradict the facts of observation, and to make out the moral phenomena of the world to be more simple than they really are. Even Kant, one of Ritschl’s philosophical masters, knew of a “radical evil” in human nature which lies behind all acts of sin. The subtlest investigations of natural and moral science corroborate the view which exegetical science attributes to St. Paul, that the race is everywhere bound by myriad links into an organic unity, and that sin has an hereditary aspect. The doctrine of original sin becomes credible in the light of the analogy of the scientific doctrine of inherited evil. It is objected, “We are willing to accept the law of heredity as proved by modern science; but this notion of a penal status, of a condition of condemnation before God in which even the soul of the infant lies ere it wakes to self-consciousness, is a horrible and unbelievable residuum of an unknown theology.” But not to press the fact that men act on this principle every

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<sup>1</sup> *Justification and Reconciliation*, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

day when they refuse to marry into a family given over to debauchery or crime, even though the individual member of the family may have done nothing to warrant this ostracism, we must bear in mind that beneath the fair exterior, the charming innocence, God sees the hidden germ of evil, not as a germ merely, but in all its dread development and infinite ramifications; and seeing it thus must condemn it. This is the truth lying at the basis of the old federal theology. We are condemned representatively in Adam, for we are all of one blood; yet this condemnation only takes effect in so far as we consciously participate in wrong and evil.

It is significant that within the school of Ritschl, the ablest modern impugner of the doctrine, a reaction has set in against the master on this point. Professor Julius Kaftan, referring to Ritschl's idea of the possibility of a sinless development, says :

The question is not at all whether something is or is not possible. Rather the question is, What is the actual fact? And the actual fact is a tyranny of sin over our natural will. One may believe himself capable of explaining this or not—the fact is indubitable. Sin rules over us by nature. It is not we who have sin, but it is sin that has us. From Adam, the first man by his disobedience, sin is the essence of natural humanity. . . . However one will explain or harmonise these two facts—the facts themselves stand fast. Our nature is sinful from youth up, and yet we feel ourselves in our conscience responsible for the sin that we commit.<sup>1</sup>

This utterance of the latest theology—a theology, too, that has shaken itself free from all traditional trammels—is a valuable confirmation of our contention that the essence of St. Paul's doctrine of original sin remains intact.

## 2. *The Seat or Source of Sin.*

Here we have an express statement of the apostle. "For I know that in me,"—and he is here speaking for all men,—

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<sup>1</sup> *Das Evangelium des Apostel Paulus in Predigten*, pp. 7, 12. Quoted by Ecke, *Die Theologische Schule Ritschl's*, pp. 250, 251.

“that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing.” And again : “I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind.”<sup>1</sup> The flesh, then, is the seat of sin. What does this mean? Does it mean that sin in man, as Weizsäcker says, is owing to the fact that he is made of natural flesh? Is the flesh in itself evil? Be it noted that nowhere does St. Paul say that the flesh is sinful. The flesh is the sphere within which sin manifests itself, but it is not its fount or origin. As Sabatier says :

The relation of sin to the flesh is not purely immanent, but also transcendent. It is not that the physical law of the flesh constitutes sin, but, on the contrary, the law of sin has become and continues to be the law of the flesh.<sup>2</sup>

The contrast of flesh and spirit is everywhere ethical, not metaphysical. This dualism sprang out of the apostle's experience that the flesh is the seat of passions which, though innocent in themselves, may easily become incitements to sin. As an actual fact, moreover, he saw that everywhere the flesh had become the instrument and organ of sin. What more natural, then, than that he should use the term as a comprehensive expression for the evil side of the ethical contrast he found universally existing? Now, if the body is not the source of sin but only its *occasion*, where is that source to be found? St. Paul tells us that sin entered the world through “the transgression” of Adam, that is, through a voluntary act. Prior to the Fall, the first man was sinless, though he possessed a fleshly body. The secret of his fall then, St. Paul discovers, is a deflection of the will. Again, when the apostle contrasts the “works of the flesh” with “the fruits of the Spirit,” he makes it evident that he is speaking of alternatives that are within the moral choice of those whom he is addressing. If it were otherwise, and if he were contrasting not two ethical principles but two substances, one of which was inherently evil and the other inherently good, why does he exhort men not

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. vii. 18, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *The Apostle Paul*, p. 289 (English Translation).



to fall under the power of the former, and to walk according to the latter? It were more to the point to tell them to get rid of the flesh by ascetic flagellations. But this very asceticism he condemns as "not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh."<sup>1</sup> Are we then to find the source of sin in the pure self-determination of the individual will? Not so: for with Adam's fall sin has entered into the world, and propagated itself from father to son, so that even by our birth, before the will manifests its energy, we are in the category of sinners. Sin lies dormant in our nature, awaiting fit conditions to be roused into activity.<sup>2</sup> This sleeping tendency would not be enough to make us strictly and properly sinners: it needs the consent of the will. And yet again the will is acted on by the inherited evil. To add to the complexity of the problem, St. Paul sees a third power at work of a still more mysterious quality. His imagination personifies sin, and sets it over against man as an objective power. Sin reigns in the body, enslaves man, kills, revives, deceives, takes up its abode within the heart. In other words, there is, it would appear, "a personal power of sin to be distinguished from man's own sin," conceived as intelligent and terribly purposeful. This power works on man from without. We here touch an element in the apostle's thought to which he has not given clear expression. In any case for St. Paul in his final thinking, the kingdom of the demons, whether as objectively existing or as the creation of superstitious fears, and therefore the cause of sin, has been overthrown by Christ, and in Christ it has no longer any relation to the religious life.

### 3. *The Results of Sin.*

The prevailing Jewish belief in St. Paul's day was that physical death originated in the first sin of Adam. Take a

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<sup>1</sup> Col. ii. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Professor McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 124, note, "This conception of the sinfulness of nature, made possible by Paul's thorough-going realism, underlies all his thinking, and he cannot be understood unless it is distinctly recognised."

familiar passage from the Book of Wisdom (from 140 to 70 B.C.), which was almost certainly known to the apostle, "God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of His own being; but through the devil's envy death entered into the world, and they experience it who are on his side."<sup>1</sup> And this goes back to the statement in Genesis: "Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." The Old Testament does not indeed refer the death of all men to Adam's sin as its cause: it finds the cause in personal transgression. But St. Paul, in common with other thinkers in Israel, advanced to the farther position that physical death is the penalty following on the heels of the first sin. The universality of death proves the universality of sin; but even in the period between Adam and Moses when there was no law, and therefore no sin in the strict sense, death reigned. Why? Manifestly because there was another element at work, apart from the guilt of individual acts of wrongdoing. That other element is the result of Adam's fall. Death, then, is one of the evils transmitted from the very beginning of human existence as the penalty of guilt. But, it is objected, how stands this idea when confronted with the physiological commonplace that death is a part of the natural order, nay, that life itself is possible only through death?

"Physiology," says Huxley, "writes on the portals of life, *Debemus morti nos nostraque*, with a profounder meaning than the Roman poet attached to the melancholy line. Under whatever guise it takes refuge, whether fungus or oak, worm or man, the living protoplasm not only ultimately dies, and is resolved into its mineral and lifeless constituents, but is always dying, and, strange as the paradox may sound, could not live unless it died.

From scarped cliff and quarried stone  
She cries, 'A thousand types are gone,  
I care for nothing, all shall go.'

We must recall the Hebrew conception of death. It was

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<sup>1</sup> ii. 23, 24.

not scientific or physiological, but ethical. Death to the Jew was not merely physical dissolution. So far as man had an animal nature, quite apart from sin, he was liable to death; but the death to which he was liable is not death as we know it: it would, we may well imagine, have been simply a transition to a higher state of being, like the emergence of the butterfly from the chrysalis, if indeed any change that we could properly call death could happen to a creature in whom the spiritual and the physical were perfectly correlated. But with the consciousness of sin there awoke for one who could "look before and after," sadness, misery, "the fear of something after death." To go down into Sheol, that gloomy underworld peopled with dim, impalpable phantoms, leading a thin and colourless existence, "a land of darkness as darkness itself," whence none ever issued, as Dante says, "to re-behold the stars,"—such was the wretched fate in which death involved the soul. Hence the apostle can say that Christ "has abolished death," though he was well aware that death as a physical or biological fact still continued. What he means is that everything which makes death to be, what it is to a spiritual being, an object of dread and repulsion, because the sign of a judicial penalty of sin, has been made an end of by Him who in dying slew death. But sin brings with it not only death physical in the sense explained, but also death spiritual. An attempt has been made to deny this thought to the apostle. Dr. Orello Cone in his able work, *Paul, the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, says that for the apostle "death meant either physical dissolution or exclusion from the Messianic kingdom which would be ushered in at the Parousia."<sup>1</sup> But when it is said, "The mind of the flesh is death,"<sup>2</sup> surely the reference is not merely eschatological, not merely that death is the goal of the carnal mind, but rather that even now it is death in germ which will yet develop into the disintegration of the whole man, just as in the same clause "life and peace" are

<sup>1</sup> Page 207.<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 6.

mentioned as present qualities or states of the "spirit." And when in the description of the inward conflict, which in part at least applies to St. Paul's pre-Christian days, he says, "When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died,"<sup>1</sup> is he not depicting what all morally awakened men have felt, the inward death that digs its fangs into the soul when in such hour of insight there is revealed the awful chasm between the ideal and the actual, between all that might have been and is not, and the ghosts of dead sins, and broken vows, and squandered opportunities come back to within the heart as with an unutterable sense of shame and despair?

So far the results of sin are subjective. But now behind the death of the body and the soul there is a quality or attribute of the divine nature which goes forth in judgment against the sinner. It is called "the wrath of God." "The wrath of God is being revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men."<sup>2</sup> And again, "Wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God."<sup>3</sup> In the Old Testament prophets the conception of the divine wrath is mainly, if not wholly, eschatological. The prophets conceive that the divine punishment of sin belongs to a future day, the day of Jehovah:

For the day of the Lord of hosts shall be upon everyone that is proud and lofty, and upon everyone that is lifted up. . . . And they shall go into the holes of the rocks, and into the caves of the earth, for fear of the Lord, and for the glory of His majesty, when He ariseth to shake terribly the earth.<sup>4</sup>

This is a typical utterance of Old Testament prophecy. Now Ritschl holds that the Pauline representation is the same as the prophetic. God's wrath against the sinner is not a present reality; it is only an eschatological possibility. It means God's determination to destroy those who set

<sup>1</sup> Rom. vii. 9. Compare Jowett on *Romans in loco*.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. i. 18.      <sup>3</sup> Rom. ii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Isa. ii. 12, 19.

themselves definitively against His saving will and moral world-order. God's purpose of grace in Christ has come into no relation with His purpose of wrath. Such an idea is a mere dogmatic tradition introduced into the New Testament by a bad exegesis.<sup>1</sup> When we think of God as angry with us, we really mistake our own subjective changes for variations in the divine mind. We must correct the depositions of our religious consciousness by genuine theological reflection, according to which it will be found that God stands in one unchangeable relation to humanity, that of love.<sup>2</sup> Hence death or the evils of the present life are not to be regarded as evidence of the divine wrath.<sup>3</sup>

Now, while it is to be admitted that the eschatological bearing of the phrase is the most prominent usage in St. Paul's writing, still, believing as he did that the Day of Judgment was near at hand, he must have seen in the condition of the world around him a foretaste and pre-intimation of the terrors of that day. He must have realised that God's displeasure against sin was reflected in the state of pagan society.

On that hard pagan world disgust  
And secret loathing fell,  
Deep weariness and sated lust  
Made human life a hell.<sup>4</sup>

For St. Paul, God is the living God. He is no epicurean or neo-platonic deity, without life or movement, and shut up to an eternal sameness or motionless fixity. Rather is He, as living, able to reflect the lights and shadows of the soul, without at the same time losing the continuity of His being or the identity of His purpose. And as righteous He must preserve the integrity of His own being, with which the fate of humanity is bound up; and so, wrath is the product of His righteousness, that attribute in God in virtue of which,

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<sup>1</sup> Compare *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol. II., p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 322 (English Translation). Only Vols. I. and III. of Ritschl's great work have been translated into English.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

<sup>4</sup> M. ARNOLD: *Obermann Once More*.

as Lechler says, "God maintains and realises His holy world-order, and is revealed in the infliction of death and other evils, and will yet be still more clearly manifest at the final judgment." Such is St. Paul's theory of sin.

## II.

There is a threefold operation in redemption corresponding to a threefold distinction in the Godhead, which is recognised implicitly in the earliest writing in the New Testament, the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and explicitly a few years later in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians in the formula known as the Apostolic Benediction.

### 1. *God the Father.*

Nowhere do we find a detailed doctrine of the essence of the divine nature : only incidental allusions which must be gathered together and brought to unity. The Old Testament idea of God has been taken over, but it has been deepened, exalted, and enriched by reflection on the new revelation through the life and death of the Messiah. The apostle is a strict monotheist : "There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things."<sup>1</sup> He is the source, causal efficiency, and goal of the universe. "For of Him, and through Him, and unto Him, are all things."<sup>2</sup> "Is God the God of Jews only? Is He not the God of Gentiles also?"<sup>3</sup> There are in God attributes which a later theology has set over against one another as though contradictory, but which the apostle views rather as complementary. On the one side we have Love, Grace, Mercy ; on the other, Righteousness and Wrath. St. Paul does not say that "God is love," but his doctrine of salvation implies such a definition. Since love is the crowning virtue of the soul,<sup>4</sup> and the soul is made in the divine image, it follows that love is the very essence of God. As love, God seeks to go beyond Himself, to confer beatitude on men. Hence the

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 6.    <sup>2</sup> Rom. xi. 36.    <sup>3</sup> Rom. iii. 29.    <sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. xiii.

whole order of Redemption is rooted in the love of God. "God commendeth His love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."<sup>1</sup> Note the phrase: *His own love.*<sup>2</sup> That is, the surrender of Christ to death was at the bidding not of anything outside Himself, but sprang from the necessities of His own nature. In a passage of burning eloquence and splendid optimism, the final victory over evil is assured to us in the fact that just as Abraham of old spared not his son Isaac, so God did not withhold His own Son, but freely gave Him up to the death for us all.<sup>3</sup> The death of Jesus was not indeed God's act. It was men that raised the cross on Calvary and put to death the Son of God. God stood by and made no sign, as He has stood by since, the unseen spectator of many a mournful tragedy, and has not

interposed,  
Promptly and surely and beyond mistake  
Between oppression and its victim.<sup>4</sup>

But this apparent indifference of God is for the apostle the culminating proof of His love. The idea of sacrifice which runs through all life is carried back "beyond our bourn of time and place," and is seen reigning in the eternal life of God. The Cross of Calvary is only the historic expression of a sacrifice which belonged, and could not but belong, to a God whose best and most loved name is "Father." Robertson of Brighton shows, in a famous sermon, that, given the forces at work in Palestine in the first century, Christ's death was inevitable. "He approached," says the great preacher, "the whirling wheel of the world's evil, and was torn in pieces." This is the rhetorical expression of an historical truth. In the view of external history He was a victim to the brute forces of the world. Nevertheless, it is equally true that when considered from an ideal standpoint, from the side of the divine purpose, Christ's death was indirectly willed by God, inasmuch as God suffered Him to be caught in the evil

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 8.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπης.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. viii. 32.

<sup>4</sup> R. BROWNING: *Bernard de Mandeville.*

order of the world, and surrendered Him to the forces of sin, that thus His love to humanity might find adequate expression. Hence His death, which seems to mere empirical observation a cruel fate suffered at the hands of brutal men, is transformed into a *work*, an achievement accomplished in the strength of sacrificial love. Of this love grace is the energetic expression, actually entering into the thick of man's spiritual needs, bringing blessing and favour to the undeserving or the ill-deserving. It is one of the keywords of the Pauline theology. Freedom from the law,<sup>1</sup> justification,<sup>2</sup> the reception of salvation by faith,<sup>3</sup> the divine call,<sup>4</sup> and the privileges of the believer,<sup>5</sup> are all traced to the grace of God, or, since Christ is the means by which the divine grace is expressed, to the grace of Christ.<sup>6</sup> Mercy is another aspect of love. It is love in the presence of the sinner's helpless misery. Saved men are "vessels of mercy."<sup>7</sup> Christ has fulfilled the promises of the old covenant that the Gentiles might glorify God for His mercy.<sup>8</sup> These three terms—love, grace, and mercy—are three aspects of one and the same divine attribute, and express the tender, pitying, forgiving, and consoling activities of God's nature.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, there is an austere side to the being of God, which is expressed by the terms "righteousness" and "wrath." Yet St. Paul places side by side the gentle and the severe features of the divine character without being conscious of any want of harmony between them. "Or despisest thou the riches of His goodness and forbearance and longsuffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? but after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up for thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God."<sup>10</sup> What is the relation, then,

<sup>1</sup> Rom. vi. 14, 15.<sup>2</sup> Rom. iii. 24.<sup>3</sup> Rom. iv. 16.<sup>4</sup> Gal. i. 6.<sup>5</sup> Rom. v. 2.<sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 9.<sup>7</sup> Rom. ix. 23.<sup>8</sup> Rom. xv. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Compare Menegoz, *Le Pêché et la Rédemption*, p. 131: "Les trois termes (l'amour, la miséricorde, la grâce) expriment la même idée sous différentes faces, et Paul les emploie fréquemment l'un pour l'autre."

<sup>10</sup> Rom. ii. 4, 5.



between these two attributes of God? "Righteousness" as here used may be defined as that element in God which protects the integrity of His life and of the universe that He has created. It is the reaction of the divine nature against all that would wound His heart and outrage His love, and mar the fair beauty of His creation. As such it is the principle which issues in and manifests itself in history as "wrath." So far from there being any antithesis between righteousness and love, God would not be ethically perfect were either element withdrawn from His being. Love may be defined as the motive of the divine action; righteousness as the method by which the action takes effect. The powers of love are enlisted on the side of the sinner; yet love must so act as not to obscure the divine displeasure against sin. Hence the apostle finds in the death of Christ the sublimest revelation at once of love and righteousness.<sup>1</sup> In the event of Calvary God has openly displayed to the world His holy displeasure against sin; and thus having safeguarded His own nature from unworthy conceptions on the part of sinners, His love can go forth unimpeded on its redeeming errand. He can be righteous, and also declare righteous him who believes in Jesus.

## *2. The Person and Work of Christ.*

The determining factor in the formation of St. Paul's doctrine of the person of Christ was given him at his conversion. It was the risen Jesus that appeared to him: hence Jesus is indeed the Christ, the Messiah. In the Gospels "Christ" is an official name; it is the title belonging to the Promised One of the Old Testament. In the Epistles it has ceased to be official, and has become personal; it denotes that the Promised One and Jesus of Nazareth are one and the same person. St. Paul uses the names interchangeably. Why? Because by the resurrection Jesus has vindicated His claim to be the Christ; and henceforth the Christ-office cannot be conceived of apart

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. iii. 21-26.

from the person who fills it. Through faith in Jesus the Christ, a righteousness witnessed to by the Old Testament Scriptures has been manifested.<sup>1</sup> His death and resurrection were foretold in the same Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> He was "born under the law."<sup>3</sup> Prophecy had marked out the lines along which His early history should run. His advent was the fulfilment of a divine purpose.<sup>4</sup> Further, He is in a unique sense the Son of God. He is described as "God's own Son"<sup>5</sup>—a phrase which implies dependence, but also close community of nature. The apostle's gospel is the gospel of the Son of God.<sup>6</sup> God had revealed Jesus in him as His Son,<sup>7</sup> and this revelation was the secret of his conversion and the source of his apostolic authority. It has been said that the frequent and emphatic use of this term by St. Paul marks a distinction between his writings and the Synoptic Gospels. According to the latter, Jesus teaches only a universal Sonship in which He participates like all other men. Consequently St. Paul's conception of Christ as the Son of God in a unique and incommunicable sense was unknown to the primitive tradition and to the original apostles.<sup>8</sup> Now there are two facts fatal to such a theory: (1) Jesus expressly distinguishes the sense in which He can claim God as His Father from the sense in which His disciples may claim Him. Even radical criticism admits the genuineness of those significant words of St. Matthew<sup>9</sup> and St. Luke<sup>10</sup>: "No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." Note the immense weight of this claim. Jesus knew the Father directly and immediately: we know the Father indirectly and mediately as He is revealed to us in the Son. This implies that Jesus stands in a unique and, in a sense, unshared filial relation to God.<sup>11</sup> (2) The oldest apostolic

<sup>1</sup> Rom. iii. 21.    <sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.    <sup>3</sup> Gal. iv. 4.    <sup>4</sup> Rom. i. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 3, 32.    <sup>6</sup> Rom. i. 2.    <sup>7</sup> Gal. i. 15, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Compare Dr. Cone, *Paul the Man*, etc., p. 284.    <sup>9</sup> Matt. xi. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Luke x. 22. Compare Mark xiii. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Harnack interprets the text as simply meaning that the term "Son" describes Christ's knowledge that God was His Father.

tradition, starting from the oracle of the Second Psalm, "Thou art My Son ; this day have I begotten Thee," ascribes divine sonship to Christ in St. Paul's sense. The three great acts in the drama of its historical manifestation were the Baptism,<sup>1</sup> the Transfiguration,<sup>2</sup> and the Resurrection.<sup>3</sup> St. Paul, then, is in line with primitive tradition in thus describing Him. He will, indeed, carry this thought to heights undreamt of by the first disciples, and make it one of the main cornerstones of his theology, but the thought itself is in harmony with the earliest Christian teaching.

Again : the Messiah as God's Son was pre-existent. His incarnation is described as a transition from a state in which He was "rich" to a state in which He became poor.<sup>4</sup> It was a transcendent act of moral self-denial, and therefore an act possible only to a form of existence gifted with the attributes of personality. In another passage it is said that "when the fulness of time was come God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, born under the law, that He might redeem them which were under the law." The comment of Dr. Martineau, who has no dogmatic interest to serve, is very convincing :

One who is sent is presumed to be in readiness for the mission ; and the predicates enumerated, His being made of flesh, His having a mother, and being made under the law, might be taken for granted of a Palestinian Jew, and could not be specified except of One to whose nature they did not properly or necessarily belong. Such language is applicable only to a spiritual being passing into the condition of an incarnate life.<sup>5</sup>

The origin of this factor in St. Paul's Christology has been traced to Jewish theology, which knew of a Messiah hidden with God before the creation of the world, and destined to make His appearance at the appointed time.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. iii. 17.    <sup>2</sup> Matt. xvii. 5.    <sup>3</sup> Acts xiii. 33.    <sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Seat of Authority in Religion*, pp. 392, 393.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Vol. I., p. 322 ; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, Vol. I., p. 145.

Others think that the apostle borrowed it from Philo, who speaks of a heavenly man, the archetype of humanity.<sup>1</sup> These explanations are exceedingly doubtful, and, moreover, are quite needless. For St. Paul, starting with the conception of Christ as risen and glorified, must have felt himself compelled to find an eternal background for the historical redemption achieved by Christ Jesus as the Messiah not of the Jew only but of humanity, and His death an event of quite universal significance—what must these facts demand but that a person holding such relations to God and to man should be of such exalted origin as would justify them, ground them, as it were, in the ultimate realities of the universe, in a pre-earthly and timeless order?

But the idea of Jesus as the pre-existent Son of God raises another of the gravest import. Is Christ, according to St. Paul, on the higher side of His personality, properly divine? Does He belong to the inner and uncreated essence of the Godhead? Now, though no passage can be cited in which beyond all dispute Christ is ever called God,<sup>2</sup> yet it cannot be denied that functions are attributed to Him which only God could exercise. He is the Agent in creation. "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him."<sup>3</sup> It is objected by some scholars that the "all things" of the second clause of the verse refers not to the universe, but to the Church, which is the peculiar creation of Christ. The context, however, is against this view. The apostle is arguing with those who believed that meat offered to idols was sinful. "No," he replies; "how can it be sinful, seeing that all things came into existence through Christ, and are therefore holy?" For us, then, Christ is God, because in Him and through Him the creative activity of God finds expression. The One is,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pfeiderer, *Paulinismus* (Second Edition), p. 119; and Thackeray's criticism, *St. Paul and Jewish Thought*, pp. 46-49.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. ix. 5 is still disputed. Compare Sanday and Headlam *in loco* for a valuable note.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. viii. 6.

so to say, essential to the Other. Without Christ, God would be inarticulate, His energies dormant, His love and pity flung back upon themselves, helpless for healing or blessing: without God, Christ would be inexplicable, His person and work would have no foothold on eternal reality, and all the functions ascribed to Him would vanish away. But just because He is thus essential to God and one with Him, the apostle views Him as a proper object of worship. Christians are "those that call upon the name of the Lord Jesus."<sup>1</sup> "To call upon the name of Jehovah" is a recognised formula of the Old Testament, descriptive of the Israelite's attitude towards his God. Hence Jesus is "Lord"—the title which the Old Testament most frequently applies to God.<sup>2</sup> "For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he should instruct Him? But we have the mind of Christ." "God has given Him a name that is above every name, that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord."<sup>3</sup> The context of this last passage shows that the apostle conceives of Christ's Lordship or universal supremacy as the fitting climax to His earthly career. It was a reward given Him because of His self-humiliation in living our life and dying our death. The glory which in the days of His flesh was obscured owing to its earthly conditions, now shines forth as in meridian splendour, and the Exalted is known in His true significance, and becomes the centre of an adoring universe. "The worship of Christ," says Loofs, "is nothing else than the correlate to the predicate, Lord."

How, then, is all this to be reconciled with the Hebrew monotheism that formed the substrate of St. Paul's thinking? It is noticeable that he never calls Jesus "God" in the absolute sense. Jesus is not the Absolute. The Father is God, as the underived, eternal source of the divine life. Yet Christ participates in that uncreated life, and is from the standpoint of our religious feeling one with God, the Father.

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. x. 13. Compare 1 Cor. ii. 16; x. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Phil. ii. 10, 11.

How is this antinomy to be solved? The apostle does not attempt a solution. The question is of those which he sees "in a glass darkly." But he points to a fact which relieves his position of a sheer contradiction. The Son is in a real sense subordinate to the Father. God gave His Son, delivered Him up to death, raised Him from the dead, and exalted Him above all earthly powers. The Head of Christ is God.<sup>1</sup> The time will come when the present sovereignty of the Son will find an end or merge into the rule of the Father, that God may be all in all.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be a hint here not merely of an economical or official subordination of Christ to God, but of a real and essential precedence of the Father to the Son. This is a point in St. Paul's theology that has not obtained the attention it deserves.

We now pass on to speak of the work of Christ.

For the purposes of logical statement we may distinguish between the person and the work of the Redeemer, but from the standpoint of spiritual reality the distinction disappears: His person and His work are one. Hence St. Paul can say: "In *whom* we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins."<sup>3</sup> We do not find anywhere a philosophy or reasoned theory of the Atonement in the apostle's writings. The idea of atonement is too complex and profound to be fully and adequately grasped by one mind and expounded in terms of the logical understanding. Yet the apostle strives to make the idea intelligible in contemplating it from different points of view by the aid of metaphors and analogies taken from our ordinary experience. It may be said that the main cause of crude and unspiritual doctrines of atonement in the later history of the Church lay in a too great pressure on these metaphors, as though they were capable of anything beyond a partial illustration of a transcendent truth. Coleridge, in opposing the mechanical theology of his day, lays stress on this point.

"The purpose of a metaphor," he says, "is to illustrate a something less known by a partial identification of it with some

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Col. i. 14.

other thing better understood, or at least more familiar. Now the article of Redemption may be considered in a twofold relation,—in relation to the antecedent, that is, the Redeemer's act, as the efficient cause and condition of redemption ; and in relation to the consequent, that is, the effects in and for the redeemed. Now it is in the latter relation in which the subject is treated of, set forth, expanded, and enforced by St. Paul. The mysterious act, the operative cause, is transcendent. *Factum est*—and beyond the information contained in the enunciation of the fact, it can be characterised only by the consequences." <sup>1</sup>

This is true : yet it is also true that the death of Christ—not the bare act of dying, but that act as led up to and interpreted by His life and as issuing in victory over death—is for St. Paul the central point of human history, the highest disclosure of God's nature, and the loftiest ethical motive. It is hard to state, without seeming to exaggerate, the absolute supremacy which Christ's death wields over the apostle's entire order of ideas. Of all the myriad deaths our earth has known, it is this one that for the apostle challenges the awe and reverence of humanity, shows as by letters written in blood the divine judgment on sin, and yet also the unspeakable splendours of "the infinite pity that alone can meet the infinite pathos of life." The Cross is not the sign of a martyrdom merely, of another pitiable wrong simply, added to the black catalogue of crimes which man has wrought against his brother ; but the vehicle of a message from the heart of the Eternal to His estranged children, proclaiming pardon and reconciliation, and summoning them to the blessedness for which they were created. When the apostle saw the risen Christ, his conception of the death on Calvary was completely revolutionised : his pharisaic hatred of the Cross received its death-blow. Because it now became manifest that the Messiah's suffering was not that of a malefactor. What, then, was its meaning, its justification ? Now one of the cardinal points in the primitive apostolic teaching, and one with which Saul the Pharisee must have

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<sup>1</sup> *Aids to Reflection*, Vol. I., p. 308 (Harper's Edition).

been familiar, was that "Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures."<sup>1</sup> This doctrine the apostle has accepted as the true solution of the problem ; and expanded, developed, charged with new ethical and spiritual meaning, it has become the keystone in the whole structure of his thought. The Master of Balliol in his *Evolution of Religion* attributes the idea to St. Paul's speculative genius, who thus "somewhat obscured the open secret of Jesus."<sup>2</sup> But Dr. Harnack, with finer historical insight, is convinced that there is no historical fact more certain than that the apostle Paul was not, as we might perhaps expect, the first to emphasise so prominently the significance of Christ's death and resurrection, but that in recognising their meaning he stood exactly on the same ground as the primitive community.<sup>3</sup> How, then, does the apostle seek to make the idea intelligible to his hearers ?

1. The death of Christ is a sacrifice. He is a "propitiation" or means of propitiation "through faith in His blood ;"<sup>4</sup> He is the antitypal sin-offering in which the Levitical cultus finds its explanation.<sup>5</sup> He is the true Paschal Lamb who is sacrificed for us, by whom we are objectively cleansed from sin.<sup>6</sup> It is as though St. Paul, taking a comprehensive glance over the myriad altars of Judaism and Paganism, sees in the bloody victims immolated there a crude and sensuous representation of the profound spiritual truth that the universal principle running through all life, human and divine, is that of sacrifice ; that in order to reconciliation and forgiveness of sins sacrifice is essential, and finds historic expression in the tragedy of Calvary. It is the Cross that interprets and makes intelligible the Levitical sacrifices even more than it is itself made intelligible by their means. It is unfortunate that a one-sided evangelicalism has too often made the sacrificial system of the Old Testament a standard of worth for the sacrifice of Christ, whereas, in reality, the latter stands by itself, a unique and unparalleled deed, capable indeed of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II., p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, p. 97 (English Translation, p. 153).

<sup>4</sup> Rom. iii. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 3.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. v. 7.



partial illustration from the lower sphere, but incapable of having the wealth of its meaning displayed within that sphere.<sup>1</sup> Further : Christ's sacrifice was a vicarious suffering for sins. The most striking passage in this connexion is that in which St. Paul says : " Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us : for it is written, Cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree."<sup>2</sup> This is a difficult thought, which has come into prominence in recent years in the somewhat eccentric theory of the late Professor Everett in his book on *The Gospel of Paul*. This theologian claimed to have made the startling discovery that for over 1,800 years the key to the Pauline system had been lost, and that it was reserved for the present age to get upon the present trail of the apostle's thinking. This trail is found in the verse just quoted. Everyone crucified is accursed, that is, ceremonially unclean, and therefore excommunicate. By His crucifixion Jesus was accursed, separated from Israel, the people of God ; and everyone who believed in Him shared in this curse, and were, therefore, outcasts from the Jewish Church. But an outcast has no concern with the law, nor has the law anything to do with him ; they are mutually indifferent. Thus the law was dead to the Christian. Its penalties were no longer dreaded, for the law that had imposed them was no longer existent. Thus it was that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law. This theory has not found acceptance with students of St. Paul. Apart from the severe strictures which it has received from Drs. Bruce<sup>3</sup> and Stevens,<sup>4</sup> a reference to the context is sufficient as a refutation. Doubtless the pharisaic argument ran thus : " The claim of Jesus to be the Messiah has been proved false by His death on the cross. That death, according to the law, is accursed. Your Messiah in dying an

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<sup>1</sup> The tenacity with which religious feeling holds to sacrificial imagery is striking. " We have the blood of Christ," Schleiermacher is reported to have said when dying.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. iii. 13. Compare 2 Cor. v. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, pp. 184-186.

<sup>4</sup> *Theology of the New Testament*, pp. 405, 406.

accursed death has been publicly adjudged by Heaven an impostor." Now St. Paul snatches the weapon out of the Pharisee's hand, and turns it against him. He boldly replies : " Jesus did die an accursed death ; He was nailed to a cross. But why ? He as the perfect Fulfiller of the law was not liable to this death ; nevertheless He has taken it to Himself, and has borne it, in order that with the punishment He might remove the liability to it of all those who belong to Him, that henceforth the law might raise no claim against them." We find, then, that the apostle's thought is the reverse of that which Dr. Everett ascribes to him. It is not, as this divine would have it, that Christ was crucified and therefore accursed, but that He stood as an accursed person, the embodiment, as it were, of a curse, and therefore underwent crucifixion, a mode of death which according to ancient ideas symbolised the divine judgment against sin.

2. Christ's death reconciles man to God, and God to man.<sup>1</sup> The apostle does not indeed say that Christ reconciled God to man, and the Ritschlian exegesis finds no such idea implied in Pauline language. But if the sinner be the object of God's righteous anger, and if that anger cease, we must assume that God's relation to the sinner has changed. Behind the anger is God's love, or rather the anger is God's love taking stern measures to get rid of the obstacles that prevent the outflow of fatherly grace and kindness. *How*, indeed, Christ's death reconciles God and man is absolutely inscrutable. This is the "transcendent" factor to which Coleridge refers.

3. Christ's death is not simply or only an event in history, something done for us in past time. It is a deed in which we participate. In Christ we died when He died ; in Him we rose on Easter morning.<sup>2</sup> No interpretation of St. Paul's theology is adequate that views Christ's death as a mere transaction done once and for all 1,900 years ago.

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 10. Compare 2 Cor. v. 18-20.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. vi. 4-8, viii. 17 ; Gal. ii. 20.

Rather did Christ die that we might die ethically, not that we might be saved from dying. In St. Paul's view, Christ's death is frustrate, become fruitless of its due, except in so far as it works our death, as we are identified with Him in spirit and in life. We must not, therefore, separate the subjective and objective sides of the Atonement (except for purposes of formal discussion); they form an indissoluble unity. But it is just this high truth which so often escapes the ordinary mind to the great detriment of religious and ethical interests.<sup>1</sup>

4. Christ's death is conceived as enabling God to pronounce believers righteous or to acquit them of judicial charges.<sup>2</sup> The idea of treating as righteous those who are not righteous is a prominent feature in the Pauline scheme of doctrine. It is also one which since the Reformation has given rise to vehement controversy. When St. Paul says, "It is God that justifieth, who is he that shall condemn?" does he mean that in justifying God declares that a man is righteous or that He makes him to be righteous? Roman Catholic and Unitarian expositors assert the latter interpretation; the Reformed tradition defends the former. Professor McGiffert has recently argued that the term "righteousness of God" involves more than a forensic reference, that it does not express a mere status in which a man is introduced, but rather the righteous nature which is bestowed upon the believer by God.<sup>3</sup> Others think that the controversy is one about words, that the being declared righteous without being really righteous has no existence in actual experience. To which we may reply that what St. Paul has distinguished, we, as interpreters of his thought, have no right to confound. We may not be able to enter with sympathy into St. Paul's conception of justification, but we must not violate the laws of language in the interests of a preconceived betterment of the apostle's

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<sup>1</sup> This generation owes a great debt of gratitude to Professor Moberly for his masterly and convincing exposition of this idea in his *Atonement and Personality*.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. iii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Apostolic Age*, pp. 142-144.

theology.<sup>1</sup> When he says, "But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets; even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all them that believe,"<sup>2</sup> it is clear that this righteousness, while it begins as a personal attribute of God, *ends in a state of man.*<sup>3</sup> Nor does St. Paul introduce a new and unheard of idea. A herald note is sounded in Isaiah and the Psalms. Take the following from the Deutero-Isaiah: "This is the heritage of the servants of the Lord, and their righteousness which is of Me, saith the Lord."<sup>4</sup> St. Paul, then, was familiar with the idea of righteousness as energy of God, going out from Him, and affecting the relations of men to Him. In his pharisaic days he believed, as we have seen, that the advent of the Messiah was conditioned on Israel's righteousness or state of favour with God. In spite of the fact that this condition seemed impossible of attainment, the Damascus vision proved that the Messiah had come. The irresistible inference was that the Messiah came to create righteousness through His death. Henceforth righteousness attached to the Messianic society, and all who became members of that society stood as righteous before God quite independently of what they were in themselves. It is obvious that the legal analogy breaks down. The prisoner adjudged "not guilty" stands uncondemned because he is not guilty, but the believing penitent is acquitted in spite of the fact that he is guilty. Does St. Paul mean, then, that the Christian life originates in a fiction? By no means. His nature was too profoundly spiritual to rest in such a thought. We

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the notable remark of Dr. Hatch: "It is difficult to estimate the mischief which has been caused by the fact that *justificare* was adopted from early times as the translation of *δικαιούν*, and the consequent fact that a large part of Western theology has been based upon the etymological signification of *justificare* rather than upon the meaning of its Greek original."—Art. "Paul," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. iii. 21, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Sanday: *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "God."

