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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1904

THE EDUCATION OF A MINISTER.

IT may safely be assumed here that the Christian Church requires ministers, and that it is desirable that its ministers should be trained as carefully as possible for the work they have to do. Perhaps it should also be admitted that the systems of training which exist in the various denominations have something behind them, and have been adapted, though it were only imperfectly and unconsciously, to the exigencies which they had to meet. But it is probably no more than the truth to say that to a certain extent these systems are of an accidental character, and appear at present as survivals; they originated no one exactly knows how, and they have lived on, without much revision, into conditions to which they are not entirely relevant. Is it practicable for us to secure in this important matter a better adjustment of means and end?

When we look into the New Testament, in the light which historical study has cast upon it, one of the phenomena by which we are most startled is the seemingly quite accidental—unless we say quite supernatural—way in which the Church obtained its ministers. There were no schools

and no training of any description. Christ Himself gave to the Church, among its own members, those who had all the gifts requisite for ministering to it; He gave some to be apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists, some to be pastors and teachers; and their ministry varied, not according to the preparatory training they had received, but according to the measure of the gift of Christ. All ministry was the ministry of inspired men; it was the possession of the Spirit which qualified for it, which was the title to exercise it, and which commanded recognition for it. This is the level at which some Christians—the Plymouthists, for example, and the Society of Friends—claim to remain. They have no official ministry, only an inspired one. The Roman Catholic Church is at the opposite extreme. It has none but an official ministry; its priesthood is the custodian for the Church of all the grace of God; and though it may be said that, in virtue of his ordination, the priest possesses a kind of legal inspiration—is *ex officio* the bearer and administrator of spiritual grace—it is the legitimacy, not the inspiration, of which outsiders are convinced. Organized Protestant Churches have not found it possible to adopt either of these extreme positions. They agree with both that a spiritual gift is necessary if spiritual work is to be done; but they do not believe that an organized Church can dispense with an official ministry, and they do not believe that the kind of legitimacy secured by ordination secures at the same time the indispensable gift of the Spirit. They have to find the men whom God has given to them to be their ministers, and then to acknowledge them in their place and functions; and the business of our schools and colleges is partly to discover and test our prospective ministers, partly to evoke and develop their gifts.

M. Ferdinand Brunetière, in one of his *Discours de Combat*, brings against Calvinism, and against Protestantism generally, the charge that it has *intellectualised* Christianity. It is no more a thing for humanity as a whole, for women and children as well as for adult males, for imagination and emotion as well as for reason; it is a kind of abstract science,

which has to be taught and learned, like mathematics. It is this false conception of Christianity, it may be argued, to which the demand for a specially trained ministry corresponds. But this is not necessarily the case. Experience has taught most Churches, apart from all perverse conceptions of what the gospel is, that no one can hope permanently and profitably to minister to his fellow Christians who is not, to begin with, a sufficiently educated man. A *learned* ministry, in any strict sense of the word, is out of the question; an *educated* ministry is not only possible but indispensable, if the Church is to live in what is daily becoming a more educated world.

This brings us to the very point at which questions rise for a Christian school. Education, when it is systematic, has usually two stages—the liberal or general education, and the technical or professional one. The aim of the first is culture in the widest sense of the word. What it seeks to do is to put the student in possession of his own mind, and into fruitful and effective contact with the mind at work around him. It aims at making its pupils freemen of the world of thought and knowledge, and when the mind has, under its discipline, come to be an educated and intelligent mind, its work is done. Now there was a time, and a time well within the memory of middle-aged men, when it was supposed that there was only one way in which men could obtain this liberal education or culture. That was the way prescribed in the arts curriculum at our universities. This was substantially if not absolutely uniform, and in the latest shape which it assumed in the universities of Scotland it included classics, mathematics, philosophy, English literature, and physics. Every person who took the M.A. degree took it in the same way; there was no other. The last university commission changed all that. There is not one way now of taking an arts degree, but forty. The knowledge of the world in which we live, and of which we are part, has enormously expanded, and with that expansion the instruments of culture, or so at least it may plausibly be argued, have enormously multiplied. But have the Churches, in the requirements they make

of those who contemplate the work of the ministry, considered this change? One might think they ought to have done so. The world to which we seek to present the gospel is one which is finding its intellectual culture and nutriment more and more in ways which depart from the old routine. Compare the scale of the scientific and medical side with that of the arts side in any modern university, and how the latter is dwarfed. Now if it is our interest to speak of our faith to all types of mind in the world, it is our interest to have all types of mind in the ministry. The greater the variety of the ways in which her ministers have received the liberal part of their education, the better for the Church. We need men who have graduated in history and economics, in biology and chemistry, in literature and art, as well as men who have taken their degrees on the old lines. The variety is nothing but gain, and should be encouraged rather than repressed. It is part of the resources which we wield for making the gospel intelligible to our time; and though all educated men understand one another, the breadth of education in the Church's ministry is at least one index of the hope with which it may address itself to the intelligence of the world.

This may seem plausible or even convincing at the first blush, yet there are many who dissent from it. Dissent seems to rest mainly on two grounds. The first is, that not every kind of education gives real culture, but only one which, whatever scientific training it may superadd, includes 'the humanities,' as they were called, of the old régime. A man is not educated, to put it quite plainly, who does not know the classical languages, and that range of life, thought, and achievement to which they hold the key. As far as the higher life of the world is concerned, he is not in it. It is perhaps a sufficient answer to this if we say that a man might pass through the old curriculum also, and even graduate in it with distinction, without acquiring real culture. Real culture does not depend so much on the subjects taught as on whether they are so taught as to bring liberty and enlargement of mind; and if we do not know

men of enlarged and liberal minds, whose training has been different from that which we have hitherto required from our ministers, we must be singularly unfortunate. The education which 'humanizes,' in the proper sense of the word, is not that of the school or college, but that of life, domestic and social: we expect the home and the Church to provide men to whom nothing that touches man is alien, and if they fail the university will certainly not succeed. It is only a prejudice that the old studies are necessarily liberal and humanizing, the new essentially utilitarian and professional; any subject whatever can be made the instrument of a genuine and emancipating culture, and any subject whatever—even a Greek play or a Greek philosopher—can be so treated as to leave the mind as narrow and as barren as it found it.

Dismissing, then, this first ground of dissent, let us look at the second. It is this, that not every kind of culture prepares a man for the professional studies of a Christian minister, but only one which is based upon and puts him in possession of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. This is formally, at least, the ground taken by the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. They allow their prospective ministers to take any M.A. course they please at the universities; but if the course which one takes does not include these, or any other of the subjects covered by the old curriculum, they require him to pass an examination in such subjects before he can enter the divinity hall and begin his three or four years of professional studies. This is a serious matter, although by ministers and others who might be supposed to be interested it has not apparently been much considered. It is a serious matter to say to an educated man who wishes to serve the Church in the ministry of the gospel, and who believes that God is guiding him to that as his life-work: Your intelligence and your character are all that we can desire; we have entire faith in the purity of your motives; but before we can do anything to help you, before we can give you any of that special training by which men are professionally fitted for the work of the ministry, you must equip yourself

somehow with some acquaintance with three dead languages. Is it right that in the twentieth century, and in the intellectual world in which we have to live, this should be made the indispensable condition of entrance into the Christian ministry? I venture to think it not only wrong but absurd. Granted education to begin with—and I do not think it would be too exacting to require a university degree in some department from every candidate for the ministry—the wider we can open the doors of our divinity schools the better. It is a mere superstition that education can only be had along certain lines, and the combination of education and Christianity is all we want.

No doubt, this creates a situation of unusual difficulty. It raises the fundamental question whether there can properly be such a thing as a technical or professional training of ministers? As is well known, so great an authority as Dr. Arnold of Rugby answered this question in the negative. The minister, he held, must be an educated man, a gentleman, and a Christian; but no more was required. A special or professional education was not only unnecessary but injurious. The only effect it was likely to have was to remove the minister in intellectual interest and sympathy from the minds with which he ought to be in intimate contact, and to tempt him to regard the Christian religion as a kind of professional mystery which only a limited caste could understand, instead of the most universal interest of mankind, which from the nature of the case must be equally accessible and intelligible to all. The only special knowledge required by the minister was such an acquaintance with Church law as would keep him from breaking it inadvertently, and such an acquaintance with the Prayer Book as would enable him to find the place without difficulty. There is far more in this, though it is too simply deduced from the conditions of an English country parish, than many professionally trained ministers are willing to admit. Their professional training has been something to them, and they are reluctant to acknowledge that at bottom this something has been nothing specifically or characteristically Christian. It has

made them specialists, compared with those who have not shared it, in some departments of knowledge—in the philology of Greek or Hebrew, in the textual and the historical criticism of the Old Testament or the New, in the analysis of the Hexateuch or the relation of the Synoptic Gospels, in the history of the Church's organization or of its doctrine; it has made them specialists in these, and they are reluctant to admit that with all this they may not have been, and probably have not been, specializing in Christianity. I do not dispute in the least the necessity of all these studies, nor even the necessity that there should be Christian men who are masters in them all; but I think it is fairly open to question whether they have the importance that has tacitly been conceded to them in most of the schools in which ministers are trained. If the business of such schools were to produce Bachelors of Divinity, there might be nothing to say; but if their business is to produce Christian ministers—specialists in the one universal interest of man, knowing what the gospel is, and prepared to represent, to propagate, and to defend it in the world—there is a great deal to say. For it is notorious that the connexion between eminence in such studies and efficiency in ministerial work is entirely precarious. Of course if one were asked to recommend a man as a minister, he would give a preference to one who had been a good student. But the preference we naturally give to a man who has distinguished himself as a student does not mean that we ascribe high importance for the work of the ministry to what he has actually learned: it means that in the process of learning he has shown intellectual and moral qualities which we believe will give an equally good account of themselves when he is confronted with practical life.

Assuming, then, that a school for training ministers ought to open its doors to any educated Christian man, without requiring that his education should have been obtained in one particular way, what service can it do him in preparing him for the work of the ministry? There are three things at least on which its efforts should be concentrated.

1. It should aim at putting the minister more completely and securely in possession of the message which he has to deliver to the world. Those who are likely to read this will not dispute that the ultimate source of this message is for us the Bible, and that the Bible therefore must have the fundamental place in the minister's training. But it is the Bible as bringing to us the word of God—the Bible as invested in a divine authority which bears witness to itself. We are often told that no one any longer believes in the inspiration of the Bible, and certainly no educated person believes in what was once denoted by that term; but the inspiration of the Bible is only another and more formal name for the divine truth, authority, and power of the gospel, to which the Bible bears witness; and it is so far from being an obsolete opinion that it is the very breath of the Church's life. The greatest and best service which the college can do for the future minister is to help him, so far as human beings can help each other in such matters, I do not say to more scientific conceptions of inspiration, but to a more sure and constant experience of it. To hear the voice of God in the Bible, to become sensitive to the truth which the Spirit of God attests in its pages, to have the experience of its inspiration daily, and so the power to bear witness to it,—this is what is most to be coveted by the future minister, and this more than anything should be before all who would assist him in preparing for his work.

Recent methods of study, it is to be feared, have not been particularly favourable to this object. There has been an enormous preponderance of analysis and criticism. The Bible has been broken into bits and strewn along the ages, and to a very great extent the sense of its unity, and of the eternal truth of God in it, has disappeared. But its unity and its inspiration are correlative terms, and the unity must be reconstituted and the sense of it come back, if the Bible is ever to speak again with its old religious power. In former times this unity of the Bible was expressed in the systems of dogmatic or positive theology based upon it. Christian people read their Bibles with such systems more or less

present to their minds, and ministers used them as the framework of their preaching. For sufficient reasons, these over-definite, too unagnostic structures have been discredited, but a consistent and Christian view of God, the world, and man is involved in the Bible, and religion will be without intellectual courage and sufficiency till such a view dominates our minds again. A constructive Christian intellect, sensible of the unity in Scripture, and able to bring into relation to it the facts of nature, history, and the life of man, is the greatest want of the Christian world at the present hour. The teacher who could help students along this line would be doing an inestimable service to the Church—the very service which a training school for ministers ought, above all others, to render. The critics have had a generation all to themselves: it is high time for the philosophers to bend their minds to the situation again.

It will probably be acknowledged that for this apprehension of Scripture in its unity the original languages are not so necessary as they are in critical and exegetical studies, and I repeat that the apprehension of Scripture in its unity is the main thing. Of course I would not be understood as in the least disparaging scholarship, or deprecating the interest and energy with which men apply themselves to the historical and critical study of the various elements of the Old Testament or the New. The Church will always need scholars, and no doubt it will always have them. It will always need men who are experts in the ancient languages, in the processes of textual and historical criticism, in the literary analysis of the Books of Moses, or the Sermon on the Mount, or the Revelation of John: it will always need them, and no doubt it will always produce them. But it is to me more than doubtful whether it should always look for them among its ministers, and it is perfectly certain that, for many who might render it efficient service in the ministry, such studies are no natural or proper preparation. Even if they were, I am prepared to maintain that, so far as it is necessary that every one should understand them—that is, to the extent of knowing the kind of questions raised

and the principles on which they must be answered—everything essential can quite well be mastered by an educated man who can use only the English Bible. The most complicated critical problem which Scripture presents—that of the relations of Matthew, Mark, and Luke—has been treated with precision and lucidity, on the basis of the English versions, in Carpenter's *Synoptic Gospels*; and what has been done for the evangelists could be equally well done for the prophetic and priestly narrators of the Pentateuch. All a minister needs is an educated man's intelligence of this, not an expert's intimate knowledge of it; and while some will always feel called to master such subjects, it is preposterous to impose them as the training of all.

Even in the interpretation of Scripture we need to be on our guard against the extravagancies to which a learned *exegesis*, as it is called, undoubtedly tempts. In literature, an original is always better than a translation, and the man who has the Hebrew Bible or the Greek Testament in his hand is only too apt to imagine that he is at a great advantage compared with the man who can only use a version. If he does know Greek and Hebrew, he *is* at a great advantage, so far as the literary value of the Old and New Testaments is concerned; but he must not forget, in the first place, that a great deal, both of the Old Testament and of the New, has no literary value at all; and, in the second place, that even where it has, it is not its literary value but its spiritual content which has importance for the Church. The things in the Bible which matter, the revelation of God which it contains, the gospel in its unity and its vastness,—these are as accessible in King James's version to every intelligent English reader as they are in the original texts to the profoundest Oriental or classical scholar. We have lost our sense of proportion if we deny this, and we have lost also, what is a much more important thing, our sense of the true character of the gospel. It is not designed for those only who have had a particular professional training; it is designed for all. Everything that is in it is designed for all; the whole breadth and length and depth and height of the wisdom and

the love of God in it are designed for all; it is the destiny of every Christian to be made perfect in Christ. But as no one would maintain that this universal perfection in Christ is to be reached by the universal study of Greek and Hebrew, so no one is at liberty to assert that his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew enables him to act as a specialist in Christianity. The Church at large is not only entitled but bound to revolt against any such assumption. And its ministers, if they have been trained in this particular way, are bound to take care that they do not fall into it. It sometimes happens that the very ardour with which a man devotes himself to what are called exegetical studies, defeats its own end. He wishes to do justice in his preaching to every jot and tittle of his text, to every light and shade of meaning in it; and he bends his own mind to follow with the most accurate observance every motion in the mind which he is interpreting. Against this there is not a word to be said but one, though that one seems to me sufficiently serious. It is, that no preaching is of any value unless it has the character of testimony, unless the preacher is delivering *himself* through it, and setting the seal of his personal faith to a divine truth, with the intention of evoking the same faith in others; whereas the preaching of the professional exegete is only too apt to become a demonstration not of faith attesting the word of God, but of professional virtuosity or expert faculty, on which the Church can no more live than it could live on skilful playing of the violin. With the strongest desire to see men multiplied in the ministry who have real scholarship and the mastery of all its resources, I think the time has come to insist that apprehension of the meaning of Scripture as a whole, sensitiveness to its inspiration and to the purpose of God in it, acceptance of the general conception it embodies of God, the world and man in their mutual relations, loyalty to the mind and spirit of Jesus and power to bear witness to Him, are the objects on which attention should be concentrated in the special or professional training of ministers. Once the mind has been fixed again upon the end, it will become easier for it to admit the idea that the ways in which we

have hitherto sought to attain it should be open to reconsideration.