<sup>4</sup> liv. 17. Compare lvi. 1; Pa. xxiv. 5.

must distinguish between his formal logic and the full spiritual reality with which it deals. His legal formulæ emphasise the act of justification as wholly God's, and in no sense man's; but the act bringing man into right relations with God implies that that relation is existing. To say that St. Paul transfers legal fictions to the source of all reality is to do serious injustice to his argument. As well might we say that the father in the parable who received his sinful and erring child with the kiss that kissed the past into forgetfulness, and treated him as though he had never left the paternal roof, was really acting a part or playing a dramatic trick without spiritual meaning and reality! Strip St. Paul's doctrine of its legal terminology, and it differs but little from the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels.

To sum up: In dying Christ offered Himself as a sacrifice to God, as a redemptive ransom, as a curse-bearing substitute, as a means of reconciliation between God and man, as an inaugurator of righteousness by which men might stand in right relations with Heaven, as a representative that we ethically might follow in His footsteps. Do these ideas exhaust the significance of the Cross? Far from it. That Cross is the sign of a work which transcends all thought and all experience, and marks an epoch in the being of God as in the history of man. Hence it is that problems are raised by it which is the task of theology to answer as it can. How does Christ's unique work achieve forgiveness? What quality attaches to that work enabling it to open the way to pardon and to peace? Why must God be propitiated? What dreadful necessity compelled Him to give up His Son to die? How did Christ's substitutional bearing of the law's curse free men from its power? No adequate answer can be given to these questions. Perhaps the most helpful line of thought is that taken by an able writer in a recent study of St. Paul's Christology, who says:

If Christ, by the revelation He has given in His death of God's holy love, brings us into that relation to God in which He can have fellowship with us, then He has on that account abiding work with God. And God loves and forgives us for His sake,

because dying in obedience to the divine will, Christ has perfectly revealed the love and holiness of the Father and supplied the conditions, self-imposed by the very nature of divine love, to its being seen to be what it is, and to its operating according to its nature on human hearts.<sup>1</sup>

### 3. *The Holy Spirit.*

At first St. Paul hardly goes beyond the popular ideas of the primitive disciples that the Spirit's influence was best seen in abnormal phenomena, in extraordinary gifts such as speaking with tongues, and in miracles.<sup>2</sup> But later this view expands, and he emphasises the normal action of the Spirit. His presence consecrates the body ;<sup>3</sup> becomes a principle of resurrection ;<sup>4</sup> and works a spirit of adoption in man.<sup>5</sup> Yet all this is only an earnest or pledge of a fuller fruition hereafter.<sup>6</sup> St. Paul is peculiar among the writers of the New Testament in representing the Spirit as, so to say, streaming from the glorified humanity of the risen Lord. Dr. Harnack, indeed, maintains that St. Paul identifies Christ and the Holy Spirit on the basis of the words, "The Lord is the Spirit."<sup>7</sup> But the exegesis seems arbitrary. The apostle does not say the Lord is *a* Spirit, but *the* Spirit. His purpose is to show how, when the heart turns to Christ, the Spirit enters in and dwells there, and the influence of Christ and of the Spirit may be spoken of as synonymous. In other words, we are not dealing with any statement as to the *person* of the Lord ; it is as to the nature of His *influence* in the hearts of believing men. That influence is spiritual, pervasive, and makes its appeal to the springs of the inner life in contrast to the influence of the older which is legal, concise, and externally binding. "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." Where the Spirit is, there the Lord is, whose Spirit is a Spirit of liberty. Hence, again, to say

<sup>1</sup> Rev. D. Somerville, *Cunningham Lectures for 1897*, p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Thess. v. 19.    <sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 19.    <sup>4</sup> Rom. viii. 2.    <sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 15.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. i. 22, iii. 17.    *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, p. 101 (English Translation, p. 160).

<sup>7</sup> Rom. viii. 9, 10.

that the Spirit of God dwells in the heart of the Christian and to say that the Spirit of Christ dwells in him, is to express the same thing. It is through the Spirit that the presence of the Incarnate is continued among men.<sup>1</sup> Hence His action is viewed in relation to the Incarnation, rather than to His immanent existence in the Godhead.

“The Spirit of the Incarnate,” says Professor Moberly, “is the Spirit of God. But it is not so much the Spirit of God, regarded in His eternal existence, or relation in the Being of Deity; it is the Spirit of God in humanity, the Spirit of God become the Spirit of man in the person of the Incarnate—become thenceforward the true interpretation and secret of what true manhood really is—it is this which is the distinctive revelation of the New Testament.”<sup>2</sup>

As the Spirit of the Incarnate He is (1) the principle of sonship within the Christian. He is the spirit of adoption unto sons,<sup>3</sup> it is He through whom we consciously realise the new relation of acceptance and favour with God into which Christ introduces us. “Because ye are sons, God has sent forth the Spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.”<sup>4</sup> As a filial Spirit, He bears witness with our spirit that we are God’s children. St. Paul may have had in his mind the custom of adoption as known to Roman law, but he does not allow the idea of it to control his thought. He is thinking of the two witnesses which Roman law required in order to make valid the adoptive act. Rather what he is thinking of is that our consciousness of sonship is produced by the Spirit within us. In this new relation of adoption or acceptance into which Christ brings us, we feel that we are God’s children; but this feeling is itself a response to the Spirit’s ministry, who sheds abroad God’s love in our hearts. He is (2) the principle of victory over sin. “If by the Spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.”<sup>5</sup> Just as in Christ the Incarnate He achieved a flawless victory over sin, so in us He abides the same sin-vanquishing Power. He it is who creates and sustains all

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<sup>1</sup> Gal. iv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Atonement and Personality*, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. viii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Gal. iv. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. viii. 13.

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Christian virtues. His activities are connected with the entire moral and religious life: "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance" (*i.e.* self-control).<sup>1</sup> And He does all this because His presence and influence are the presence and influence of the Incarnate. (3) He incorporates us into Christ, and is the principle of our union with Him. "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?"<sup>2</sup> All that Christ has done for us is consciously realised within us by the Spirit. He completes and brings to perfection the whole process of Atonement: He is within us, "the consummation of ourselves, the response from us of goodness and love to the goodness and love of God."<sup>3</sup>

SAMUEL MCCOMB.

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<sup>1</sup> Gal. v. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Moberly, *op. cit.*, p. 204.



## GLIMPSES OF RUSKIN.

*Letters to M. G. and H. G.* By JOHN RUSKIN. With Preface by the Right Hon. G. WYNDHAM. (Privately printed. 1903.)

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN said, when writing to his sister, Mrs. John Mozley, in May, 1863 :

It has ever been a hobby of mine, though perhaps it is a truism, not a hobby, that the true life of a man is in his letters. . . . Not only for the interest of a biography, but for arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method. Biographers varnish, they assign motives, they conjecture feelings, they interpret Lord Burleigh's words ; but contemporary letters are facts.

That letters afford not the least sure material for the study of character may be clearly seen in a little privately-printed volume, *Letters to M. G. and H. G.*, now before us. In January, 1878, and again in October of the same year, John Ruskin visited Hawarden. A correspondence was thus opened up with the younger daughter of the house (M. G.), of which about forty letters, with a few to her less-favoured sister (H. G.), are here brought together. And such are these letters—always personal, characteristic, spontaneous—that the fragments of self-portraiture which they contain are indispensable to any authentic and faithful biography of the writer. It has been contended that of all qualities the most essential in a letter are ease and naturalness, lightness of touch, the sense for the little things which are the staple of conversation and correspondence as well as of life, the ever present consciousness that one is simply one's self and not an author or an editor. Ruskin's letters, even when stormy and maledictory, undoubtedly possess these qualities, and they are often, like the productions of the greatest masters in the art of letter-

writing, among the most truly entertaining kinds of lighter literature of which our language can boast.

The *Letters to M. G. and H. G.*, generally valuable as they are acknowledged to be, with their references of public interest and their treasures not to be kept under lock and key, do not, however, stand alone. A charming introduction by Mr. George Wyndham, an unacknowledged though fascinating fragment of a diary, and two papers of considerable value by Canon Scott Holland, make them doubly acceptable to every Ruskin-reader.

The pictures of Ruskin supplied by these additional pages deserve to be placed with the best. Canon Scott Holland well portrays him as a man who went straight to the heart :

He came up to one so confidentially, so appealingly, with the wistful look in his grey-glinting eyes, which seemed to say, "I never find anybody who quite understands me, but I still hope and think that you will." How quaint, the mingling of this wistfulness in the face with the spotted blue stock and the collars and the frock-coat, which made him look like something between an old-fashioned nobleman of the forties and an angel that had lost its way. The small, bird-like head and hands and figure had, nevertheless, a curious and old-world pomp in their gait and motions. The bushy eyebrows gave a strength to the upper part of the face which was a little unexpected, and which found its proper balance in the white beard of his last years. He, somehow, moved one as with the delicate tenderness of a woman ; and he felt frail, as if the roughness of the world would hurt and break him ; and one longed to shelter him from all that was ugly and cruel.

Side by side with this might go the anonymous diarist's description of Ruskin as a talker, which reminds us of Mr. Frederic Harrison's references to Ruskin's indescribable charm of spontaneous lovingness—the irrepressible bubbling up of a bright nature full to the brim with enthusiasm, chivalry, and affection :

Then—*absente magistro*—a quick tangle of remarks followed on his manifold pleasant ways ; his graceful and delightful manner—bright, gentle, delicately courteous ; the lyric melody of his voice—more intensely spiritual, more subduedly pas-

sionate, more thrilling than any voice I ever heard. He is a swift observer and acute. Not talkative, but ever willing to be interested in things, and to throw gleams of his soul's sunlight over them ; original in his dazzling idealism. For ever "thinking on whatsoever things are pure, and lovely, and of good report," etc. ; *annihilating*, in the intense white heat of his passionate contempt and hatred, all vile, dark, hateful things. They are not—cannot be. They are lies, negations, blanks, nonentities. "God is—and there is *none else* beside Him !"

There are other glimpses of Ruskin which may not be disregarded. We see him on the first night of his visit to Hawarden rising abruptly from his chair (at a quarter to eleven), during an absorbing conversation, and with the remark, "I always go early to bed," vanishing, to the dismay of the company. We also see him seeking the prettiest possible pair of gauntlet gloves—rough gloves for country walks among thistles, only they must be pretty—that will fit a little girl of eleven or ten who won them, not fairly (more's the pity) in a skirmish with burdock heads, in which he had no chance. Again, we have an exceptionally charming sight of great men at play. At Hawarden, on an October evening in 1878, were gathered together John Ruskin, the possessor, according to Mazzini, of the most analytic mind in Europe ; the Duke of Argyll, who, Ruskin declared, used to be so grim at the Metaphysical, he never ventured within the table's length of him ; and W. E. Gladstone, of whom Professor Huxley, no great admirer of the famous statesman, said, "Here is a man with the greatest intellect in Europe." For the delectation of these three, two of whom were men of, in their own way, unrivalled genius,

— brought the Fishery Game, and the Duke of Argyll and W. E. G., and Ruskin and Mrs. W. H. G., and others, all played, and laughed a good deal. Ruskin approved the idea of the game, but wanted lovely little fishes with silver scales—instead of little ugly lumps of wood—to catch.

We are reminded of the great Lord Eldon yielding himself to childlike gaiety, and observing, "You don't know the luxury of playing the fool" ; of Dean Swift

relieving his tense and tragic moods by harnessing his servants—once even his learned friend, Dr. Sheridan—with cords, and driving them up and down the stairs and through the rooms of his deanery; of Dugald Stewart amusing himself with attempts to balance a peacock's feather on his nose, and having Patrick Fraser Tytler, the historian, as a competitor in the curious contest of skill; of Faraday and Harding, the artist, dining at the Royal Institution, and after dinner nearly always having games together, just like boys—sometimes with horse-chestnuts instead of marbles; and of Lord Bacon censuring chess as "too wise a game."

The conversations described in this volume are of special worth to the Ruskin-student, and their general interest is largely enhanced by the prominent part taken in them by Mr. Gladstone. That, during this period, at any rate, Ruskin dreaded conversation, it is clearly evident. "The excitement of conversation breaks me or bends me banefully always," he pathetically says. And, further, he writes of the weaknesses and the worries which compel him to stay at home and forbid all talking, and asserts that nearly every word anybody says, if he cares for the speaker, either grieves or astonishes him to an alarming degree. Yet nowhere, perhaps, does Ruskin appear in a more attractive and vivid light as a conversationalist, and nowhere may be found, within similar limits, so much that has a close connexion with the special features of his teaching. His hearers sometimes wonder that he is not wholly paralysed by the utter hopelessness, the real, pure despair beneath the sunlight of his smile, and ringing through all he says; they are also struck with the simplicity and modesty with which, after asserting that the man who has failed in any subject has no right whatsoever to say one word respecting the subject in which he has failed, he alludes to himself as one who has entirely failed. But while they cannot but be conscious that they are listening to a man of strange despair over all that is known of human politics, and all that may be guessed of their future development, and while they may not choose to

accept much that he says, they do not readily miss a single word uttered by this crotcheteer with a tongue of gold, or fail to recognise "the gracious courage with which, whilst treading a *via dolorosa*, he placed a posy before every shrine of Beauty and Gentleness and Love."

William Wilberforce said of Edmund Burke that "like the fated object of the fairy's favours, whenever he opened his mouth pearls and diamonds dropped from him." Somewhat similar language might often have been used, with peculiar fitness, concerning Ruskin. His conversational faculty sprang from his character and intellect—was the natural outcome of the emotions, the animal spirits, as well as of mental gifts. Like his master, Carlyle, he had "a natural tendency to exaggeration," but, like Carlyle, he was always, even in his most perverse moods, worth hearing. Mr. Frederic Harrison, in his recent contribution to the *English Men of Letters*, writes of Ruskin as one of the most fascinating and impressive beings whom he ever met ; and declares that not even Tennyson, Carlyle, Mazzini, Bright, Browning, and other equally famous men, had ever in social intercourse impressed him more vividly with a sense of intense personality, with the inexplicable light of genius which seemed to well up spontaneously from heart and brain. Such expressions of opinion may receive ample support from the little book now under notice.

But, as I have already intimated, the conversations here referred to gain in value and attractiveness from the fact that they were carried on either with Mr. Gladstone or in his immediate presence. With excellent judgment Mr. George Wyndham characterises the illustrious host and his illustrious guest—Gladstone, the statesman, theologian, and prophet of moral energy in the practical affairs of a nation's life, who ever believed, not alone in the merits of his cause, but in the certainty of its triumph ; Ruskin, the rhetorician, teacher, and the diviner of the Beautiful, who yet disbelieved in its acceptability by man. Mr. Wyndham also refers to the talk that passed between these two, who seemed opposite in aim and were so in method ; approaching life, whether as a

problem to be solved or a task to be accomplished, by divergent paths and with sentiments widely sundered ; the one, in grim earnestness and absolute faith ; the other, with sunlit grace playing over all but absolute despair.

In this connexion even the brief allusions in Mr. Gladstone's private diary to Ruskin's Hawarden visits cannot be neglected :

We had much conversation—interesting, of course, as it must always be with him. . . In some respects an unrivalled guest, and those important respects too. . . No diminution of charm. . . . Mr. Ruskin developed his political opinions. They aim at the restoration of the Judaic system and exhibit a mixture of virtuous absolutism and Christian socialism. All in his charming and benevolent manner.

There is unquestionably much throughout the records here supplied to help to an adequate appreciation of Ruskin's life and work, even though there is little in them to cause surprise to those who really know his books. We will listen to him as he speaks through these pages. It will be remembered how Ruskin has contended that scientific pursuits are always in their nature adverse to higher contemplation, having a tendency to chill and subdue the feelings, and to resolve all things into atoms and numbers ; that for most men an ignorant enjoyment is better than an informed one—it is better to conceive the sky as a blue dome than a dark cavity, and the cloud as a golden throne than a sleety mist ; and that the pursuit of science should constantly be stayed by the love of beauty, and accuracy of knowledge by tenderness of emotion. At Mr. Gladstone's table, Mr. Ruskin, according to the anonymous diarist, decried Museums, and Natural Science in general, as tending to fix attention upon all Nature's mistakes and failings—every abnormal, ugly, and loathsome specimen of Nature's doings.

In Museums we ought to have specimens—the loveliest, most perfect that are to be found—of Nature's handiwork. Birds in all their feathers, animals in their skins. I don't ever desire to

see a Dodo in its skeleton state; I never saw one in its plumage, and why should I wish to see one without?

We should never look at, or think of, anything unlovely, impure, horrible; we should remedy evils by bringing up the good against them, to scathe and annihilate them. For practical purposes, he further urged, we know right and wrong sufficiently; or, rather, we have enough knowledge of what beauty, truth, and goodness are, to work and live in. There is no need to learn negatively; simply go forward, look forward; never look backward. "He that putteth his hand . . . and *looketh back*," etc.

At the same time (January, 1878) Ruskin assured Gladstone that for at least twenty years he had made it a rule to know nothing about doubtful and controverted facts—nothing but what was absolutely true—absolutely certain. He did not care for opinions, views, speculations, the truth of which was doubtful. He wished to know only true things; and there were enough of them to take a full lifetime to learn. Even when his host spoke of round towers in Ireland, Ruskin said that, as it was a controverted subject, he knew nothing about it. He also advocated an ideal newspaper—an absolutely truthful journal. He hated finding that what he believed yesterday he must disbelieve to-day. A newspaper should be started which could be entirely trusted. What would delay in the appearance of items of intelligence signify if only truth could thereby be assured? Instead of furnishing columns full of conspicuous villainy and abomination, the newspaper should tell of the people best worth knowing in the neighbourhood, with notes of their moral characteristics—nothing but pure and beautiful things. At present it was the most infamous people who were forced upon our thoughts. The gentlest, purest, noblest of mankind should be published to the world, made famous in the journals. There need be no fear of spoiling the truly good people by bringing them into prominence. To-day they were precisely the last people in a place to be heard of.

Again, while Gladstone looked with puzzled earnestness, Ruskin expounded at length, with his inseparable humour and seriousness, a scheme for the enforcement of social responsibility for crime. The inhabitants of every place were guilty of the crimes done in their neighbourhood. Why had they not sustained a higher moral tone, which would make men ashamed to commit crime when they were near? Why had they allowed the conditions which lead to crime? Every man should feel every crime as his own. Would it not be well to divide London into districts, so that when a murder was committed in any one district those who lived there should draw lots to decide who should suffer for it? Might not the public conscience be thereby quickened, and would not the moral effect be excellent if the man on whom the lot fell should be of a peculiarly high character? Ruskin even thought that this might lead to the murderer's permanent reform. And as to prison reforms, it was silly to fuss about the insides of prisons. Once people were sent to prison, the inside should be made as bad as possible. Reform was wanted outside. Society made crime possible. The real criminals were the idle rich. Every man who had a large income should be imprisoned if he did no work.

Thus "the 'brevet' son of Carlyle" fulminated and argued, to the delight and astonishment of his hearers. He mournfully admitted the failure of the Hinksey work owing to the want of an earnest spirit in the undergraduates. They played at it. "It is only one of the many signs of the diabolical condition of Oxford." He considered that racing at Oxford was utterly ruinous, and the boats were the destruction of all the river's charm and beauties; also that riding should be encouraged at Oxford—the horse, like other things, was ruined (he spoke as an artist, of its beauty ideally) by racing. He believed taste was improving in many ways. He gave his support to the defenders of Thirlmere only out of consideration for his friends' wishes. Excursionists had entirely spoiled the lake for rational enjoyment. "Its bottom was literally paved over with broken plates



and dishes, so it might as well go altogether, and be drained away." He discoursed on domestic virtues. Mothers ought not to expend their love upon their own children, but while making that love the central care, should love all other children too; especially the poor and suffering. "To be a father to the fatherless is the peculiar glory of a Christian." He preached on marriage, how the woman should not venture to hope for or think for perfectness in him she would love, but *he* should believe the maiden to be purity and perfection, absolute and unqualified; perfectly faultless, entirely lovely. "Women are, in general, far nobler, purer, more divinely perfect than men, because they come less in contact with evil." He declared that one of the loveliest graces of holy childhood—that pretty leaning of a youngling against a person's knee, and bending over gracefully as a lily, with inimitably winsome love—was rarely caught by artists. He knew only one artist—Vandyke—who had truly found it. He—"Socialist, Aristocrat, dreaming Idealist, hater of modern 'Liberty,' of pride of wealth, of bastard 'Patriotism'; lover of the poor and the laborious, toiling multitude; . . . detesting war and its 'standing armies'"—declared at Hawarden his great truths, while the Duke of Argyll cavilled impatiently and Mr. Gladstone accepted the speaker's principles but differed widely as to their practical application. He felt that war—unless a moral necessity—was a most stupendous crime, and that Christianity certainly made *against* war; he almost scorned Mozley's great argument, "that by its recognition of *nations* Christianity implicitly sanctions war" as fallacious and childish; and in response to the Duke's, "You seem to want a very different world from that we experience," exclaimed, "Yea, verily, a new heaven and a new earth, and the former things passed away."

This also was his verdict: It was no day for Art, while our filthy cities cried to Heaven against us.

So he preached with ever intenser vehemence and skill, giving precision and reality and exquisite utterance to that which had been, in Carlyle, but as a thunderous roar.

Canon Scott Holland observes that

The amusement of the meeting of the two (Gladstone and Ruskin) lay in the absolute contrast between them at every point on which conversation could conceivably turn. The brimming optimism of Mr. Gladstone, hoping all things, believing everybody, came clashing up at every turn with the inveterate pessimism of Mr. Ruskin, who saw nothing on every side but a world rushing headlong down into the pit. They might talk on the safest of topics, and still the contrast was inevitable.

In *Præterita* Ruskin tells us that in these talks with him Gladstone disputed *all* the principles before their application ; and the application of all that got past the dispute. At one time the conversation turned on Homer and the *Iliad*, and the hearers thought that there, surely, could be no differences of opinion. But Gladstone proceeded to show, from a certain passage, how clear it was that even Homer had entered into those principles of barter which modern economic science would justify ; and Ruskin responded, in a tone of bitter regret, "And to think that the devil of Political Economy was alive even then." On another occasion Sir Walter Scott was brought to the front, and a subject provided that could not fail to be dear to the heart of host and visitor alike. But Gladstone happened to say that "Sir Walter had made Scotland," and Ruskin wished to know what he meant by the remark. Then Gladstone dilated upon the immense improvement, since Sir Walter wrote, in the means of communication in Scotland, and referred at length to the previous isolation of life in the Highlands and the number of delighted excursionists now conveyed up and down the Trossachs. "But, my dear sir," Ruskin broke in at last, "that is not making Scotland, that is unmaking it." This was an echo of a letter, written by Ruskin five years before, and offered recently for sale, "I am obliged by the invitation of the Caledonian Society, but I never go to public dinners, and if steam ploughs are to be used in Caledonia, no dinners will preserve the memory of Burns" ; or of another

letter, in which he alluded to railroads as "animated and deliberate earthquakes, destructive of all wise social habits and possible natural beauty."

These ruptures of interest were bound to occur. The one trusted in the democratic movement, however chaotic and vulgar might be some of its manifestations; the other had learnt from his Master, and faithfully repeated his lesson, that the only hope for the great mass of mankind lay in obedience to the strong will of the strong man who would know so much better for them than they would themselves what it was their true life needed. But the beautiful thing of it all was that, in spite of every collision, they learnt to like and love each other better and better.

But, as I have pointed out elsewhere (in the *Daily Chronicle*), this volume is in other respects important because of its connexion with the great name of Gladstone. In Letter lvii. of *Fors Clavigera* occurs a significant blank, in the middle of which is a statement that "the passage now and henceforward omitted in this place contained an attack on Mr. Gladstone, written under a complete misconception of his character," and, further, that the blank space is left "partly in due memorial of rash judgment." In "Letter the 87th" (*Fors*) Mr. Ruskin expresses "great shame" for these omitted words, written, he says, "in utter misunderstanding of Mr. Gladstone's character." In these *Letters to M. G. and H. G.* we have, for the first time, a full explanation of Ruskin's change of front.

We are here told that Gladstone and Ruskin did not meet before the beginning of 1878. Canon Scott Holland, who was then at Hawarden, but who curiously says "about 1881" for 1878, states that an article by Ruskin in the *Nineteenth Century* had profoundly moved Gladstone, and that the invitation to Ruskin had been thus suggested. Ruskin himself, in his first letter to Miss Mary Gladstone, writes: "I thank *Fors* and your sweet sister very solemnly for having let me see your father." Notwithstanding Canon Scott Holland, we therefore think it highly probable that Letter lxxxiv. in *Fors*, and Mrs. Wickham (Mr. Gladstone's

daughter) prepared the way for Ruskin's Hawarden visit. It was not, however, the first meeting of the two illustrious men. *Præterita* must not be forgotten, with its picture of Ruskin at Lady Davy's table, in the company of J. G. Lockhart's daughter, of whom he was enamoured, but who he found didn't care for a word he said.

And Mr. Gladstone was on the other side of her—and the precious moments were all thrown away in quarrelling across her, with him, about Neapolitan prisons. He couldn't see, as I did, that the real prisoners were the people outside.

It is distinctly amusing to read how, as Ruskin drove with Canon Scott Holland from Broughton station to Hawarden, it was discovered that he had

the darkest view possible of his host, imbibed from the 'Master,' Carlyle, to whose imagination he figured apparently as the symbol of all with which he was at war. Ruskin was therefore extremely timid and suspicious, and had secured, in view of a possible retreat, a telegram which might at any moment summon him home; this telegram loomed largely the first day, and we were constantly under its menace. But as hour by hour he got happier, the references to its possible arrival came more and more rarely, and finally it became purely mythical.

In these letters and diaries—as Mr. Wyndham tells us—we may see the instant birth of mutual esteem between Ruskin and his unrivalled host, and watch it ripening into the fruit of friendship; whilst, as that ripens, a thousand blossoms of playfulness and affection are put forth by Ruskin's admiration and love for the daughter of the house. Canon Scott Holland says that Ruskin threw off every touch of suspicion with which he had arrived, and showed, with all the frankness and charm of a child, his new sense of the greatness and nobility of the character of his host. As he stood on the hall steps when departing at the close of a three days' visit, he begged publicly to recant all that he had ever said or thought against Mr. Gladstone. It was a complete victory, and all the more noticeable just because the two talked a different language and moved in different

worlds. Canon Scott Holland drove with Ruskin to the station, and was freely told of the joy of the discovery, but found him "a little nervous as to how he was going to explain it to 'the Master' when he got back to Chelsea" !

Ruskin himself shall tell of the change in his opinion of Gladstone. When, in his first letter (January 18, 1878) to Miss Mary Gladstone, he expresses gratitude for having been enabled to see her father and understand him in his earnestness, he adds :

How is it possible for the men who have known him long to allow the thought of his course of conduct now, or at any other time, having been warped by ambition, to diminish the lustre and the power of his name? I have been grievously deceived concerning him myself, and have once written words about him which I trust *you* at least may never see. They shall be effaced henceforward (I have written to cancel the page on which they are). If ever you see them, forgive me, and you will know what it is to forgive.

And writing again to Miss Gladstone, a few days later, Ruskin says :

It was a complete revelation to me, and has taught me a marvellous quantity of most precious things—above all things, the rashness of my own judgment (not as to the right or wrong of things themselves, but as to the temper in which men say and do them).

Even after such acknowledgments as these, Ruskin, psychological puzzle that he was, indulged himself in an occasional fling. But, as we are reminded,

vehement language was with Ruskin a literary intoxication rather than a moral fault. He has paid a bitter penalty for failing to overcome the tendency. To paraphrase an absurd epigram about Oliver Goldsmith's talk and his books, it might be said of Ruskin that he talked like an angel and wrote as if he were one of the Major Prophets.<sup>1</sup>

In the summer of 1879 he penned his famous Glasgow letter, in which he declared that he cared no more either

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<sup>1</sup> Frederic Harrison.

for Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Gladstone than for two old bagpipes with the drones going by steam, but that he hated all Liberalism as he did Beelzebub, and that, with Carlyle, he stood alone in England for God and the Queen. And in April, 1884, a conversation he had with Mr. M. H. Spielmann appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and was quoted in every direction. In it he said that there was one political opinion he *did* entertain—that Mr. Gladstone was an old windbag, who used his splendid gifts of oratory, not for the elucidation of a subject, but for its vaporisation in a cloud of words.

It is no matter for surprise that both these roughly-expressed sentiments were ill-received at Hawarden. The continuity of Ruskin's letters to Mr. Gladstone's daughter is significantly broken, and from Mr. Spielmann we learn that, according to Ruskin's own admission, the "windbag" remark gave the greatest offence to Miss Gladstone, of whom he was so fond, and now she wouldn't look at him! But no one who reads these delightful letters can doubt that every breach was happily healed. The Glasgow communication—so Ruskin explained to M. G.—was perfectly deliberate, and meant, *once for all*, to say on the matter all he had to say; but he was in a tired state at the time, and it was written between two coats of colour which he was laying on an oak leaf, and about which he was, that morning, exceedingly solicitous. M. G. had been candidly enough always warned of the adversary side in him, though he did not show it "up the lawn nor by the wood" at Hawarden; and she must remember that if her father said publicly of him that he cared no more for Ruskin (meaning Political and Economical Ruskin) than for a broken bottle stuck on the top of a wall—he should say—only—well, he knew that before—but the rest of Ruskin he loved, for all that. He loves and honours Mr. Gladstone as a perfectly right-minded private English gentleman; as a man of purest religious temper, and as one tenderly compassionate, and as one earnestly (desiring to be) just; but he has always fiercely opposed his politics, and has always "Despised (forgive the Gorgonian word) his way of declaring them to the people," just

as he has always despised also Lord Beaconsfield's methods of appealing to Parliament and to the Queen's ambition. He never for an instant meant any comparison or likeness between Disraeli and Gladstone—they merely had to be named as they were questioned of. It is "unspeakably sweet" of Mr. Gladstone and his daughter to forgive him so soon, and he is inclined to believe anything she will tell him of her father after that. And she must believe he was never in his life in such peril of losing his "political independence" as under his little Madonna's power at Hawarden. There is forgiveness also after the "windbag" conversation, and Miss Gladstone shows herself to be "really the most perfect angel that ever St. Cecilia brought up." But, according to Canon Scott Holland's admirable summing up of the case, it was impossible for Gladstone and Ruskin to co-operate. For all that, however,

they learnt to know that they were fighting on the same side in the great warfare between good and ill; that they had the same cause at heart; that they both trusted in the supremacy of conscience over all material things, and in the reality of righteousness, and in the hatefulness of lust and cruelty and wrong. Their spirits drew together, though their ways lay so far apart; and this because, for both, life had its deep root in piety, and had its one and only consummation in God.

Some one has said that Ruskin expanded the Gospel of the Eternal Beauties into three hundred exquisite volumes. Well, this charming little book has many things as characteristic of Ruskin as any to be found in all the long line of his works; it is also strewn with the most welcome personal touches. In such intimate correspondence as this we should expect to find references to certain names and topics closely associated with Ruskin, and we are not disappointed. He who in the days of early childhood, when badly bitten on the lip by a dog, observed, "Mama, though I can't speak, I can play upon the fiddle," and who long after, in "Time and Tide" (Letter xi.), thus celebrated the power of music:

Music is the nearest at hand, the most orderly, the most delicate, and the most perfect of all bodily pleasures; it is the only one

which is equally helpful to all the ages of men—helpful from the nurse's song to her infant, to the music, unheard of others, which so often haunts the deathbed of pure and innocent spirits,

was a devoted music-lover to the end of his days, as these letters repeatedly and clearly reveal. At the close of 1886 he writes to Miss Gladstone: "I am more passionately and carefully occupied in music than ever yet." We here learn, too, how he would be so moved by Miss Gladstone's playing that words failed him, and he could only say, "Thank you, thank you." The music seemed to have such deep effect that the effect was dumb. With his master, Carlyle, he realised that music was "a kind of inarticulate, unfathomable speech, which leads us to the edge of the infinite and lets us for a moment gaze into that." As the trouble grew in his brain he turned for relief to music. Miss Gladstone had to come to play for him in his bad hours, and he would have the Cathedral at Christ Church closed at times for him to roam up and down it and listen to the organ.

Ruskin here happens to refer to music in connexion with Browning: "He knows much of music, does not he? but I think he must like it mostly for its discords." This remark was probably one of Ruskin's perversities: we do not forget that he praised and recommended Browning (in the *Elements of Drawing*), and that in *Modern Painters* (vol. iv.) he warmly eulogised him as unerring in every sentence he wrote of the Middle Ages; always vital, right, and profound. And he keenly appreciated Miss Gladstone's singularly apt application to himself of words used by Paracelsus in regard to Aprile:

. . . . How he stands  
 With eve's last sunbeam staying on his hair  
 Which turns to it as if they were akin:  
 And those clear smiling eyes of saddest blue  
 Nearly set free, so far they rise above  
 The painful fruitless striving of the brow,  
 And enforced knowledge of the lips, firm-set  
 In slow despondency's eternal sigh!  
 Has he, too, missed life's end, and learned the cause?



By the way, Ruskin's first letter to M. G. has a significant allusion to Tennyson, who is several times mentioned with qualifications—"earnest and doubtful," etc.—in *Modern Painters*. Ruskin having written above Mr. F. W. H. Myers' "St. John the Baptist," the words, "J. R., with deep thanks," explains that the thanks were meant

to distinguish the poem as one which had taught and helped one in the highest ways, from those which one merely reads with admiration or equal sympathy; one falls "upon the great world's altar stairs" helplessly *beside* Tennyson. I thank Myers for lifting me up again.

There are other allusions which cannot be unheeded. All who have read *Fors* know what charmingly-expressed admiration Ruskin there lavished upon St. Ursula and Carpaccio's picture of her. She "became to Ruskin much what Beatrice was to Dante." Mr. Collingwood has told us that the thought of "What would St. Ursula say?" led Ruskin—not always, but far more often than his correspondents knew—to burn the letter of sharp retort upon stupidity and impertinence, and to force the wearied brain and overstrung nerves into patience and a kindly answer. This volume refers to many things, graceful and artlessly exquisite beyond words, which Ruskin said or chanted—or looked—in telling at Hawarden about the Saint—her loveliness and radiant purity and holiness; and it relates how he spoke of the modesty and simplicity of Carpaccio, who would be known only as Titian's disciple, and "put his name to his pictures in the mouth of a lizard or some other beastly little animal."

But in 1845, twenty-four years before Ruskin became thus attracted to St. Ursula, he had fallen in love with the statue of Ilaria, with a hound at her feet, at Lucca, about whose lips there was that "which forbids breath; something which is not death nor sleep, but the pure image of both." Pages could be written concerning Ruskin and Ilaria. We find her in these letters: as late as October, 1882, in writing from Italy, Ruskin says: "I've got my Ilaria here and her pug dog, and am rather happy."

We know, from Tennyson's "Life," how, in 1858, Ruskin was overheard by the poet apostrophising Sir Edward Burne-Jones as an artist: "Jones, you are gigantic"; and we learn elsewhere how, a few months before Ruskin passed away, and on the eve of the painter's death, he stood looking at the portrait of Sir Edward, and, gazing, said, "That's my dear brother, Ned." The remembrance of such things makes certain references in these letters more than ever acceptable. One day (October, 1878), Ruskin is not inclined for "play," but is fit for no work, and yet the thoughts come into his head, and if he doesn't set them down they torment him—the angry ones chiefly; and to keep them quiet he *must* try to set down some of the pretty ones, so he's going to write about "Ned's pics." In another place he says that, much as they love each other, there are certain points of essential difference in feeling between them, which he sometimes hurts Burne-Jones by showing, and "myself much more through him." Then, of course, we have mention of Burne-Jones's drawing of Miss Gladstone, of which an enthusiastic appreciation was given in *The Art of England*, and of which this volume of letters contains a reproduction. "The picture is quite lovely. He never did anything else like it."

These letters abound in allusions which tempt to quotation and comment—one hardly knows where to begin or where to end. I venture to reproduce, in its entirety, the text of a letter to M. G., dated from Herne Hill, March, 1882, even though the letter is not free from obscurity:

I have been darkly ill again. I do not quite yet know *how* ill, or how near the end of illness in this world, but I am to-day able to write (as far as this may be called writing) again; and I fain would pray your pardon for what must seem only madness still, in asking you to tell your Father how terrified I am at the position he still holds in the House, for separate law for Ireland and England.

For these seven, nay, these *ten years*, I have tried to get either Mr. Gladstone, or any other conscientious Minister of the Crown, to feel that the law of land possession was for all the world, and eternal as the mountains and the sea.

Those who possess the land must live *on* it, not by taxing it.

Stars and seas and rocks must pass away before *that* Word of God shall pass away, 'The Land is Mine.'

And the position taken by the Parliament just now is so frightful to me, in its absolute defiance of every human prognostic of Revolution, that I *must* write to you in this solemn way about it, the first note I gravely sit down to write in my old nursery, with, I trust, yet uncrushed life and brain.

A few brief, disconnected extracts from these letters, which show Ruskin under various aspects—observer and lover of Nature, writer, playful and affectionate friend—must also be given.

I don't think a pretty tree is ever meant to be drawn with all its leaves on, any more than a day when its sun is at noon. One draws the day in its morning or evening, the tree in its spring or autumn.

It is a great grace of the olive, not enough thought on, that it does not hurt the grass underneath.

I'm so very glad your father is interested in "Deucalion." I never get any credit from anybody for my geology, and it is the best of me by far. And I really think I've got those stuck-up surveyors in a fix, rather! I'm going in at the botanists next, and making diagrams of trees to ask them questions about. . . . I never was so lazy as I am just now, in all my life. If only I enjoyed being lazy I should not mind, but I'm only ashamed of myself, and get none of the comfort.

I'm thinking over a word or two I want to say in a new small edition of *Sesame and Lilies*, for girls only, without the mystery of life—just a few words about obeying Fathers as well as ruling Husbands. I'm more and more convinced of the total inability of Men to manage themselves, much less than wives and daughters; but it's pretty of daughters to be obedient, and the book's imperfect without a word or two in favour of the papas. (You can guess why it hadn't that—at first.) (Ash Wednesday, 1882.)

(Ruskin's filial devotion was inseparable from his life. In these letters he confesses to a lurking tenderness for Disraeli, "because my own father had a liking for him.")

The second volume (of *Præterita*) is giving me a lot of trouble, because I have to describe many things in it that people never see nowadays—and it is like writing about the moon. Also, when I begin to crow a little, it doesn't read so pretty as the humble pie. (April, 1886.)

I wish I could make her well again—and bring the years back again, and move the shadow from the dial evermore.

If a great illness like that is quite conquered, the return to the lovely world is well worth having left it for the painful time; one never knew what beauty was before (unless in happy love which I had about two hours and three-quarters of once in my life).

When I got your letter, on an extremely wet day at Annecy, it was as if a bit of the sky had tumbled after the rain.

Bless you? Blest if I do; I'll give you absolution, if you come and ask it very meekly, but don't you know how I hate girls marrying curates? You must come directly and play me some lovely tunes—it's the last chance you'll have of doing anything to please me, for I don't like married women. . . . As for the poverty and cottage, and all the rest of that nonsense, do you think you'll get any credit in Heaven for being poor when you fall in love first? If you had married a conscientious Bishop and made *him* live in a pig-sty—*à la bonne heure!* (December, 1885.)

I didn't mean, and never have thought, that girls were higher or holier than wives—Heaven forbid! I merely said I liked them better; which, surely, is extremely proper of me.

I'm a great believer in goodness, and fancy there are many people who ought to be canonised who never are; so that, be a man ever so good, I'm not idolatrous of him. (If it is a—Madonna, it's another thing, you know.)

Here are a few "saucy" messages to Mr. Gladstone:

I don't think he need have set himself in the Nineteenth Century to prove to the Nineteenth Century that "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge were valueless." (July 28, 1879.)

Dear love to your father; but tell him he hasn't scattered the Angelic Land-League, and that that Punch is not a representation of its stick—or shillelagh—power. (February 15, 1881.)

I'm so wild just now because your father won't make me Prime Minister for a day, like the Sleeper Awakened. (March 29, 1885.)

If the Queen would have me for Grand Vizier, I'd save papa such a lot of trouble, and come and chop twigs with him afterwards—when he'd got the tree down. (April 2, 1886.)

How thoroughly characteristic all the letters are of Ruskin ! We find him "in a wonderfully sad marsh and pool of thought" ; asserting, again, that he has so much to do with death that he is "far better in the house of mourning than of feasting, when the mourning is noble, and not selfish" ; or despondent at the "short days and shorter years" ; or "rather going *down* the hill than up, it's so slippery," but he hasn't "turned—only slipped backwards" ; or feeling as if nobody could ever love him, or believe him, or listen to him, or get any good of him ever any more. And while we are touched by this melancholy—ever inseparable from the highest art—we are also conscious of the delicately fragile fun and feeling of his letters, and his love for "sibyls, and children, and vestals, and so on" ; even though with these tender notes may be mingled the stern tones of the prophet's message : "the truth I have been trying to teach these ten years, that neither the Holy Ghost—nor the Justice of God—nor the life of man—may be sold."

In *Fors*—that work of impassioned intellect—is to be found a most mournful fragment of biography : "My father and mother and nurse are dead, and the woman I hoped would have been my wife is dying." This lady, the "Rose" of *Præterita*, had been Ruskin's pupil. A deep attachment had been formed between them ; and, when she became a woman, it was generally understood that they were to be married. But they differed in religious matters. She was extremely Evangelical ; and it seemed to her that in *Fors* he had made light of such faith. She turned from him, though it wrecked her happiness and life ; and even three years afterwards (in 1875), when she was dying and he implored permission to see her once again, she denied the request because he could not yet say that he loved God better than he loved her. With what eagerness the broken-hearted man

watched, after her death, for evidence of another life, who can fully tell? At last, at the close of 1876, after a season of bitter despair, the assurance he desired seemed to be granted him, and largely through the influence of his dead, but living, Rose, he who had passed through wildernesses of doubt, returned "not to the fold of the Church, but to the footstool of the Father." The great tragedy of his life is brought before us in the poignant pathos of these words, written to M. G. in February, 1879 :

It's very pretty of you to give me those lovely lines (on Aprile from *Paracelsus*, previously mentioned) : I like them because that child I told you of, who died, who wasn't usually by way of paying me compliments, *did* once say, "Those eyes," after looking into them awhile. If they could but see ever so little a way towards her now! To-morrow, Lady-day, it will be thirteen years since she bade me "wait" three, and I'm tired of waiting.

But his assurance of another life finds noble expression in these words of faith (February, 1881), also written to M. G. :

The death of Carlyle is no sorrow to me. It is, I believe, not an end—but a beginning of his real life. Nay, perhaps also of mine. My remorse, every day he lived, for having not enough loved him in the days gone by, is not greater now, but less, in the hope that he knows what I am feeling about him at this and all other moments.

R. WILKINS REES.

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[Mr. Ruskin gave Mrs. Drew (Mr. Gladstone's daughter) permission to publish these letters for the benefit of an industrial district. They were, however, privately printed, as better fitted for limited circulation. Remaining copies—a few at a guinea each—may be obtained from Mrs. Drew, Buckley Vicarage, Chester, or the University Press, Oxford.]

## RELIGION IN LONDON.

*Life and Labour of the People in London.* By CHARLES BOOTH. Third Series : "Religious Influence." (London : Macmillan & Co.)

BY the publication of his series of volumes on "Religious Influences," Mr. Charles Booth has completed the third and last section of his great work on the *Life and Labour of the People in London*.

The first two series dealt with industrial conditions ; enumerated the "mass of the people of London in classes according to the degrees of poverty or comfort," and indicated "the conditions of life in each class."

These results were arrived at by means of several distinct inquiries, and furnished both general results for the whole population and a minute description of the condition of things in every local division and sub-division. With this industrial tabulation was included an account of the conditions of labour in each group of trades. The whole inquiry therefore was concerned with the material and economic conditions of life and labour, and with the moral influences consequent upon them, with the one exception that the educational opportunities offered to the children of London were described. But Mr. Booth could not rest satisfied with the completion of this great task. He felt, as he tells us, that "there are other social influences which form part of the very structure of life, and some account of them is necessary to complete the picture of things as they are." Hence this last series, which is chiefly occupied with Religion, or rather with "organised religious effort," as chief among these influences ; although some account is given of other organised social and philanthropic influences, as well as of local government and police. Much additional

information is also furnished with regard to some of the leading moral problems of London, but all these additional subjects are subordinate to the one predominant concern, and it is as an account of the present condition of religion in London that the book must be estimated.

In conducting his inquiry Mr. Booth has been assisted by a small committee of helpers. He thus describes their operations :

Our plan of action may be likened to a voyage of discovery. We have moved our camp from centre to centre all over London, remaining for weeks or even months in each spot in order to see as well as hear all we could. Spiritual influences do not lend themselves readily to statistical treatment, and we have not attempted it. The subject is one in which figures may easily be pressed too far, and if trusted too much are likely to be more than usually dangerous. Our object, rather, has been to obtain truthful and trustworthy impressions, which we might hope to be able to transmit to our readers, of whom, though many would know accurately some part, few can have surveyed the whole field.<sup>1</sup>

In order to secure that these impressions should be faithful, churches and other institutions have been visited, accounts of their work have been carefully read, and written reports have been prepared of nearly 1,800 personal interviews, most of which were with the direct representatives of religious work. The vast mass of information thus acquired has then been worked upon, and the result is to give us, first a living picture of what is going on in every district of London, and then in the final volume a summary of conclusions, serving to characterise the activities of each great religious organisation, and to estimate the nature and extent of its influence.

This work is entitled to the most respectful consideration, alike for the spirit in which it has been undertaken, and for the thoroughness with which it has been carried out. The care and accuracy of the previous stages of his inquiry have made Mr. Charles Booth's name synonymous with

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 7.



that of dispassionate and scientific social inquiry. These qualities he has brought to this section of his undertaking. His own personal sympathies or prejudices are never obtruded and very seldom meet the eye. His spirit is reverent and sincere. He endeavours to see facts as they are, and to present them without fear or favour to his readers. Indeed, his courageous fidelity to truth, as he perceives it, is worthy of the highest praise ; for the conclusions which he draws, both as to the work and influence of churches in general and as to the operations of particular organisations, are not such as to enhance his present popularity, and have, indeed, aroused almost passionate protest from some who hold themselves to be unfairly criticised.

That there should be deficiencies and mistakes in such a record of impressions goes without saying. To begin with, the production of the work has extended over several years, and hence the description of many enterprises is necessarily somewhat out of date. Again, the most careful system of interviewing and observation by outsiders must inevitably produce some precarious results. Only those who belong to an institution can gain a completely faithful insight into its ideals and aims. Moreover, the scheme of a local inquiry must needs neglect the plans and purposes of those central organisers and directors of religious movements, without the intimate knowledge of whose minds the tendency of particular local movements cannot be thoroughly judged. All such drawbacks are inevitable. The result is that some complain that they have been misapprehended, and that some movements and institutions are insufficiently described. In addition, there are some blemishes which might have been avoided. Societies are not always accurately named. Less worthy incidents are occasionally dragged into light in a way inconsistent with the general spirit of the book, and motives for action are sometimes suggested, which are mere surmises, and are misleading.

Yet, when all such deductions have been made, the book remains a great contribution to our knowledge, and a valuable

guide-book to what is going on in the religious world throughout London. So great a store of information as to the objects and work of the clergy and ministers of all types has never been available before. The criticisms passed upon the Churches, as a whole, or upon individuals among them, are worthy of the most careful consideration. The account given of the attitude of the multitudes to religion, as organised in the Churches, will be productive of great and much needed heart-searching, and not less so the criticisms passed on the moral and economic effects of some short-sighted methods of philanthropy. It is worse than useless to ignore such effects, or to resent such criticisms. It is needless even to be depressed by them, although that will probably be the momentary effect upon many minds. In a sense, all the facts were known before. There are few criticisms which we have not passed upon ourselves or upon one another; but the effect produced by the picture as a whole, and by the calm, cold, and yet not unkindly judgment pronounced on it, resembles the impression produced upon a nervous patient, who, having been dimly conscious of his ailments before, has his worst fears suddenly confirmed by the diagnosis of a medical expert. While this, however, must be the first result, the outcome in the long-run cannot fail to be salutary and to further the interests of religion.

Having said so much, we must now consider more carefully what is the precise value of such a contribution as Mr. Booth's to our knowledge of the exact position of religion in London, and what light it throws upon the task that lies before the Christian Church, if it is to accomplish the work for which it has been divinely commissioned.

And here an opening word of caution is necessary. The world, for the most part, thoughtlessly transfers a reputation won in some distinct department of human thought or action to other, and perhaps divergent, spheres. For example, the judgments passed by a great master of physical science in matters of theology are often received with bated breath, although they may be philosophically absurd, and the opinions of a successful man of business as to

the best means of promoting religion are often treated with a consideration that overlooks all the differences between the spirit of competitive enterprise and the ideal of true religion, which, in its perfect embodiment, does not "strive nor cry." So it must be borne in mind that the two sections of Mr. Booth's book are not *in pari materia*. While we are dealing with the concrete facts of housing accommodation, labour statistics, rentals, the workman's weekly budget, and so forth, we are dealing with facts that can be completely ascertained and set out if adequate care be exercised. All is visible to the eye, if sufficiently searching, and there is scarcely anything that is affected by any personal equation of the inquirer. It is possible in the same way to take what is called a religious census; though even this demands a far more comprehensive method than that recently adopted by the *Daily News*. But, as we shall proceed to show, all this, even when complete, gives but an imperfect representation of that with which religion deals, namely, the kingdom of God, which is not here nor there, but is within man. And when the most careful inquirer passes from numbering and describing to estimating, it cannot but be that the personal equation of the inquirer will affect all his judgments. Indeed, all that can be obtained at the best, are, as Mr. Booth says, "truthful and trustworthy impressions." In so large a subject the truthfulness and trustworthiness can only make an approach towards perfection, and what at best is only an impression cannot stand for an adequate representation of the inner reality of spiritual facts. For what they are these impressions are most valuable, but they must not be treated as that which they are not, and which Mr. Booth would be among the first to recognise they cannot possibly be.

We mislead ourselves, therefore, if we assume that the present Series represents an equally scientific result with the preceding Series of this great work, or that Mr. Booth himself would claim that it does. All we can have is a more or less complete description of what can be ascertained by a vigilant and industrious inquirer as to the

objects, activities, and results of religious organisations. The description thus given, so far as an estimate of "Religious Influences" is concerned, has the following drawbacks, some of which are inseparable from the conditions laid down.

In the first place, only institutional religion can be taken account of, and that in its most institutional aspects. In his introduction Mr. Booth says that among social influences "religion claims the chief part," and that, therefore, "the investigation of the action of organised religious effort in all its forms has taken the first and largest place" in his additional inquiry. He adds that his inquiry is "confined to the description of things as they are." He does not undertake to investigate their causes or their tendencies, still less does he set himself up "as a critic of religious truth." His "concern in the matter of religion is solely with the extent to which people accept the doctrines, conform to the discipline, and share in the work of the religious bodies, and with the effect produced, or apparently produced, on their lives."

Such an undertaking is both legitimate and useful, but it comes short in many ways of a complete account of "Religious Influences." Mr. Booth himself is conscious of this. He speaks of "diffused religion," and points out the limitations of his work in a passage which deserves quotation. "If, however," he says,

religion is not simply a moral code of life, neither is it merely a devotional expression; religion is also an impulse and a persistent attitude, an intimate possession of the soul, perhaps not understood even by the individual, and very difficult of interpretation by others. But if we consider the recognition of the divine and spiritual in life to be the distinctive characteristic of religion, judgment is still obscured. In this sense men are often more religious than is known. The most religious may be those whose professions are fewest; who may give no sign to the world of their inner spiritual life. The form of reserve that hates to display feeling is a national quality.

And if it is impossible to track out religious individuals, and to measure the force and truth of their religion, so it is

impossible to do justice in a work like this to the influence of religion upon the community as a whole. A complete account of religious influences, if possible, would show, not merely the state of religious organisations, their numbers, characteristics, and reputation, but what share religion has in inspiring those who shape public life, in moulding its ideals, and in winning a response to those ideals from the community at large. Our Lord declared that His disciples were "the light of the world," "the salt of the earth." In these words He emphasised their influence upon the community as the bearers of a revelation for all, and as centres of a preservative influence against spiritual and moral corruption. How far this ministry to the world's well-being is still being exercised cannot be measured by statistics of church attendance, or by consideration of the idiosyncrasies of particular denominations. Nor can the individuals who attend the churches and contribute to their activities be followed into all the ordinary relationships of life, in order to see what their religion makes of them as citizens, men of business, or industrial workers. Much of their most valuable work and influence lies in these spheres; much also of their disastrous failure. It is impossible to produce "truthful and trustworthy impressions" of all this. On the other hand, the social enterprises carried on by the Churches, as such, are credited to them and fully described, while similar undertakings carried on apart from the Churches, often by the same people, from the same motives and for the same ends, cannot be placed to the account of religion. It is true that Mr. Booth's effort to deal with local government and benevolent institutions enables him to touch upon these things also, but the impulse which directs a man to move for a free library or to help to manage a board school may be exactly the same as that of the Congregationalist who founds a literary society, or of the Churchman who conducts a parish school. If the one set of activities be credited to religion, so should the other; but of course there is no means of determining this, and hence the account is necessarily one-sided and incomplete.

In the second place, even with all these limitations, Mr. Booth's inquiry can only take account of religion *in manifestation*. So far as men visibly identify themselves with religious organisations or actively oppose them, everything is clear, but neither the one attitude nor the other is characteristic of the great majority of the people of London. The greater number neither belong to the Churches nor oppose them. In a large number of cases they carry on their lives almost as though no such institutions as churches existed. Yet this indifference is for the most part not complete. The services of the Churches are sought on the most solemn occasions of life. At its close the visits of a clergyman or minister are welcome, and a secular funeral would be treated as a violation of natural piety. The impression that a candidate in an education contest would "take the Bible out of the schools" would almost everywhere ensure his defeat. Mr. Booth goes even farther, and considers that the doctrines of the "Incarnation, Atonement, and Resurrection are fairly well known, and there would be no general disposition to question their truth." This statement may overstep the mark, but at least it is certain that there is widespread familiarity with the main doctrines of Evangelical Religion.

And yet the hope of winning the multitudes to the gospel is again and again treated by Mr. Booth as a delusion. He considers the gains of the Churches to be simply the result of the influence of inner religious circles upon an outer circle of "adherents and supporters," who "probably come of a religious stock, their souls still affected by bygone spiritual experiences on their own part, or that of their forebears." He adds that

The successes achieved among such as these serve to strengthen the optimistic delusion in many religious bodies, which regards all men as open to receive the gospel they offer to the world; and thus the attitude of these bodies to the Bible is largely based on a misconception of the attitude of the people towards them.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. VII., p. 415.

He says of the Salvation Army that

The delusion is maintained that the world, perishing for the lack of belief in the doctrine they preach, is athirst for the gospel expressed in their formula and typified by their flag, and that what the Army is accomplishing for the salvation of man on these lines is of the first importance. But it is not so. Whatever the value of these doctrines, the belief in them does not spread. No universality can be claimed for them. Their validity rests upon spiritual experiences, subject to various interpretations and not common to all mankind.<sup>1</sup>

And he declares that the work of the small missions could hardly go on at all "without constant self-deception." This view raises a spiritual and philosophical problem entirely beyond the reach of statistical information and impressionist pictures. We have passed beyond the realm of actualities into that of potentialities. Are we to deny religious susceptibilities to those who are apparently indifferent to the claims of religion, and to despair of influencing those who are not immediately responsive to the appeals of the Churches? On such a point as this the experience of the teacher who has influenced children in the schools, or of the missionary who has had close and constant dealings with men and women of all types, is infinitely to be preferred to that of the mere scientific inquirer. The educationist does not deny the universality of reason or despair of its ultimate triumph because of the mass of present ignorance and unreason with which he is constantly contending; nor does the artist pronounce his enthusiasm for art a delusion, because his taste is outraged every day by flaunting vulgarity, or is depressed by the sordid monotony of our great cities. If the religious believer is subject to delusion, so are all those who work for the ideal ends of mankind. The goal with them all is universality. That universality is to be reached by stirring and training faculties which, as yet, are dormant in the mass of mankind. The broad facts of life rise up at every point

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. VII., p. 344.

to contradict them. Their work succeeds here and fails yonder. Yet they persist in their efforts, and are never without a confirmatory response where the immediate conditions favour them. It is not otherwise with religion. Degrees of susceptibility, ranging from the highest to the very lowest, there undoubtedly are. It is true that "many are called, but few are chosen." Yet those who deal with souls most closely and widely are most clearly convinced of the abiding truth of Tertullian's exclamation, "*O testimonium animæ humanæ naturaliter Christianæ!*" The nerve of all effort in human life is optimism; that its fires are unquenched by the floods of disappointment and defeat is a sure token of the presence of the Spirit of God heaping fuel upon them. By secret illumination and encouragement men are strengthened to prepare the things which shall be hereafter, and what seems their self-deception may well become the strongest witness of the inmost truth and of the final issue. Here, however, we have passed beyond the realm of outward observation into that of faith, of the reasons by which faith justifies itself, and of the intrinsic universality which faith necessarily claims.

Yet keeping nearer the surface of things, Mr. Booth himself supplies the most valuable answer to these sweeping generalisations. With clear insight he points to one of the most powerful causes which keep working men from attending the churches. Having discussed some of the more trivial reasons assigned for this abstention, Mr. Booth says :

At bottom it is none of these things, but a moral obstacle with which we are confronted. What the classes above seek in religion is its support; what the working man fights shy of is its discipline. Working men have a far more exacting conception of its ethical obligations. They expect a religious man to make his life square with his opinions. They like their club, with its pot of beer, its entertainments, its game of cards or billiards, or the "pub" and its associates, and a bet on tomorrow's race; but they look on these things as inconsistent with all religious profession, and every form of religious association thus becomes (if they think seriously about the



matter at all) something from which, in honesty, they must hold themselves aloof.

They are unwilling to accept a restraint that would deprive them of these everyday pleasures, and the step to denounce as hypocrites those members of religious bodies who lead mundane lives is easily made. And they are, as might be supposed, especially prone to observe instances of a lack of Christian conduct or of just dealing amongst their employers, who may at the same time figure prominently as Church members. Coupled with this there is some class feeling against joining Churches which are supposed to side with the rich, so that to go to church may even be regarded as disloyalty to class.<sup>1</sup>

Such a state of mind is essentially a witness to the universality and serious import of "religious influences," though not to their supremacy. The conception of what is involved in religion is so high that men dare not trifle with it. And therefore in presence of the solicitations of the world they postpone its consideration to "a more convenient season." This very state of mind is the constant incentive to the Churches, which must wage an unceasing conflict in the hope of reinforcing, by divine help, the higher against the lower in men's hearts. Wherever man fears to be a hypocrite religious influences are not dead.

In the third place, an inquiry like Mr. Booth's naturally gets entangled in the hopeless task of attempting to isolate religion and to estimate its nature and force apart from the other pursuits with which it is bound up. Mr. Booth's criticism on the influence of the Congregationalists as being more "social than religious" has become familiar by frequent quotation. In addition, he gives numerous reports from Church workers, who contrast the civilising influences of their parochial institutions with the slenderness of their spiritual result.

Again we have entered upon a territory which does not belong to those who prepare for the numerator or recorder a "truthful and trustworthy impression." For example, let us hear how a distinguished Congregationalist describes his

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., pp. 89, 90.

social activities. We have been recently told in the press that Dr. Horton is contemplating a considerable development of his work at Hampstead. His desire is to have "a Church which presents a variety of social and intellectual institutions covering the whole of human life, as the sphere in which the Spirit of Christ dwelling in the Church may manifest itself." We are not concerned for the moment with the practicableness, or even the desirableness, of this ideal, either at Hampstead or elsewhere. But, at any rate, the way in which it is conceived shows how impossible it is to distinguish in such a plan between what is religious and what is social. In fact, the social is developed *for the sake of the religious*; because without it the expression of the religious, and its supremacy over all parts and relationships of human nature, is considered incomplete. Here, therefore, we are brought into the presence of undoubted differences of type and aim among religious communities and individuals. In some, religious faith and fervour so absorb all the energies as apparently to shut out the common objects and interests of life. Occasionally these are even condemned as in themselves "common and unclean." On the other hand, there is the tendency to embrace all these things within the sphere of religion; and this not because faith is weak, but because it is strong. Men seek actively to annex all provinces of life to the kingdom of Christ, and within the limited range of a particular church to exhibit His will and power in sanctifying and perfecting all the natural powers of man's being.

Before Mr. Booth is entitled to speak of this latter ideal as "more social than religious" he must become what he disclaims being "a critic of religious truth." Undoubtedly in this matter, as in all great human endeavours, the ideal may be largely frustrated by the practice and the hope falsified by the result. It would take a far more searching investigation than even Mr. Booth is able to bring to bear to justify a generalisation as to how far this is the case with the Congregationalist Churches, or with any others who accept a similar ideal. It is certain that many will accept

social advantages without sharing the deeper religious motives and beliefs which actuate those who offer such advantages. To raise the followers to the level of the leaders must be a work of long and continuous influence, and will never be completely accomplished. In some cases the followers may even defeat the leaders. But such an untoward result is accidental, and does not entitle us to say that the mainspring of the endeavour, that which gave it its inspiration and direction, was social rather than religious. As a matter of fact, religion must be always passing beyond itself, for the love of God embraces all God's world, and pursues the whole of God's end. And the well-being of the natural order of men's lives is part of God's end, and can only be secured by religious faith and upon spiritual foundation. To civilise in the name and by the power of Christ, if it fall short of the highest spiritual success, is no mean achievement, for without civilisation the community, in and through which Christ is to be manifested, would perish. Unhappily it cannot be denied that the inordinate love of mere amusement has invaded many of the Churches, as it has taken possession of English life as a whole. It is one of the dangers with which we have at present to contend. Men may discuss whether they shall exorcise this spirit, or whether they shall attempt to regulate it. But this concerns the abuse and not the use of human faculties and associations. All that is intended here is to contend against a false and misleading antithesis, and against any disposition to deny to religion the credit of the great works of social amelioration, which it inspires and maintains.

Once more, the exclusion of causes and tendencies necessarily excludes from consideration the determining social conditions upon which religious prosperity depends. Yet, at every turn the book suggests how powerful is the influence of the environment, acting upon different temperaments and different classes. The large question of the healthiness or otherwise of our general social relationships cannot be shut out from our consideration of the state of religion. There is no such reflector of character as

religion, and the influence of environment upon character is almost incalculable.

The truth of this meets us at every point. It explains, for instance, many of the distinctive marks and not a few of the defects of different types of religious workers. The persistent, yet mechanical and hopeless efforts of many a parochial clergyman, the equable self-satisfaction of some Congregationalist Churches well placed in prosperous suburbs, the overstrained appeals of sanguine missionaries, who believing intensely in their work, magnify and advertise its results in order to attract the needful financial help,—what are all these but the varied effects produced by that local separation of rich and poor which is a fruitful cause of injury to both? The slightest effort of imagination enables us to perceive this. So with regard to the demoralising results of the relief given to the poorest classes by many churches and missions. Mr. Booth dwells much upon this. Yet he admits “that the religious bodies cannot ‘leave it alone’; they may succeed in dissociating relief from religious propaganda, though that is not so easy as it sounds, but they cannot suffer the poor to be uncared for or stand aside entirely while others do the work.”<sup>1</sup>

The fact is that such missions are often established in areas of unhelped and almost unhelpable poverty. The Christian sympathy aroused in contact with so much misery cannot be denied expression. Such denial would mean, not merely outward failure, but a contradiction of the mind of Christ. Yet the expression of this sympathy under these evil conditions leads often to moral and economic mischief. The reason is clear. The general spiritual shortcoming of the community is actively creating and perpetuating a state of local conditions here and there with which the isolated efforts of missions are powerless to deal. They can neither leave the problem alone, nor solve it. The painful result is that the good which they do to a limited number of individuals is purchased at the cost of evil to others. So far as

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. VII., p. 407.

they are short-sighted or self-seeking, the fault must be laid at their door ; but the burden of responsibility rests, not with them, but with the community which is content, with spasmodic sympathy, to palliate some of the results of poverty, yet has neither the courage nor the self-sacrifice to face its causes in the highest spirit of Christian statesmanship.

It is not otherwise with the spiritual indifference of the "masses." This is often dealt with as if it implied that they had received "a double dose of original sin." Yet the same complaint is uttered with painful reiteration by the politician, the educationist, the social reformer, and even the trade organiser. All deplore the apathy of the people. Ready for excitement, they cannot be roused to serious effort nor look beyond the immediate present. Is all this remarkable in the case of hundreds of thousands who have no background of life, who in overcrowded houses and in the noise of the streets have never in their lives been alone with God and their own heart? Their shallowness and instability mark an impoverishment of nature which is the product of unfavourable influences acting generation after generation. Their general condition accounts, on the one hand, for their inability to respond to religion ; on the other, it accounts for the overstrained appeals which are made to them, and for many of those methods which are devised to interest them, at the cost, often, of good taste and of reverence. Similar reasons would explain many other drawbacks and failures to which Mr. Booth calls attention ; but once more we have passed beyond the immediate province of his undertaking.

It has been necessary to dwell upon these considerations in order that we may recognise the inherent limitations of an inquiry like Mr. Booth's, when applied to such a subject as religion. To fail to recognise them would lead to our attaching in some respects too much, in others too little, weight to his book.

And now let us pass to consider for a moment the general impression which it produces upon the reader. To

begin with, it presents a wonderful picture of a vast volume of sustained, disinterested, and self-sacrificing effort. In the presence of such a record let no one say that Christianity is weak. Judged by its own perfect standard it does, undoubtedly, fall lamentably short. It is a mark of its divinity that men are compelled to judge it by such a standard. But, looked at in itself, what a testimony to the power of Christian faith and to the persistence of heroic effort is here! Take, for instance, Mr. Booth's description of the "Little Missions," "with their self-devoted action, sustained in many cases during a lifetime," in which

for the most part the propagandist motive is merged in overflowing pity for the feeble and the stricken; in simple efforts to benefit the children, and bring help and comfort to the poor and the distressed; and in sad and weary denunciation of indulgence in drink.

The surroundings are squalid, the results apparently small; but, with all drawbacks, who shall measure the value of a witness to Christ so maintained, or exaggerate the power of His Spirit, thus lifting common and ignorant men and women to a nobly unselfish life? And so from end to end of the organisations described by Mr. Booth. Widely separated as they are in doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution, no one who reads the book in a scientific, to say nothing of a sympathetic, temper can rise from it without magnifying and not belittling the work of the Churches, or without paying a tribute to the greatness of the motives which inspire them.

And, in the next place, at every point we come upon evidence of a growing catholicity of aim which fulfils the old declaration, *Humani nil a me alienum puto*. Mr. Booth sums up by saying

Comprehensiveness comes to be the characteristic of all such work, and an age of industrial and scientific specialisation finds Churches, Chapels, Missions, Settlements, and Polytechnics (like the great Supply Stores) almost universal in their scope.

For those who find in the gospel of the incarnation of the Son

of God the inspiration and guarantee of all progress, the assurance of the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth, this comprehensiveness is a most welcome sign. It has its drawbacks here and there. It may lead to the dissipation of effort over too wide a sphere, and to the assertion of principles of action in an ineffective way. It may for the moment create conflicting enterprises, instead of large combinations for social work. It may even be infected with the baneful spirit of sectarian exclusiveness, and used for the purposes of sectarian aggrandisement. These are serious, but passing, defects. And what the growth of this spirit points to is that through force of circumstances all "men of good-will" are being driven to contemplate human nature as a whole and in all its relationships; to treat spiritual interests, not in abstraction, but in their relation to the complex whole of human life as naturally constituted. Thus points of approximation between different bodies are being multiplied as their sympathies become the same and their undertakings similar. In presence of such a common zeal and such common sympathies as this book reveals, we may well be confirmed in our hope of a growing Christian fellowship and co-operation, which will reduce our differences to their proper proportions, and enable us to face the evils of the day with a mutual understanding and combination which have not yet been realised. Despite momentary conflicts and differences, this is the goal towards which the thought and effort of the Churches are visibly tending. The inside picture of every church given by this book will, by increasing mutual respect, strengthen the desire of all good men for this result.

But, thirdly, it is brought home to us how essential larger thought, higher courage, and fuller Christian consistency are to the securing of adequate spiritual results. The book, as we have seen, is full of stories of enterprises defeated, and even of work distorted by social conditions that are overwhelmingly adverse. The remedy for these difficulties of Christian churchmanship must be wrought out by Christian citizenship. The future belongs, under God, to

those Christians who combine most completely spirituality of temper and evangelical faith with breadth of sympathy and a generous hope of human progress, which can inspire the most unselfish social service.

This leads us to consider the account given by Mr. Booth of the work and temper of Wesleyan Methodism. In so short a survey as this, many important subjects raised by Mr. Booth must be left out of sight. It is impossible even to touch upon Mr. Booth's judgments of the other religious organisations which have passed under his review. But his criticisms of the Wesleyan Methodist Church are of the greatest interest and importance to the readers of this article. Mr. Booth's general account of the organisation of Wesleyan Methodism is generally satisfactory. He does justice, also, to the enterprise, the generosity, and the wide sympathies which have been so apparent during recent years. Attention is called to the importance of the great movement which has planted mission centres in the poorest districts of London and of other great cities. On the other hand, Mr. Booth points out the serious disadvantages entailed by the system of itinerancy upon those who would deal with the problems of religion in London. It is, however, with the spirit manifested in Wesleyan Methodism and with its results that we are chiefly concerned. As to this spirit, Mr. Booth makes the following statement :

"The congregations," he says, "are drawn from the same classes which support the Baptists and Congregationalists, but it is a somewhat different temperament that is appealed to—a character more filled with religious enthusiasm than are the Congregationalists, more emotional than the Baptists, and taking a more joyous view of life than either. Mere pleasure is not regarded as wicked or as waste of time. Wesleyans may be as deeply religious as Baptists, and as hard-working as the Congregationalists, but they look for, and they find, enjoyment in all they do."

Mr. Booth considers the extent of the religious influence of Wesleyan Methodism in London "more difficult to estimate than that of either Baptist or Congregationalist



because it is so much more varied in character." Yet he declares that, with all its energy, activity, enthusiasm, and zeal, there is something hollow, unsatisfactory, and unreal about Wesleyanism as a religious influence, which I find difficult to put into words. . . . The enthusiasm and overwrought emotions of the Wesleyans produce a false atmosphere of exaggerated language. Reports are set in a high key in order to get money.

That there is an element of truth in this last accusation must be admitted. In very few enthusiasts is the critical spirit developed. The man who has given his whole soul and strength to a work in which he completely believes, who is steeped in its ideals and apprehends their universal importance, naturally tends to exaggerate the immediate results of his work. Moreover, there are cases where the cruel strain of financial necessity, only imperfectly tempered by the Connexional spirit, has driven men to assert, it may be excessively, the value of the enterprises which are imperilled by lack of support. The eager aggressiveness of Methodism, which is of its very essence, may incidentally lead to such consequences here and there. Yet, after all, the grounds of Mr. Booth's indictment are chiefly taken from a few such exceptional cases. Undoubtedly an excessive emotionalism has sometimes disfigured the work of the Methodist missionary. In all these respects Mr. Booth's criticisms therefore simply bid us beware of the defects of our qualities. The reminder is timely, and should not be resented. But beneath the surface of a somewhat hostile judgment what a testimony is here to the greatness of the gift bestowed by God upon the Wesleyan Methodist Church! Mr. Booth says that the "Wesleyan system provides all the machinery that is needed for a national Church." It may be added that in its enthusiastic hopefulness, its aggressiveness, its joy in work and its generous sympathies, "touching life at every point," as Mr. Booth elsewhere says, it has the temper that is essential for undertaking the religious tasks of the twentieth century. Once realise the full meaning of this book, and what other

spirit will be found sufficient to surmount the manifold evils which are presented to us in their appalling array, and to bring to men and women the power of a religion at once simple and comprehensive, at once spiritual and humane? Whether that possibility shall be fulfilled will depend on whether enthusiasm is yoked with growing enlightenment, whether fervour and sympathy become the parents of practical wisdom and statesmanship, and whether the desire to see great spiritual results inspires a high standard of personal devotion and a courageous ministry to the cause of social progress. Enthusiasm is motive power for work; the salvation of men means the transformation of society. To shrink from this comprehensiveness is to be shut in with an emotionalism which is not only fleeting, but weakens the soul. To see life whole and to serve it is to make that enthusiasm a priceless offering to the coming of the kingdom of God on earth. That Mr. Booth presents this issue to us with all frankness is not the least service he has done by means of his great inquiry.

J. SCOTT LIDGETT.

**BISHOP WESTCOTT.**

*Life and Letters of Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Bishop of Durham.* By his son, ARTHUR WESTCOTT. Two vols. (London : Macmillan. 1903.)

A VERY large public will welcome the early appearance of the life of a saint and a man of genius who has left his own peculiar mark in many places upon our country's later annals. As my father's close friend and fellow-worker through nearly thirty years, and more particularly as Regius Professor at Cambridge and Fellow of my own College, Dr. Westcott's personality was very familiar to me, and an object of profound reverence and affection. My own personal reminiscences will add little to the picture of the great teacher, but they will help in various ways to determine the lines on which, in the present article, I may try to characterise the book dedicated to his memory.

The industry and the modesty which Mr. Arthur Westcott has brought to his labour of love will be soon apparent to those who even glance over these nine hundred pages. Mr. Westcott alludes in his preface to a sentence of advice given to him as a boy by his father : "Build solidly, and don't stuff up holes with putty." He modestly hopes that the putty has been good, honest putty with which he has bound together the "more solid matter supplied by others" for his biography. Most of his readers will, I think, wish that the author had been more generous with his "putty." Dr. Westcott's letters, which fill a very large proportion of these pages, are often sorely in need of a little commentary : allusions which were no doubt quite clear to the correspondent are difficult for us. And if it be not treason to say it, the letters do not represent the man as some men's letters do. There is, of course, a great deal that is interesting, and self-revealing too, to those who know the writer in

other ways. But there are few subjects on which his opinions could not be better sought in some one of his published writings, where they would be found set forth in his own characteristic literary style, which contrasts rather markedly with the abrupt conciseness of his familiar letters. There are letters included in this biography which approach more nearly to the style of his books—letters in which he is setting himself to expound some great doctrine to an inquirer, or to remove some difficulty of belief. A study of the letters of so profound a thinker and so great a master of pure and beautiful English would be a profitable exercise for a student of St. Paul's letters, in the light of Deissmann's instructive essay on the differences between letters and epistles.<sup>1</sup> But I am digressing. The often tantalising incompleteness of the letters, as a manifestation of the man who wrote them, seems to me to call for more characterisation on the part of the biographer. Many will feel that the appreciations at the end, by Mr. Thomas Burt and Mr. Boutflower—both most ably written, and the latter showing altogether exceptional insight—bring the great Bishop more vividly before the reader's mind than anything else in the book. I wish his son had given us more on the same lines, gathering together from the most intimate knowledge the features of his father's life and thought. I should like to have heard more of his methods of study, to have been vouchsafed some glimpses of the workshop whence issued such an amazing output of concentrated thought. And I should have welcomed a few pages to present more fully the secret of the father's influence in his own family. To how few men, comparable with Westcott in genius and in character, has it been given to see every son—and Westcott had seven—deliberately choose the path in life which the father trod, when there was no worldly advantage to determine the choice! The beauty and attractiveness of goodness, a strength of conviction too deep-seated to think of pleading for the truth, but presenting truth ever in its

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<sup>1</sup> *Bible Studies*, pp. 3-59.

most winsome form, as the inseparable spirit of a man—this was what we saw in the great scholar whose friendship we were privileged to share; and a fuller portraiture of such a man in his own home would have had a very special helpfulness and charm.