2. If the first object of professional training is to put the minister in more complete and secure possession of his message, the second is surely to make him master of the conditions to which it is to be addressed. He is not to preach it in the void, as a timeless truth, which needs no adaptation to varying circumstances; he is to preach it to men whose minds are preoccupied in particular ways, and to whom it is of no use to speak about one thing if they are all the time thinking about another. The minister must know the mind of his time, and, so far as the mental and moral condition of men are affected by their circumstances, he should know their circumstances also, and to what extent or by what means they are capable of modification.

The first part of this preparation is mainly given in the university, and to get it is one of the main reasons for requiring all candidates for the Christian ministry to have a university training. The common intelligence of the world is at work there, facing with its own resources all the problems raised by nature and history; and it is only in such a school of intellectual liberty that any man can be prepared to meet and speak to the mind of his time. The minister we want is not a priest who can be officially legitimated and can appeal to his office to support his message; it is a man among men, who knows the mental world in which they are at home, and who can speak to their present thoughts.

It may be doubted whether it is necessary or desirable to go much further on this line. But, in the circumstances of our time, there are questions which we can hardly avoid raising. It seems highly probable that for many years to come a vast proportion of the intelligence and the moral interest of this country will be directed to what are vaguely known as economical and social conditions. No one will deny that such conditions, while they may be due ultimately to the moral or immoral forces at work in society, exercise themselves a powerful moral influence, and have it in them

seriously to impede or to promote the work of the Church. Is it not necessary, then, it may be asked, to give the future minister of the Church as good a grasp of them as we can? Ought there not to be in his professional training a place for such studies as are suggested by Chalmers's treatise on the Christian and civic economy of large towns? No one has less sympathy than I with the random socialistic sentiment which has no knowledge behind it either of human nature or of economic laws; but if outward conditions are not only moral effects but moral causes, surely a minister should know what they are and how they operate. Plenty of divinity students find time to study what used to be called the laws of Moses, and to distribute the various strata of the Pentateuchal codes along the centuries with satisfying precision: no doubt, they are finding time now to compare them minutely with the code of Hammurabi, and to trace the finest threads of connexion between Judaea and Babylonia. All this is done, too, by way of preparing them to be ministers in Great Britain in the twentieth century of the Christian era. Would it not be at least as real a preparation if they made some genuine study of the legal, political, and economical constitution of their own country at the present day? Would it not be a gain if we had some person at work in our colleges who could demonstrate scientifically, let us say, the place held in society by the liquor trade—who could show its extent and resources; the necessities which it meets or the dispositions to which it appeals; the nature and methods of the pressure it can put on bankers, on merchants, on statesmen, on town councils, on churches; the legal restrictions under which it is carried on in our own and other countries, and the effects of them; and the best ways of counteracting the harm it does? We want the same thing to be done for our land laws, our poor laws, our educational laws, and many other elements of our social constitution. I do not say the minister is to preach about all these things, or to act as if he were an expert in everybody's business but his own; but since nothing touches more closely the moral possibilities of human life than the social conditions here in

question, it is important that the minister should understand them, and that they should tell upon the way in which he addresses himself to his work. It may quite well be the case that profounder knowledge in this field warns the minister, as a rule, to leave it, as a field for action, to others; it may quite well be that any given professor of Christian sociology, or whatever be the sonorous title he prefers, is unequal to so great a task. Nevertheless, next to the wider and simpler study of Scripture, which would aim at the heart of revelation through our own language—and, next to that, familiar acquaintance with the mind of our time which we get in the free studies and social life of a university—there is nothing (I believe) of more value to the preacher than a scientific comprehension of the concrete conditions which make up the life of those to whom preaching is addressed.

3. To give the minister a firm hold of his message, and to give him an intelligent grasp of the mind and the circumstances to which he must appeal, are indispensable; but his training is incomplete unless he acquires at the same time some mastery of the art of expression. He must be able to speak, to enter into communication with men, and so to present his message to them that it shall tell for all it is worth. I do not refer here to the actual delivery of the message, important as that is; I do not argue that he should be independent of a MS. when he preaches the gospel—I am inclined to call that self-evident: what I have in view is rather the power, which is indispensable to a minister, of putting his mind into language, clear, consecutive, and forcible—in other words, English composition. A comparatively short experience of reading essays, sermons, and other students' exercises, would convince most people that this is a subject to which in the training of ministers far greater attention should be paid. As a rule, it seems to receive hardly any attention at all. Men write anyhow, and do not even perceive that that is what they are doing. Their sentences are like shots in the direction of a target; probably you see what they are aiming at, but it would be flattery to say they hit. There may be a dim consciousness

in some that they are not quite succeeding, but few realize the labour that is necessary to attain success, and still fewer the vigilance and patience that are needed to secure it. 'I have been obliged,' says Newman, one of the foremost masters of English prose, 'to take great pains with everything I have written, and I often write chapters over and over again, besides innumerable corrections and interlinear additions. . . . However, I may truly say that I never have been in the practice since I was a boy of attempting to write well, or to form an elegant style. I think I never have written for writing sake; but my one and single desire and aim has been to do what is so difficult, viz. to express clearly and exactly my meaning.' The loss the gospel suffers because its ministers are insufficiently trained in this indispensable but difficult art—the art of expressing clearly and exactly their meaning—no words could tell. Fortunately, the remedy is plain. It is that students should read more and write more. To read more is the only way in which they can enlarge their resources and acquire almost unconsciously a more adequate conception of what expression may be; to write more is the only way to acquire firmness and facility for themselves. It does no good, it need hardly be said, to write extempore; there could not be a more vicious waste of time. But there is no more necessary part of a minister's training than that he should practise writing as well as he knows how, not with anything so distinguished as a literary style in his mind, but with the determination to be immediately and completely understood whenever he is heard. It is worth taking any trouble to be orderly, lucid, and precise. Whatever can be added to this is gain, but this is the primary requirement. If any student should think it a trivial thing in comparison with the great subjects on which he is spending his strength, let him take the word of experience for it, that it is no trifle. To know the gospel of God and to know the heart of man are the fundamentals undoubtedly, but what does such knowledge avail if he cannot establish communications between the heart and the gospel? I say nothing of the enrichment of mind that comes from familiarity with

our own literature, nothing of the gratuitous loss we suffer if we neglect our title to so great an inheritance: but I will not suppress my conviction that a wider and sounder knowledge of that literature, and a power of self-expression owing something to it, are of more value for the work of the ministry than much that we gain from what are considered distinctly professional studies.

Reflection on this whole subject brings us back to the point from which we started. When education has done for the minister all it can do, we are still thrown back upon God. It is His work which the minister has to face, and no man can do the work unless God has sent him and is with him. Happy is the Church to which Christ sends the gifts that His service requires! Thrice happy the Church which knows how to improve and how to bestow them!

JAMES DENNEY.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF HERBERT SPENCER.