With this criticism—if criticism it be to ask for more of a gift that is good already—let me pass on from the book to its subject.<sup>1</sup> A scholar's life rarely has much incident to show, and this is no exception. We read in the account of his school days that Westcott was originally destined for Exeter College, Oxford: his transference to Trinity was almost an accident. What a difference that accident made both to him and to Cambridge! He became a supreme example of the Cambridge ideal of scholarship,<sup>2</sup> and Cambridge in her turn gratefully owned him as her most influential leader. From Trinity he went to Harrow for eighteen years. One can hardly help regretting that so many years were spent in work which was always against the grain. Westcott, of course, profoundly influenced a select few, and was prized at his true worth by his colleagues. But he was no disciplinarian, and could not make himself either heard or understood by the mass of the boys when he preached in chapel. The work was done with absolute thoroughness, but he yearned for release as no born school-

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<sup>1</sup> In the hope that a reissue will be called for, the following details of "lower criticism" may be of service. Vol. I., p. 53, *φθονίους* surely should be *φθονούτους*? Pages 84 and 93, "Hadyn" {is apparently for "Haydn." Page 103, Pascal has a superfluous *à*. Page 131, "Jemmed" is a comical word, and so is "vicacious," page 142. On page 194 "Becker's text" needs altering. Vol. II., p. 80, query "to depreciate Hooker." Page 161, if the Bishop really wrote *ἄθλων* I may put it beside the *ἤσπερ* which I once triumphantly found in the Westcott-Hort Greek Testament. But the printer probably was responsible. Page 225, footnote, read "Bevölkerung." Page 378, near the bottom: "historical" needs correcting. In the letter about my father's death, page 300, should not the last sentence be "I remain, the *oldest* of all"? This fits the facts, and was what Dr. Westcott said in his appreciation of my father in the *Methodist Times*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his brief exposition of "the Cambridge motto: 'I act, therefore I am.'" (*Life*, Vol. II., p. 328.)

master could have done, and time that might have been used to purpose in a fitter sphere was lavished on schoolboys' composition. At last, at forty-five, he was Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The year that saw his removal thither found him seated at the Revisers' Board in the Jerusalem Chamber. The Revised New Testament and the Westcott and Hort Greek Testament appeared almost simultaneously in 1881. The great Cambridge trio, Westcott, Lightfoot, Hort—surely the most powerful group of scholars that ever adorned the theological faculty within a few years in any university in the world—had by this time lost to the see of Durham the first of its costly gifts to ecclesiastical administration. Westcott followed his friend thither in 1890, and two years later Hort died. Eleven years of extraordinary success in the great Northern see made the most jealous partisans of scholarship acknowledge that the new sphere was worthy of Westcott's powers. In 1901, while our Conference was sitting in the neighbouring city of Newcastle, he passed to the Church triumphant, leaving behind him works of astonishing variety, but all of them harmonious contributions towards one great end. "He edited the Greek New Testament: he settled the Coal Strike." Where is the scholar whose epitaph might include two such items as its most typical features?

My own most intimate knowledge of Dr. Westcott begins with my entrance at King's College in 1882. He had recently been elected a Professorial Fellow, and he greatly appreciated his connexion with the College. With his keen artistic feeling, he must have taken peculiar delight in the great Chapel, the building to which Wordsworth addressed his famous sonnet, and in which Milton doubtless conceived the yet more famous lines in *Il Penseroso* on the

. . . high embowèd roof,  
With antic pillars massy proof,  
And storied windows richly dight,  
Casting a dim religious light.

The intellectual record of the College had been in recent years exceedingly high. Alone among Cambridge Colleges,

King's does not admit men reading for the "ordinary degree." The restriction gives obvious advantages to those who are eager to get all they can from the University. But Westcott saw another side, fearing (with some reason, I think) that the College might become an "intellectual aristocracy," as he put it to my father. I remember vividly the Sunday afternoon meetings of King's men in the rooms of Professor Ryle.<sup>1</sup> The procedure was slightly changed in my time from that described<sup>2</sup> by Mr. Inge, who was a little my senior. One of us was regularly put on to read a ten minutes' paper. (How much harder most of us would have found it to read a paper in Dr. Westcott's presence when maturer years had come!) I was the victim twice, and on the first occasion cheerfully undertook to give an account of Methodism within the allotted time. It was amusing to see the interest and curiosity of my fellow-undergraduates, to whom I spoke like a traveller from Tibet. I had to stand fire for nearly an hour, explaining to the best of my power the difference between a class-leader and an archdeacon, and answering other questions betraying greater or less degrees of ignorance. Westcott's *obiter dicta* were deeply interesting, showing as they did his characteristic power of sympathetic insight into the religious position of Free Churchmen, an insight so distressingly rare in even the best men of his communion. I had some notes of them once, but I sadly fear they repose at the bottom of the last drawer I shall open in search of them, and I must be content with one which I remember. I had been emphasising our doctrine of the priesthood, and Westcott remarked that if we believed all Christians to be priests we ought to have an ordination service for them. A letter to his biographer son when at school<sup>3</sup> illustrates his meaning. "Confirmation . . . is a kind of Christian ordination, with its consecration and its blessing." If we Methodists took kindly to ritual, no doubt the service for the recognition of new

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<sup>1</sup> Now—unfortunately for Cambridge and for Biblical scholarship—Bishop of Winchester.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I., p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 345.

members would have done something in the direction of Dr. Westcott's suggestion.

Dr. Westcott's lectures are another very vivid memory. I was not reading theology, and therefore had to take them as a luxury, to be indulged in when my own Tripos lectures allowed. The courses I attended were thronged by men who received certificates of attendance, in view of Bishops' requirements at ordination. At the back of the big room could generally be seen a few embryo priests of a style which is not unfamiliar at the seminaries of sound learning and religious education. These worthies, being absolutely incapable of following the lecture, would play cards or read novels, and secure some more intelligent friend's notes afterwards to copy. Once Westcott stopped abruptly in his lecture and fixed the back bench with wrath in his eye. Gathering up his gown, he strode down to the door, and presently we saw a big undergraduate towering above the little Professor and looking about as thoroughly withered as a man could do. In a minute or two the door opened, the hopes of a certificate vanished sullenly down the stairs, the Professor came back to his desk, and we resumed our note-taking. The incident will serve as a companion to the solitary instance of Westcott's powers of wrath narrated in the *Life*,<sup>1</sup> which made his son ever after believe in the story that Edward I. once killed a man by looking at him. A little less severe restraint upon this faculty would have done away with his disciplinary failure as a schoolmaster. But his University lectures were themselves sufficient proof that he lacked a still more important qualification for teaching boys. Delivered though they were to about three hundred undergraduates, a large proportion of them Poll-men, they were phrased as if addressed to a roomful of Professors. To epitomise in long-hand a lecture every sentence of which was an epigram was an intellectual exercise which made my head ache when, as happened one term, Dr. Westcott wound up a morning in which I had been taking notes strenuously from nine till twelve. But it was worth the headache.

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 351.



Mental pictures of Westcott during those Cambridge days are abundant. One could not help watching him whenever he was in view ; there was always something to repay observation, like a mountain panorama over which the clouds and the mist and the sunlight bring perpetual change of beauty. The far-away look of contemplation would be succeeded by the eager glance of lively interest as the swift mind came back suddenly to some topic of serious conversation. Or the drawn features and look of pain, as he dwelt on the sorrows and sins of men, so real to him, would be chased away by that wonderful smile, a smile the like of which I never saw and never expect to see. Various typical visions of him recur to my memory. In his Professor's stall at St. Mary's, with his head resting on his gloved hand, the glove an ancient friend, and his eyes closed in deep thought—a shocking example to those whose closed eyes during a sermon had not always the same purpose behind them. Hurrying down Trumpington Street on his way to lecture, with armful of books, and gown streaming in the wind. At The Leys, when the study door has opened at last after the strenuous four hours of a winter afternoon spent on the revision of *Wisdom* or *Second Maccabees*, and he and Hort and my father have emerged with a merry laugh like schoolboys let out of a lesson ; then the grey shawl is wrapped tightly round him, and he hurries down the drive—he always seemed to hurry, for life was too busy to allow time to loiter on the road. In our Combination Room at King's, when the annual Fellows' Meeting was dragging its slow length along, silent by the window, doing his duty by the details of College farms unlet and agricultural depression reducing our living to plainer and plainer standards, no doubt the better to heighten our thinking. In the great court before the Senate House, on the memorable Women's Degrees Day, having travelled from Durham to give a *non placet* vote,<sup>1</sup> but sheltering himself on the library

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<sup>1</sup> He thought that there should be a separate university for women, and that it was dangerous to force their studies into the lines already fixed for the men. (See *Life*, Vol. II., p. 295.)

side among us *placets*, and escaping thereby the eggs and confetti with which the undergraduates outside were vainly trying to reach the unpopular party. Or, impressive beyond all, at Hort's funeral, standing wistfully at the head of the open grave which was to hide from him his life-long fellow-worker, and from the world a genius equal to his own.

But it is time to leave these desultory reminiscences, and turn to the biography for some lights on the varied personality of its subject. I say "varied," but I do not suggest that Westcott's mind was one of those which possess an uninterrupted outlook towards all the points of the compass alike. The windows were all on one side, and they gave only one aspect of the manifold interests of human life ; but what they lacked in variety of aspect they made up for in clearness and intensity of vision, and there were few phenomena that escaped their penetration.<sup>1</sup> His character belonged to that class which is always associated with the highest type of man. Intense seriousness was its unvarying mood ; vivid imagination its most potent faculty. "Imagination" is not a happy word, for it suggests that unrealities may have assumed concrete existence with him. I use it as the nearest word that secular language gives for Faith, the power of seeing vividly those great unseen realities to which multitudes are totally blind, and which multitudes more see only like phantoms in a dream. Those clear, intense, blue eyes were emblems of the mental vision with which the facts of thought and spirit lived before him all his life. So real were they that he found it impossible to find time for objects which seemed frivolous to one whose motto was always St. Paul's, "One thing I do." Not that he was incapable of unbending. His letters show plenty of genial lightness, and there are sometimes traces of humour. But he never could understand amusements, and his very recreations were serious, except when he played with

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<sup>1</sup> I have been reminded, since writing, of a witty dean who said : " How foggy it is to-day : Westcott must have opened his windows." I stick to my own use of the illustration, however : I do not believe there was ever "fog" in *his* outlook.

children. Botany was a hobby he shared with his friend Hort, and with that prince among Orientalists, E. B. Cowell, the last of the great men Cambridge has lost in recent years. If poetry is to be called a recreation, he carried his characteristic seriousness into that field as into others. We read with amazement his estimate of Keble. Thus <sup>1</sup>

Keble—Wordsworth—Goethe. Is not the first the true poet . . . ?

In the same year <sup>2</sup> (*atal.* 23),

After all, a verse of Keble is worth volumes of Tennyson.

Literary judgment was thus overborne in his youth by religious feeling. A slightly later letter <sup>3</sup> contains the admission that he had not found his ideal poet.

THE Christian poet is yet to be seen, for I never will accord Milton the name.

Why, is not explained, for he has already quoted a devotional passage from Oliver Cromwell with high appreciation, and Puritanism can hardly, therefore, have been the cause of his dislike. Was it Milton's Arianism which prejudiced him, in days when the large-minded toleration of mature life had not yet arisen to soften the outlines of religious barriers? Even in 1866 he could write <sup>4</sup>

*Ecco Homo* I saw on Lightfoot's table for a few minutes. You will imagine that I felt its defects far more than its merits.

The remarks which follow show that a defective view of our Lord's Person was in his eyes enough to outweigh all else, however stimulating and true within its limitations. Such jealousy for the cardinal truths no doubt limited his appreciation of much that was of the highest value, but it was the secret of his peculiar power. His friend Hort was much more open-minded, but for that very reason would have been a less effective advocate of what they both so intensely believed.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

The *Life* gives us very little of Westcott's opinions on matters of classical and Biblical scholarship. A classical teacher will read with sympathy his words about the study of authors without notes<sup>1</sup>: the multiplication of editions has hardly left us a single book wherein a student may work out his own problems. It is amusing to see his early protestations of hatred towards trifles of grammar and orthography, which he would have liked to sweep out of the way, in an introductory note to the "W.-H." Greek Testament, reserving serious criticism for variants of greater moment. Perhaps Hort converted him: in any case, the minute fidelity with which the editors reproduce even the spelling of the great MSS. has been an invaluable help to students who have in the last few years been tracing many interesting facts about the New Testament Greek, through the newly discovered vernacular of Greek-speaking Egypt. A remark, many years later,<sup>2</sup> that "there certainly is a wonderful disregard of grammar in these latter days," presumably shows his maturer feeling. Apart from one or two scattered allusions, the great work of nearly thirty years on the text of the Greek Testament hardly figures in these volumes till the time comes for chronicling its publication. So with the Revision, on the details of which Westcott makes hardly any comment. Once he nearly throws up the work in despair, because the conservative majority would insist on spoiling St. John i. This letter<sup>3</sup> specially interests me, as I fixed on that very chapter<sup>4</sup> to show how often the views of the very best scholars in the Revision Company were found in the margin only, overruled by the prejudice in favour of the old version. In 1871 he writes with most refreshing candour about the action of the Bishops, who seem to have gone back on their original treaty, on the strength of which the Companies were formed.

I had thought over every kind of treacherous manœuvre, but repudiation had not occurred to me. Can it really be that

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II., p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I., p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of William F. Moulton*, p. 190.

principles of honour die out in Churchmen? It is a terrible spectacle for our enemies. . . How bishops can forget honour I cannot understand.<sup>1</sup>

Westcott really seems to have been on the highroad towards the shocking sentiment which Stanley once expressed to my father, that he had never known a man who did not deteriorate after he had once put on lawn sleeves. Happily, the Cambridge group—two of whom were destined to prove that Stanley's rule had exceptions—made "indignant protests against the breach of faith," and their lordships kindly allowed the Revision to proceed, as it probably would have done if they had stuck to their guns.

Dr. Westcott's views on Old Testament criticism peep out once or twice. He will not accept the responsibility of deciding matters outside his own *métier*, but indicates clearly that he was no foe to a free but reverent literary criticism. It is interesting to find him, in 1885, writing :<sup>2</sup>

I do not think that anyone in England has done better or more helpful work on the Old Testament than Dr. Cheyne.

What would the Bishop have said to the *Encyclopædia Biblica*—to the exquisite humours of the Jerahmeel monomania, or the delightful transformation of Iscariot from a "thief" to a "cross-grained fellow" (*χαλιερός*)?

Naturally the biography is specially strong where the Bishop's works are much less explicit, in points of ecclesiastical convictions and policy. We read with mixed feelings the letter to his future wife,<sup>3</sup> in which he hopes that the books he sends will further her being "gathered again to that Church which is the object of" his own "devotion." Had Miss Whittard remained a Wesleyan, Westcott told her that he would always "feel a sincere interest in" her "happiness and welfare, both in this world and in the world to come." We may agree that Westcott could hardly have married a convinced member of our own Church : his own type of piety, with all its breadth and catholicity, was always

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., pp. 394, 395.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. II., p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I., p. 33.

that which finds its natural sustenance in the surroundings of Episcopacy. But not even in this letter, written at nineteen, is there any trace of bitterness or prejudice against another Christian communion. He was alive to many of the special advantages of our Church system: witness his strong desire<sup>1</sup> (at twenty-three) to engraft a primitive diaconate "—in some degree like the 'local preachers'—" upon the uncongenial stem of the Anglican Church, which in this "one thing" has "changed from the primitive custom." Against his early acceptance of Apostolical Succession<sup>2</sup> and depreciation of the Evangelical school because it makes preaching "the chief means of grace," which "must lead to the exaltation of the individual minister," we may set the wise words of more than fifty years later, in a letter to Mr. Llewelyn Davies:<sup>3</sup>

I cannot find any basis for the High Church theory in the New Testament. It is based, as far as I can see, on assumed knowledge of what the divine plan must be. I had occasion to look through the New Testament not long ago with special reference to the question, and I was greatly impressed by a fact which seems to have been overlooked. All the apostolic writers are possessed (as I think rightly in essence) by the thought of the Lord's return. They show no sign of any purpose to create a permanent ecclesiastical organisation. Whatever is done is to meet a present need, as, *e.g.*, the mission of Titus to Crete. The very condition laid down for the Apostolate excludes the idea of the perpetuation of their office. Is not this true? What followed when the Lord (as I think) did come is a wonderful revelation of the providence of God.

Golden words, to be written in our copies of Lightfoot's *Christian Ministry* and Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*, for use in time of need! With the three greatest scholars of the English Established Church on our side, we can afford to smile at the pretensions of High Anglicanism. I cannot resist one more quotation:<sup>4</sup>

I am fully satisfied by the testimony of others as to the remarkable work which — has done, and as to the influence

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 139.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.    <sup>3</sup> Vol. II., p. 306.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

which he is able to exercise by his presentation of the gospel. Yet I cannot but doubt whether in the end a teacher can bring permanent blessing to others as long as he is obviously deficient in the elementary graces of humility, meekness, and obedience. After all, these are the graces which are least conspicuous in our own communion, and it seems to me to be the duty of us all, at whatever cost, when the opportunity is given, to show how highly we rate them.

This passage might be paralleled by several others from the period of Westcott's episcopate dealing with those persons of curious consciences who "forget their ordination promises" and are "Roman in heart and policy."<sup>1</sup> No Protestant could better the language he uses about Transubstantiation<sup>2</sup> and Reservation<sup>3</sup> ("can it be Christian in conception?"); and his early sentiments about Rome<sup>4</sup> suffer no weakening as life goes on. As an undergraduate he was "beginning to feel a growing abhorrence of her principles": as a septuagenarian bishop he finds Lord Halifax's "utterances fill" him "almost with despair." The remark about Rome's barrenness in poetry may be quoted:<sup>5</sup>

It is strange that there has been no great Romanist poet. Why not, when the papal system admits every addition of art and encourages every kind of symbolism and mystic interpretation? Can it be that she loves neither simplicity nor freedom? —I will not say truth.

The obvious exception of Dante is just one of those exceptions which prove a rule.

It would be easy to enlarge indefinitely the quotations from the part of this *Life* which adds most to our knowledge of the great Bishop. His views on Church Reform;<sup>6</sup> on the Articles as a test;<sup>7</sup> on the higher education of the clergy;<sup>8</sup>

More and more am I convinced that the work of the Church

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 302.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 79, 80, 351.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 274, 356.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I., pp. 91, 95.    <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.    <sup>6</sup> Vol. II., pp. 249, 251.

<sup>7</sup> See Vol I., p. 99, where he expresses "great joy" that he was not compelled to assent to the Articles on taking his degree, as he could not give it then. Declaration of membership of the Church of England was substituted.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I., p. 292.

must be done at the Universities—nay, at Cambridge. It is too late to shape men afterwards, even if they could be reached.

on the Anglican recognition of the Vaudois<sup>1</sup> (an unhappy decision, as it cannot but seem to us); on the “very small place which the clergy occupy in the history of England”<sup>2</sup>—all these, and many others, are seen scattered through the two volumes in brief allusions which tantalise us by their scantiness. In his letters, as in his books, Westcott always expects his reader to expand for himself his brief suggestive hints, which, had they been expanded everyone, the tomes of Augustine himself would hardly have contained the books that would have been written.

On the social side of Westcott's life work much could be written. The transformation of the great scholar, at sixty-five, into “everybody's Bishop,” in a teeming Northern population, was a very remarkable phenomenon, though not perhaps so remarkable as some people outside Cambridge have thought; for in Cambridge—and very probably in Oxford also—there are always a good many men who follow, with tolerable intelligence and knowledge, the course of events in the outside world; and though the purely “academic” man and the unpractical theorist can be found there as elsewhere, the knowledge of social phenomena and the resolute study of social problems are as often features of the don as of the business man—perhaps even more often. I say these things with bated breath, but as to their truth for Westcott there can be no doubt at all. The mystical scholar, the foremost devotee of “dead languages,” found his way to the heart of the Durham pitman, and proved that he knew as much and cared as much about the affairs of common life as if he had never learnt the Greek alphabet. Of course, this is not really surprising, though such things do surprise many people. The scholar may be obfuscated by his learning, just as the “practical man” may be hardened by his business. But if only by the grace of God each of them can be a *man*, each will find his own special pursuits a great

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.



help in his efforts to work out the salvation of his fellows. Given the eagerness to learn, the brains which so swiftly apprehended the lesson, and the spiritual fervour which inspired every effort, Bishop Westcott probably won these simple folk mainly because he was so unlike them. When I was a freshman there was an ever memorable mission in Cambridge, held by Messrs. Moody and Sankey. One who knew the undergraduate would have predicted that the homely style and the American accent were fatal to Moody's success; a refined University man would be the one to move him. On the contrary, the converts among the "men" were numbered by hundreds, and the part taken by Cambridge in founding the great Student Volunteer Missionary movement really dates from that week. The converse clearly held in Westcott's case. The magic of sympathy can bridge any gulf, and the mere fact that he spoke so different a language from their own arrested the attention and won the heart. It was very manifestly his theology which gave him this intense interest in the out-of-church life of the people. The Incarnation was for him the centre of all truth; and the fact that the Son of God became a Man hallowed every part of man's mental and moral and social life, so that nothing human was foreign to the realm of his religion. Westcott was not peculiar in his doctrine, but he held it as a saint and not merely as a thinker. It was so intensely real to him that it coloured every thought, and was a decisive element in every problem. To divide life into watertight compartments, to parcel out the sacred and the secular, was impossible to him; for along every path of life he saw One walking whose form was human yet divine. We all believe with our heads that He is disguised beneath the worn features of men and women whom we could help. Westcott believed it with his heart as well, and that is all.

A few of his views on social and political questions may be briefly set down here. We naturally look for his thoughts on the Drink curse. He "was himself a teetotaler because of the present necessity,"<sup>1</sup> but he seems to have thought

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 178.

that pure beer in moderation, with wine and spirits rigidly excluded,<sup>1</sup> was a practicable ideal. In a letter to my father,<sup>2</sup> dated January 3, 1896, he says :

We all missed you greatly at the Temperance Conference.<sup>3</sup> The Prohibitionists once more showed themselves to be unstatesmanlike and impracticable. Yet the whole effect will have been good.

The long letter to the Secretary of the County Brewers' Society,<sup>4</sup> dated November, 1893, betrays a touching faith in the brewers' interest in temperance. The Prohibitionists, whose "impracticable" temper he deplored, were in the flesh before him ; the good philanthropic brewers to whom he wrote were idealised by his characteristic "persistence in assuming the best of" men. As Mr. Boutflower continues, in that singularly penetrating appreciation to which I have already referred,<sup>5</sup> "morally his optimism was, as regards men, extraordinary, and amounted to a practical danger as well as a spiritual power."

In politics, as ordinarily understood, Westcott took no very striking line. His opinions were coloured by his ecclesiastical surroundings to a greater extent here than elsewhere. He thought the Church had "most rightly settled" the Deceased Wife's Sister.<sup>6</sup> He sighed over the Irish Church<sup>7</sup> and the perverse effort of those "grievously provoking Welsh Liberals" to disestablish the Anglican Church in Wales.<sup>8</sup> We find that in 1901 Archbishop Temple has become a convert to sound views on the Education question, and there is really hope that something may be done.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> This was a meeting of Christian leaders of all Churches, called together to see how far concerted action was possible. It was originated by the Rev. H. B. Workman, who secured a meeting between Bishop Jayne, my father, and others, to prepare for a conference on a larger scale. Returning from Manchester after this consultation, my father was seized with an attack which too truly foreshadowed his sudden death three years later. (See his *Life*, pp. 274-278.)

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II., p. 218.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. I., p. 294.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. II., pp. 171, 216.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 335.

Something *was* done! And yet I think Westcott would have listened with sympathy and surprise had my father been spared to tell him what that "something" meant for the Free Churches. The idea of dragooning men or beguiling children into "the" Church away from the faith of their fathers was absolutely foreign to his nature. It was only his optimism again. He believed in the tolerance of the clergy, just as he believed in the temperance zeal of the brewer.

His line upon certain questions that have but lately ceased to burn needs no particular description. He figures, in vol. ii., at an international arbitration congress, but that was not in 1899. It goes without saying that his eyes were on "our imperial obligations," rather than on the less lovely objects which roused the patriot in the street; and his native fairness is well shown in his letter to a pleader for peace<sup>1</sup>:

You cannot condemn the Jameson Raid more sternly than I do. I do not think that I ever felt more anxious till it became clear that the English people would not be led away (like the Poet Laureate) by the false romance of the attack. And again, you cannot shrink more than I do from a man like Mr. Rhodes. But the causes of the war lie deeper.

Neither on this nor on any other subject does he seem to have spoken in the Lords, though he dutifully attended, especially when there was an Indian debate, from which he thought "a bishop ought not to be absent."<sup>2</sup> It is amusing to read—

Having listened to the Duke of Devonshire for about half-an-hour, I felt that I wanted a change.<sup>3</sup>

We return by a gentle transition to the subjects on which any notice of Bishop Westcott must begin and end. The application of Christianity to morals will be finely seen in his letters on theatre-going<sup>4</sup> and gambling,<sup>5</sup> which, for all their brevity, will be valued by all who look for weighty

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

words with which to guide men on these questions. And I should not like to pass over the charming address to the "Dicky-Bird Society," in which he speaks in the simplest language to children on the duty of kindness to all living things.<sup>1</sup> We seek his guidance on Sunday observance, and find it different indeed from that view which prevails in the Romanising part of his own communion.<sup>2</sup> It reminds me of his remarks in the undergraduates' Sunday afternoon at King's, already described : he told us that he always liked to make a difference between Sunday and other days, even to the extent of using a different Greek Testament. It was typical of a life in which the holy never alternated with the profane, but only with the holy in a different binding.

To depict the features of Westcott's saintliness is a task one would fain leave to other hands, for only the saint can catch the true lines of a saintly character. But to pass over that which alone interprets the man would indeed be stripping the biography of its meaning; and there is no difficulty in finding material for the estimate, except the difficulty of choice. We find him taking *In His Steps* for a railway journey, and recording his approval in words which might have put to silence some of the foolish things said about that book at the time of its extraordinary popularity.<sup>3</sup> Theological critics would very possibly account for Westcott's judgment by saying that Mr. Sheldon, like himself, placed the Incarnation in the central place, which should be taken by the Atonement. Whether this be so or not, we can immediately feel that the story puts in popular form what was always the motive power of Westcott's spiritual life. His was one of those "naturally Christian" souls, for whom the imitation of Christ takes from the first the place belonging to the Cross in the hearts of those who have known a great religious upheaval. His clergy used to say of him, "The Bishop does not seem to believe in the Fall."<sup>4</sup> I need not say that all this was unconscious with him. I do not imagine that his theological theory would have

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 183.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 303.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 365.

allowed either *Paradise Lost* or *Paradise Regained* to take a second place to any other doctrine.<sup>1</sup> But his mind was ever dwelling on the fact of the Incarnation, which inspired all his vivid realisation of the dignity of humanity and its infinite destiny. He held, as is well known, the view that the Incarnation was in the essence of God's plan: the Fall demanded the Atonement, but the Incarnation would have been needed even by unfallen man to enable him, born in God's image, to attain God's likeness. I have dwelt again on this cardinal point of Westcott's theology, because without it his own character and religious life could not be understood. There are saintly men whose goodness seems almost independent of their doctrine; they startle us by showing at one moment an easy open-mindedness to things which seem to us essential, and then without apparent consciousness of transition pass to manifestations of pure religion and undefiled which prove that the eleventh of Hebrews was written of them as surely as of any hero of the olden day. Westcott was very different. We have a few hints in his letters that he suffered severely in young manhood from assaults of scepticism. Had he emerged from that period with his faith in "Jesus Christ come in the flesh" undermined, or weakened, his biography would probably have been written, but with some strangely different title, and with the whole story transformed. The victory of faith, won gradually—if we may judge from the silence of his letters—and not at one moment of regenerating illumination, made it the occupation and satisfaction of his life "to behold the beauty of Jehovah and to inquire in His temple." The note of *beauty* recurs constantly in the harmonies of religion as it appealed to him. One recalls his comment on the adjective in John x. 14:

Christ is not only the true shepherd (ὁ π. ὁ ἀληθινός) who fulfils the idea of the shepherd, but He is the good shepherd who fulfils the idea in its attractive loveliness. The epithet

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<sup>1</sup> Readers will not forget his book on *The Victory of the Cross*.

implies the correspondence between the nobility of the conception and the beauty of the realisation. The "good" is not only good inwardly (*ἀγαθός*) but good as perceived (*καλός*). In the fulfilment of His work "the Good Shepherd" claims the admiration of all that is generous in man.

In His light he saw light everywhere around him. Human "flesh," which was accounted worthy to enshrine the presence of the eternal Son, had not lost the lines of the divine image, and the beauty of human thought and human art was the outshining of a glory which was revealed in its ideal perfection when awestruck men listened to words such as never man had spoken, when wondering apostles beheld "human lineaments . . . shine irradiant with a light divine." It is easy to see how solitary meditation at night in the old cathedral at Peterborough was meat and drink to his soul. His passionate love of sacred architecture rose from profound realisation of the Godward thoughts that the builders of old strove to embody in stone; and the communion of saints was intensely real to him there as he passed the hours in meditation and prayer. His biographer says :<sup>1</sup>

I have been with him there on a moonlight evening when the vast building was haunted with strange lights and shades, and the ticking of the great clock sounded like some giant's footsteps in the deep silence. Then he had always abundant company. Once a daughter in later years met him returning from one of his customary meditations in the solitary darkness of the chapel at Auckland Castle, and she said to him, "I expect you do not feel alone?" "Oh, no," he said, "it is full"; and as he spoke his face shone with one of his beautiful smiles.

The readers of this article may find their inspiration more readily in an old barn crowded with eager seekers after God and echoing with prayers in which sincerity has to supply the place of literary form; but we can none the less acknowledge with thankfulness that there are "varieties of religious experience" different from those which most appeal to us. Where, as in Westcott's case, a religion which

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 313.

feeds on glorious buildings and hoary liturgies brings forth a perfect charity towards all men, and never stoops to declare that religion which finds its inspiration elsewhere is no religion at all, our appreciation of it can only be ungrudging. The food on which our bodies live is manifold in outward form and taste, but its vital elements reduce themselves to very few. And the food of the soul is one in all who truly live, and one alone.

But we need endeavour no longer to pursue the chemical analysis of the sap of a noble tree, and the deeply-hidden sources from which its penetrating roots derived its vital strength. The fruits are there for all to see. There is the solid work he did in binding together and instructing all who loved his Master, and revealing to them fresh fields in which the lessons of the divine-human life can be a power for the doing of good. There is the lifelong devotion to the cause of the kingdom—abroad, where three of his sons toil still, two of them in active life, the youngest in the memory “that the Master accepted early the offering which he gladly made”<sup>1</sup>—and at home, where strenuous and self-denying toil brought the influences of Christianity into even the chill atmosphere of industrial warfare, and impressed upon the most unpromising souls the sense of the Master’s claim. Two companion pictures are before me as I try to realise the lesson of the beautiful life, some of which I was privileged to see from near at hand. One is the long row of Westcott’s books upon the shelves I have dedicated to works of New Testament Revisers—all of them, except their venerable chairman, enjoying perfect fellowship in the Homeland with Him whose Word they strove to make better known to men. The other is the simple but deeply moving scene in Auckland Chapel on the 2nd of August, 1901, when they laid the great Bishop’s body to rest in the place where, as I remembered, he stood once with my father, with rapt far-away looks, telling of his predecessors who were buried there, in clear anticipation of the day

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. II., p. 321.

when he should be with them. In the representative gathering that thronged the little chapel, for what his son truly describes as a service of "praise and thanksgiving for the faithful labours ended," were men of all classes and men of all Churches. Three of us from the Wesleyan Conference, with members of the local Free Church Council, joined dignitaries of the Church of England in common thankfulness and common mourning for a great Christian and a great man taken from our head that day; and opposite where we stood there was a fisherman in his jersey, whose aspect moved to thought more than anything else in the scene. For the fisherman and the books combine to make complete the message Westcott leaves to the world, a message summed up for him in his own report of a last conversation with his old master, Bishop Prince Lee<sup>1</sup>:

"People quote various words of the Lord," said the Bishop, "as containing the sum of the gospel—the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, and the like; to me the essence of the gospel is in simpler and shorter terms: 'Fear not, only believe!' Ah! Westcott, mark that *only*. 'Fear not, only believe!'" And his eyes were filled with tears as he spoke. "Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief," was the only answer.

*Only!* how easy for some, how hard for others, how entirely a matter of indifference to many more! But Westcott's works and Westcott's work will make it easier for many who will lead their fellow men into the Truth he loved on earth and now beholds in heaven.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., 249.



**AGNOSTICISM AND IMMORTALITY.**

*Life Everlasting.* By JOHN FISKE. (Boston, U.S.A. : Houghton, Mifflin, & Company. 1901.)

THE last few years have witnessed a very delightful and fruitful revival of interest in the statement and proof of the doctrine and fact of human immortality. The interest and proof are, on the one hand, partly scientific and philosophical, and, on the other, partly theological. The theological effort has been largely to find an accurate and adequate exegetical basis in the Scriptures ; that our modern notion may be conformed with exactness and completeness to the truth of revelation. Perhaps the most noteworthy book of this description is Dr. Stewart D. F. Salmond's *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, a work of solid and exhaustive scholarship, and of such careful execution that it is likely to prove a classic on the subject, superseding such older standards as Alger's *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*.

On the philosophical side, with which I shall be chiefly occupied in the following pages, the Ingersoll lectureship in Harvard University has been productive of a number of small but excellent and thoughtful books, among which may be mentioned Professor William James's *Human Immortality*, which confines itself to the discussion and refutation of two supposed objections to the doctrine, and Professor Josiah Royce's *The Conception of Immortality*, which advocates immortality on the highly abstract plane of the uniqueness of individuality, and the absolute and eternal value of the individual to the completeness of the creative plan and the perfection of the universe. To many minds such considerations make a powerful appeal ; as supplemental and confirmatory, they are not to be ignored.

But the crux of the conception and proof of immortality lies much nearer at hand, in the relation of matter and mind ; particularly in the relation of body and soul.

It is in this point of view that the late Mr. John Fiske has sought to discuss the question in his charming little book, *Life Everlasting*. No student of philosophy or lover of good literature should neglect this brief posthumously published lecture of Mr. Fiske's : valuable, if not for its matter and its conclusions, at least for its spirit and form. Like everything that has proceeded from the author's pen, in history, in science, and in philosophy, it is most luminously written, with such straightforwardness and simplicity as the subject admits of. I shall be happy if, in these particulars, I can follow Mr. Fiske, even at a great distance. In his own mind, the little treatise was doubtless set down as a continuation of his *Destiny of Man*, his *Idea of God*, and his *Through Nature to God*. The four booklets might be gathered together in an apologetic essay of not inconsiderable value.

Their wide reading by an eager public has proceeded partly from their easy and attractive style, but largely from the fact that they emanate from a scientific and philosophical, rather than a theological, source. In the literary guilds, theologians are not supposed to be as open-minded as some other students ; and it is taken for granted, whether justly or unjustly I shall not tarry to consider, that they approach such questions with an ineradicable bias and a foregone conclusion. Mayhap a sound psychology might show that the faith of the heart has some rights which the intellect is bound to respect ; but, in any case, the writer whose pages are read without such a prejudice against him enjoys an inestimable advantage. Such an advantage has come to Mr. Fiske's writings of this class to the comfort of many minds that could not have been persuaded to listen to the preachers and the prophets.

Nevertheless, to some who are supposed to accept with avidity all too easy proofs of conclusions which they already believe, it appears that it would not be difficult to over-

estimate the permanent value of Mr. Fiske's lecture as a substantial contribution to the decision of the question of eternal life. Easy analysis reveals its few and simple points. By a scientific review of the now familiar and ordinarily received doctrine of man's evolution, our author arrives at the fact that man is not only a primate with articulate speech and the power of reasoning, characterised by a long and plastic infancy which conditions his capacity for progress ; but that he is, also and in particular, that terrestrial animal that entertains an expectation—a universal and ineradicable expectation, he might have added—of surviving the mighty shock and change of physical death. This particular expectation of man's we were all well acquainted with before ; but Mr. Fiske's great merit consists in viewing it as one of the racial acquisitions secured while mounting to the human plane of existence : while the question of immortality is formulated as one of the natural history of man, namely, whether this acquired peculiarity of humanity

is to be regarded as a permanent acquisition, or is rather analogous to the organ that subserves, perhaps through long ages, an important but temporary purpose, after the fulfilment of which it dwindles into a rudiment neglected and forgotten.

After putting the question in this form—a form unexceptionable and admirable from every point of view, scientific, philosophical, and theological—Mr. Fiske passes on to a very vigorous statement of the scientific objections to the validity of this expectation of the continuance of consciousness after death. Throughout the animal kingdom, including man, we never see the manifestation of the phenomena of consciousness apart from the presence of nervous systems and brains of various degrees of complexity. Moreover, we can trace a general correspondence between the complexity of the nervous system and the weight of the brain, on the one hand, and the order and degree of the intelligence of its possessor, on the other : while injuries to the nerves and brain entail failures of function, either physical or psychical or both. The climax

of this dependence of the mental on the physical is found in this uniform fact of experience, that, at death, as soon as the arterial blood ceases to flow through the cerebral organs, all signs of consciousness permanently disappear.

After the nervous system has been resolved into its elements, what reason have we to suppose that consciousness survives, any more than that the wetness of water should survive its separation into oxygen and hydrogen ?

Alas for the wetness !

Before noticing Mr. Fiske's answer to this argument, which I think we shall find to be wholly unsatisfactory in all its branches, let us pause to consider the vitality of that ineradicable human conviction concerning immortality which universally persists, notwithstanding the conclusion that seems inevitably to follow from the daily experience of such indisputable facts as those recorded above. Through the ages it has maintained itself in the presence of universal death ; and, fertilising its roots in the very soil of the grave, has borne aloft the flower of an immortal hope. Such a plant, indestructible in time, seems fitted and destined to bear fruit in eternity.

After very properly setting aside the alleged inductive answer to this argument, based on the presence of disembodied spirits that manifest their continued existence through certain specially endowed persons popularly known as " mediums," Mr. Fiske proceeds rather peremptorily and rhetorically to declare, as his own first reply to the argument, that, famous as it is, and convincing as it is to many minds, when the naked and horrible facts are allowed to sink deep into the imagination and the intelligence, it has absolutely no weight, and " does not raise even the slightest *prima facie* presumption against " the survival of consciousness, after death has dissolved the nervous system. Surely this is a very extraordinary statement in the mouth of a scientist and a logician. Mr. Fiske asserts the invalidity of the argument because it is based on a limited human experience, or, to use his words, on a " human experience very far

indeed from being infinite." Is, then, an infinite experience necessary to the establishment of a scientific law? If this singular canon of scientific procedure be granted, even then our hope of immortality rests on no better basis than Mr. J. S. Mill's conjecture that gravitation and mathematics may not be universal! Our experience knows no exception to the dependence of a consciousness on an organised brain, or to the law of gravitation, or to the truths of mathematics; yet there may be sections of the universe where all these exceptions are erected into laws. I am certainly very much inclined to be grateful to Mr. Fiske, and all the scientific writers, for the smallest favours they may be good enough to bestow on theologians and the interests of religion which they represent. Yet, I must insist that, if this argument proceeded from a theologian, it would be at once characterised as unscientific, and as a gross, unusually gross, instance and abuse of the *argumentum ad ignorantiam*. Leaving on one side the nature of mathematical truth, it may be allowed to Mr. Mill, perhaps, that there is an abstract and theoretical possibility, which, however, only pertinent and satisfying evidence could verify, that there may be an outlying corner of the physical universe where gravitation follows another law, or is reversed, or does not exist; but I scarcely think that Mr. Mill himself would maintain that a human experience that is something less than infinite does not beget a considerable presumption to the contrary. Mr. Fiske, however, goes the length of alleging that an admittedly universal and exceptionless human experience of the dependence of personal consciousness upon organised brains and nervous systems does not beget even the smallest presumption that this law may not be broken when this connexion ceases to exist. On the contrary, I allege that, if we confine ourselves to the methods and canons of science and of scientific logic, and if we accept as final the conceptions of matter and force, which, without being able to give any consistent or rational account of themselves, are nevertheless universally assumed in physical science,—in this case, I say, this

universal human experience does raise much more than the most powerful presumption against belief in immortality. Within the realm of nature, so understood and interpreted, it gives a negative at least as absolute as the law of gravitation gives to Mr. Mill's gravitationless corner of the physical universe.

If all our anticipation of the future must be based on our experience of the past, then certainly have we the smallest scientific ground for anticipating the continuance of a consciousness dissociated from a material brain and nervous system. If the assumed physical conception of matter as a substantive entity is correct; if the ordinary methods by which physics deals with matter and force, with motion, time, and space, are to be accepted as absolutely valid and final,—then I must say that Mr. Fiske has shown a very poor appreciation of the canons and conclusions of that science in whose name he has assumed to speak. At the most, it can only be allowed that our author has once more called attention, with a fine burst of rhetoric which his assertion has no novelty to justify, to the well known logical principle of the almost insuperable difficulty of the demonstration of a negative in the field of experience. It is only when the standpoints and standards of our essentially materialistic physical science are wholly surrendered and departed from, that it becomes possible to invalidate the argument which Mr. Fiske here so easily sets aside. I do not mean to accuse him of materialism as an avowed philosophical theory. They well-nigh all, physicists and philosophers alike, deny that impeachment now when it is brought home to them in set terms. But we all know his devotion to that plausible system of agnostic naturalism which claims Mr. Spencer as its parent, and how brilliantly he has expounded and popularised it for a wide public in his *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*. But, whatever its professions, it is the misfortune of that system that it is continually finding a complete explanation of the universe in its mechanical and naturalistic factors. I do mean to say with emphasis that, without an express repudiation of the

ordinary materialistic conceptions of brains and nervous systems, in their relation to thought and consciousness, Mr. Fiske has no right to the employment of the argument which he here uses. That repudiation is not forthcoming : he must go a great deal farther than he has seen fit to travel on this highway if he is to arrive at the goal of immortality.

Mr. Fiske's second argument on behalf of immortality is simply a rather inadequate restatement of the doctrine now commonly known among psychologists, and by some physicists, as that of psycho-physical parallelism. That I may not mistake his position, or lead my readers to do so, I reproduce his language as contained in a single brief paragraph :

It appears to me, therefore, that what we should really find, if we could trace in detail the metamorphosis of motions within the body, from the sense organs to the brain, and thence outward to the muscular system, would be somewhat as follows : the inward motion, carrying the message into the brain, would perish in giving birth to the vibration which accompanies the conscious state ; and this vibration in turn would perish in giving place to the outward motion, carrying the mandate out to the muscles. If we had the means of measurement, we could prove the equivalence from step to step. But where would the conscious state, the thought or feeling, come into this circuit ? Why, nowhere. The physical circuit of motions is complete in itself ; the state of consciousness is accessible only to its possessor. To him it is the subjective equivalent of the vibration within the brain, whereof it is neither the cause nor the effect, neither the producer nor the offspring, but simply the concomitant. In other words, the natural history of the mass of activities that are perpetually being concentrated within our bodies, to be presently once more disintegrated and diffused, shows us a closed circle which is entirely physical, and in which one segment belongs to the nervous system. As for our conscious life, that forms no part of the closed circle, but stands entirely outside of it, concentric with the segment which belongs to the nervous system.

In other words, in order to maintain this hypothesis of psycho-physical parallelism, wherein the "conscious life" is

the non-caused and independent attendant of the nervous segment of the circle of material agents and motions, whose physical continuity admits of no interruption by a psychical element, Mr. Fiske sacrifices the very doctrine of causality which is the basis of the scientific doctrine of the continuity of these motions of material bodies. I need not stop to speak of the fact that the necessity of this hypothesis is born of the acceptance of the Cartesian dualism, which assumes the utter disparateness and contradictory exclusiveness of mind and matter ; it is enough to point out that by every canon of inductive logic, the sensations can be proved to be the effects of the molecular disturbances in the brain. When the external stimulus is present, the nerve vibration, the brain change, and the sensation follow in regular series. When the stimulus ceases or is removed, nerve vibration, brain change, and sensation disappear. When the stimulus increases in geometrical ratio—according to one of the empirical laws which psychometry has formulated—the sensation increases in arithmetical ratio. Unvarying parallelism, with complete separation or causal independence, is therefore a logical absurdity and scientific impossibility. Mr. Fiske would have to call in the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz—which is but an older and profounder solution of the same problem of the intercourse of those incommensurable entities, body and soul—or some other exploded metaphysical doctrine which the agnostics concur in rejecting, in order to give to his crude hypothesis even the semblance of sanity. I can, then, but join with one of the most able and distinguished of British psychologists, Professor James Ward, of the University of Cambridge, in maintaining that “invariable concomitance and absolute causal independence are incompatible positions.” The law-giver of modern inductive logic and scientific method, Mr. J. S. Mill, would, of course, concur in the same decision.

But our modern Cartesian physics can give no possible or intelligible account of a conscious effect of a material cause. The sum of the physical antecedents must be exhausted in the sum of the physical consequents ; there-



fore, that psychical phenomenon of sensation which, according to the canons of scientific logic, appears also to be a consequent of the brain disturbance, must be set aside as a "concomitant," and designated by a word especially invented to meet this emergency, the term "epiphenomenon." With a courage which may be commendable if not logical, Mr. Fiske, in common with all dualists who hold this crude hypothesis of psycho-physical parallelism, promptly surrenders the canons of inductive logic which lie at the base of the methods of investigation employed in all the sciences of experience, that he may make psychical phenomena, especially those of sensation, the uncaused attendants of physical processes; though the relation between them is precise and determinable according to law inductively established. The rich and complex mental life, with its apprehension of the true, the beautiful, and the good, is reduced to a nullity in this mechanical universe, because, forsooth, "consciousness" is accessible only to its possessor. Mental phenomena become mere unaccountable "epiphenomena," waste surplusage of a material mechanism of nerve and brain, which, though blind and unconscious, is to be accounted somewhat because it runs on of itself in harmony with the laws of a universe constituted like itself, or of which it chances to be an insignificant segment inexplicably connected with a consciousness. Man can consequently be regarded as no more than a conscious automaton, as Descartes himself suggested in the case of the lower animals. Surely this practical denial of freedom and spirit, whose reality certainly disappears with the adoption of this theory, is a strange road upon which to be seeking the goal of immortality. There is no soul in such an agnostic's body, any more than there is a God in his mechanical universe. And thus once more we are brought in sight of the profound truth so beautifully put by Henry More, *Nullus in microcosmo spiritus, nullus in macrocosmo Deus.*

Except to indicate that Mr. Fiske's conclusion concerning the possible existence in a future state of a personal consciousness dissociated from a brain and a nervous system is

rejected and condemned by his master, Mr. Spencer, there is little need to prosecute farther our inquiry into the teachings of Mr. Fiske as a satisfactory basis for the hope of immortality. I may, however, here state, even if so briefly as to seem dogmatic, my own position. Proofs of immortality which do not proceed explicitly on the basis of an idealistic philosophy—such idealistic realism, at least, as is taught by thinkers like Hermann Lotze—are as vain as the corresponding attempts to demonstrate the existence of God. Minds are the true realities, immediately and indisputably self-conscious. If doubt can be cast on these realities, which know all phenomena, then it is vain to seek anywhere a solid footing for knowledge. Bodies, including brains, are phenomenal, existing for minds, apart from which they have no intelligible existence. He who thinks he can hold fast to an objective dualism of matter and mind, and at the same time maintain that minds and mental phenomena exist independently of material conditions has, from this point of view, simply undertaken an impossible and absurd task. Mr. Fiske's statement of the doctrine of psychophysical parallelism, for example, falls but little short of a contradiction in terms. Causation, scientifically understood, requires the unbroken continuity of the physical motions, from the forces whose entrance into the body through the sense organs is in some unaccountable way the occasion of our sensations, to the muscular movements which are their final visible expression. Yet this very law of causation,—the vital nerve of that scientific investigation of nature to which all the mechanical explanations of the world are pledged,—whose conditions are inductively satisfied by the resultant or concomitant sensations, is unconditionally sacrificed when causal connexion between the material motions in the brain and the sensations is denied. In the interests of causality, causality is itself discredited in its own inductive citadel. By the adoption of such a doctrine, agnostic naturalism commits *harakiri*. It is a little difficult to imagine how absurdity could proceed to greater lengths. Yet there are many minds—scientific minds—so enveloped

in the delusions of sense that Mr. Fiske's little book will come to them as a real relief ; and some theologians, I fear, will accept it as a gracious condescension of science to religion. The times of such ignorance idealistic philosophy must be content to wink at. Meanwhile, Mr. Fiske's book may be commended, in scientific circles at least, as a very admirable and well intended makeshift, serving a useful purpose until the times of revelation and the knowledge of God.

It is no doubt true that Mr. Fiske, though distinguishing between what he is pleased to call "cosmic" theism and "anthropomorphic" theism,—as if the known world had in it any higher factors for its explanation than those which are embodied in human nature,—nevertheless approximated much more closely to a theistic interpretation of the universe than his master, Mr. Spencer. He may also be regarded as recognising more fully the significance of consciousness and as seeking more anxiously some adequate ground for the independence of mind. He believed that he could assume these advanced positions—advanced in the direction of a true estimate of the spirit manifested in man and in the world—without disloyalty to Mr. Spencer, and without sacrificing his acknowledged position as the foremost American expositor of the agnosticism and naturalistic evolution taught by his chief. In this I think he was mistaken. Mr. Spencer understood the ultimate implications of his own system far better than Mr. Fiske, and the master is a far severer reasoner than the disciple within the limits of their common territory. This is fundamentally illustrated in the difference between the doctrine set forth by Mr. Fiske in his *Life Everlasting*, as expounded above, and the final deliverance of Mr. Spencer on the subject of immortality.

I have called attention to the futility of Mr. Fiske's effort to get rid of the dependence of consciousness on brain, as inductively established within the field of our phenomenal experience, by his adoption of the illogical and unscientific theory of psycho-physical parallelism. I have intimated that the hands on the dial of the philosophical

clock might as well be turned back a matter of a couple of centuries or so, and mankind content themselves with the Leibnitzian doctrine of pre-established harmony. It was shown that, if the physical conception of matter as "extended substance" is correct, and the usual methods by which physics deal with "matter" and "force" are to be accepted as affording a final explanation of reality, then Mr. Fiske had been lacking in appreciation of the inevitable conclusions of that science whose champion he assumed to be. The universal human experience of the dependence of consciousness on that particular form of "extended substance" which is organised as brain, and on those forces which, originating in the disturbances and motions of the "external world," enter the open gates of our sense organs, proceed in undulations along the avenues of the sensor nerves, and induce molecular changes and physical discharges in that "real substance," the brain, begets much more than the most powerful presumption against belief in immortality, that is, belief in the independent existence of a consciousness dissociated from brains and nervous systems and the forces of a material world which act through them. I advanced to the general position that proofs of immortality which do not proceed explicitly and unconditionally on the basis of an idealistic philosophy are as vain and hopeless as the corresponding attempts to demonstrate the existence of the Deity on the basis of a materially substantial and mechanically self-sufficing universe; concluding with the thesis that one who thinks he can hold fast an objective dualism of matter and mind, and at the same time maintain that minds exist independently of material conditions, has, in the point of view of true spiritualistic philosophy, embraced an impossible undertaking.

I am glad to find so vigorous and rigorous a thinker as Mr. Spencer joining me in this condemnation of his greatest American disciple. I do not mean to say that Mr. Spencer has passed judgment expressly upon Mr. Fiske's conclusion. But, in quite different connexions, he has announced principles which carry with them the rejection of Mr. Fiske's

reasoning. This is all the more to my present purpose. Mr. Spencer virtually confesses that his system of agnosticism—which is also in its way dualistic, in its assumed fundamental incommensurability of matter and mind—is as incompatible with belief in immortality as is the grosser and self-confessed materialism. In his final deliverance he says that,

after contemplating the inscrutable relation between brain and consciousness, and finding that we can get no evidence of the existence of the last without the activity of the first, we seem obliged to relinquish the thought that consciousness continues after physical organisation has become inactive.

This is very agnostically and inscrutably expressed ; but what is "inscrutable" to one mired in the agnostic bog is very evident to one who is willing to face plain facts without prejudice or commitment to already adopted theories. But, cherishing the same principles and announcing and defending the same postulates with Mr. Spencer, this thought of a consciousness independent of physical organisation is precisely what Mr. Fiske declines to relinquish. Agnostic dualist as he is, he refuses to see the conclusion to which the acknowledged principles of both conduct his master. Instead, he imposes on himself and, I fear, on many of his scientific readers the flimsy theory of psycho-physical parallelism, which, in denying causal connexion between brain changes and sensations, sacrifices both the law of causality and the canons of induction by which its operations in the realm of experience have been established. Having accounted for the entire material universe, including human bodies and brains, in the terms of mechanics, our naturalistic philosopher balks when it is evident that he must include sensations and conscious life in the terms of the same explanation. In so doing, he not only leaves consciousness unexplained as a mere uncaused "epiphenomenon"; but, in allowing one breach of law, he undermines the foundation of that mechanical universe which he has just so laboriously completed. Mr. Spencer was too

wary to wreck the system of "Synthetic Philosophy," or "Cosmic Philosophy," as Mr. Fiske terms it, after this reckless and suicidal fashion.

It is desirable that all inquirers, especially theologians, should see from the beginning that naturalistic agnosticism is as fatal to theism and immortality as open and declared materialism itself. It is no doubt creditable to Mr. Fiske's heart that he succeeded in deceiving himself on this point. But it is important that Christian theists should not become victims of a like delusion. Any theologian who builds into his system of Christian truth the conclusions of Mr. Fiske, based on the argumentation by which he justifies them, may as well understand in advance that Mr. Spencer, Mr. Fiske's master, repudiates alike the argumentation and the conclusions. Most of his readers are perhaps willing to allow that there may be a larger theistic element in Mr. Spencer's doctrine of "the Unknowable"—spelled with a big U—than his professed principles permit him to see. Nevertheless, on the point under consideration, his reasoning is conclusive, and sets aside the amiable but inconsequent contention of his disciple, Mr. Fiske.

JOHN J. TIGERT.

## DR. LOOFS' APPRECIATION OF METHODISM.

*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, begründet von J. J. HERZOG. Dritte Auflage. Herausgegeben von Dr. ALBERT HAUCK. Article on "Methodism" by Dr. FRIEDRICH LOOFS, Professor of Church History in Halle University.

*Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*. Von Dr. FRIEDRICH LOOFS, ordentlichem Professor der Kirchengeschichte in Halle. (1901.)

*Die Anfänge der Brüderkirche in England*. Ein Kapitel vom geistigen Austausch Deutschlands und Englands. Inaugural Dissertation von Dr. G. A. WAUER. (1900.)

**W**ITHIN a few years of the bicentenary of Milton's birth, Wordsworth wrote the exquisite sonnet which gives majestic expression to a feeling of which noble souls are often conscious, as they look out across the "fen of stagnant waters" and long to hear again some "voice whose sound was like the sea." Of none but master spirits like Milton do men ever say, after the passing of two centuries,

Thou shouldst be living at this hour :  
England hath need of thee.

If an ardent Methodist, during the recent bicentenary celebration of John Wesley's birth, had exclaimed "return to us again," the enthusiastic utterance would have surprised no lover of his country who is familiar with the tasks to which Methodism is girding herself in the earliest years of a new century. If, on the other hand, a zealous German Protestant were to sigh for the appearance of another Luther, the present spiritual needs of the Fatherland would

account for the rise of this patriotic longing in the heart of any member of the Church that bears the great Reformer's name. But it is of Germany that a distinguished representative of the Lutheran Church is thinking as he writes, "If the twentieth century were to bring a new and modern John Wesley, he would find the fields white unto the harvest."

With these words Dr. Loofs, Professor of Church History in the University of Halle, concludes his elaborate article on "Methodism" in the new edition of the well known Herzog-Hauck *Realencyklopädie*. The spirit manifested in this closing sentence pervades the whole of Dr. Loofs' careful and sympathetic appreciation of the rise, progress, and present condition of Methodism. His praise is all the more valuable because it is without grudging, though not without discrimination; but the source from which proceeds this timely recognition of the significance of the Methodist Revival will enhance its value to those who cannot recall the spiritual history of John Wesley without grateful remembrance of the honoured name of Luther. Dr. Loofs is not only willing but anxious that his own Church should lay to heart the lessons which are taught by the history of a sister Church, and Methodists in their turn will gladly listen to so unprejudiced and competent a critic. The words of one of the foremost ecclesiastical historians of our time will also carry weight in other Churches. In our own country Dr. Loofs has great and increasing influence; his work has an especial attraction for Dr. Sanday, whose judgment is that, "if anyone is likely to speak the last word on the origin of the creed, it is Loofs"; and Dr. Lindsay, in the last series of the Cunningham Lectures,<sup>1</sup> says: "Professor Loofs is the most distinguished of the younger Church historians of Germany, and is an eminently sane and scientific worker and thinker."

Dr. Loofs is a staunch advocate of the *genetic method* of writing history; first of all he inquires as to the antecedents of a movement, in order that "from the beginning" he may

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<sup>1</sup> *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, p. 374.



accurately trace its development and rightly estimate its results. No historic event is completely understood by merely looking backward ; by diligent research and by the scientific use of the imagination some point of vantage behind it must be gained, from which it is possible to look forward, watch its emergence, and mark at once its dependence upon and its distinction from its environing conditions. Accordingly, the introductory section of this article is a masterly, though all too brief, investigation of the question : *What is the position of Methodism in the history of Protestantism?* Any complete discussion of this subject must have regard to the state of the Evangelical Churches in Europe as well as to the religious condition of England at the beginning of the eighteenth century ; especially is it needful to ascertain the relation between the rise of Pietism in Germany and the early history of Methodism in England. A hasty glance at two periods in the history of Halle University will, it is hoped, prove helpful to the understanding of Dr. Loofs' terse statements ; for the names of Francke and Tholuck, two Halle professors, are inseparably connected with Lutheran Pietism, the former with its origin two centuries ago, and the latter with its revival more than a century later.

August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) was the first professor of theology in the University of Halle, founded by Frederic the First of Prussia in 1694. As a student at Leipzig he had become famous as the founder of the *collegium philobiblicum*, for the deeper study of the Holy Scriptures ; already orthodox Lutherans had called his disciples "Pietists," a word which was henceforth to become a party name. When John Wesley was born, Francke was at the height of his activity, directing the ragged schools, orphanages, and other benevolent agencies which have made his name even better known as a social reformer than as an evangelistic theologian.

His personality becomes more attractive the more closely it is studied, and is remarkable for its harmonious blending of

qualities which are usually accounted opposites: he was almost a mystic in his spiritual fervour, but possessed a mind of extraordinary acumen and sagacity; unfeignedly humble, yet so conscious of his own powers as often to appear proud; a superb idealist who, nevertheless, gave patient attention to the most trivial detail; an ascetic for whom the world had no attraction, but not a recluse; a sincere man of God, and at the same time a man of the world in the best sense; a thorough theologian, yet a man of affairs; a born leader, at times imperious, but always devoted to the service of God and of man.<sup>1</sup>

To the influence of Francke and the men whom he gathered round him must be ascribed the rapid spread of Pietism in the Lutheran Church during the early half of the eighteenth century; but the beginning of its decline coincides with the birth of Methodism (1739). Hence, although there are obvious resemblances between Francke and Wesley, as well in the character of the men as in the significance of their work, no parallel can be drawn between this era of Halle Pietism and early Methodism; it was in the decade *after* Francke's death that Rationalism arose in Germany, whereas at the same period Rationalism was already declining in England, and Wesley's evangelistic work was just beginning. Dr. Loofs says:

It is true that Methodism has much in common with German Pietism at the close of the seventeenth century and during the early half of the eighteenth century; indeed, a way for Methodism was prepared by the beginning of a revival in England which was genetically connected with the Pietism of Spener and Francke; nevertheless, in the history of Protestantism, Methodism cannot be placed on the same plane as contemporary German Pietism.

To some extent the "religious societies" established in London by Dr. Horneck (d. 1696), a Pietist and Lutheran minister at the Savoy Church, were a preparation for the evangelistic revival under Wesley and Whitefield; but there

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviated from Dr. Frick's article in *Die Stadt Halle-a-S. im Jahre, 1891.*

are other links<sup>1</sup> between Halle Pietism and early Methodism. Wesley's personal intercourse with one of Francke's pupils, afterwards known as Count von Zinzendorf, and with the Moravian missionaries who went from the Count's settlement at Herrnhut, must not be forgotten ; nor the influence upon him of the literature and hymns of the Halle Pietists—of one of Francke's prose works, *Nicodemus, or a Treatise on the Fear of Man*, Wesley published an abridged translation, and amongst the hymns which he translated from the German, "Thou Lamb of God, Thou Prince of Peace," is by C. F. Richter, whom Francke appointed physician in charge of his institutions ; "O Jesu, source of calm repose," is by Freylinghausen, who was Francke's colleague and son-in-law ; and "Jesu, Thy blood and righteousness," is one of the most precious productions of Zinzendorf's prolific pen.

In spite, however, of this resemblance, and of the links which connect early Methodism with eighteenth-century Pietism, there are fundamental differences between these two religious movements. England anticipated by half a century or more the experience of Germany. Baxter's *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* was published in 1649, Barclay's *Apologia* in 1676, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in 1678, and it was from the circles represented by these names that there went forth the evangelistic and humanitarian influences in which history finds the true analogy to the work of Spener and Francke, the founders of Lutheran Pietism.

Rationalism had flourished and faded in England when on German soil there sprang from the same seed the tiny green blade of the plant which was afterwards to strike deep its roots therein. The year 1750 may be taken as a date approximately marking both the subsidence of the deistic flood in England and the inrush of the tide of Rationalism in Germany.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Loofs recognises that to Methodism is

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. "An Eighteenth-century Pietist" in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, June, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Loofs' *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*, § 298.

due the completeness of the victory gained over the Deism represented by Toland (d. 1722), Collins (d. 1729), and Tindal (d. 1733). But in Germany the battle had still to be fought; in 1753 Semler, the "Father of Rationalism," was appointed Professor of Theology at Halle, where for nearly forty years he exerted a powerful influence, both upon his students and upon German thought, anticipating in his critical work some of the results of the Tübingen school.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century Rationalism was dominant in the teaching at Halle University. Semler, who is usually styled "the founder of historical criticism,"

possessed enormous stores of learning, but not the true historical sense; in theological criticism he placed reason in the forefront, and held that the essential element in the Christian religion is its moral influence. Two of his most distinguished pupils, who as professors continued his work, were Nosselt and Niemeyer.<sup>1</sup>

A link between Halle Rationalism and early Methodism, as well as a proof of the interest aroused in Germany by Wesley's work, is the publication in 1793 of a translation by Niemeyer of Hampson's *Life of John Wesley*<sup>2</sup>—correctly described as "the oldest, but not the most trustworthy, representation of Wesley by one of his personal opponents," in Wauer's most instructive treatise.<sup>3</sup>

In 1826 Tholuck was appointed to the chair of New Testament Theology at Halle; his name is associated with *the revival of Lutheran Pietism*, though his influence was not so far-reaching as Francke's to whom its rise and early development were largely due. It is this religious awakening in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century which Dr. Loofs regards as the true parallel to the Methodist Revival in England, and his reasons are convincing:

<sup>1</sup> Hertzberg: *Die Geschichte der Universität in Halle-a-S.*, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> A translation of Southey's *Life of Wesley* by "Parable" Krummacher appeared in 1828.

<sup>3</sup> An English translation, entitled *The Beginnings of the Brethren's Church (Moravians) in England* is published at the Moravian House, Baidon, near Shipley.

the ecclesiastical conditions were practically the same, notwithstanding the difference in time, for at these periods in both countries Rationalism had been met and repulsed. It is not implied that to Tholuck solely or mainly this great religious revolution is to be ascribed. During the reign of Rationalism, Pietism both of the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the non-confessional type, was kept alive in several centres. Moreover, in 1817, Claus Harms celebrated the jubilee of the Reformation by publishing his famous ninety-five theses against Rationalism, in which he sounded the warning note, "back to the faith of our fathers." But to Tholuck it is mainly due that Halle became during his lifetime what it had been in the days of Francke—one of the chief centres of German evangelical theology. The decay of the older Pietism was due to causes which need only be mentioned to account for the greater and more lasting influence of contemporary Methodism: its exaggeration of asceticism, its increasing narrowness, its indifference to the general interests of the Church, and its neglect of science. Tholuck was the representative of a more liberal school; his teaching was eclectic, deriving some of its elements from Moravianism, and others from the philosophy of Hegel and of Schleiermacher; but most of all he was indebted to the pectoral theology of Neander (1789-1850), of whom he says: "From those loved lips now silent in the grave I heard for the first time the words, self-denial, humility, sin." Neander recommended to him the study of Plato, a fact worth remembering as a contrast to Nietzsche's curt dismissal of Platonism as "refined cheater," on the ground forsooth! that the greatest of Greek philosophers is "so pre-existent Christian," and has "already got the concept 'good' as the highest concept."

In view of the work which Tholuck did for the revival of evangelical theology and of religious life in Germany, it is interesting to note that he owed something to this country and to Methodism. In the preface to his *Hours of Christian Devotion* (*Andachtsstunden*) he says that it was during a visit to England that he saw a book "eminently suited for

family worship," and was "stirred up to think of composing a work of the sort." During the early years of his professoriate at Halle he published a translation of the *Life of Whitefield* and of the *Life of Fletcher*; doubtless a congenial task to the author of the aphorism, "pectus est quod facit theologum."

Having considered the relation between German Pietism and English Methodism, Dr. Loofs proceeds to describe *the religious condition of England in the latter half of the seventeenth century*. It is a picture in miniature, but such as only an accomplished historian could have sketched. The works of the deistic writers he places in the "second class" as literature; whilst of the "anti-deistic rational supernaturalism," which characterised English theology, he well says that it "showed no understanding of the central truths of the Reformation." For a convincing proof of the truth of this statement a study of the writers of this period may be suggested, and let the reader carefully note that not seldom the essentials of spiritual religion are described as fanaticism, enthusiasm or superstition, and are declared to be spent forces.<sup>1</sup> After a graphic and truthful account of the religious indifference of the upper classes and the estrangement of the uncultured masses, Dr. Loofs remarks that in Germany no exact parallel to these social conditions can be found until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and this fact is, of course, a confirmation of his main position.

In tracing the influences which prepared the way for the Methodist Revival, Dr. Loofs dwells first, on *the establishment of the "religious societies,"* in which he finds an organic connexion with the earlier Lutheran Pietism; and secondly, on *the writings of William Law*. In this connexion he refers with warm approval to a dissertation published in 1900 by Dr. G. A. Wauer on *The Origin of the*

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Green, appointed Bishop of Lincoln in 1761, wrote a work in which he claimed for the Church of England a superiority over Methodism and Roman Catholicism, on the ground that it was free from enthusiasm, which both these systems encouraged.

*Church of the Moravian Brethren.* Dr. Wauer is a young theologian who was educated at Herrnhut and at the Universities of Halle and Leipzig; before writing this book he spent almost a year in England in preparatory studies, and spared no pains in his researches; afterwards he made use of the manuscripts preserved in the library at Herrnhut. His chapter on "Ecclesiastical Life in England at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century" enables us to expand the unavoidably brief references to this subject in Dr. Loofs' article.

The "fathers of the religious societies" were Dr. Smithies, of St. Giles' Church in Cripplegate, and Dr. Horneck, Lutheran minister at the Savoy Church.

The preaching of Dr. Horneck attracted large crowds. His favourite themes were the proof of God's love in the Incarnation of our Lord, and Jesus as the object of man's love. He may be regarded as the first German Pietist who worked in England. Through his and Dr. Smithies' preaching in the seventies (*i.e.* 1670 *f.*) a number of young people were awakened; they applied to their ministers for counsel, were introduced to one another, and met once a week for mutual edification. Soon they began to win souls, to care for the poor and for prisoners, sometimes obtaining their freedom by payment of their debts. At one of these meetings it was agreed that each should strive to gain a new member; thus the society grew and required organisation. At first this had to do only with the distribution of the money collected for charitable purposes. In 1678 two stewards were appointed. Soon, other societies of the same kind were formed; they were called "religious societies," or "vestry societies," because their meetings were often held in the vestries of the churches. Their chief characteristics were their close connexion with the State Church and their pronounced evangelistic tendencies.

Early in the eighteenth century these societies began to decline in numbers and in influence. Dr. Wauer accounts for this by the restriction of their work to spiritual edification, and shows that alongside of them there sprang up "societies for the reformation of manners," which sought to bring offenders against public morals to justice. The aims

of these societies were afterwards extended, and out of them arose<sup>1</sup> in 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Estimating the influence of these strictly Anglican religious societies from an Evangelical point of view, Dr. Loofs says: "Their Christianity may be described as an ecclesiastical, ascetic Pietism coloured by ethical interests. Of the gospel of the Reformation they understood no more than the State Church."

A new impulse to the religious movement represented by the "religious societies" was given by William Law, who sought to bring home to professing Christians the responsibilities of their calling; the influence of his earlier writings, especially of his *Serious Call* (1728), it is impossible to over-estimate; they convinced many nominal believers of the vanity of a religion which has the form without the power of godliness. Dr. Loofs declines—and in our judgment for sufficient reasons—to accept Dr. Wauer's characterisation of Law as "the father of the English revival of the eighteenth century and the grandfather of Methodism"; he recognises, however, in a very suggestive passage, that Law's writings were the means of generating in circles of religious inquirers

a seriousness and a spirit of sacrifice which proved to be a more powerful motive than pious egoism required. Hence he prepared the way for Methodism, which discovered in the fundamental religious truths of the Reformation such a means of self-edification and of universal influence upon others as neither the "religious societies" of Horneck, nor the "societies for the reformation of manners," nor Law himself had any knowledge of.

It is, as Dr. Wauer points out, most instructive to take cognizance of the "omissions" in Law's *Serious Call*; not only does it contain no trace of the mysticism which he afterwards learnt from that "wonderful man" Jakob

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. McCLURE: *A Chapter in English Church History*, being the Minutes of the S.P.C.K. for the years 1658-1704. London. 1888.



Böhme, but it also has scarcely any reference to the great themes of sin and redemption.

The cause of this omission is not so much that these truths do not come within the scope of this book, but rather that they are almost entirely absent from Law's conception of Christianity.

It should be said, before passing from this subject, that Dr. Loofs draws the logical conclusion from these comparisons, and recognises a similar distinction between early German Pietism and English Methodism, thus justifying once more his refusal to regard as parallel the religious movements in the two countries which were chronologically almost coincident.

Pietism with us was opposed by an ecclesiastical orthodoxy, stricter, but colder, and frequently less moral, and it was the means of bringing to *individuals* the blessings of experimental Christianity. Methodism, in a country more advanced in culture, strove to win the religiously lost *masses*, and to bring new life to the *national Church*.

Dr. Loofs gives a comprehensive survey of the history of Methodism, as well as a careful exposition of its doctrines and polity. After the historical introduction (section 1), the various sections treat respectively of (2) John Wesley's Life to his Conversion, (3) Rise of Methodism to the Separation of Whitefield and Wesley, (4) Whitefield's Work, (5) Development of Wesleyan Methodism to Whitefield's Death, (6) The Calvinistic Controversy and its Consequences, (7) The Close of Wesley's Life, (8) Rise of the Methodist Denominations, (9) Their Present Position, (10) Church Organisation, (11) Doctrines, and (12) Concluding Remarks. A separate article appears on "Methodism in America"; its author is Professor Nuelsen of Berea, Ohio, who contributes a most able *résumé* on which it is tempting to linger. Dr. Hauck's editorial estimate of the importance of the subject is manifest, for twenty-five pages are allotted to Professor Nuelsen, whereas less than five pages proved sufficient for Dr. Schaff, who wrote on this subject in the first and

second editions. The author of the article on "Methodism" in the first and second editions of the *Realencyklopädie* was Pastor Schoell, minister of the Savoy Church; he is content to give a plain, straightforward narrative, and in the second edition his chief source seems to have been Jacobi's *Geschichte des Methodismus*. Dr. Loofs' article is not only much longer (fifty-five pages compared with thirty-nine), but also contains work of a much higher order; the author has gone to the original sources, and has sought by correspondence—as the present writer can testify—to obtain the most accurate and recent information. The bibliography alone occupies nearly three closely printed pages, and is accompanied by notes which show real insight. Attention is called to "the brilliant section" on Methodism in Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*; Moore's *Life of Wesley* is described as being "to a large extent a reprint of Whitehead's Life, but resting also upon personal reminiscences and original study of the sources"; Dr. Rigg's works are spoken of "as most instructive," *The Living Wesley* "being, together with Tyerman, essential to the understanding of Wesley"; M. Lelièvre's Life is commended as "scientific and trustworthy, neither dull nor discursive."

A comparison of the articles in the three editions has brought to light very little that is of general interest; but one fact deserves to be mentioned. Writing in 1858, Pastor Schoell says:

In externals the Methodism of the present day differs from that of the last century. *With the exception of the Primitive Methodists*, its adherents manifest no dislike of the refinements and comforts of the times. At a social gathering in the stately Mission House one would never imagine that the company consisted of sons and daughters of the Methodists who once drew upon themselves the ridicule of the world by their mean apparel and eccentric demeanour.

In the edition of 1880 the passage remains without any change, except the omission of the words in *italics*. Modern critics who contrast the Methodists of to-day with their ancestors would do well to note that in Pastor Schoell's

words there is no suggestion that the changes in externals are outward and visible signs of spiritual deterioration.