1. *An Autobiography.* By HERBERT SPENCER. Two Vols. (Williams & Norgate. 1904.)
2. *Epitome of the Synthetic Philosophy of Herbert Spencer.* By F. HOWARD COLLINS. With a Preface by Herbert Spencer. (Fifth Edition. 1901.)

MORE than forty years ago—to be precise, on March 27, 1860—there was issued a slender sheet announcing the programme of a System of Philosophy, to appear in serial form and to extend over several volumes. Subscribers were invited, who were to receive the work in quarterly instalments, at the modest price of half a crown a number. The inquiry was to range over the whole realm of the Knowable, and the writer had, it appeared, information to convey concerning the Unknowable. After an examination of 'First Principles,' his comprehensive philosophy was to unfold the principles of Biology, Psychology, Sociology—then a new and barbarous word—and Morality. All physical science, all mental phenomena, all human history, all forms of belief, all institutions and ceremonies, all rules of ethics, were to be surveyed. But the most remarkable feature of the undertaking was not the unprecedented comprehensiveness of the inquiry, but the attempt to present the whole in one all-embracing synthesis, as dominated and directed by one set of laws and principles throughout, so that the inconceivable multiplicity of data might be reduced to perfect order and harmony, in one coherent, complete, and vital conception of the evolution of a universe. This programme of the 'Synthetic Philosophy' sketched in tolerably full outline a scheme which seemed to imply a revolution in the history of thought.

It appeared a quixotic and impracticable enterprise, worthy of the visionaries of Laputa, or of the sages whose lives lasted for a thousand years in the lost island of Atlantis. The author, a certain Mr. Herbert Spencer, was unknown to fame. He had written a few review articles, which had attracted some attention, and one book—on 'Social Statics,' whatever that might mean. He was poor; the meagre £200 a year which he might (or might not) receive in subscriptions, was nearly all he had to depend upon. He was in delicate health, 'so far a nervous invalid that he could not, with any certainty, count upon his powers from one twenty-four hours to another,' and could never work long together. He proposed to publish his work in England, amongst a people whose idea of 'Philosophy' was supposed to be limited to experiments in a laboratory, and who, at best, have always been incredulous of the value of abstract principles and wide generalizations. Altogether, it might be said a wilder and more hopeless undertaking has seldom been projected. Yet it has been accomplished. If not in every detail, yet in its whole outline and the greater part of its subordinate sections, the work has been done. Sixteen substantial volumes are witnesses to the author's patient industry; the numerous editions through which they have passed testify to the attention they have awakened in this country and America; whilst the fact that they have been translated into many of the languages of Europe, and that some of them are used as textbooks in far Japan, proves that the echoes of this voice have been heard in the greater part of the civilized world. The news of Herbert Spencer's death attracted more attention in the press of the Antipodes than the passing away of royal princes.

What is the real and permanent value of an achievement so remarkable, on a scale so portentous, in a fashion so heroic? Has it made or marked an epoch? Does it represent a notable but passing wave on the surface of a mighty and never-ebbing sea, or a powerful current in the river which has widely diverted and permanently altered the direction of the stream? These questions, which have been

occupying many minds during the last six months, have been raised afresh by the publication of Mr. Spencer's Autobiography. It is now possible to view the life and work of a remarkable man in their mutual relations. This is always an advantage in forming an opinion upon personal character, and it is sometimes important in estimating the value of a *magnum opus*. But the connexion between work and life varies almost indefinitely. Sometimes the man is the work and the work is the man, whilst often the link between a writer's literary productions and his personal life is so slender that it seems difficult to connect the two in thought. In the case before us, our interpretation and critical estimate of the Synthetic Philosophy will not be seriously affected by reading the Autobiography. But the first-hand record of the life throws so many side-lights upon the philosophy that it becomes more interesting, and in some respects more intelligible. The limitations as well as the strength of the philosopher are brought into fuller relief, and, as he himself phrases it, 'a natural history of myself is a useful accompaniment to the books which it has been the chief occupation of my life to write.'

Whatever interest the Autobiography possesses is not due to its literary excellence. It was written by an old man, prematurely aged by his exertions, and one whose strength had never lain in the attractive presentation of his thoughts. It is long, verbose, and rambling. The pages are crowded with irrelevant and uninteresting detail, whilst repetitions abound, and mistakes are not infrequent. The very spelling has not been corrected. Three times we read of 'Upworth' as connected with Wesley's history, whilst 'Pen-y-Gwyrid' and 'Carned Lewellyn' are unknown in Wales, and it is not usual to write of a 'dypsomaniac' or to describe a poor man as in 'straightened circumstances.' A permanent invalid may perhaps be excused if he refers often in conversation to the state of his health; but when he records his symptoms in print and his successive ailments in almost every chapter, as if a philosopher's toothache must be of importance to the world, he becomes tiresome. One can

read with interest the egotistical gossip of a Montaigne because of the sprightliness and humour with which he engages our attention and gives a universal meaning to individual history. Who ever wished Charles Lamb's self-revelations to be any shorter? But Spencer possessed neither wit nor humour, and the solitary example which he gives of his 'indulging in the facetious' could hardly raise a smile upon the lips of the most sympathetic listener. We readily pardon faults of this kind in the reminiscences of an old man who has made his name famous in literature, but we endure and do not enjoy them. Apart from the interesting information it contains, which none but the author himself could give, the value of the book is slight. It may furnish material, but it is not literature.

Herbert Spencer was born in Derby, April 27, 1820. He was of Wesleyan origin on both sides of family descent. His maternal grandmother was one of seven children, of whom five were among the earliest followers of Wesley, her two brothers, John and Jeremiah Brettell, being well-known early Methodist preachers. Accounts of these worthies may be found in the Arminian and Wesleyan Methodist magazines, an autobiography of the latter appearing in October 1830. His paternal grandmother, Catherine Spencer, was also a good Methodist, and appears from her portrait and the account given of her to have been a woman of marked character. Her obituary notice is found in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for January 1844. These and other interesting facts concerning his Wesleyan ancestry are duly recorded by the philosopher, but it may be questioned whether he understood their significance. He inherited none of the religious tendencies and aptitudes which marked his immediate ancestors, but he seems to think that from them were derived his independence of thought and the dissidence of dissent which characterized him in character and temperament. 'The lack of regard for certain of the established authorities, and readiness to dissent from accepted opinions,' which, he thinks, were characteristic of Wesley's followers, marked the Brettells, the Holmes, the Taylors, and the

Spencers, and formed a portion of his own inheritance. It is true that these pious forebears exhibited 'a correlative dependence on something higher than legislative enactments,' which we should describe as the fear of God; whilst in his own case his regard was manifested towards what he calls 'ascertained natural principles.' Thus far the philosopher, philosophizing after the event. But the early Methodists were not strong dissenters. They did not conform to the Church of England, but their nonconformity did not imply any sturdy opposition to Anglican doctrine or organization. It arose in most cases from a deep religious feeling which could find no satisfaction in the lukewarm latitudinarianism of the English Church; and, so far as we can see, little or none of the deep and fervent religious temper, which is known as typically Methodist, came down in any form to the author of the *Synthetic Philosophy*. It would have been none the worse for this ambitious exponent of the one all-sufficient theory of the universe, if to his great power of abstract generalization he had added some of the qualities of temperament which marked his devout grandparents and the earnest evangelicals amongst whom he was brought up.