The greater part of Dr. Loofs' article is historical. With great skill the essential facts are seized upon and effectively grouped; the whole forms a most admirable *summary of the history of Methodism*, surpassing in comprehension of details, attractiveness of style, breadth of vision,<sup>1</sup> and soundness of judgment any history accessible to German readers. Here it is not possible to refer to more than a few points of interest. The true history of Methodism does not begin with the "Holy Club" at Oxford, but with Whitefield's preaching in the open air at Kingswood, on February 17, 1739. The object of the Holy Club was the spiritual edification of its members who had not advanced beyond the teaching of Law; Oxford Methodists might have helped to swell the stream of ritualistic neo-Catholicism, like the Oxford Movement of a century later, had not John Wesley outgrown the spiritual experience of his university life. In Georgia, Wesley did but "experiment with a pietistic individualism which had affinities with High Church rigorism." The genuineness and significance of Wesley's conversion is fully recognised; attention, however, is called to the sentence, "this witness of the Spirit I have not; but I wait patiently for it," which is found in a letter<sup>2</sup> written five months after the Aldersgate Street crisis; also to the comment made on the famous statement that he was not converted when he went to America: in 1740, when a second series of extracts from his Journal was being published, Wesley added, "I am not sure of this."

Luther, whose spiritual development is often described as furnishing a parallel to John Wesley's experience, connected his consciousness of the new birth with the flashing in upon him

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<sup>1</sup> The student of Church history will appreciate such a pregnant sentence as: "The Primitive Methodists are related to the older Society as the Spirituals among the Franciscans to the community, or as the most moderate of the Montanists to the extending Church of the second century."

<sup>2</sup> TYERMAN: *Life*, i. 190.

of the true meaning of a passage of Scripture, and yet, only gradually and not without wavering, did he attain to the full understanding of the gospel. So it was also with John Wesley; many traditions of his early religious life remained, even after he had attained to certainty, and these only gradually faded and disappeared.

Both these experiences remind us, as Dr. McLaren has said, that

the witness of the Spirit, if it were yonder in heaven, would shine like a perpetual star; the witness of the Spirit, here in the heart on earth, burns like a flickering flame. The Spirit's witness *comes from God*, therefore it is veracious, divine, omnipotent; but the Spirit's witness from God is *in man*, therefore it may be wrongly read.<sup>1</sup>

The separation of Whitefield and Wesley is described in a section which closes with the statement that their subsequent relations furnish "a fine example of pious magnanimity and believing tolerance in regard to disputed questions." A clear-cut impression is given of the two personalities: Whitefield appealing less to the reason and more to the emotions than Wesley; Whitefield less guarded in his expressions than Wesley, and therefore more frequently attacked by the pamphleteers of the day,—a method of procedure which might seem to prove that zeal had blinded their opponents, for "without Wesley thousands of Whitefield's converts would never have become Methodists; and yet the zeal was not incomprehensible, for without Whitefield's preaching Wesley and his fellow-workers would not have found the soil prepared." A careful account is also given of the rise of "two sorts of Methodists," and the action of the Countess of Huntingdon is correctly explained:

John Wesley's masterful spirit too closely resembled her own to permit of her being attracted by him; Whitefield was a more sympathetic and kindred spirit. To Whitefield, moreover, intercourse with the nobility was more congenial than to Wesley, for whom rank had not the slightest charm.

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<sup>1</sup> *Sermons Preached in Manchester*, First Series, p. 65 f.

Attention is called to the error of Dr. Schoell, who in the second edition of the *Realencyklopädie* regards the Calvinistic controversy as an evidence of antinomian tendencies in Methodism itself. But Wesley's attack on Calvinism at the Conference of 1770 is rightly said not to have been occasioned by internal dangers.

Antinomianism, or mystic-libertine tendencies, did not fail to appear in the English revival of the eighteenth century, as they have appeared in all similar revivals, both ancient and modern, but John Wesley always resisted such tendencies decisively and clearly (cp. the admirable statement in the *Form of Discipline*, 1797). Philippians ii. 12 always had a place in his mind by the side of Romans iii. 28; with Luther's judgment in regard to the Epistle of James he never agreed, and Luther's mystical utterances about the law in the shorter Commentary on the Galatians were an offence to him as early as 1741; on the other hand, antinomian error was not a source of trouble to him in the period immediately preceding 1770.

Dr. Loofs agrees with Tyerman that it is a proof of genuine greatness that domestic wretchedness did not lessen the energy with which Wesley devoted himself to public work, but he is of opinion that a little more human weakness would have added to the amiability of Wesley's character.<sup>1</sup> This may reasonably be doubted, and Dr. Loofs allows that "Xanthippe was chiefly to blame." On this subject a question is asked on which perhaps the new edition of the Journal will cast some light:

Is it an evidence of the *official* character of John Wesley's Journal itself, or merely of the published extracts, that there is no trace of the inner struggles which his marriage must have caused him?

No one who is familiar with the evolution of *the Church organisation of Methodism*, and with the peculiarities of its technical phraseology, will be surprised to hear that this section of his article gave Dr. Loofs most trouble. As an example of the thoroughness with which a scientific

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the chapter on "Wesley's Disposition and Character," in Rigg's *The Living Wesley*.

historian studies his sources, and of the perseverance with which he searches out the meaning of obscure phrases, a few specimens may be given of the subjects upon which information was sought, the writer of this article acting for the most part as a medium of communication with such authorities as Dr. Rigg, for whose valuable help Dr. Loofs was especially grateful. Comment on the questions quoted will seldom be necessary, but to most of our readers each will probably supply some food for reflection.

Is not the *travelling* of the ministers now confined to their change of stations every three years ?

In the First London District more than one-fortieth of the members are local preachers. They cannot, of course, preach regularly ; are they now anything more than an élite group of members ? or do they preach at prayer-meetings ?

Are probationers who have completed their course as students ever employed as local preachers ?

Does it ever happen that Society Meetings—to which admission is by ticket of membership or note from the minister—are not held in a Circuit once a quarter ? or not even once a year ?

Has the Lovefeast now become a Circuit festival, and is it held at the same time as the Quarterly Meeting ?

Is it enough if a Sunday-school teacher is an attendant at Methodist services without being a member of society ?

A number of circuit plans having been sent to Dr. Loofs, because they furnished the fullest answers to some of his questions, he immediately perceived their value, and his next letter showed that he had calculated the number of appointments of each local preacher during the quarter, and how seldom, if at all, the abbreviations for "lovefeast" and "society meeting" were employed. To quote, with permission, from his correspondence :

It is said that the "classes" have not so important a position in modern Methodism as they formerly had ; indeed, the Conference of 1899 declared that the class-meetings are no longer what they once were. I am glad to learn from you that classes still exist in every circuit. But it seems to me that the "society" as a united whole is of little importance in present-day Methodism.

To the same subject—the *decline of the society*—more than one reference is made in the article, and the kindly criticism is a legitimate inference from the exhortations of the Conference in regard to the *regular* holding of society meetings, lovefeasts, and leaders' meetings. On the other hand, services for the recognition of new members, and the keeping of a Church-roll of members are modern methods which may fairly be mentioned as designed to restore the "society" to its former significance, and to teach that Methodists are members of a society and of a Church, and not merely members of a class.

The admission of laymen into the Conference is said to be the "homogeneous result of an internal development"; Methodism is "anything but a hierarchy," nor are Methodist Churches correctly described as "pastors' Churches"; they are rather Churches in which the work of evangelization and spiritual fellowship unite ministers and laymen. "Evangelization" and "fellowship" are frequently referred to as the characteristic notes of the Methodist Revival. In an exceedingly valuable section it is shown that although Wesley's methods had, to some extent, been anticipated by the Moravians, nevertheless new principles were embodied in the Methodist societies.

I am not acquainted with any satisfactory investigation into the old and new elements in Wesley's organisation of the societies. The biographers of Wesley and the historians of Methodism pass over in silence the questions which here arise. At the risk of revealing the narrow limits of my knowledge I venture to express the wish that ere long an expert may write the history of the band societies and of the select societies.

But Dr. Loofs has laid any such writer under great obligation; he dwells not only on Wesley's adoption of an older form of organisation, but also on the fact that in the early Methodist societies there were meetings for women and meetings of bands, which closely resemble Moravian customs. In the rules of the Moravian society that met in Fetter Lane it is expressly stated that the society was to be divided into

bands or small companies of not less than five nor more than ten persons. In Methodist literature Dr. Loofs finds no clear statement of the relation of the "band societies" to the "united societies" and to the "select societies," which were all recognised at the Conference of 1744. His own conclusion is that when Wesley divided a society into classes he introduced a new principle of division, which crossed and ultimately superseded the older division into bands.

It is impossible, with Blunt, to regard the bands as subdivisions of the classes; the bands of Wesley's time seem rather to have been the nucleus of a future society, which afterwards was divided into classes, though the bands were not dissolved, and continued to meet more or less frequently.

In two important respects Methodist societies differed from the older Moravian societies. In the first place, after Wesley had separated from Whitefield and from the Moravians, the sole responsibility for the societies devolved upon him; hence he was led to establish a system of control, *i.e.* of moral and spiritual oversight. Tickets distinguished between members of society and members on trial, whilst the quarterly visitation of the classes for the renewal of these tickets was a convenient opportunity for the exclusion of backsliders. In the second place, the division of the society into classes enabled Wesley to depute to leaders the care for the souls of a small group of members. In Dr. Loofs' judgment, the new elements in Wesley's organisation were the society tickets, and the system of division into classes under the charge of appointed leaders.

With great skill and patience Dr. Loofs threads his way through the labyrinth in which a non-Methodist writer finds himself entangled, as he studies the word "local preacher" etymologically and historically. The result of his researches is thus stated: in 1755 "our chief local preachers" means those who preach in one place and do not itinerate; this use of the word has nothing to do with the later distinction between travelling and local preachers, for Maxfield and Alexander Mather are both described as local preachers.



For some time, laymen officially recognised as "preachers" seem not to have been distinguished from laymen who preached "chiefly in one place." In 1793 local preachers are mentioned for the first time in the regulations, and by then the two classes of lay preachers and ministers have been differentiated; the rule is laid down that all local preachers, including those who have been travelling preachers, shall meet in class.

In the section of his article which deals with Methodist polity Dr. Loofs has been remarkably successful in avoiding pitfalls. On page 785, however, in the account of the formation of district committees, mention should have been made of the extension in 1801 of the principle of lay representation by the affirmation of the right of circuit stewards to be present at district meetings during the transaction of financial affairs; on page 792 a gracious reference to the "Committee on Methodism at Cambridge"<sup>1</sup> implies that the number of Methodist undergraduates is greater than it really is; on page 796 the *Minutes of Conference*<sup>2</sup> is given as the authority for the statement that members of society "who do not come to class, not even to the quarterly visitation, exclude themselves," but those who exclude themselves are described as "neglecting to meet in class and to use the other means of grace"; on page 797 there is a very pardonable misunderstanding of our examination system: preachers on trial have many trials, but they are not required to appear during their probation before one of the sections of the Candidates' Examination Committee; also the ordination service is after, not *before*, the reception into full connexion with the Conference; on page 798 is the only example of an assertion not quite up-to-date, for the Representative Session of the Conference is said to meet not before the Pastoral Session, but between the two Pastoral Sessions; on the same page it is assumed that the liturgical use of Wesley's abbreviated edition of the Book of Common Prayer is the rule rather than the exception.

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<sup>1</sup> *Minutes*, 1901.

<sup>2</sup> 1901, p. 522.

The section on *the doctrines of Methodism* is comparatively short, but Dr. Loofs holds that in all great essentials they are in full accord with the Reformed Protestant faith. In weighty words he declares that three charges often brought against Methodist teaching are without foundation : (1) in regard to the relation of justification to sanctification John Wesley's doctrine as well as that of modern Methodist theologians is quite correct ; (2) Methodists do not teach that it is necessary to know the exact time of conversion ; (3) it is "absurd" to say that in Methodist doctrine there is any mystical undervaluing of the objective factors of Christianity. In support of these statements Dr. Pope, Dr. Rigg, and other Methodist writers are quoted. Wesley's abbreviation of "the Thirty-nine Articles," although it is not authoritative in England, as it is in America, is properly regarded as casting light upon his doctrinal views ; the abbreviations prove that Methodist teaching is directly opposed to (1) what is known in Anglican circles as Catholic doctrine, and (2) the doctrine of predestination. Of Wesley's teaching on "entire sanctification" Dr. Loofs speaks with reserve, not to say with disapproval ; from his words we infer that he does not believe such a state to be attainable in this life, but with admirable candour he admits that the definitions of "perfect love" and "Christian perfection" in the standard sermons are in harmony with Scripture : "a Christian is so far perfect as not to commit sin." The omission of the article on Christ's descent into Hades is regarded as an evidence of Wesley's desire to distinguish between doctrines of primary and of secondary importance. "This tendency to a limitation to the *loci salutare*s, this interest in Christian experience and its witness to the faith is still an excellency of Methodist theology." Wesley's sermons have been read with spiritual insight and with critical enjoyment ; they are thus described :

Their charm was not imagination, neither pictures nor rhetoric ; they were attractive, although Wesley did not preach short, by reason of the richness of their contents, the orderly arrangement of the thoughts, their practical earnestness, and their remarkable

perspicuity. The sermons are doctrinal in the best sense of the word: in my opinion, Wesley's sermons may be read to-day with profit, and a translation of the best of them would find a fitting place in the series, "Preachers of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

At the end of his article Dr. Loofs returns to the subject of *the present religious condition of Germany*. To those who find it "difficult to breathe in the atmosphere of some Methodist meetings," he says: "there are similar phenomena in our own Church." The history of Methodism should warn the Lutheran clergy of the peril involved in the adoption of an unsympathetic attitude towards present-day movements, which aim at promoting intimate spiritual fellowship and aggressive evangelism. Ecclesiastical calm may not be the ideal condition of a Church that is alive to its responsibilities to the nation and to the world; indeed, "from extreme manifestations of excitement good may come." But the history of Methodism is also full of instruction for those who earnestly advocate an advance on modern lines; it would be well if they were all "as sober, as practical, and as free from narrowness as are the best representatives of Methodism." If a "modern John Wesley" should arise in the Lutheran Church, as Dr. Loofs ardently desires, Methodists and Evangelical Christians of every name would unfeignedly rejoice. To the Teutonic races God has given the power of increase and the zeal for colonising, which He always bestows upon the nations whom He calls to do His work in the world, for it is no accident that the peoples who have the gospel in its purest form have also the widespread dominion, which involves a great responsibility and will have a glorious reward, if they strive in hallowed rivalry to win the world for Christ.

A subject upon which Dr. Loofs is well qualified to speak is passed over in comparative silence—*the influence of Methodism upon other Churches*. He has no doubt that to the Church of England Methodism would have proved a

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<sup>1</sup> The reference is to a standard collection of Sermons published under the title *Die Predigt der Kirche mit einleitenden Monographien*. (Leipzig: Richter.)

greater blessing, "if at the right time it had been made possible for the Methodists to form a society within the Church. The High Church movement would scarcely have become so powerful as it now is." But the indirect influence of the Methodist Revival must not be forgotten; the "bi-centenary" celebrations have furnished new evidence of the truth of J. R. Green's impartial witness: "The Methodists themselves are the least result of the Methodist Revival." In his *Vision of Saints* Lewis Morris sees the "apostolic form" of Wesley "blessing our land," and regards it as his highest claim to his countrymen's gratitude that his

faithful hand

Re-lit the expiring fire, which sloth and sense  
And the sad world's unfaith had well-nigh quenched  
And left in ashes.<sup>1</sup>

It is in the catholic spirit which Dr. Loofs admires in Wesley that Methodists, whenever they recall his memory, rejoice in such testimonies to the indirect influence of his work as that given in the *Times* (March, 1891):

The centenary of Wesley's death is even more significant for the gradual absorption which the last one hundred years have witnessed of the essential spirit of Wesley's teaching into the common religious life and social effort of the community than it is for the remarkable expansion of Methodism proper throughout the religious world.

After describing the scene at Wesley's funeral, Dr. Loofs says:

To the Methodists he had been a "father" indeed. But not only by them does he deserve to be venerated. His faults—a

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. Dale's sermon preached in connexion with the celebration of the centenary of John Wesley's death (*Fellowship with Christ*, p. 224): "The walls of mutual distrust which separated your fathers and mine stood firm and without a breach till long after George III. was king. But the fires that were kindled on your side were burning so fiercely that the heat came through. The flames rose high and sparks fell over. You made the atmosphere so hot that dry timber took fire, we knew not how."

certain alloy of hardness, self-will, and imperiousness—were the reverse of his virtues : his remarkable energy, his strength of will, and his eminent practical wisdom. He was sincere and true, without fear, and never a slave of men or of circumstances. In capacity for work and in actual accomplishment few men are his equals ; in the many-sidedness of his education and in his unwearied interest in all branches of knowledge he is without a peer amongst revival preachers in any age. His piety was not free from all admixture of superstition, but it was free from eccentricities, genuine and glowing, joyful yet serious, opposed to all sentimentality and to all cant, but most intimately linked with moral aims and self-discipline.

With gratitude to Dr. Loofs we close this notice of his altogether admirable appreciation. All such studies promote the true unity of the Church of Christ, and prove that the larger charity is based upon wider knowledge of the "diversities of workings" of "the same God, who worketh all things in all."

JOHN G. TASKER.

# The World of Books.

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## I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

*The Sacraments of the New Testament.* Being the Kerr Lectures for 1903. By J. C. Lambert, B.D. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d.)

A CLEAR and sound doctrine of the Sacraments from the point of view of Evangelical Christianity is a decided desideratum at this time. The Roman Catholic knows certainly what he believes on this subject ; the Anglo-Catholic not only knows for himself, but is eager in making proselytes to his creed ; while the Rationalist preaches his no-doctrine to all who will listen. Only the Evangelical is too often dim and uncertain in his views : afraid of Ritualism, yet, if he be wise, not satisfied with bare Zwinglianism ; and thus Free Churches, which are ready to approach one another on many points, are shy and hesitating when Baptism and the Lord's Supper are referred to. Yet if Christians cannot frankly meet here, they will never really meet at all. For a doctrine of the Sacraments, which may appear to be of comparatively slight importance, really touches some of the deepest questions in Church thought and life.

Mr. Lambert's volume, therefore, is likely to do good service. From the point of view of the United Free Church of Scotland, he expounds what appears to him to be the teaching of the New Testament upon this important subject. His ground is well chosen. Those whom we have more particularly in view are not much concerned with patristic teaching. Not that the views of the Fathers, especially during the first two centuries, are unimportant, but they do not constitute a standard of appeal, and it is much more satisfactory to discover what may be certainly proved on this point from Scripture alone. For if the Anglican be consistent, even he must acknowledge that " whatsoever is not read therein, nor proved thereby, is not to be required of any

man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary for salvation."

First of all, it is needful to prove that Baptism and the Lord's Supper were definitely instituted by Christ Himself as distinctive and permanent rites for His Church. This is freely denied by writers who justly claim respectful consideration, amongst whom we may name M'Giffert, Spitta, and Harnack. Mr. Lambert deals ably and at length with critics who deny that Matt. xxviii. 19 contains Christ's own words, or who seek to prove that the narratives of the institution of the Lord's Supper as they have come down to us do not warrant the conclusion that Christ gave any command that this sacred meal should be repeated, or even anticipated that that would be done. The treatment of the New Testament passages in question is candid and thorough. The critics must be met not by dogmatic assumptions, but on their own ground, and Mr. Lambert shows himself well able to do this; so that though he may not convince determined opponents, he furnishes to believers a satisfactory defence of their own faith against modern objections.

On the other hand, it is necessary to meet the high sacramentarian by showing how little warrant Scripture gives for the place in the Christian life which he assigns to Baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is not as a miraculous channel of grace, but as an initiatory rite of symbolic value that Baptism was instituted by Christ and practised by the apostles. The Lord's Supper again, is not a mystic participation in the Body and Blood of Christ ineffably present in the elements of bread and wine, appointed to be *the* means of sustaining Christian life in the soul, but "a covenant feast of the new dispensation, a feast which celebrates Christ's sacrifice of Himself and the establishment of the new covenant thereby." Those who would see this distinction well worked out and supported should read Mr. Lambert's exposition. They will also see how the author agrees with Dr. Dale in contending that the sacraments are not merely forms for the expression of our faith, but are "the expressions of divine thoughts, the visible symbols of divine acts." Hence they are unique as ordinances amongst all Christian institutions, and as embodying in them Christ's own word and promise are "separated absolutely from all other rites and ceremonies whatsoever."

Carelessness or ignorance on this last point amongst Evangelical Free Churches only plays into the hands of

sacramentalists. A true doctrine of the value and significance of these sacred rites is the best antidote to false doctrine. Teachers who are provoked by the excessive regard paid to the sacraments by High Churchmen, and rush to the other extreme of minimising their importance, do harm without intending it. We heartily welcome this volume of Kerr Lectures as a candid, able, and convincing exposition of Evangelical doctrine on the important subject of which it treats. W. T. D.

*Six Lectures on Pastoral Theology.* By the Ven. James M. Wilson, D.D., Archdeacon of Manchester. (London: Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

Readers who expect to find in this volume on pastoral theology sage counsels concerning the best method of preaching, or the formation of good habits of parochial visitation, will be disappointed. The University of Cambridge, in appointing lecturers, wisely recognise that "pastoral theology" is a wide field, and in this instance the Board which appointed Archdeacon Wilson desired that counsel should be given on "the kind of difficulties of belief" that intending clergymen would be likely to meet with in the course of an ordinary ministry, and the wisest mode of dealing with them. This is a subject which the lecturer had previously made his own, and we imagine that young Anglican clergymen will find the lectures most helpful in these sufficiently trying times of conflict between science and religion.

Archdeacon Wilson's own theology is indeed of the broadest. When he undertakes to sum up Christian theology in a few words he says: "To put it in briefest form, it teaches us to honour and respect every man as in some sense an embodiment and a potential representation of the divine—that man's worth is infinite, just because he is the child of God and has in him something of that divine fatherhood," pp. 64, 65. The Incarnation, again, means to him that "human nature is even now and universally a potential manifestation of the divine," while "faith in the Holy Spirit is the belief that the impulses towards goodness which we all feel are a link to God Himself," and this will teach us "toleration and mutual respect," pp. 71 and 72.

Whether this nebulous doctrine is likely to prove a gospel sufficiently potent to redeem and raise a ruined world, we will not discuss. We prefer to say that on the subjects of subscription to articles, of faith in the Bible, and the spirit in which the



clergy should deal with doubters, some wholesome advice is given, and the tone of the lectures throughout is manly and helpful. Dr. Wilson is doubtless far too liberal for most of his brethren. Many of them, we fear, would strongly deprecate the recognition of Dissenters advocated by the Archdeacon, and many more would shudder at the idea that "a reformed Church must be a reforming Church." Equally unpalatable to others will be the advice to "leave to controversialists who have not the cure of souls all curious and insoluble questions about 'validity' and 'succession' and 'authority,'" coupled with instructions "never to lay stress upon any points of Christian faith or worship or conduct as necessary, unless they can be manifestly shown to be so, and are admitted to be so, by the experience of men." Archdeacon Wilson's theology is not ours, his teaching on miracles and kindred questions is uncertain, but it would work a wholesome revolution in the Church of which he is an ornament if *some* of his counsels were to be adopted by the next generation of Anglican clergy. W. T. D.

*Reunion Essays.* By W. R. Carson. (London: Longmans & Co. 6s. 6d. net.)

These essays are written by a Roman Catholic priest of the school of Newman, apparently with a view to present to Englishmen the most reasonable case for his own Church, by way of preparing for that reunion between Anglican and Roman "Catholics" which Lord Halifax so greatly desires. The essays are unquestionably able and interesting. The first, on "The Evolution of Catholicism," works out Newman's idea of development in considerable detail, drawing a close parallel between the history of the Church from earliest times, and the biological development of the ovum into the complete organism. Mr. Carson's argument is that "specialisation" could not be expected in the apostolic period, or even in Ante-Nicene times, and that the advance that has been made in doctrine, in organisation, in worship, from the time of Paul and Peter to that of Leo XIII., only represents the unfolding of that which was implicit in the Church from the beginning. The idea, of course, is not new, but Mr. Carson works it out freshly and ingeniously, and makes fuller concessions than many of his co-religionists would be willing to do. That he should be able to prove his point is another matter. Vincent of Lerins distinguishes the "property of progress" from the "property of

change"; the former is "that a thing be developed in itself," the latter, "that a thing be altered from what it is into something else." What the Romanist calls progress the Protestant calls change, and the tests in this instance are not difficult to apply.

Another interesting point is raised in the second essay, also in the appendix. Mr. Carson gives a full account of what is meant by Papal Infallibility according to the liberal Roman Catholic school to which he belongs. Construing—and it seems to us quite fairly—the terms of the dogma as fixed at the Vatican Council in 1870, he shows how carefully guarded it is. Four-fold conditions are laid down. The Roman Pontiff is only guarded from error when he (1) speaks *ex cathedra*, (2) propounds a doctrine concerning faith or morals, (3) has the intention of defining so as to put an end to controversy, and (4) speaks for the Church universal, and apparently—for this is not made so clear—after due consultation with representatives of the Church universal, the *ecclesia docens*, of which the Pope is only the head. Mr. Carson, in applying his principles to the Bull *Apostolica Cura*, which pronounced Anglican orders invalid, seeks to show that this is not a case in which infallibility is guaranteed or re-opening rendered impossible.

On these esoteric questions it is not for us to pronounce. It is certain that Ultramontanes would not accept Mr. Carson's view that the decisions of the Council in 1870 represented a victory of the Moderates, such as Dupanloup and Newman. They would strenuously oppose his interpretation of the dogma of Infallibility, which indeed, in his view, is so carefully guarded that only two pronouncements of Popes in all the centuries come under its definition, and may be considered infallible—the Tome of Leo I., accepted at Chalcedon, and the Bull *Ineffabilis* of Pius IX. on the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary!

Whether these essays will have any success in bridging over the now very narrow rift between Anglo-Catholics and their Roman brethren, we cannot tell. Rome has many nets and many ways of spreading them. Her priests are fishers of men in another sense than that intended by the Master. We can only say that we have read this able volume with much interest, and wondered how far it represents a current or tendency in the Roman Church of to-day, and whether that current is likely to broaden, especially in this country and America.

Signs of this are not wanting for those who keep their eyes open, but similar signs have often appeared in the past, only to disappear under the strong hand of authority. So far as prophecy represents the lessons of experience, we should prophesy short shrift for the nascent liberalism of the Church of Rome.

W. T. D.

*The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries.* The Eighteenth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., Principal of the Glasgow College of the United Free Church of Scotland. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d.)

This is the most important and most masterly volume dealing with the Church and the ministry which has appeared for a long time. Dr. Lindsay has made an exhaustive study of the sources; he knows how to marshal the facts and how to interpret them. His experience of missionary work in India has helped him to understand the conditions of apostolic times, and he has a clear and calm judgment which is seldom at fault in sifting and weighing evidence. His book is as interesting as it is profound and learned. The first lectures are entitled "The New Testament Conception of the Church of Christ," "A Christian Church in Apostolic Times," "The Prophetic Ministry of the Primitive Church." Then we see "The Church of the First Century—Creating its Ministry," "The Churches of the Second and Third Centuries—Changing their Ministry," "The Fall of the Prophetic Ministry," "Ministry Changing to Priesthood," "The Roman State Religion, and its Effects on the Organisation of the Church." These titles will give some conception of the general scope of the book. Dr. Lindsay reaches the conclusion that "the organisation of the primitive Christian Church in the last decades of the first century, without one president in the community, and with the anomalous prophetic ministry, has no resemblance to any modern ecclesiastical organisation, and yet contains within it the roots of all, whether Congregational, Presbyterian (conciliar), or Episcopal." He defends Bishop Lightfoot's position as to the identity of bishop and presbyter, and criticises Harnack and Hort with much acumen. His discussion of "The Prophetic Ministry" is of peculiar interest. He shows that the "Ministry of the Word" was "the creative agency in the primitive Church, and it may almost be said to

have had the same function throughout the centuries since. It was overthrown or thrust aside and placed under subjection to an official ministry springing out of the congregation, and it has never regained the *recognised* position it had in the first century and a half. But whenever the Church of Christ has to be awakened out of a state of lethargy, this unofficial ministry of the Word regains its old power, though official sanction be withheld." The forms of service in the early Church, the modes of choosing pastors or bishops, and many kindred subjects are described with great felicity, and the question of Church discipline which arose in the time of the Decian persecution is handled in a masterly way. Cyprian was the advocate of the most severe measures, though the Roman elders did not hesitate to describe him as a hireling shepherd, because he went into hiding to escape martyrdom. It must, however, be added that in this he was thinking less of his own safety than of the welfare of the people, though the accusation rankled. Dr. Lindsay pays tribute to Archbishop Benson's great work on Cyprian, though he points out its bias and its imperfections. The closing lecture deals with the activities of the Church after the Decian persecution. Almost every ancient document which is discovered has something new to tell us of changes, experiments, inventions in administration. All show how the Church adapted its ministry to the one great object of evangelizing the world. The non-conformists of the early centuries were hardly dealt with. "Marcionites, Montanists, and many others lived, worked, and taught, following the precepts of Jesus in the way they understood them, and suffered for Christ in times of persecution as faithfully as those who called them heretics and schismatics. The state of matters was much liker what exists in a modern divided Christendom than many would have us believe." Yet the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries brought in all the power of the State to crush these nonconformists, and it largely succeeded.

*The Hibbert Journal.* A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Vol. I., No. 3. April, 1903. (London: Williams and Norgate. 2s. 6d. net.)

Professor A. Seth Pringle-Pattison's article on "Martineau's Philosophy," strikes us as the best in a strong number of this ably edited review. The relics of individualism and deism in Martineau's ethical theory are commented upon with candour,

but the technical philosopher is distinguished from "the religious thinker and seer who habitually spoke of God as 'the Soul of all souls.'" Readers of Martineau's religious writings as well as of his philosophical books will agree that the inconsistencies, to which the critic does well to call attention, show "how subtly pervasive is the influence of inherited conceptions which we imagine ourselves to have outgrown and even to be combating." Professor Schmiedel's reply to Professor W. B. Smith, who in the January number strove to show that Paul did not write Romans, states forcibly and clearly part of the argument for the Pauline authorship. Without doubt "intelligent psychology" is indispensable in modern criticism of the New Testament; for lack of it there is risk of doing Paul "the greatest injustice, and denying him his proper place in history. . . . I cannot refrain from confessing that I should be loth to submit my own letters to so severe a censor as Professor Smith. I should be sadly afraid he would often find that heterogeneous elements had been laboriously combined in them by an editor." The marvel is that Schmiedel should not perceive that his own treatment of the Gospels is exposed to the same objection; a more "intelligent psychology" would have saved him from doing grave injustice to a greater than Paul. Read "Christ" for "Paul," and the answer to his question exposes the weakness of his criticism of the Gospel narratives: "How came it to pass in the second century that anybody put in the mouth of Paul—?"

J. G. T.

*The Pauline Epistles.* Introductory and Expository Studies. By R. D. Shaw, M.A., B.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8s. net.)

"Criticism is a blundering tool when it is untempered by the saving graces of imagination and common-sense." That is Mr. Shaw's conclusion as he reviews the attacks made by successive generations of critics on the Pauline Epistles. The day is past when the letters to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans stood out clear and undoubted. The Tübingen school always accepted these and worked from them, but the Dutch school has turned its battery on the favoured four. Mr. Shaw has had clearly before him the views of this school, as represented by its most distinguished exponent, Professor Van Manen, in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. His book will cheer the hearts of all who have refused to accept the vagaries of sceptical criticism. It is

based on a close study of all the evidence, both in the Epistles and in early Christian literature ; and the result is to enforce at almost every point the views held by such writers as Lightfoot. As to the Pastoral Epistles, Mr. Shaw says : " It seems to be increasingly believed either that they are entirely pseudonymous, or that, if there be any parts of them genuine, these are so riddled and shattered by interpolation, and other literary handling, as to be almost beyond recognition. To prove them Paul's to demonstration may not be possible. But that negative criticism, in taking up the burden of proof, has come to a triumphant conclusion, is, I believe, far from being the true state of the case." The inquiry is one of supreme interest ; and Mr. Shaw brings to it a grace of style, a freshness of thought, and a sanity of judgment, which makes this volume one of the finest and most helpful in the growing literature that centres round the Apostle to the Gentiles.

*God and the Individual.* By T. B. Strong, D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxford. (London : Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

The two general principles advocated in these four short addresses to the clergy of St. Asaph are the divine use of the community, and of material means in the communication of good to man. The majority would agree with the able author in his rejection of extreme individualism and extreme spiritualism ; but this, of course, does not imply approval of the opposite extremes. Where Anglicanism and Romanism stand in the controversy is matter of dispute. The addresses are interesting, but very general, the brevity aimed at excluding detailed illustration and argument. The third address, dealing with the philosophical development of the subject, is the most instructive. Here Dr. Strong is on his own ground, and a fuller exposition would have been still more useful. B.

*Gospel Records Interpreted by Human Experience.* By H. A. Dallas. (London : Longmans & Co. 5s. net.)

The volume is true to its title. Certain topics or aspects of the Gospel are selected and illustrated by corresponding phenomena in human life. Examples of the topics are the Temptation in the Wilderness, Christ's Principle of Education, Christ's Ideal of Friendship, Demoniical Possession, Sin-bearing. The selection is somewhat casual. Still, both the selection and the treatment, notwithstanding a tendency here and there to

freedom, are marked by much practical sense and ability. The volume shows how useful the employment of analogy may be in competent hands. In this way it will be very helpful to the preacher. B.

*The Law of Likeness.* By David Bates. (London: Longmans & Co. 9s. net.)

The author tells the story of his loss of faith. No clear account is given either of the reasons of the change or of the belief he has accepted instead. At first a preacher of Calvinistic doctrine, he seems to have shed his entire creed by automatic process. Jesus is merely a human prophet. We have no certainty about anything He said or did, but He may be accepted as the exponent of a lofty, if vague, morality. It occurs to us to remark that a creed that could be shed so easily was never rooted in the author's reason or practical experience. Interpolation is said to have played a great part in the gospel records, how great is left indefinite. The present volume supplies a good example of interpolation. There is a West African episode which is very loosely connected with the rest of the book. What part it played in the author's development is very obscure. The "Likeness" of the title seems to mean the human image of the divine. Huxley and Cecil Rhodes are among the author's heroes. Rhodes was "a prophet of the type of Moses. There has been no greater prophet than this man," and much more in the same extravagant style. To lose faith is often to fall into credulity and superstition. The style of the book is far too good for the matter. B.

*The Infinite and the Final Cause of Creation; also the Inter-course between the Soul and the Body.* Outlines of a Philosophical Argument by Emanuel Swedenborg. Translated from the Latin, with Introductory Remarks by T. J. Garth Wilkinson. With New Introduction by L. F. White, M.A., Harv. (London: Swedenborg Society.)

The philosophical argument of this volume may be enjoyed without any danger of Swedenborgian tenets. Dr. Wilkinson was an able, even a great, translator. His English is sonorous and dignified. The Introductions also will help the thoughtful reader. B.

*Apostolic Order and Unity.* By Robert Bruce, M.A., D.D.,  
Vicar of St. Nicholas, and Hon. Canon of Durham.  
(Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 2s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Bruce learned true catholicity of spirit by thirty-five years' missionary life in the Punjab and Persia. On his return he found such a change in temper in the English Church, where "doctrines were taught and ceremonies practised which had been almost unknown in the Reformed Church of England since the Reformation," that he was led to study the Scriptures and the Apostolic Fathers to see what foundation there was for such teaching. The result is set forth in the clearest way in this volume, and the statements of Bishop Gore in his *Church and the Christian Ministry* are criticised very frankly and forcibly. The book is timely and full of restrained good sense. We hope it may be widely read.

*Pastoral Visitation.* By H. E. Savage, M.A. (London:  
Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a book that increases one's respect for the Church of England, and helps to explain the hold which she has on the country. Mr. Savage is a devoted clergyman; but he is no bigot, and does not believe in proselytising. He sees that the influence of the Church hinges mainly on pastoral visitation, and gives many sensible hints as to methods of work. Six visits on five days of the week is his estimate for the ordinary parish clergyman, besides business calls and social intercourse. The chapters on "Visitation of the Sick" and "Relief of the Poor" are of special interest, and they embody much wisdom gained by personal experience. Ministers of all Churches will find this a sensible and helpful guide in their work.

*University and Other Sermons.* By Mandell Creighton,  
D.D., sometime Bishop of London. (London : Long-  
mans & Co. 5s. net.)

Dr. Creighton was, as a rule, an extempore preacher, though he carefully wrote out the discourses preached before the University or on other special occasions. Mrs. Creighton has included in this collection some of her husband's early sermons preached in 1872. The volume is therefore not only a record of the bishop's ministry, but it helps us to trace the development of his powers as a preacher. Through all the sermons there



runs a sobriety of judgment and a heartfelt loyalty to Christian truth, and as the speaker's powers ripened we find passages of great weight and quiet beauty which stir many thoughts and seem to bring home to us a new sense of the dignity and responsibility of work for Christ. "The Hope of Youth," preached to the boys at Radley, is very tender and beautiful; the sermon to the Sanitary Congress on "The Common Life" shows what a man of genius can make of what many might regard as an unpromising occasion. The volume will deepen respect for a great man's memory and increase the regret felt at the loss of such a witness for the truth.

*Youth and Duty.* Sermons to Harrow School-boys. By J. E. C. Weldon, D.D. (Religious Tract Society. 3s. 6d.)