It is perhaps more to the purpose to notice that in his father's family individuality was very marked, even to the point of eccentricity. 'A greater tendency than usual to assert personal judgement in defiance of authority,' and a general 'absence of reticence' and lack of tact, marked the philosopher's father and uncles as well as himself. It is interesting also to note that 'their conversation ever tended towards the impersonal,' and again, 'that there was no considerable leaning towards literature.' His father, while possessing some excellent qualities, seems to have been distinctly unamiable. The autobiographer wraps up the ugly fact that his father was not kind to his mother in the Johnsonian phrase,—'he did not habitually display that sympathy which should characterize the marital relation.' And, instead of saying that he was not considerate to the mother of his children, Herbert Spencer writes, in as

'priggish' a sentence as we have come across for some time, that his father 'was not aware that intellectual activity in women is liable to be diminished after marriage by the antagonism between individuation and reproduction everywhere operative throughout the organic world; and that hence such intellectual activity as is natural, and still more that which is artificial, is restrained.' But enough of these questions of heredity. It would not have been necessary to dwell upon the subject were it not that Spencer himself laid so much stress upon inherited qualities, and he labours his theories in relation to his own case with much minuteness of detail.

His education was desultory, and his mind in boyhood undisciplined. At school he did not learn much, and, apart from the training given him by an uncle, he studied little. He was unteachable, and 'could not bear prolonged reading.' The miscellaneous intellectual training, on the other hand, which he received was in many respects favourable. But at the end of his schooldays he had but a smattering of the veriest elements of Greek and Latin, he never knew English grammar, he had read no history, no literature, and of course no physical science. Of his moral training and its results, he remarks characteristically of himself, that his 'extrinsically-wrong actions' were probably many, but the 'intrinsically-wrong actions' few. In plain speech, he showed a good deal of mischief, but no vice—not at all a bad character for a boy.

At seventeen years of age he began himself to teach. This was soon given up, and a post was found for him as civil engineer on the London and Birmingham railway, then in course of construction. Till he was twenty-one he continued in this sort of work, and after a period of desultory employment he became sub-editor of the *Economist* for four or five years—a post which he gave up in 1853. During this period, however, his mind seems to have developed very rapidly—a result certainly due to its own inherent energy and capabilities, rather than to any stimulus received from without, through a series of nondescript engagements. Of

any ordinary man it would have been rightly said that he had frittered away his time and was not fit for any profession or career in life. He suffered also at one point from a serious breakdown in health. Yet when he had attained his fortieth year he had projected and drawn up in outline the philosophy which was to constitute his life-work, his great contribution to the thought of his time. For some years he laboured under great difficulties in the launching of his great project. He must be counted happy in the number and quality of the friends who came to his assistance. Amongst the subscribers who gave their names to his programme and appeal were Darwin, Huxley, Lyell, Hooker, Tyndall, Herschel, and others of almost equal eminence. John Stuart Mill was characteristically generous in sympathy, praise, and offers of financial help. Professor Youmans and other American admirers subscribed 7,000 dollars, and invested the sum in his name to enable him to continue his researches. A bequest or two eased his position, and he says, in 1867, 'From this time forth I had no adverse circumstances to contend with. The remainder of my life-voyage was through smooth waters.'

Smooth though the waters may have been from a financial point of view, the attainment of Spencer's goal was only accomplished through unremitting self-denial and the rigid subordination of every other aim in life to the one object he had set before himself. He was not exactly like Browning's 'Grammarian'—

Back to his book then: deeper drooped his head,

Calculus racked him:

Leadén before, his eyes grew dross of lead,

Tussis attacked him . . .

He settled *Hosé's* business—let it be!—

Properly based *Own*,

Gave us the doctrine of the enclitic *De*,

Dead from the waist down.

But Spencer sacrificed health, the happiness of family life, and the influence and enjoyment legitimately dear to ambitious men, for the sake of accomplishing one task which

at its inception must have appeared to all but a few to be as abstract and useless as the niceties of grammar in a dead language. He conquered. He lived to an advanced age, and not only saw his scheme practically completed, but accepted by many of the leading minds amongst his own countrymen, and greeted with still louder acclaim by students in all parts of the world.

It was an heroic achievement. We could have wished, for many reasons, that the hero had not been his own biographer. He exhibits his own deficiencies even whilst he is telling the story of his successes. The philosopher paid for his victory by the surrender of elements in life far more valuable than honorary degrees or the lionizings of society. Some of the defects he reveals were perhaps congenital, but others probably resulted from the unnatural life to which he had condemned himself. His lack of humour sadly betrays him. The self-complacency with which he records not only the trifling fluctuations in his health, but his ridiculously *born* judgements upon literature and other topics, is humiliating whilst it is amusing. It is strange that a philosopher should imitate a Dogberry, and insist upon being written down an—animal incompetent to judge of wisdom. After reading six books of the *Iliad*, he felt that he 'would rather give a large sum than read to the end.' When studying Dante, he soon wearies; Wordsworth is to him 'not wine, but beer.' He was decidedly musical in his tastes, but he condemned opera wholesale because 'a great divergence from naturalness in any part so distracts from the meaning or intention of the whole as almost to cancel gratification.' The book is full of self-satisfied remarks, which form no part of the unavoidable egotism of autobiography, but rather reveal the limitations and weaknesses of a mind which in some directions deserved to be called great. His complaints of reviewers are backed up by three or four long passages, in which he reviews his own books, to show others how such work ought to be done. He tells us at some length a trivial story of a visitor who was astonished to find a philosopher playing at billiards. In relation to Kant's well-known

saying, that the two things which excited his reverence and awe were the starry heavens above and the moral law within—misquoted by the way—Spencer notes that the remark is 'not one which I should make of myself,' without perceiving the impression certain to be produced upon the mind of the reader. What is to be said of a man professing to be pre-eminently a thinker, who could print in cold blood, 'Quotations from time to time met with lead me to think that there are in Plato detached thoughts from which I might benefit, had I the patience to seek them out. The like is probably true of other ancient writings'!

Spencer's mode of speaking about women is often far from pleasing. Perhaps it is unfair to judge by ordinary standards a man who apparently determined early in his course that 'one who devotes himself to grave literature must be content to remain celibate.' He confesses that he was 'not by nature adapted to a relation in which perpetual compromise and great forbearance are needful.' But it is not misogyny that repels us in the subject of this autobiography. It is the patronizing and superior tone used, even in relation to such a woman as George Eliot, with whom he stood in a relation of intimate friendship, and whom he not obscurely intimates that he might have married if he would. Of a distinguished lady in society, who was a great beauty, he said, 'I do not like the shape of her head,' and quotes this 'phrenological diagnosis' with evident self-appreciation. Yet he adds, with a complacent smirk which is peculiarly offensive: 'Lest the above anecdote should be taken to imply deficient appreciation of physical beauty, I must add that this is far from being the fact. The fact is quite the reverse. Physical beauty is a *sine qua non* with me; as was once unhappily proved where the intellectual traits and the emotional traits were of the highest.' Verily, some synthetic philosophers may have a few very elementary lessons still to learn!

A man's life may be better than his creed, and his character, we are happy to think, may be unfairly judged from his autobiography. It would argue a strange failure in

the sense of proportion if a critic were to slight the whole-hearted devotion of a lifetime to a great task, because he who had successfully accomplished it showed want of tact and judgement in telling his own story. By the value of the Synthetic Philosophy, Spencer stands or falls; but whatever judgement be given on that issue in the first half of the twentieth century, none can rob him of the credit of having conceived a great plan and accomplished it in spite of apparently insuperable obstacles, and at great personal cost and self-sacrifice.

It is time, however, to pass to a consideration of that work in itself. And, to begin with, it should be borne in mind that Spencer himself perceived and corrected some errors in his own earlier conceptions. No man can labour at any task for nearly half a century without having to go back upon his own earlier ideas, perhaps many times. 'To live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often,' said Newman, who ought to know. And then what a half-century that was through which Spencer laboured! The marvel is not that he modified some of his views, but that he retracted or changed so little. In the sixth edition of the *First Principles* he altered his statements as to the transformation of feeling into motion, and used the preferable statement that a constant ratio is to be observed between the two. Further, as we shall see, he came, if not to relinquish his theory of the unknowable, yet to relegate it into the background, and to lay stress upon the positive side of his philosophical generalizations rather than upon the negations of his religious agnosticism. It is possible also, as Mr. Leonard Courtney hinted in the eulogium pronounced at the philosopher's funeral, that his strong individualistic opinions were considerably toned down by the collectivist tendencies amidst which his later years were passed; though we are bound to say that little trace of this appears in his writings. His chief retraction, if so it may be called, in relation to religion will meet us later.

Disregarding minor modifications here and there, what is to be said concerning the main structure of the Synthetic

Philosophy? In scope it constitutes an attempt to solve the following problem. Given a universe with fixed matter and motion, how may we account for things as they are in their present condition without having recourse to other than resident, inherent, natural forces such as we are acquainted with? The inquiry ranges over the fields of the inorganic world and organic life, the life of animals and of man, man's physical and psychical condition, his individual and social development, his state as he is, and what, according to ethical principles, he ought to be. All this mighty sum of things Spencer undertakes to synthesize and describe in its genesis from the primordial atom, and its history under the operation of none but 'natural' laws and forces. An Unknown and Unknowable Energy, he holds, is indeed at work throughout. It is maintained throughout the material universe in phenomena around us, and it wells up under the form of consciousness within us; it is present in spirit and in matter—'the one no less than the other being regarded as but a sign of the Unknown Reality which underlies both.' But the philosopher has to do with the knowable and the known. And in this region, according to Spencer, there is but one vast system, which needs no external and creating or sustaining or directing power to account for its manifestations, provided the Unknowable Energy be taken as a postulate, and the laws which he describes as its ever-constant principles.

It was in the unfolding of this system that Spencer rendered such notable service to the inchoate theories of Evolution. If Darwin was the founder of modern evolutionary science, and Huxley its fighting champion, Spencer was its organizer and systematizer. As such his name will certainly live. Errors may be detected in his facts, flaws in his reasoning, on some cardinal points he may be shown seriously to have missed his way, and his Synthetic Philosophy may become obsolete. But the past cannot be rewritten, and it must always remain true that in the later nineteenth century he did more than any man to systematize the nascent doctrines of evolution. His analytical power was remarkable, his speculative grasp no less so,

and his power of abstract generalization has seldom been equalled. A man who combined these gifts was likely to do great things, and in his own sphere Spencer put his powers to excellent use. In addition to this, he contributed in no inconsiderable degree to the growth of special sciences. Experts recognize the value of his services to pathology and psychology. Moralists may question whether his chief contribution to ethics—the view that intuitional judgements of right and wrong are to be accounted for as experiences of utility, organized and consolidated through generations—is of substantial and permanent value. But it gave a prolonged life to utilitarianism, and is in harmony with many doctrines fashionable to-day. It is probably true, as a recent critic, who is not an indiscriminating admirer, has said, that ‘consciously or unconsciously we are all standing on Spencer’s shoulders.’ Many of his ideas have become common property, and the journalist, as well as the preacher, may talk Spencer without knowing it.

None the less, we hold that this much vaunted system is essentially and fundamentally mistaken. Perhaps we should not be wrong in saying that before the philosopher’s death this was becoming somewhat generally recognized. Spencer’s critics had been many, ranging from Frederic Harrison to William Arthur, whose *God without Religion* and *Religion without God* are too little known. But it was only after the Synthetic Philosophy was completed that it received that thorough, searching, and perhaps final criticism which is to be found in Professor James Ward’s *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, a work the ideas of which are only slowly filtering down into minds incapable of appreciating it at first hand. It is impossible in the space at our disposal fully to substantiate the statement made above concerning the fundamental errors of the Synthetic Philosophy. But we may say that the following are the chief points on which Spencer has laid himself open to criticism, and on which we think it has been clearly shown that his theories are unsound: (1) His doctrine of the Unknowable; the very definitions of the conditions of knowledge and ignorance being untenable.

(2) His view that nature may be ultimately resolved into one vast *mechanical* system; the emphasis on 'mechanical' being, of course, strictly preserved. (3) His assumption that the universe as a whole is measurable and finite, its mass and energy being fixed in quantity. (4) His claim to have proved that the theory of evolution accounts for the whole development of the universe as we know it from the primordial elements which he assumes. (5) His contention that such evolution, as can be actually proved, or reasonably conjectured—and the reasonability of evolution as a working hypothesis we have of course no disposition to deny—is adequate to explain things as they are, if it be supposed to mean development without controlling and directing power. It is a bold thing to touch the shield of such a knight, by way of challenge, at so many cardinal points of a justly celebrated theory. But, unless we are mistaken, the deficiencies of the theory on these and other similar counts of indictment are now being admitted by friendly as well as hostile critics. And a few remarks upon some of them may not be out of place.

Spencer is rightly regarded as the strongest representative of modern religious Agnosticism. The passage in the *First Principles*, in which his views on this question are stated, is well known, but part of it may be quoted here as a typical keystone of his system. If one of these gives way, it does not indeed follow that the whole arch will collapse, but its merit as an adequate theory of the universe disappears. Concerning the origin of the universe he tells us: 'Three verbally intelligible suppositions may be made. We may assert that it is self-existence; or that it is self-created; or that it is created by an external agency.' These three hypotheses correspond, we are told, to Atheism, Pantheism, and Theism respectively; and no one of them is knowable or conceivable in the true sense of the word. Here appears the first glimpse of a theory of knowledge, which must be most carefully scrutinized before it is admitted. For we find that the region of the unknowable is an extensive one, according to Spencer. Unlimited dura-

tion is inconceivable, and all the formed ideas into which it enters; a first cause is inconceivable, for we must regard it as infinite and absolute, and these words involve mutual contradictions; the solar system is 'an utterly inconceivable object,' and it is 'impossible to conceive rest becoming motion, or motion becoming rest.' A part of Spencer's reasoning to establish these points is borrowed from Dean Mansel, and a portion is his own. But both alike are based on a false epistemology. What is meant by 'knowable' and 'conceivable'? If the latter means that of which we can form a mental picture, and the former that which we can understand in all its relations, then doubtless the realm of the unknowable is vast indeed, for in that complete sense of the word we know nothing. In another place our philosopher says, 'The personality of which each is conscious, and of which the existence is to each a fact beyond all others the most certain, is yet a thing which cannot be truly known at all; knowledge of it is forbidden by the very nature of thought.'

Such a dictum shows how important it is that 'the very nature of thought' be rightly defined, or the whole subsequent reasoning will be vitiated. And, as a matter of fact, just here is to be found Spencer's *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, and he himself affords proof of it later on. For, while it is with him a fundamental principle that the Power which the Universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable, readers of his works soon find out that Power is described as an Energy, infinite, omnipresent, manifested throughout the universe, welling up under the form of consciousness; and as to its nature, 'the choice is between personality and something higher,' so that to it may belong 'a mode of being as much transcending intelligence and will, as these transcend mechanical motion.' In other words, such Power is not unknowable in the proper sense of the word, but incomprehensible—quite another thing. Spencer argues as if real apprehension were shut out because adequate comprehension cannot be attained. The fallacy here implied lay at the foundation of Mansel's arguments in his celebrated Bampton Lectures, and it was

pointed out by Maurice and others in the controversy which arose over them in 1860 or a little later. Every Christian is ready to confess concerning his religious beliefs, 'We know in part,' and 'If any man thinketh that he knoweth anything, he knoweth not yet as he ought to know.' But every Christian asseverates with his whole soul, 'We know Him that is true, and that we are in Him that is true; . . . this is the true God and eternal life.' And he no more finds it necessary to explain this paradox than to write a commentary to explain why he prays that he may 'know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.' Spencer himself, we believe, was conscious in later life that his Agnosticism was not the strongest part of his system, and, though he never formally abjured it, he was content to lay less emphasis upon this element of his teaching.