One is thankful to any man who makes thoughts such as these pass through the minds of school-boys. Bishop Weldon did a great work at Harrow, and we can understand what an influence streamed from his pulpit into all the life of the school. The note of affectionate concern is never lacking, and the sermons are so manly and unaffected, so plain, and simple, and direct, that one can scarcely think that any of them failed to leave a dent on character.

*"Christian Science" contrasted with Christian Faith and with itself.* By William Lefroy, D.D., Dean of Norwich. (London: S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.)

The six sermons contained in this book were preached by Dean Lefroy in the nave of Norwich Cathedral, and aroused great interest. They are a powerful indictment of the new system of healing which Sir Dyce Duckworth says is "improperly called Christian Science." Dr. Lefroy shows that it is also a new system of religion, and objects to the association with it of the name of Christ. He recognises "the great and wholesome truth" of the power of mind over body, but directs attention to the misrepresentations and exaggerations of this principle in Mrs. Eddy's text-books. It is the element of truth in the system which attracts many who do not realise that dishonour to Christ is involved in the claims of its foundress. To all such we strongly recommend these thoughtful and forceful sermons.

*The Creation of Matter.* By W. Profeit, M.A. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Profeit's aim is to show that matter is the creation of mind. He examines the latest conclusions of science as to atoms and molecules, chemical combination and ether. Then he ventures on the difficult problems of protoplasm, and at last reaches the conclusion that the architect of the universe is infinite and absolute. It is an education to study this book. It will strengthen the faith and deepen the wonder of all Christian thinkers who turn over its pages.

*Jesus in the Cornfield.* Sermons for Harvest and Flower Services.

*The Cross and the Dice-Box.* Sermons and Addresses to Working Men.

*Comradship and Character.* Sermons and Addresses to Young Men.

(Manchester : James Robinson. 3s. 6d. net each.)

These sermons, by representative Nonconformists, are pleasant to read and rich in good counsel. The harvest volume covers a wide range of subjects. Preachers and speakers may gain many a hint from it for sermons and addresses. *The Cross and the Dice-Box* takes its title from a forcible sermon on gambling by the Rev. T. G. Selby. We wish everyone who is thus tempted to go astray could read this timely protest. One or two of the addresses fall rather below the dignity of the volume, but it is full of strong sense, which cannot fail to make a lasting impression. The needs of young men are well met in *Comradship and Character*, a bracing book with many wise counsels as to friends and moral training. Two other volumes in the same series have reached us. *The Divine Artist* is a set of "Sermons of Consolation," full of timely and helpful words. *Eden and Gethsemane* contains nineteen addresses for Communion Services, which both ministers and laymen will find stimulating and suggestive. They are rich in thought.

Messrs. Armstrong & Son, 3, West 18th Street, New York, publish a seventh edition of Dr. Broadus' *Harmony of the Gospels* (\$1.50), which has been revised by Professor Robertson, of Louisville, with explanatory notes on points of special difficulty in the harmony of the Gospels. These notes cover thirty-eight

pages. There is a comprehensive index of proper names and a map of Palestine, and the book is well printed on rough paper. The Revised Version is used. The *Harmony* has already gained a great reputation, and this edition will enhance it.

Messrs. Dent are adding *The Apocrypha* to their *Temple Bible*, and many will thank them for doing so. The volumes are one shilling net each, and have the frontispiece illustrations which have been such a distinctive feature of the *Temple Bible*. Dr. N. Schmidt is the editor of *Ecclesiasticus*, and his Introduction and Notes supply all that a reader needs to understand "the most complete text-book on morals preserved from Hebrew antiquity. It teaches a man how to govern his wife, his children, and his slaves; how to deal with his friends and his foes, his superiors and his inferiors, his creditors and his debtors, the rich and the poor." That sentence brings out the teaching of the book, and ought to tempt many to study it carefully. Mr. Fairweather has edited *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees* in a workmanlike fashion. The history of the period is summarised, and the chief features of the two books brought out in the Introduction. The notes are really helpful, and the frontispiece, which is taken from Professor Ciseri's "Slaughter of the Seven Martyr Children and their Mother," is very fine.

*The Influence of Jesus.* By Phillips Brooks, D.D.

*Lectures on Preaching.* By Phillips Brooks, D.D.

(London: Macmillan & Co., 6s. each.)

These new editions are sure to be popular. *The Influence of Jesus* shows where Phillips Brooks gained strength and inspiration for a noble life. His four lectures describe the influence of our Lord on the moral, social, emotional, and intellectual life of man, with many a beautiful illustration, and much suggestion for devotional thought. The writer says: "For to me, what I have tried to say is more and more the glory and the richness and the sweetness of all life. The idea of Jesus is the illumination and the inspiration of existence. Without it the world is a puzzle, and death a horror, and eternity a blank."

The *Lectures on Preaching* are perhaps the noblest and most fruitful of all Dr. Brooks's writings. The young preacher who reads them will be baptized afresh with the love of souls. The lecture on "The Value of the Human Soul" reminds us of

Dupanloup : "Oh, human souls! There is nothing else in the world really worthy of love and admiration."

*Thoughts Spoken in Class.* By Robert Jessop. (London : Charles H. Kelly, 2s. 6d.)

The success of Mr. Jessop's first volume has encouraged him to prepare a second series of "Thoughts," which may stir up the minds of a class-leader and his members. The thoughts are rich, and are expressed in a way that will stimulate mind and heart. They will not only set people thinking, but will make them zealous in good works. Every class-leader will find food here for the flock.

*My Jewels, and other Sermons.* By Richard Roberts. (Kelly, 3s. 6d.) These sermons show that Mr. Roberts has built his reputation as a preacher on a solid foundation. They are full of Bible truth expressed with the confidence of faith; they are lucid as daylight, simple and direct as the love of souls can make them. There are passages in which our children will catch the thrill of pulpit eloquence in an earlier generation, and study the art of climax by which our forefathers roused their congregations to enthusiasm. The sermons are worked out with much care, and deal with themes which never grow stale or unprofitable.

Messrs. Cassell send us *St. Luke* and *First and Second Corinthians* (2s. each) from Bishop Ellicott's *English Readers' Bible*. The volumes are neatly bound, and printed in good type. There is no better commentary than this for the Bible Student, as everyone who buys it will discover for himself. It is never hazy, and it never shirks difficulties.

*Jan Pumroy on Prayer*, by J. George Stuart (Kelly, 1s. 6d.), is a set of Cornish homilies, quaint and homely, but full of force and strong sense. The book is timely, and likely to do excellent service. *The Beauty of Hackneyed Expressions*, by E. J. Simons (Kelly, 1s.), will delight old Methodists and instruct young ones. The phrases current in Methodist classes and lovefeasts make good pegs for Mr. Simons' bright little papers. Class-leaders will find some useful material here. *New Testament Holiness*, by Thomas Cook (Kelly, 2s. 6d.), has reached a second edition. It is evidently appreciated by a large circle of readers, and ought to inspire those who read it with a deeper desire for true holiness.

## II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

*Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings.* With an Introduction and Appendix. By C. F. Burney, M.A. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 14s. net.)

THE title and the preface of this book challenge comparison with *Driver's Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*; and on the whole the book stands the comparison. It has not, perhaps, quite the same aroma of ripe and easy scholarship; but there are few matters in relation to the text or grammar on which light is not thrown, and the book must at once take rank as the best critical and verbal commentary on the Books of Kings. To exegesis as to homiletical requirements generally little attention is given, but whoever wishes for help in the study of the Hebrew text will find it here in abundance and of such a kind as to meet every genuine need. Mr. Burney is to be congratulated on having made a substantial addition to the increasing series of commentaries of the first rank; and to the close student of the Old Testament his book is indispensable.

Apart from the limitations of the work there is really no serious fault to be found with it. Where so many details are discussed, there is plenty of room for differences of opinion, and to several of Mr. Burney's explanations some small objection may be taken. On the other hand, the merits of the book are many and great. Its critical attitude is moderate; and the characteristics of the various sources are detected and clearly distinguished. The author is in such matters entirely independent; he does not hesitate to announce conclusions contrary to those to which great authorities have attached their names, and his own views are both modestly stated and generally well maintained. The settlement of the text is effected with rare recourse to subjective emendation. Whenever possible, the variants and additions of the versions are cited, especially where there is reason to suppose that thereby original elements of the text from which the version in question was made are recovered. A fuller discussion of the value of these originals in relation to the Massoretic text would have been an improvement.

A striking feature of the book is the thorough study of difficult words, in regard to which good use is made of the paraphrases and allusions in the Targumim and the Talmud. The technical terms, such as are frequent in the chapters relating to the construction of the Temple, are carefully examined, with results for which students will be grateful. To the identification of places and other archæological matters more attention is given than the design of the book would seem to warrant. As a rule the conclusions are trustworthy, though too often they have to be taken on trust; in the case of Musri in particular the reader would do well to seek further information before accepting the almost bare statement which Mr. Burney supplies. On that word an appendix, giving all the evidence available and distinguishing it from conjecture, would have been both useful and timely. The treatment of the Second Book of Kings is less adequate than that of the First, though the important stories of Elijah and Elisha call for reverent but close investigation from both the lexical and the critical points of view. An Appendix gives the text of five or six inscriptions, illustrating parts of the period covered by the Books of Kings. The Index is serviceable, but might have been extended with advantage. R. W. M.

*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica. Vol. V., Part 3: Place of the Peshitto Version in the Apparatus Criticus of the Greek New Testament.* By G. H. Gwilliam. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2s. 6d.)

Candid students of the text of the New Testament will be glad to hear all that can be said on either side in the controversy between the disciples of Westcott and Hort and those of Burgon. The former appear to have lost recently a little of their confidence, though their fears are due to other causes than conviction wrought by the advocacy of the latter. Both sides are about equally vigorous in denunciation of one another's views, but on different grounds; and the "pretty quarrel" proceeds, sometimes to the amusement of the onlooker, always to his benefit, and to the advancement of knowledge. The present little book has been written to defend the Traditional Text from disparagement supposed to be cast upon it by a serious depreciation of the Peshitto version. Reasons have been adduced in support of a conjecture by Mr. Burkitt that the Peshitto originated during the episcopate of Rabbula, in the

early part of the fifth century, and represents therefore a rather late translation of unknown originals. In consequence, the value of its testimony to the Traditional Text is far less than the supporters of that text have been wont to imagine, and they have now to show that their theory still holds. Their principal pleas are that in any case the Peshitto represents readings of ancient Greek manuscripts no longer extant, and has long enjoyed the authority attaching to general acceptance and use in an ancient branch of the Catholic Church, whilst the loss of its confirmation of the reading of a passage does not necessarily involve the loss of adequate evidence. The second of these pleas will have more weight with Churchmen of an old type than with students of a strict science. What the value of the Peshitto as evidence really is, remains still to be settled, and to the settlement of that question Mr. Gwilliam has made an important contribution, which investigators of the sacred text will not be likely to overlook.

R. W. M.

*Key to the Hebrew Psalter.* By G. A. Alcock. (London : E. Stock. 7s. 6d. net.)

This book consists of a list of the Hebrew words used in the Psalter, with a statement of their meaning, and a further list of all the passages in which they occur. A list of proper names with explanations follows, and appended are an Anglo-Hebrew vocabulary and a supplement of forms easily confused by the beginner. The compiler's design was to encourage the study of Hebrew and to facilitate its acquisition. There may be persons who would be aided for a time by the use of such a book, which is carefully prepared and clearly printed. But the better way is the older one of mastering the grammar, and steadily increasing one's degree of familiarity with the contents of a sound and ample lexicon.

R. W. M.

*Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century.* By H. V. Hilprecht. With nearly Two Hundred Illustrations and Four Maps. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 12s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Hilprecht is the first occupant of the "Clark Research Professorship of Assyriology" in the University of Pennsylvania. He has done noteworthy service as Director of the Babylonian Expedition, carried on under the auspices of the same university.

The aim of this volume is to give the English-reading public a clear conception of the gradual resurrection of the principal ancient nations of Western Asia and Egypt. "The rich material often scattered through old editions of rare books and comparatively inaccessible journals has been examined anew, sifted, and treated by a number of experts in the light of their latest researches." Dr. Hilprecht was largely indebted to his wife who was devoted to the study of Assyriology, but she died a year before this book was published. The volume is a cyclopædia of information on all matters affecting exploration in Bible lands. After describing the sterility and desolation of ancient Babylonia, Dr. Hilprecht shows how Europe awoke to the study of the vanished peoples and religions of the East. The nineteenth century witnessed a feverish activity in these departments of research, and the story told in these pages has all the excitement of romance. The students of forgotten languages have played almost as notable a part as the explorers who unearthed the long buried sculptures and memorial tablets. Layard's wonderful work is well described, and justice is done to Sir Henry Rawlinson and to George Smith, as well as to those whose names are less familiar. The whole course of the gradual resurrection of these long buried civilisations is told in a most attractive way. Much of the matter is familiar, but it is no small advantage to have it put in its historic setting, and to know what permanent contribution each explorer has made to the stock of knowledge. Special attention is given to the American exploration at Nuffar, the Biblical Calneh, which began in 1888. A great Parthian palace was discovered, and more than a thousand burial urns were found in its ruins; the famous temple library with thousands of inscribed tablets was also opened up. The explorations carried on in Palestine, Egypt, and Arabia during the nineteenth century are described much more briefly, but the descriptions are the work of experts of world-wide fame, and busy men know how to appreciate such compact and reliable sketches as these. The illustrations are scarcely less valuable than the history.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has issued a translation of a discourse, by Professor Kittel, on *The Babylonian Excavations and Early History* (6d.). It has special interest in view of Friederich Delitzsch's recent deliverance. Professor Kittel shows how unreasonable it is to say that the



existence of a resemblance between the Hebrew and Babylonian narratives of the Creation and the Flood is a proof that the former were derived from the latter. Delitzsch's daring assertion that we owe the Sabbath to the dwellers on the Euphrates and Tigris is also severely condemned. Many will be thankful to Mr. McClure for his excellent translation of this valuable pamphlet.

*The Epistle to the Hebrews.* The Greek Text, with Notes and Essays. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. Third Edition. (London : Macmillan & Co. 14s.)

Bishop Westcott spent many years of continuous labour on this Epistle, and found that no work ever interested him so deeply. It seemed to him to deal with the thoughts and trials of our own time. "The difficulties which come to us through physical facts and theories, through criticism, through wider views of human history, correspond with those which came to Jewish Christians at the close of the apostolic age ; and they will find their solution also in fuller views of the person and work of Christ." A closer study of the tendencies of the time in some of the busiest centres of English life confirmed Dr. Westcott's conviction as to the message of the Epistle for our own day. That conviction has stamped itself on the notes and essays given to elucidate the meaning of the Epistle. Bishop Westcott set himself to make his readers think. He put his own matured thought into every comment, and the result has been to make this volume one of the treasures of English scholarship. To master these notes, with their quotations from the Fathers, will itself make a man no mean theologian.

*The Shepherd of Hermas.* By C. Taylor, D.D., LL.D. Vol. I. (London : S.P.C.K. 2s.)

This is a religious romance of the second century, and was once believed to be an inspired book. St. Hermas converses successively with Rhoda, and with the Church personified, and with the Shepherd who appears to him in the fifth vision. This edition is supplied with a very full introduction, which enables a student to appreciate the references and unravel the allusions in this interesting survival of early Christian literature.

### III. HISTORY.

*Greek Votive Offerings.* By W. H. D. Rouse. (Cambridge : University Press. 15s. net.)

THE special interest of this work consists in the flood of light it throws on the attitude of the average Greek mind to the gods. While philosophers were explaining away the nation's deities, while poets were making them creatures of fairyland, while tragedians were arraigning their justice and doubting their care for men, and comedians were turning them into ridicule, all this time the vast majority of Greeks looked upon them as the controllers of their lives, as the sources of all blessing, as the averters of evil. And so we find that the temples were, through generation after generation, filled with memorials of answers to prayer, with thank-offerings for restored health, for success in war, in hunting, in husbandry, in athletic contests, in trade and manufacture, in all possible relations of life. The hopes and fears, the devotion and gratitude of thousands of obscure lives rise up before us in the countless instances given in these pages. Mr. Rouse has laid every student of comparative religion, nay, every student of human nature, under a deep obligation in this exhaustive work. It is a credit to English scholarship, one of the few books in which an English writer has in classical research outstripped the laborious industry of the Germans, the brilliant insight of the French and Italians. He has entered a field almost untrodden before, and has reaped it so thoroughly that there is little left for after-gleaners. Not the least valuable and suggestive feature of this book is the parallel drawn by the author between the ancient votive-offerings and those which abound in the Roman Catholic churches of the Continent. It is most interesting to observe the close correspondences, not only in general character, but even in their very shape, between the objects dedicated in ancient and modern times, as showing how strangely persistent is the influence of superstition on the human mind, and how curiously similar are its tangible results.

The pictorial illustrations appended are excellent ; they are numerous and typical, yet they make one wish for many more.

It may be remarked in passing, that the notion entertained by many writers on art that everything that Greek hands made showed, if not artistic perfection, at least a grace and beauty which is now exceptional, is very greatly modified by an inspection of many of these rude modellings.

The author has neglected nothing which could enhance the usefulness of his work. His readers will thank him for the carefully arranged indexes, occupying seventy pages, which render reference ready and sure, where, but for this help, one might well be "unable to see the wood for the trees."

A. S. WAY.

*Stories in Stone from the Roman Forum.* By Isabel Lovell.  
Illustrated. (London : Macmillan & Co. 6s. net.)

The classical student, who, on opening this book, finds that pre-historic legends, romancings of patristic historians, hard facts of history, and pure inventions of poets, are mingled together without discrimination, without a hint that they are not equally authentic, might be tempted to judge it harshly, and hence unfairly. True, the work is written from an absolutely uncritical standpoint; but its object is to put visitors (in fancy or in fact) to Rome in the place of those who once lived and moved among the wonders of an unruined Forum. To these latter, legend and history were equally credible: it was part of their religion to believe all alike; and those who would feel as the old Romans felt, and see as they saw, must take the old stories as they took them. For such readers the book will be a pure joy. It will re-create for them not only the scenes, but the life and feeling of the palmy days of Rome, will help them to realise the pomp of triumphs, the splendour of festivals, the solemn influence of religious functions, and all the stir and bustle of that centre of the nation's life. It will help them to read with new eyes the graver pages of history; to call up the stormy scenes of political turmoil; to comprehend the terrible romance which throws a strange glamour over the soberest fact of the history of the Eternal City. The reader must, however, not look for more than is promised; it is an account, not of all Rome, but of the Forum, and though the illustrations are excellent and generally up-to-date, there is no plan of the Forum given; hence for the traveller it will admirably supplement, but not supersede, his Baedeker or Murray.

W.

L.Q.R., JULY, 1903.

*Ancient Greek Sculptors.* By Helen Legge. Illustrated. (London : T. Fisher Unwin. 6s.)

The average classical student would be puzzled to name off-hand more than five or six eminent Greek sculptors ; and if asked to characterise their styles, he would probably prefer to confine his remarks to Pheidias. As for the average visitor to the galleries of ancient art here and abroad, he is lamentably ill equipped for profiting by his opportunities : on his eye, the long lines of sculpture, arranged rather for effect than instruction, produce a confused, almost an incongruous impression, while, as for standards of excellence, he thinks it his duty to believe that the Apollo Belvedere, the Venus de' Medici, and the Laocoon represent the acme of Greek art in their respective styles. Hence there are few readers, indeed, for whom Miss Legge's work will not be a real boon. To begin with, it is thoroughly trustworthy, and he who has been introduced to the study of Greek sculpture by this work will find that he has nothing to unlearn on proceeding to more advanced studies. It is in its scope well conceived ; it proceeds from the mythical beginnings of the art, through the archaic periods to the golden age of Pheidias, the sensational art of his successors, on to the merely imitative work of the Græco-Roman period. The characteristics of each period, the special idiosyncrasies of each artist, are clearly indicated ; we are shown how Greek sculpture rose to perfection, why it declined. The illustrations are excellently done, and are most helpful to the right understanding of the subject. Not the least praiseworthy feature of the book are the lists of the sculptures mentioned in it, grouped according to the places where they are now to be seen, so that the visitor to the British Museum, for example, has here a handbook which guides him to the right appreciation of some score of the most typical and representative of its treasures ; the visitor to Rome has the same help for more than forty, and so of other collections. The style of the book is admirable ; it is thoroughly in sympathy with its great theme, and not seldom rises to eloquence. The writer has every justification for her hope that it may be used as a reader in schools, which may supply pupils with a foundation of knowledge which will prepare them for later reading, and add interest to future travels.

*John Lackland.* By Kate Norgate. (London : Macmillan & Co. 8s.)

Miss Norgate's reputation as authoress of *England under the Angovin Kings* will lead many students of English history to turn with no small interest to her latest volume, dealing with the period which she has made, in a special sense, her own. Upon opening *John Lackland*, the first thing that, in all probability, will strike the attention of the reader is a quotation from the well known passage in John Richard Green, in which he characterises John as "no weak and indolent voluptuary, but the ablest and most ruthless of the Angevins." At the first blush this looks very much like the statement of a proposition or theme which the pages following are intended to work out. In matter of fact, however, Miss Norgate's study of this basest of men and worst of kings does not at all bear out the truth of the quotation which she has placed at its head ; but at the same time, it should also be said that neither does it altogether bear out the estimate of Bishop Stubbs, which was equally extreme in the opposite direction. We took up Miss Norgate's book with an open mind, as not being entirely convinced of the correctness of either of these strongly opposed views, and the perusal of it has deepened the impression with which we began to read, that the truth, as often is the case, lies somewhere between these two extremes, each of which has found the support of a great name, while there are certain incidents and episodes in the history of the man in question which, taken in isolation, afford data for making out an apparently strong case in favour of whichever view may be adopted.

Its title notwithstanding, this interesting book is not, as we should have naturally expected, exactly a biography of King John, about whose private life and personal traits very little is said, while there is scarcely an attempt to estimate his character, and to set the *man* before us, clothed in flesh and blood, as he lived, and moved, and thought. There is thus a certain lack of local colouring and human interest, the throb of life so essential to a successful biography. Miss Norgate is much more historian than biographer, and her book is rather a history of events in which John took part, or which vitally affected his interests, than a biography of the king himself. Judged as history, Miss Norgate's work is admirable, and every page bears ample witness to her patient industry and wide learning. She is quite

at home with the leading authorities, and has made good use of them, giving, in the form of footnotes, some valuable critical matter and abundant references, which will prove exceedingly useful to the serious student who desires to check the writer's work and further pursue the study of the events of this reign for himself.

Perhaps, to the general reader, the most interesting portion of the volume will be that in which is found the story of the winning of the Great Charter of our English liberties. But, as told, and clearly and impartially told, by Miss Norgate, this memorable incident is robbed of much of that attractive glamour with which the imagination of later times has invested it. The attitude and aims of Stephen Langton of Canterbury entitle him to our admiration and respect, a remark which holds true, though to a somewhat lesser extent, of Earl William of Pembroke, the Marshal; but, generally speaking, the aims and motives of the Barons were as sordid and selfish as those of the king. That they wrought well for England was a happy accident, or, as we prefer to say, due to the wise over-ruling of that kindly Providence which watches over the destinies of nations.

Students of the Angevin period of English history, already Miss Norgate's debtors to a considerable amount, will be placed under further obligation by her *John Lackland*, which, as a contribution to the history of the period in question, is a work of great value and sterling merit. Several excellent maps accompany the text, a feature which adds not a little to the interest and clearness of any historical work. W. ERNEST BRET.

*The Emperor Charles V.* By Edward Armstrong, M.A.  
(London: Macmillan & Co. 21s.)

Considerable embarrassment is caused to the historian of Charles V. by reason of the multiplicity of various and often conflicting interests by consideration of which that Emperor's policy was shaped from time to time. This was due to the fact that, in addition to being titular head of the Germanic body, he was ruler of a multitude of kingdoms, duchies, and lordships, the interests of which were often widely divergent. Thus, as Roman Emperor, Charles was the natural foe of territorialism and local policy, while in the Netherlands he was himself territorial prince, with his own interests to serve. Hence the policy of Charles, Count of Flanders, might be opposed to that

of Charles the Emperor. This being the case, a continuous life of Charles, having regard to the whole sphere of his activities, would tend to produce, in the minds of the majority of readers, a sense of bewilderment ; yet, on the other hand, if the affairs of each separate portion of his empire are treated in isolation the reader's view of the life as a whole is almost entirely destroyed. Between this Scylla and Charybdis which, both alike, threaten the biographer of Charles V., Mr. Armstrong, by way of compromise, has endeavoured to steer. His method has been to treat the main occurrences of Charles's life more or less in order of time, while relegating to separate chapters the more outlying spheres of policy or action. This method is certainly conducive to clearness, while the continuity of the biography is, to a large extent, preserved.

The age of Charles V. is one of exceeding interest. Protestantism, young, hopeful, and militant, before his death had already established itself. In his person, the Empire, for the last time, posed as something like a world power. This apparent resurrection—for the Mediæval Empire had really passed away with the second Frederick, nearly three hundred years before—was, however, simply due to the fact that he who bore the imperial title was not merely, as heir of Austria, the leading German prince, but King of Spain and Naples, Duke of Burgundy, and Count of Flanders, and, in addition, Lord of the New World beyond the Western Ocean. His rival for the hegemony of Europe was Francis I. of France, who enjoyed the advantages of a compact realm and central position, while the empire of Charles was eminently artificial and unstable, possessing no real bond of union or common interest, nor any of the elements of permanence. The rivalry of these two princes plays a large but by no means happy part in the life of both.

One feature of the period, which cannot fail to impress the careful reader, is that dynastic interests held the commanding place in politics ; the glory of princes rather than the good of peoples was the dominant consideration. Hence the importance of royal marriages, a striking proof of which is to be found in the famous Hapsburg alliances, whence the proverb, *Tu felix Austria nubo*—a proverb, the amazing significance of which finds ample illustration in these pages. Such dynastic considerations played no unimportant part in the Reformation, and were influential factors both in the spread of Protestantism and in the

resistance thereto. It is aptly pointed out by Mr. Armstrong that Napoleon was mistaken in his belief that Charles, by embracing Lutheranism, might have conquered Europe at the head of a united Germany. "Had Charles declared for Luther, some at least of his ultimate Protestant opponents would have been found in the ranks of uncompromising Catholicism."

Charles was hardly a great man, and cannot claim a place among the heroes of the nations; his work in Germany ended in failure; after him, in the Low Countries, came the deluge; and the glory soon departed from his house. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted he was placed in circumstances of exceeding difficulty, in grappling with which he showed no small ability. He possessed considerable political sagacity and shrewdness, was persevering and laborious; in the main just, he was neither cruel nor so entirely a bigot as he has sometimes been represented. He cannot compel our admiration, but evinced many qualities of mind and heart which demand our respect. He is, however, a difficult subject for a biographer, and we congratulate Mr. Armstrong upon the skill with which he has done his work, and believe that we are not mistaken in saying that he has given to us what will be regarded as the standard biography of Charles V. for some time to come. W. ERNEST BEET.

*The Journal of John Wesley.* Popular Edition. Condensed. Introduction by W. L. Watkinson. Two volumes. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d. each.)

This is an altogether attractive and useful edition of Wesley's Journal. It has not the pictures that lend so much charm to *Wesley his own Biographer*, but the size of these volumes is much more convenient, and the double columns and good type are very restful for the eye. The condensation has been made with excellent judgment; long documents which are mainly of interest to the student are omitted, and so are various details which only appeal to antiquarians and to local historians. But the editor of these volumes has a keen eye for the picturesque, and no stories of riot or adventure by sea and land are omitted. His aim has been to give a picture of Wesley and his times, and the record gains greatly, so far as the general reader is concerned, by this condensation. The main events of the history stand out more clearly, and Wesley himself is better seen and better understood. The first volume comes down to May, 1760; the second closes the wonderful story. Mr. Watkinson's brief



introduction strikes the right note. He asks why the Journal retains its interest from generation to generation, and answers that it is, to a certain extent, the result of a specially meritorious style. "Wesley shares the distinctive style of genius with such masters as Bacon and Hooker; without any affectation of art, he is lucid, eloquent, and picturesque, and the reader is conscious everywhere of the pleasing mastery of a strong, sincere, and luminous understanding." Still more does the comprehensiveness and human interest of the Journal explain its abiding popularity; but to a serious reader the real grandeur of the record "is found in following the movements of a great, unselfish worker in that cause of God which is also the cause of humanity." This edition ought to find its way into every English household, and it would soon make Wesley's Journal as popular there as it has been with Southey, Coleridge, Edward Fitzgerald, and the best judges of the past century.

*Early Methodism in and around Chester, 1749-1812.* By Francis Fletcher Bretherton, B.A. (Chester: Phillipson & Golder. 5s. net.)

Every lover of early Methodism will prize this book. John Wesley was a frequent visitor to Chester, and Mr. Bretherton has been able to add many valuable details to the entries in his Journals from the diary of Miss Mary Gilbert and other sources. In the record of his visit in 1766 Wesley does not even mention that he conducted any service, but from Miss Gilbert we learn that he preached six sermons, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and held a lovefeast. Mr. Bretherton has given a facsimile of an unpublished letter of Wesley's, in 1753, about the preaching in Chester, and another, written in 1756, as to the mob, and an appeal from the mayor's action to the highest court. Chester has had a notable Methodist history. Samuel Bradburn attended the Methodist chapel as a youth, and was apprenticed to a Methodist shoemaker, for whom he in after life made a collection at one of the Conferences. The account of the leading Methodist families of the city shows how much the whole Connexion owes to the work here. Francis Gilbert, of the Antigua family, lived in Chester from 1765 to 1768. William Moulton, father of Dr. W. F. Moulton, was converted here at a watch-night service in 1786. The Williams family at Rackery had a wonderful record. One of its daughters married the Rev. George Morley. Dr. Gregory

says : " She was truly a fine character, well worthy of her three famous Methodist sisters, the saintly Mrs. Dr. Warren, the majestic and munificent Mrs. Bealey of Radcliffe Close, and Mrs. Joseph Roberts, the happy, ever-working, ever-rejoicing Methodist minister's wife." The Bowers family has been the strength of Chester Methodism for a century. The chapter on the Sunday School contains some quaint details. It was resolved in 1815 that no teacher be permitted to use a "cain," and that every scholar at entering or leaving school should make a bow or courtesy. In 1823 it was decided that the children should be detained after the morning service and reprimanded by the preacher if they had misbehaved. Mr. Bretherton has done a very fine piece of work. A manuscript prepared by the Rev. Benjamin Smith was made the foundation for it, and he has had access to the Wesleyan treasures of Mr. Thursfield Smith, who has been a constant guide and helper. His own industry and sound judgment have been brought to bear on his task, and his book will take rank as one of the best local Methodist histories ever published. The illustrations are of much interest, and there is a mass of matter in the Appendices which will be of service to the future historian. We hope Mr. Bretherton will be encouraged by a quick and good sale. Such a book makes one more proud and thankful for Methodism.

*The Diary of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S.* Edited by William Bray. (London : Newnes. 3s. 6d. net.)

This thin paper edition of *Evelyn's Diary* will be very welcome. It is beautifully bound in limp lambskin, and has a noble portrait of the diarist as frontispiece. Mr. Bray prepared the work for the press after it had lain a hundred years in the library at Wotton, and his Preface and Notes add much to the value of a work which every student of the seventeenth century ranks among his chief treasures. The contrast between Pepys and Evelyn comes out on every page, but we could ill spare either of the men who have done so much to make their own times better known to all their readers. This is a really delightful edition.

*Wesley and His Preachers. Their Conquest of Britain.*  
By G. Holden Pike. (London : T. F. Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Pike's tribute to Wesley and his preachers is marked by keen sympathy with the Founder of Methodism and his mission,

and by good taste and good feeling. The story bears retelling, and Mr. Pike's pleasant chapters group the facts together in a way that is bound to make an impression. The chapter entitled "Belief in the Supernatural" will appeal to many, and that devoted to Wesley's preachers is full of facts which ought to tempt readers of this book to turn to the "Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers." They will find that John Nelson is free from the charge of "yielding to temptations to the grossest lewdness" which Mr. Pike strangely brings against him. It was the soldier whom he heard talking in St. James's Park, not Nelson at all. Nor did Wesley dream that Hugh Saunderson himself needed counsels about rags and dirt (page 249). Those were things "which you should earnestly inculcate from time to time" for the good of the Irish peasants among whom he laboured. On page 98, Evesham should be read for Eversham.

*Appelatio Flaviani.* Edited, with Historical Introduction, by T. A. Lacey, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 6d.)

This pamphlet is No. 70 of the publications issued under the auspices of the Church Historical Society. It contains the text and a translation of the Letters of Appeal from the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 449), addressed by Flavian and Eusebius to St. Leo of Rome. Mr. Lacey casts light upon a stormy period of Church history in his full introduction and scholarly notes.

*The Legend of St. Francis, by the Three Companions.* Now first translated into English. By E. G. Salter. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 1s. 6d.)

There is a simple sincerity about this record which brings us very near to St. Francis. The little tribute of the companions has not the grace of the *Mirror of Perfection*, or the fragrance of the *Little Flowers*, but its more homely qualities do not make it less acceptable to those who want to get as clear an impression as may be of the founder of the Franciscans. The translation has been done with great care, and the Epilogue is a valuable introduction to the study of the book.

*A Historical Companion to Hymns Ancient and Modern.*  
By R. M. Moorsom, M.A. Second Edition.  
(London: Clay & Sons. 5s. net.)

Mr. Moorsom's first edition was published in 1889, and he has been able to avail himself of much new material for this edition.

In the case of hymns from the classical and other languages the original text is given, and the arrangement in centuries helps one to see at a glance what each age has contributed to the service of song, as represented in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. A few facts are given as to each hymn-writer. All the entries have a distinct Anglican flavour, as might be expected. Under John Wesley's name we read: "Born, lived, and died a member of the Anglo-Catholic Church. The Founder of the Order of Methodists. 'If,' said he, 'they ever leave the Church of England, God will leave them.'" The book represents an immense amount of skilled and loving labour, and it will have a place of honour on the shelves of every student of hymnology.

1. *Hammersmith, Fulham, and Putney*. By G. E. Mitton and J. C. Geikie.
2. *Holborn and Bloomsbury*. By Sir Walter Besant and G. E. Mitton.
3. *Kensington*. By G. E. Mitton.  
(London : A. & C. Black. 1s. 6d. net each.)

1. This is a volume that many will be thankful for. Hammersmith stretches from the river to Kensal Green, and can boast of many famous residents, such as Kneller, Radcliffe, Morland, Turner, and William Morris. Fulham has belonged to the See of London since about 691, and the palace is described with much instructive detail in this volume. Putney is one of the most pleasant of London suburbs, as well as one of the most accessible, and has an element of freshness and openness seldom to be obtained so near London. This little book is very full and very brightly written.

2. A rich and full volume. Mr. Mitton has secured the help of Mr. Loftie, who writes on Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn; and the historic associations of the whole district are brought out in a way that appeals strongly to every lover of London. St. Giles in the Fields fills a prominent place in the volume. The Great Plague broke out in the parish, and the gallows were here from about 1413 till they were removed to Tyburn. Even then the Tyburn procession stopped at the Great Gate of St. Giles's Hospital, and later, at the public-house called *The Bowl*, for the last draught of ale which the criminal tasted. The frontispiece is an excellent reproduction of Staples Inn, Holborn Bars.

3. Kensington is a rich soil for all kinds of historic gossip, and Mr. Mitton's little book is full of references to famous houses, such as Kensington Palace and Holland House, and to noted residents. The survey is brought down to our own times in a very useful way.

*Coaching Days and Coaching Ways.* By W. Outram Tristram. (London : Macmillan & Co. 2s. net.)

A book like this deserves a special welcome. It is full of the life of the highway in the days of famous coachmen and of notorious highwaymen. It is a living picture of times that have vanished for ever. Mr. Tristram is master of his subject, and his fund of pleasant humour, though it is not always chastened by the best taste, keeps all his company alert as they pass up and down the great coaching roads. In Hugh Thompson and Herbert Railton he has a pair of unrivalled illustrators, and their work adds greatly to the charm of the volume. There is no small book on the Coaching Days so attractive and so full of matter as this.

*A History of the Adult School Movement.* By J. W. Rowntree and H. B. Binns. (London : Headley Bros. 2s. net.)

The Adult School movement has made great strides during the last few years, and this history deserves close attention from all who have the interest of the working classes at heart. The writers are rather severe on the preaching and the religious life of the day ; but though the tone of this part of the book will offend some readers, there are many useful hints as to the best ways of reaching working men, and for these all will be thankful. There are signs that the Adult School tends towards a separate Sunday Evening Service, and on that side the movement needs watching. Its real strength is in leavening all churches, not in withdrawing from them the earnest working men who might influence their fellows.

*Makers of Methodism.* By W. H. Withrow, D.D. (Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

These brightly written sketches include Susanna Wesley, John and Charles Wesley, John Nelson, Silas Fold, Whitefield, Asbury, Dr. Ryerson, and others. They give a clear and good outline of the rise of Methodism at home and across the Atlantic.

#### IV. BIOGRAPHY.

*Dictionary of National Biography: Index and Epitome.*  
 Edited by Sidney Lee. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co.  
 25s. net.)