But if this feature be one easily detached from Spencer's system—which we cannot ourselves admit—it is otherwise with his view that nature is ultimately resolvable into one vast mechanism, the present condition of the universe having been produced, by means of assignable laws and inherent forces, from a certain primordial condition without the action of any mind or power from without, such a hypothesis being entirely unnecessary. This *is* his system, which it has now become usual to call Naturalism. The Synthetic Philosophy acquires its character from its claim to deal with the totality of things, to go back to the beginning and forward to the end—or so much of it as is discernible—with an adequate answer given at every stage to the question How? and without reference to the inscrutable energy behind phenomena, except the acknowledgement of its existence.

It would take far too long to show at how many points this ambitious theory fails. Granted that evolution, in the sense of a continuous progressive change, by which through insensible gradations, and by the exercise of resident forces, the universe has passed from its primitive nebulousness to its present condition, is proved to be true as the *mode* in which the cosmos has become what it is, we still have to inquire

concerning the origin and nature of the 'primitive nebulosity,' and whether the process of development has been carried out with or without guidance. Spencer's definition is well known. 'Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from a relatively indefinite, incoherent homogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.' It is his glory, according to his admirers, that he has made it possible to understand how evolution may be accepted as a working hypothesis for the whole realm of nature, animate and inanimate, by a scientific generalization of the highest range and widest sweep that the human mind has yet attained. This is possible, if it be well understood that a working hypothesis is not a proved thesis. But, even so, the molecules of the primitive nebulosity must be accounted for; the 'absolute homogeneity' out of which all the heterogeneity has been produced; the motion which originated the change, and which is gradually being dissipated, is posited without explanation; and, last and chiefly, the process itself must, according to Spencer, be carried on without guidance, for which, in his opinion and that of the materialistic evolutionists who follow him, there is no need. They hold that the hypothesis of guidance, as Pierre Leroux said concerning the Deity, *manque d'actualité*.

How impossible a task lies before one who undertakes to defend the position above sketched, it is hardly necessary to say. According to it, the entire course of history is determined by the initial distribution of primordial atoms, and a certain (unexplained) Force which moves them. Why should they move as they have done and not otherwise, if intelligent guidance is by hypothesis shut out from the process in its initiation and subsequent history? As Professor Ward has well said, 'There is one and only one course that a system of inert matter will pursue without guidance—the line of least resistance; it will run down, and it will run down by the easiest and shortest way. But the directions that such a system may be led to take under

guidance, but still conformably to the law of conservation, may be innumerable.' It is the difference, says Professor Ward, between a derelict ship and a fully manned vessel—between the railways of England in their actual working by means of points and pointsmen on the block system, and the same lines occupied by thousands of trains without engine-drivers or signal-boxes or traffic managers to plan and direct their movements. The mechanical theory of evolution identified with Spencer's name really implies that the resulting order is due to chance. True, he tries to veil the naked incredibility of such a statement by a scheme of 'secondary redistributions,' but the pretext does not long avail him. Either direction beforehand, or during the process, or both, on the one hand; or chance on the other—between these alternatives the choice must be made: and what sane man can hesitate as to his answer? 'Shuffle an adequate number of founts of type long enough'—says Professor Ward, using an illustration which is well worn, but not worn out—'and a given play of Shakespeare will be among the throws, for it is a possible combination, and in time all possible combinations may be expected.' Even the Baconian theorists with their cryptograms have not put forward such an explanation as that for the evolution of Shakespeare.

But a truce to such criticisms, which might well appear to be needless, were it not for the lofty claims made for the Synthetic Philosophy, both in the lifetime and since the death of its author. If it be put forth as an adequate and ultimate explanation of the genesis and history of the universe, it is almost contemptible; but if it be regarded as a series of vast generalizations, based upon wide and careful induction of facts, and shedding original and valuable light upon the nature and significance of evolutionary processes in the region of the inorganic world—biology, psychology, social institutions, and ethics—then Spencer's philosophy stands out as one of the most remarkable products of a single mind that history has known. Our sense of its utter insufficiency in certain directions need not blind us to its excellence and value in others. We should not ourselves

speak of the Spencerian system as a failure pure and simple; but if the next generation should pronounce it such, what is the history of thought but a record of the successes that have been built upon failures? And neither the present nor succeeding generations will be able to ignore Spencer as an important factor in the history of the doctrine of evolution—probably the most notable feature in the teeming thought of the nineteenth century.

We may bring this article to a close by a reference to the closing pages of the *Autobiography*, which are full of a pathos and interest, such as we have failed to find in all that precede them. They were apparently written when the philosopher was over seventy years of age, when his work was nearly done, and when it was possible for him to look back and to look around with other eyes than those with which he had so long surveyed the course of cosmic and human affairs. What did this 'ancient sage' think of religion then? He speaks of the years long before, 'while the current creed was slowly losing its hold upon me,' but we imagine that such hold was of the slenderest, and that, slight as it was, it was exerted over only a small part of his nature. One writer who knew him well, has said that he 'never rejected Christianity, because he never accepted it; it lay altogether outside his mind.' The *Autobiography* confirms this, partly by what it says, partly by what it does not say. In Spencer's life there was no crisis or struggle, in which an old and tenacious but decaying faith did battle for a time with a new and young and vigorous knowledge, and was overthrown by it. The loss of the 'current creed,' if it was ever felt as loss at all, was the painless slipping away of certain traditional ideas, which had never in any real sense been made his own. Did this apathy, this insensibility to Christianity, and to religion of any kind in the proper sense of the word, remain to the end?

Of religion in his own sense of the word Spencer had had something to say in his earlier days. At the outset of his great work he claims to provide a reconciliation between science and religion, which is to be found in a 'united belief

in an Absolute that transcends not only human knowledge but human conception'; and he seeks to justify the assertion that 'the beliefs which science has forced upon religion have been intrinsically more religious than those which they supplanted.' Mr. Allanson Picton dedicates his striking book just published on *The Religion of the Universe*, 'To the memory of Herbert Spencer, the first true reconciler of religion and science.' But in what sense is the word 'religion' to be understood? Martineau has rightly pointed out that less than a century ago the term was used only in one sense, which implied a belief in a living Ruler, holding moral relations with mankind. Latterly we have been made quite familiar with 'natural religion' as a sense of admiration and awe in the presence of natural phenomena; and when Mr. Arthur wishes to describe 'religion without God,' he takes Spencer as the outstanding example of that paradoxical creed. But religious people have declined to partition the universe into two parts, the knowable and the unknowable, leaving the former for science, and taking the latter—a veritable Nephelococcygia, Cloud-Cuckoo land—for themselves. Reconciliation upon such a basis is like most of the compromises which the world tries to make with religion in practice. But philosophy ought to know better, and does know better. In this agnosticism of his, and in the treatment which he gave to historical religions and religious institutions in his published works, Spencer was no true philosopher, only a glorified professor of physical science.

Did he remain so to the end? The last four or five pages of the Autobiography contain several admissions, pointing in the direction that the historical religions which he had been content to pronounce simply false had played an important and useful part in the education of the race. 'The control exercised over men's conduct by theological beliefs and priestly agency has been indispensable. . . . The maintenance of social subordination has peremptorily required the aid of some such agency. . . . Thus I have come more and more to look calmly on forms of religious belief to which I had, in earlier days, a pronounced aversion.' But,

further than this, the philosopher came at last to see that the region of human thought which he would fain have left empty after it had been swept clear of the superstitious follies known as the Christian and other religions, 'can never become an unfilled sphere,' that *the* great questions of human life must continually recur, and that 'if not positive answers, then modes of consciousness standing in place of positive answers must ever remain.' And then follows a touching passage which we should have been glad to transcribe entire. It deals with 'unanswered questions of transcendent moment.' The need of explanation is clamant, imperious, irresistible. 'Whence this process, inconceivable however symbolized, by which alike the monad and the man build themselves up into their respective structures?' Yes, whence? and, as Carlyle says, 'Oh, heavens! whither?' It is only on his last page that Spencer asks, 'To what end?' We cannot quote the whole passage, but it closes thus:

If we pass from these relatively near bodies to the thirty millions of remote suns and solar systems, where shall we find a reason for all this apparently unconscious existence, infinite in amount compared with the existence which is conscious—a waste universe, as it seems? Then behind these mysteries lies the all-embracing mystery—whence this universal transformation which has gone on unceasingly throughout a past eternity, and will go on unceasingly throughout a future eternity? And along with this rises the paralysing thought—what if of all that is thus incomprehensible to us there exists no comprehension anywhere? No wonder that men take refuge in authoritative dogma!