THIS volume is a fitting crown to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It was designed by the late Mr. George Smith, in consultation with Mr. Lee, and is intended to form a Summary Guide to the sixty-six volumes of the Dictionary. The work of condensation has been done by nine experts, who have been responsible for from fifteen volumes in the case of Mr. C. E. Hughes and Mr. G. Le Grys Norgate, to one undertaken by Mr. Thomas Seccombe. 30,378 articles have been epitomised. The condensed articles are about one fourteenth the size of the originals, though in the case of very brief articles there was not room for such condensation. The years of birth and death, the titles of a writer's chief works, notices of scientific inventions, and all material facts, are given in the briefest form. The volume contains 1,463 pages with double columns, so that it has been possible to pack an immense mass of information into it. As a guide to the *Dictionary of National Biography* it must prove invaluable. The merits of that great work are brought out more clearly than ever by this final volume, and the debt due to the princely publisher, the editors and contributors, becomes more apparent. The reputation of the *Dictionary* is established as one of the greatest feats ever performed in the world of letters. But this volume has a claim of its own, independent of the great work to which it serves as Index and Epitome. It is complete in itself, and such articles as those on Queen Victoria, on Pitt, and Gladstone, furnish a summary of biography such as is to be had in no other work. The sketch of Bishop Creighton's life is admirable, both for clearness and fulness. Everywhere else we have found the same merit. A few points need attention. The last entry in the notice of Madame D'Arblay reads as though she published her diary after her death. The "published" should be put after "Diary and Letters." Mr. Clark's "believed himself converted 1738," in the notices of John and Charles Wesley rather amuses us. To

say that Wesley "assented" to the marriage of Grace Murray with John Bennet, when he knew nothing till the knot had been tied, is certainly wide of the mark. Nor did Wesley ever offer marriage to Sophia Hopkey. Jabez Bunting is said to have "completed" the severance of Methodism "from the Anglican Church." The book is a treasure which has a right to a place of honour in every library. Its interest is exhaustless, and its value will become more manifest every time it is consulted.

*Studies in Contemporary Biography.* By James Bryce.  
(London : Macmillan & Co. 10s. net.)

These studies reveal in every line the hand of a master. All the men of whom he writes, save Lord Beaconsfield, were personally, and most of them intimately, known to Mr. Bryce, and this gives a familiar touch to the *Studies* which adds much to a reader's enjoyment. The facts of each life are briefly stated, and then an attempt is made to analyse each man's character, and bring out the secret of his influence and power. The most important sketches are those of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone. Our English Parliament has had no more striking figure than Disraeli. "An adventurer foreign in race, in ideas, in temper, without money or family connexions, climbs by patient and unaided efforts, to lead a great party, master a powerful aristocracy, sway a vast empire, and make himself one of the four or five greatest personal forces in the world. His head is not turned by his elevation. He never becomes a demagogue; he never stoops to beguile the multitude by appealing to sordid instincts. He retains throughout life a certain amplitude of view, a due sense of the dignity of his position, a due regard for the traditions of the ancient assembly which he leads, and when at last the destinies of England fall into his hands he feels the grandeur of the charge, and seeks to secure what he believes to be her imperial place in the world." The study of Mr. Gladstone is even finer than that of his great rival. "He was rather two men than one. Passionate and impulsive on the emotional side of his nature, he was cautious and conservative on the intellectual. Few understood the conjunction; still fewer saw how much of what was perplexing in his conduct it explained." We have seen no description of Gladstone's oratory, and no critique of his writings, so informing as this. What Sir George Jessel was as Master of

the Rolls is splendidly brought out in the all too brief sketch of that consummate lawyer. Cairns was perhaps the greatest judge of the nineteenth century. Outside law his only interest was religion, "but nothing softened the austerity or melted the ice of his manners."

Justice is done to Archbishop Tait's gifts as a broad and fair-minded statesman. Mr. Bryce thinks that if he had been Primate under Edward VI. or Elizabeth, "he would have guided the course of reform more prudently and more firmly than Cranmer did; he would have shown a broader spirit than did Parker or Whitgift." Lord Acton is described as "a miracle of learning," and the six or seven minutes' talk in his library at Cannes, when he expounded to Professor Bryce his views of how a history of Liberty might be written, seemed to light up the whole landscape of history with a sudden burst of sunlight. The paper on Dean Stanley is delightful, and so is that on John Richard Green. When Mr. Bryce asked Stanley whether he found it easy to make himself heard in the nave of Westminster Abbey, he replied: "That depends on whether I am interested in what I am saying. If the sermon is on something which interests me deeply, I can fill the nave; otherwise I cannot." When he had a worthy theme, "his tiny body seemed to swell, his chest vibrated as he launched forth glowing words." Bishop Fraser, Sidgwick, Parnell, Lowe, Manning, Edward E. Bowen, and other celebrities, are in this gallery, and there is not one of them who does not stand out in clearer light through these discriminating and fascinating studies. Everyone who reads this book will feel that he owes a large debt to its author.

*Augustus Cæsar.* By John B. Firth, B.A. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5s.)

*Augustus Cæsar* is as interesting a study as *Oliver Cromwell*, and Mr. Firth has given us a volume which one feels reluctant to lay down. The mere boy who bore himself with such consummate prudence in those anxious times after the death of his uncle Julius, became one of the greatest masters of statecraft that the world has seen. When motives of policy seemed to require such a temper, he could be remorseless enough, but in later years "the clemency of Augustus" passed into a proverb. His asceticism in food and drink were extraordinary, yet he was a man of licentious life. His daughter Julia's profligacy roused his



fiercest indignation, but his own conduct was as flagrant as that of his favourite child. His great achievement was that "he knitted together the Roman World, east and west, into one great organisation of which the Emperor stood as the supreme head. He set his legions upon the distant frontiers, and their swords formed a wall of steel within which commerce and peace might flourish. The security was not perpetual, yet it lasted for four centuries, and saved ancient civilisation from destruction." Mr. Firth's book is as pleasant to read as it is learned and exact. Its illustrations are exceptionally well executed and well chosen.

*Mazarin.* By Arthur Hassall, M.A. (London: Macmillan & Co. 2s. 6d.)

Mazarin found it a hard task to follow Richelieu. The fact that he was an Italian added immensely to his difficulties, and he had not had that training in official life for the post of first minister which his predecessor enjoyed. Richelieu's concentration of all authority in his own hands had checked reform in the government departments, and had prevented the rise of capable public servants. On his death there were few men of marked capacity to be found in France. Mazarin believed in diplomacy. Where Richelieu would have brought his enemies to the scaffold his successor undermined their influence, broke up their parties, and bent their leaders to his own will. He had to pay for his gentler methods, but he succeeded in his attempt to place France at the head of the nations of Europe. His knowledge of European affairs, his sagacity and presence of mind when unravelling the most complicated intrigues, his perseverance and foresight, all conspired to bring him through his sea of troubles. He was one of the handsomest men at the French court, gentle and affable to all comers. Amid all state intrigues he preserved his interest in art and literature. He filled the Palais Mazarin with works of art and tapestry, and collected a library of 40,000 volumes to which he gave students and learned men free access. Mr. Hassall has not quite managed to make this book alive. It is somewhat bare and stiff, but it is packed with matter, and those who master it will be tempted to pursue their studies in other works of an ampler scope and richer detail.

*Heinrich Ewald.* By T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D. (London: T. F. Unwin. 3s. 6d. net.)

Ewald was born on November 16, 1803, and Professor Davies' book is a Centenary Appreciation marked by warm

sympathy for the Hanoverian scholar and a high estimate of his powers. "Such a combination of rare scholarship in many departments, of singular courage and independence, of almost unexampled productiveness as author, and of teaching power scarcely inferior, is hardly to be found in any other single man ; certainly it has been very rarely, if ever, surpassed." The man is here with all his erudition and all his outbursts of temper. He was a man of many foes and many fights ; a rugged character that knew no fear or favouritism. The book introduces many celebrities in the school of Biblical learning, and it is rich in detail. Dr. Davies shows a keen relish for a good story, and he knows how to tell it. The estimate of Ewald's work will be of service to young scholars. The portraits add much to the interest of a very readable book.

*Charlotte Mary Yonge. Her Life and Letters.* By Christabel Coleridge. (London : Macmillan & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

Miss Coleridge has given us a beautiful picture of a singularly consistent and harmonious life. As the old Westminster epitaph says, it was "all of a piece throughout and all divine." Keble prepared Charlotte Yonge for confirmation, and his spell was on her to the last. Her chief enthusiasm outside her own parish was for Bishop Selwyn and his work in Melanesia, and the profits on her books were largely devoted to missions. The basis of this volume is an autobiography by Miss Yonge, which covers the period of her childhood and early youth. She loved to quote a saying of President Garfield's, that "Character is the joint product of Nature and Nurture," and as we become familiar with her family circle, we understand how the influences of race and place made Charlotte Yonge what she was. She was born at Otterbourne in 1823, and died there in 1900. The village church and the village schools in which she was a regular teacher were the centre of her world. In 1836 Keble became vicar of Hursley, with which Otterbourne was then joined. What Miss Yonge calls "the great influence of my life" thus came into play. Keble must have felt that in the vehement, eager, unformed girl he had a most exceptional disciple. She says his teaching "must have visibly excited and impressed me very much, for his two warnings when he gave me my ticket (for confirmation) were : the one against too much talk and discussion of Church matters, especially doctrines ; the other

against the dangers of these things merely for the sake of their beauty and poetry—æsthetically he would have said, only he would have thought the word affected." To the end of her life she obeyed these injunctions, and Miss Coleridge thinks she never felt anything to be really worth doing which was not in some way *Pro Ecclesia Dei*. When Miss Yonge began her career as an authoress, Keble was her trusted counsellor. She says, "It is too precious to have him to bring all one's fears of vain-glory, etc., to, and hear him say, 'Yes, my dear, I have been thinking a great deal about you now,' and when he said a successful book might be the trial of one's life, it was so exactly what was nice; not telling one not to enjoy the praise, and like to hear it talked about; but that way of at once soothing and guarding, and his telling me to think of the pleasure it was to my father and mother; and then, besides the safeguard of prayer and offering of talents, etc., he spoke of other things," and sent the young authoress away rejoicing in a consecration of her gift to God. Miss Yonge's life was comparatively uneventful, but it was rich in friends and in influence; and those who read this volume will understand how justly one of her circle described her as "One of the highest, best, and loveliest influences of my life." Miss Coleridge has done her work with much taste and good judgment.

*Archbishop Temple.* By Charles H. Dant. (London: Walter Scott Co. 3s. 6d.)

This is described as "the people's life" of Archbishop Temple. The writer has for some years been diligently collecting anecdote and incident. Much of his material is familiar, but some is fresh and racy. The style may be described as journalistic, but the book is a warm-hearted tribute to one of the truest of Englishmen, and it will be very convenient for those who wish to have some account of Dr. Temple's career until the authorised biography is ready. Some good illustrations add much to the interest of the story.

*My Life in Mongolia and Siberia.* By John, Bishop of Norwich. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 2s. 6d.)

Dr. Sheepshanks made this tour in Mongolia thirty-six years ago at the close of his six years of missionary life on Fraser River. Though the book reads like ancient history, it contains

matter which could perhaps be found nowhere else. The bishop is probably the only Englishman who has witnessed the adoration of the Great Lama of Mongolia in his sacred city of Kuren. The story is told with great vigour and with much pleasant detail. Buddhism has a wonderful power of adapting itself to its environment. Originally atheistic, it became in Mongolia, Tibet, and China actually polytheistic. But in Mongolia the deepest devotion is reserved for the Lama, who is believed to be an incarnate god, and whose perpetual reincarnation is one of the most cherished beliefs of the people. The English traveller was hugely delighted when he found that the Great Lama, who was about to remove to his country house, would come forth to be adored by his faithful worshippers. He saw the ceremony, visited the temples of the place, and witnessed in one of them what was really fire worship. The book gives a vivid picture of a world that is little known, and its readers will be as much interested in the bishop's stories as his own children have been.

Messrs. Macmillan have made two welcome additions to their "Prize Library" (2s. 6d. cloth extra, gilt 3s. 6d.). The first is Mr. Oman's *Warwick, the King Maker*, which has taken rank as an historical masterpiece; the second is Mr. A. G. Bradley's *Wolfe*, which will appeal to every boy who has any spark of hero-worship in his breast. Both books are well illustrated, and will make young readers proud of their country. Teachers will do well to keep these books in view in making up their prize lists.

The Religious Tract Society has published a cheap edition of Mr. Lovett's life of *James Chalmers*. Three shillings and sixpence spent on this volume will be a splendid investment. It is full of startling facts about the heathen, and is aglow with zeal for their uplifting and salvation.

Messrs. Hutchinson & Co. have included Southey's *Life of John Wesley* (1s. net.) in their Library of Standard Biographies. It is somewhat abridged, but it has a few good notes and a portrait. It is neatly bound, and contains nearly four hundred pages. There is scarcely a better shilling's worth to be had in the book world of to-day. The edition of 1846 has been followed, and the extracts from Alexander Knox will be eagerly read by all who are not familiar with them.

## V. BELLES LETTRES.

*Carmina Ephemera.* By E. E. Kellett. (Cambridge : Macmillan & Bowes. 3s. 6d. net.)

MR. KELLETT has a versatile talent, but it has not betrayed him into attempting what he cannot do, and do well. When *Jetsam* appeared, we recognised that a new writer had made his mark in penning clever *vers de Société* of University life. His success here, undoubted as it was, did not prepare us for his graceful handling of the old Scandinavian legends of heroism and doom, in the *Passing of Scyld*, and still less for his able collaboration in the translation of Bie's *History of the Pianosforte*. Yet Mr. Kellett has throughout given clear evidence that he knows his own powers, and his confidence in his strength has nowise betrayed him yet. Now he has returned to the themes of his first book, but has taken them up again with matured powers, with a lighter, yet surer, touch, a subtler play of fancy and wit, betokening ripened genius. Though 'Varsity men will most keenly appreciate these clever verses, steeped as they are in the atmosphere of Cambridge life, yet they are by no means "caviare to the general." With light shafts of unbarbed satire he touches the foibles of the undergraduate, he pricks the bubble of the divinity that doth hedge the don; he travesties, without vulgarising, Horace; he makes mirth of the methods of the most modern criticism, as, for instance, on the theory that "all games are survivals of some religious ceremony," he remarks :

"Those who have been pleased to rummage in the archives  
of the scrummage,

Tell us it was formed by some Image in the Court of  
Babylon.

Football was a sacred service, headed by a holy dervise,  
And the 'back' who best can swerve is, somehow,  
worshipping the sun.

Or, perhaps, the game descended from some ceremony  
 splendid,  
 When the priests, by throngs attended, marched to  
 Ganges' holy flood,  
 And, with an untutored notion, of displaying great devotion,  
 Stirred by some divine emotion, rolled each other in  
 the mud."

Another perverse addition to the host of Homeric speculations  
 is thus summed up by him :

"A fair and unexpressive She  
 Composed those grand hexameters,  
 And talking of the Odyssey  
 We call (beside the Cam) it *hers*.  
 Nay, if a man in Homer's lore  
 Is reckoned very well up, he  
 Ascribes the cantos twenty-four,  
 Undoubting, to Penelope ;  
 And all those wondrous wanderings  
 And perils of Ulysses's  
 Turn out to be imaginings  
 (Embroidered) of his missis's."

The above quotations illustrate Mr. Kellett's wonderful  
 facility in metre. He handles the most difficult triple rhymes  
 with an effortless ease, an art concealing art, which contrasts  
 curiously with the elephantine gambols of Browning in some of  
 his tragic excursions into humour. There is an unforced  
 adroitness in each metrical *tour de force*; the wit is winged by  
 the achievement whose difficulty is so well concealed. In that  
 subtle form of humour which gives the reader the pleasant  
 electric shock of an unexpected conclusion, Mr. Kellett is  
 especially happy, and here we are tempted to say that the  
 mantle of Calverley has fallen upon his shoulders, and that he  
 wears it not unworthily. W.

*A Third Pot-Pourri.* By Mrs. C. W. Earle. (London :  
 Smith, Elder, & Co. 7s. 6d.)

Mrs. Earle is more delightfully discursive and more wrapped  
 up in questions of diet than ever. Her first chapter deals with  
 food. The experience of Mrs. Earle and her friends will show  
 that Vegetarianism is no easy thing, for cook, guest, or  
 mistress. Yet all the same we are eager to know Mrs. Earle's  
 experiences and conclusions, and she is eager to tell them.

Her chapter on "Goats" ought to attract attention and help to break down some prejudice. Many useful hints are given as to the way the creatures should be treated and housed. Her garden notes, which take the form of a monthly calendar, contain delightful bits of her own experience and observation, interspersed with hints for cooks and housewives, notes of travel in Italy and the South of France, some racy stories, and a thousand little details which give variety and spice to the chronicle. Two articles which appeared in *Cornhill* are included. One on how to live on "Eighteen Hundred a Year," the other on her father-in-law's journal of a tour through Denmark, Sweden, and Russia in 1825-6. Many will be glad to read the manly and unaffected letters from her son, Captain Sydney Earle, of the Coldstream Guards, who was killed at the Modder River in 1899. Mrs. Earle has given unfeigned pleasure to us all by her three volumes, and the last is as vivacious and as various as any of the set. We feel sure that Mrs. Earle can find material for another, and we hope it will not be long in coming.

*My Nature Note Book.* By E. Kay Robinson. (London: Isbister & Co. 2s. 6d.)

These notes appeared in the *Daily Graphic*, and well deserve the honour of republication. They form a calendar of the year, and a most instructive and suggestive discussion of all subjects connected with bird and plant life. The description of the merlin baffled by the peewit and consoling itself with a thrush is really exciting. The April note on "Stoats' Ravages" shows how remorseless is this tyrant of the woods. We have been interested in the paragraph about the nightingale, which is really a bold and inquisitive bird, singularly like the robin, save for its voice and its waistcoat. This is one of the most charming and best-informed Nature Note Books we ever met with, and the blank leaves given at the end of the volume should tempt those who use it to add to it their own observations of birds and flowers.

*Dramatic Sonnets, Poems, and Ballads.* Selections from the Poems of Eugene Lee-Hamilton. With an Introduction by William Sharp. (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co. 1s.)

The editor of "The Canterbury Poets" has done well to include this selection in his series. Ever since *Sonnets of the*

*Wingless Hours* appeared it has been acknowledged that Mr. Lee-Hamilton was a poet of no mean order. Though for many years the victim of acute suffering, he has maintained an even and well balanced mind, and has continued to see life "in its happy minor moods." This selection, which, by the way, has been made by Mr. Lee-Hamilton himself for the most part, is a proof of the poet's fine thought, and we would particularly call attention to the brief poem dealing with Nature in her various moods, here given under the section, "Forest Notes." His high moral standard may be seen in his *Wine of Omar Khayyam* :

"No—just because we have no life but this,  
Turn it to use ; be noble while you can ;  
Search, help, create ; then pass into the night."

We rejoice to learn that Mr. Lee-Hamilton has, with renewed life, given himself to the Muse; for we feel assured that much of his poetry, being of gold, will long continue to "glitter through its dust."  
J. C. W.

*Lady Rose's Daughter.* By Mrs. Humphry Ward.  
(London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 6s.)

Mrs. Ward's hand has not lost its cunning. This is a book that grips one's attention, and holds it fast to the last sentence. It treads on dangerous ground, and the story of Lady Rose and the mad journey of her daughter to Paris are not very sweet reading; but Julie is saved by Jacob Delafield, and Captain Warkworth lives to repent his conduct. For the little duchess and for Jacob one has the warmest regard, and the old men who frequent Lady Henry's *salon* are a fine group. Julie herself, sinned against and sinning, is a study of a tempest-tossed soul, and it is no small relief to find her in quiet waters at last. She almost wrecked her life, and the man who saved her had the joy at last of winning her fullest and truest affection. She will evidently make a noble Duchess of Chudleigh, and we hope Mrs. Ward will resume her story by-and-by. She has done no better piece of literary work than this.

*Cornelius.* By Mrs. Henry de la Pasture. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 6s.)

Cornelius is a splendid rustic. His mother carefully conceals the mystery of his birth until she is dying, then he finds that he



has no right to the inheritance which seems within his grasp. His development in mind and character are skilfully sketched, and the two sisters, Anne and Lilius, are attractive studies. The book is quiet and restful, yet it is fresh and full of life. The older folk are almost as interesting as the young ones. Miss Philipotte is enough to make the fortune of any story, and the way in which she manages her rich sister-in-law has a welcome touch of comedy.

*Danny: The Story of a Dandie Dinmont.* By Alfred Olivant. (London: John Murray. 6s.)

Danny makes as fine a hero as "Owd Bob," the sheep-dog, of whom Mr. Olivant last wrote. The tale of the dog's young mistress, whose death he mourned, and of her husband, the grim Heriot, who took the dog to his heart after its mistress's death, is as pathetic as any love story. Danny himself is the mirror of fidelity, and the old serving man and woman at the hall are painted with real force and skill. Mr. Olivant has opened a new vein in fiction, and his two books are masterpieces in their own line.

*The Bonnet Conspirators.* By Violet A. Simpson. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 6s.)

The brother and sister who fill the chief place in this story are mixed up in the exciting and desperate adventures of the south coast smugglers after the battle of Waterloo. Jacques is full of spirit and resource, and one is glad to find that he is at last to have his commission and get out of the way of mischief. The lace with a cypher, around which the story revolves, is used to trim Lady Hephzibah's hat, and then vanishes in the most bewildering fashion. Poor Marie is mixed up in her brother's intrigues and has some risky adventures, but she wins the heart of Lord Carisbrooke, who has been sent to unravel the political plot which is interwoven with the smuggling, falls in love with Marie, and the bright and graceful tale has a happy ending.

*From Crooked Roots.* By John Ackworth. (London: Horace Marshall & Son. 3s. 6d.)

John Ackworth has shaken off his Lancashire dialect, as Southern folk will find with no small relief, but he has never written a more exciting story. It palls a little in the final love-

scene; but George Stone is enough to make the fortune of any book, and the schoolmistress is an interesting study, though our vote would have given George to Jessie Bradshaw. The old millowner is a character, and his pride in George does him honour. This is a book full of force and feeling.

*An April Princess*, by Constance Smedley (Cassell & Co., 6s.), is rightly named. The dreamy, wilful girl who plays the part of heroine has as many moods as an April day. Her language has an abandon that startles a homely reader, and her escapades are still more theatrical. But she has a warm heart, and love bids fair to transform her into a true and noble woman when the curtain falls. The vivacity of the book is astonishing, but Miss Smedley over-colours her picture. She cannot make us believe that the princess could be so foolish, so thoughtless, and so ill-mannered as she represents her.

*The Fiveside Dickens* is a new and complete edition in twenty-two crown octavo volumes, twelve of which are priced at two shillings net, and ten shorter volumes at one shilling and sixpence. The green cloth covers are very neat, the type is very distinct, and the original pictures by Seymour, "Phiz," and Cruikshank, and others, are a great attraction. There are forty-three illustrations to the *Pickwick Papers*, and they are delicious for their oddity and absurdity. Messrs. Chapman & Hall and Mr. Frowde are the publishers. The edition is one of the neatest and most attractive on the market.

The Religious Tract Society send us *Pixie O'Shaughnessy* (2s. 6d.), a tale of a charming Irish school-girl, full of mischief, but truthful, loving, and gentle. The other two pretty sisters, one of whom marries the "glue" millionaire, are well worth knowing. *A Doctor and his Dog in Uganda* (2s.) is compiled from the letters and journals of Dr. A. R. Cook, and is the first record of medical mission work in Uganda. The dog is faithful and fearless. His adventure with the panther, and other stories, will delight young readers, and they will learn much about Uganda and the Pentecost that has come to the land that was once full of cruelty. *A Sailor Apostle* (6d.) is a piece of Frank Bullen's most dainty writing. Jem White accompanies his shipmate to his home at Batley, where he is led into the light by a sermon in the Methodist chapel. He goes to sea, and is wrecked among savages, to whom he becomes a messenger of grace. The story is very touching and very beautiful.

*The Autolycus of the Book-stalls.* By Walter Jerrold.  
(London : Dent & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Autolycus finds great pleasure in turning over his treasures and recalling the happy chances by which they came into his possession. He has haunted book-stalls for twenty years, and his spare coppers have earned a bountiful harvest. Of kerbstone libraries and out-of-the-way books he has much to tell, and all is so brightly told that the reader is sorry to reach the last chapter. There is as much variety in the volume as on an old book-stall, and Mr. Jerrold plays the showman to perfection.

*Elijah. A Historical Poem.* By F. W. Parkes, M.A.  
(London : S. W. Partridge & Co.)

Mr. Parkes has a great theme, and his poetry seems to have some of the force and fire of the Tishbite's character. The notes show with what care the history has been studied, and the poem is full of good stuff.

Messrs. Macmillan have added *Tom Brown's School Days* (2s. net) to their *Illustrated Pocket Classics*. The illustrations by Edmund J. Sullivan are excellent. They have caught the spirit of the story, and will double its interest for the boys and girls who are fortunate enough to get this charming edition.

Mr. Grant Richards has published a sixpenny set of stories from Tolstoi, translated by Lonise and Aylmer Maude. *Sevastopol* takes a reader back to the days when the novelist was serving as a young officer in the Crimea. It attracted the attention of the Czar Nicholas I., who gave orders to "take care of the life of that young writer." The other stories are based on his experiences in the Army. They are all among his earliest work.

## VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

*The Encyclopædia Britannica.* Vols. IX. & XI. of the new volumes, Vols. XXXIII. & XXXV. of the complete work. (London : *The Times.*)

THE Prefatory Essay to this volume is by the Rev. W. E. Collins, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. Its subject, "Methods and Results in Modern Theology," is one of unusual interest. "The conflict between religion and science has gone on, and neither has been a loser by it. One thing after another has been denounced as absolutely contrary to the Christian faith ; in course of time it has come to be a household word to us, and yet the faith is none the worse for it." The elements of progress in regard to Christianity and other religions, the doctrine of God and of Jesus Christ, the Christian Church and the Old and New Testaments are brought out in a suggestive and helpful way. The chief articles in this volume show the breadth and fulness of treatment that marked the earlier volumes. "Surgery," by Dr. Edmund Owen, is a brief survey of the developments of the last fifteen years, which many will be glad to study. "Telegraphy," with its lucid description of Marconi's system, appeals to a very wide circle. Much is packed into the little article on "Tyres." The value of the *Encyclopædia* comes out in the mass of statistics and facts given in the pages devoted to the "Transvaal Colony." The story of the late war is admirably told by the special correspondent of *The Times* in nine columns. Lady Jeune's account of the changes affecting the lives and work of women in the nineteenth century is timely and suggestive. She thinks that emigration is the solution of the difficulty already felt as to the employment of women. The article on "Queen Victoria" is the biography published by *The Times* condensed and modified. Its merit was generally recognised at the time of the Queen's death, and we are glad that it has here taken permanent shape. Other biographical articles which will be eagerly read, are those on Archbishop Tait, Tolstoi, G. F. Watts, Bishop

Westcott, Cardinal Wiseman, Professor Virchow. Trade and social science are represented by a series of masterly articles. The new volumes are a monument to English learning, and a history of the latest developments in every branch of learning, science, art, and industry, such as can be found nowhere else. It is impossible to speak in too high terms of the work. Everyone who has these volumes within reach will find in them the best literary investment he ever made for himself and his family.

The index volume is a marvel. It is half an inch taller than the rest of the regiment, and contains 1,100 pages, of which 1,055 with five columns each are given to the index proper. Every facility is thus provided for those who wish to read about any special subject. It seems as though all the learning under the sun was concentrated into the volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. And it can all be found in a moment by those who consult these columns. The preface acknowledges the kindness of experts in all branches of learning who have helped the editors in cases of difficulty. Thirty-two pages, each with three columns, are filled with the names of contributors. It is a truly catholic list, which will deepen, if that be possible, the impression of the value of the *Encyclopædia* made by the index. The list of the initials of contributors is also added. The whole volume is a triumph of printing, and a monument to the learning and skill devoted to the production of the greatest *Encyclopædia* of the world.

*Two Lectures on the Science of Language.* By James Hope Moulton, M.A., D.Lit. (Cambridge: University Press. 1s. 6d. net.)

A popular Introduction to the *Science of Language* is greatly needed. Last August Dr. James Moulton expounded to students of the University Extension at Cambridge the brilliant discoveries of the nineteenth century, which have "changed etymology from mere random guessing into a sound process of reasoning." These lectures are now published in a little book, which treats with great ability a most important subject. The first lecture is an interesting sketch of the lines on which modern languages have developed; the second lecture focusses on some important phases of the life of the earliest Indo-Germans, the light which the *Science of Language* casts on primitive history. Ancestor-worship is said to be "hardly supported at all by evidence from

language." An excellent bibliography gives those who desire to pursue their studies of this fascinating subject all the information they need.

*The Oldest Code of Laws in the World.* Translated by C. H. W. Johns, M.A. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1s. 6d. net.)

The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon, B.C. 2285-2242, was discovered at Susa in January, 1902, by the French explorers. It fills sixteen columns on a block of black diorite, nearly eight feet high, which was found in pieces, but successfully rejoined. Mr. Johns has given a full index to the Code, but we wish he had added a few notes. Hammurabi, who lived about the time of Abraham, seems to have ruled his people with patriarchal strictness, but the code shows good sense and a high moral tone. The similarity to the Jewish code is sometimes very close. Death is the punishment of many offences which seem comparatively light to us. What would the ladies of to-day say to this law?— "If she has not been economical, a goer about, has wasted her house, has belittled her husband, that woman one shall throw into the waters."

1. *David Hume and His Influence on Philosophy and Theology.* By James Orr, M.A., D.D.
2. *Hegel and Hegelianism.* By R. Mackintosh, D.D.  
(Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 3s. each.)

1. Professor's Orr's book is based on well-nigh a life-time's familiarity with the works of Hume. The first part of it is biographical; then follow chapters on various aspects of his work as philosopher, moralist, political economist, and historian. The arrangement is good, and the book is lucid and acute. The chapter on "Hume and Theology: Miracles" is of special value. Religion was almost entirely lacking in Hume's nature. "We can, at least, find no unambiguous trace of it in anything he ever said, or did, or wrote." The literary merit of his works is very great. He lost no opportunity of polishing and perfecting his style, but "the cleverest writer cannot do impossibilities, and Hume could not write a sentence or paragraph without implicitly overthrowing the system he was advocating." The book is a really valuable addition to "The World's Epoch-makers."

2. Hegel's life occupies a mere fragment of this volume. He lived in one of the most striking periods of modern history, when Napoleon won the battle of Jena within sound of the philosopher's class-room. But Hegel's true history is that of his philosophy. Its spiritual ancestry, its bearing on life and history, its chief disciples and exponents: these are the subjects on which Professor Mackintosh writes with knowledge and critical insight. The subject is obscure and involved, but it is made as clear as possible in this study, and the criticism of Hegel's system with its intellectual omniscience and impatience of all mysteries is both acute and sensible.

*The Study of Mental Science.* By J. Brough, LL.D.  
(London: Longmans. 2s. net.)

Dr. Brough's lectures were delivered at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, where he is Professor of Logic and Philosophy. Their aim is to explain the uses and characteristics of mental science. This is done with great skill and with much garnish of quotation and delightful illustration. Professor Brough claims that "the task of logic is not complete unless it provides formulæ for bringing the stores of Pure and Applied Science into service for the deeds of hour by hour. The province of Logical criticism must extend quite up to the boundary where Thought passes into action." Psychology may bespeak "a richer profit from the course of personal experience as this unfolds, refine and elaborate our interpretation of social incident, illumine literature, and so enlarge such endowment as we may have of practical wisdom." This brilliant little book will stimulate and refresh the minds of its readers, and will give them a more exact estimate of the place of mental science in the world of thought.

*The Administration of Dependencies.* By Alpheus H. Snow. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 15s. net.)

This volume was suggested by a conversation on the problems arising out of America's recent acquisition of her insular possessions. It is a study of "The Evolution of the Federal Empire, with special reference to American Colonial Problems." Mr. Snow begins with a study of French administration between 1600 and 1787; then he turns to England, and deals with the American Charter of 1606 and the struggle for independence.

Every development in the history is traced and its significance made clear in a masterly manner, and it is held that America can only escape the performance of imperial obligations by shrinking into insignificance. Her treatment of Cuba has shown that she can temporarily perform the functions of an imperial State towards a dependent State, and it only remains to prove that she can perform such functions habitually and constantly. "That America will do so there can be no doubt ; but it will be done only by hard thinking and hard work. It will not be done by despising the experience of other nations, but by studying it and daring to follow their example where they have succeeded in improving and elevating the people whose affairs they have administered." That great work, which is to be one of the chief glories of America in the new century, will not be done by those "who blindly worship the constitution of the United States, but by those who with the principles of that constitution as their foundation and their hope, shall apply themselves to the task of patiently evolving the unwritten constitution of the American Federal Empire." Such quotations show that Mr. Snow's book may justly be described as epoch-making, and its spirit is as fine as its arguments are profound and far-reaching.

*Comets and Their Tails and the Gegenschein Light.* By Frederick G. Shaw, F.G.S. (London : Ballière, Tindall, & Cox. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Shaw's contention is that the phenomenon of a comet's tail is caused by the rays of the sun being altered by their passage through the gaseous atmosphere surrounding the nucleus of the comet. His ingenious theory is supported by an examination of the recorded observations of Donati's comet, and the whole subject is treated in a way that cannot fail to interest anyone who has a taste for such subjects. The *Gegenschein*, a bright patch opposite the sun, is also discussed. The romance of science is well represented in this acute and most interesting little book.

*Romish Indulgences of To-day.* (London : Imperial Protestant Federation. 2s.)

The traffic in Papal Bulls on which this little book throws light shows to what depths the Romish Church will stoop to



fill its coffers. For a certain fixed price permission can be bought in Spain to use flesh meat in times of fasting ; relief can be secured for souls in purgatory ; and what the writer of this little book calls a "Thieves' Bull" can also be purchased "by thieves, robbers, and dishonest men of all sizes, shapes, and forms." Certainly this is a book to open blind eyes.

*Grammaire Française.* By W. M. Poole, M.A., and Michel Becker. (London : John Murray. 2s. 6d.)

This Grammar is intended for the use of the middle classes in schools. It is based on the new or direct method of teaching Modern Languages which is now steadily gaining favour. The mother tongue is used as little as possible in the schoolroom. The exercises will be of real service to teachers, and anyone who masters this grammar will find that he has gained a really sound working knowledge of the language. The lack of English equivalents is sometimes a little perplexing, but it has its educational value. We are thankful for such a clear and helpful work from two expert teachers.

*An English Grammar*, by Rev. S. Claude Tickell, A.K.C. (London, Newman & Co., 2s.), represents fifteen years' labour on grammatical analysis. Etymology is carefully excluded from this book, which is a set of tables intended to illustrate and explain the author's system of analysis by triple formula and genealogy. It shows that "analysis resolves itself into Limitation, Limiting Capacity, and Modification to denote Limiting Capacity, where the term 'Triple Formula' is derived." It is a wonderful piece of loving and enthusiastic work.

The British South Africa Company's *Reports on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1901-1902*, show that although the man to whom all inhabitants of Rhodesia had been wont to turn for guidance and help has passed away, the fabric that Mr. Rhodes reared rests on no insecure foundation. The native population has made a steady advance in material prosperity, and has been peaceful and law-abiding. The war had severely interfered with the normal course of business and industry, yet gold-mining showed a considerable increase on the figures for the previous two years.

*The Municipalisation of Secondary Education*, by J. W. Richards, B.A. (Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 6d. net.), is a plea for the extension of efficient private schools, and also for the regulation in

the public interest of private enterprise in education. It is the work of a Grammar School Master, which deserves the careful attention of all who are interested in education.

*The Drink Peril in Scotland* (Oliphant & Co., 3d.) is the substance of a lecture by Mr. Arthur Sherwell, and *A Popular Control of the Public House* (Macniven and Wallace, 3d.) is by Messrs. Sherwell and Rowntree. Both are pamphlets of great importance in view of coming legislation.

*The Census of New Zealand*, taken on the night of March 31, 1901, shows a population, excluding natives, of 772,719, against 703,360 in 1896. The increase has been 69,359, which is at the rate of 9.86 per cent. More than half of this increase was in the Auckland and Wellington provincial districts. The borough of Wellington has 43,638 inhabitants, an increase of 6,197; Auckland 34,213, increase 2,789; Dunedin 24,879, increase 2,064; Christchurch 17,583, increase 574. The Church of England has 315,263 adherents; Presbyterians 176,503; Roman Catholics, etc., 109,822; Methodists 83,802; Baptists 16,035. The increases for the last five years are: Church of England 32,858; Presbyterians, 16,551; Methodists 10,266.

*Academy Notes* (Wells, Gardner, & Co., 1s.) has now reached its twenty-ninth year. It is the only book published complete on the opening day with a summary of the contents of the galleries, illustrations of the pictures in their proper order, size of canvas, and other information. It forms not merely the best guide to the Academy, but the most handy record of the exhibition. The illustrations are very clear and effective.

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## VII. SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

**M**ETHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW (April).—The Rev. William Harrison writes a warm-hearted tribute to Hugh Price Hughes. His sketch is based on the Rev. Gregory Mantle's biography. He says: "Never, perhaps, except in the case of C. H. Spurgeon, has a more generous and splendid eulogy been given of any minister than that which has appeared in the press both in the old land and on this side of the ocean as well." Dr. Tillet, of Vanderbilt University, has a timely article on "Methodist Hymnology." The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, are to unite in a common hymnal. Dr. Tillet says: "John Wesley's hymns, in our judgment, prove him to be, if not one of the finest hymn-writers, at least one of the finest hymn translators in the English language. But for him, the rich treasures of German hymnology would have been unknown to the early Methodists. Very few of the translations either by Miss Borthwick or Miss Winkworth can compare with those by Wesley for practical use as hymns."