The old, old enigma, to which it seems that even the founder of the all-comprehending Synthetic Philosophy has no answer. Truly did Mr. Courtney say in his funeral oration: 'No record can be more candid, no confession more striking, than that in which he is even appalled by the thought of space, with its infinite extension and everlasting laws, enduring before evolution and creation declared things as they are. What is the place of man in this great vision? . . . Our master knew not. He could not tell. The last

enigma defies our question.' One conclusion to which this master came was, that man naturally falls back on authoritative dogma as a refuge of despair, and that such dogmas have probably been necessary or desirable, because, whilst all were to the philosopher equally false, they were to the magistrate equally useful. The function of religion in history is, then, that of a superior police constable. And the last sigh of the veteran thinker, when all his system is complete and the story of his life written, is—*Que sais-je?* Concerning the whence and the whither of all this, I know, and men can know—nothing!

Surely this is not the last word. Religion is not driven into the cloudland of the unknowable yet. We need not pray, with Matthew Arnold, to the 'Not ourselves that makes for righteousness,' or cry, 'O stream of tendency, save me!' We need not, with Comte, worship as our *Grand-Être* collective Humanity with a capital H, or such poor representatives of that magnificent abstraction as we may select for partial apotheosis. We need not cry, 'O Great Unknowable, be Thou He or It, who for us mortals in our agony art blind and deaf and dumb, if Thou canst pity, pity me!' The great Agnostic had to confess, when all was said and done, that he did not know, for the simple reason that he had taken the wrong way. That is the conclusion to which one who tries to thread a labyrinth not unnaturally comes when he finds himself in a blind alley, face to face with an impassable hedge. 'The world by wisdom knew not God. . . . Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes.' Babes indeed, as Christ called them, yet full-grown men, as Paul called them;¹ for such wisdom is nearer when we stoop than when we soar.

But this often repeated paradox is not peculiar to religion. Spencer's Autobiography furnishes one refutation of his naturalism. Here is a literary man who finds no poetry in Homer, and a philosopher who thinks that possibly

¹ See Matt. xi. 25 and 1 Cor. ii. 7.

there may be a little wisdom in Plato or 'some others of the ancients,' if he had the power and the patience to search for it. And here, with the frankness of a Pepys betraying his own faults and frailties, is the scientific system-maker of to-day, who complacently waves the majestic old Greeks on one side as one who has something more important to do than waste his time on them. The reader of these passages in the Autobiography smiles, and wonders through how many centuries Homer and Plato will delight and instruct the world when the Synthetic Philosophy is forgotten. But when it comes to religion, some men are only too apt to suppose that the scientist is an authority, though he be only a scientist, that the deaf may decide concerning the laws of harmony, and the blind discuss the colours of the sunset. The man who starved his emotions in his family life, his aesthetic perceptions in the appreciation of poetry, and who never possessed a true literary sense, is rightly appraised when his books are carefully read by the student of evolutionary theories, and his opinions on Dante and Homer listened to with a shrug of the shoulder. Darwin, as is well known, made a similar confession concerning the decay of his interest in Shakespeare. Yet we have not heard of a single literary critic who, because the great naturalist lost all sense of poetry, has come to the conclusion that *The Merchant of Venice* is unreadable, or thinks the last sixpenny novel worthy of a higher place in literature than *Hamlet*.

'For judgement came I into this world, that they which see not may see, and that they which see may become blind.' It is a difficult saying, only to be understood in the light of the words that follow: 'If ye were blind, ye would have no sin; but now ye say, We see; therefore your sin remaineth.' Those who would see the light must take the path to the light. If through error and frailty they miss their way, then they grope and fall, yet have no sin; but if, whilst in worse than Egyptian darkness, they say, 'We see,' they culpably mislead themselves and others, sometimes beyond recall. Surely these words bear on the position of the Agnostics of our time. The true reconciliation between

religion and science is not to be attained by relegating the former to the region of the unknowable. It can only be reached by a better understanding of what is meant by knowledge and the way to attain it. The methods of physical science and of the Synthetic Philosophy will lead to a kind of knowledge which we, at least, would never for a moment disparage. But this is not the only knowledge, nor are these the only methods, by which men may come face to face with Eternal Verities, or, as we should prefer to say, acquaint themselves with God and be at peace. If a man through infirmity miss the pathway, he is to be pitied; but if he wilfully refuses to try it, blocks the entrance, and puts up a guide-post inscribed 'No thoroughfare,' thus misdirecting weary and anxious pilgrims, he is to be condemned. Still more, he is to be controverted and his obstructions removed. Let those who would understand how the barriers may be removed read Romanes's *Thoughts on Religion*, and his confession that his earlier rejection of Theism was due to his attending almost exclusively to one method of investigation and one kind of evidence. There are other keys to the great lock of the universe besides the one which the author of the Synthetic Philosophy tried in vain. And there are millions of men to-day, some of them as wise as Spencer concerning things physical, who have attained to spiritual knowledge which they would not barter for all the theories of evolution that the brain of man has conceived. These can say, with the calmly triumphant assurance of experience, 'One thing I know: that whereas I was blind, now I see; and whoso follows the Teacher who illumined my darkened vision, shall not walk in darkness but have the light of life.'

W. T. DAVISON.



HARNACK'S CHRISTOLOGY: IN 'WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?'

1. 'THE nature of Christianity as a universal religion,' says Ritschl (*Justification and Reconciliation*, p. 385), 'is such that *in the Christian view of the world a definite place is assigned to its historical founder.*' Against all humanitarian conceptions of Jesus, he insists that 'beyond all doubt, Jesus was conscious of a new and hitherto unknown relation to God, and said so to His disciples; and His aim was to bring His disciples into the same attitude toward the world as His own, and to the same estimate of themselves, that under these conditions He might enlist them in the world-wide mission of the kingdom of God, which He knew to be not only His own business, but theirs' (p. 386). Two reasons are given for assigning to Jesus the place He holds in the Christian religion. First of all, He realizes the ideal of man. 'This ideal, the true development of the spiritual personality, cannot be rightly or fully conceived apart from contemplation of Him who is the prototype of man's vocation' (p. 387). Secondly, He reveals the nature of God. 'Christ founds His religion with the claim that He brings the perfect revelation of God, so that beyond what He brings no further revelation is conceivable or is to be looked for' (p. 388). For these two reasons He is confessed to be divine. 'The two-fold significance we are compelled to ascribe to Christ as being at once the perfect revealer of God, and the manifest type of spiritual lordship over the world, finds expression in the single predicate of His Godhead' (p. 389). Such in brief is Ritschl's Christology. How does Harnack's compare with it—the disciple's with the master's? Even from the Ritschlian standpoint, Harnack is not justified in assigning to the problem of the Person of Christ the altogether subordinate position which he gives to it in the plan of his

work, which undertakes to answer the question, What is Christianity? For, if Ritschl be correct in his statement of the place Christ holds in the religion which bears His name, a writer who attempts to define the essence of Christianity is bound to face more fully and thoroughly the question, What think ye of Christ? To deal with the question of Christology, not as one of the fundamental features of the preaching of Jesus but as only one of the principal relations of the gospel, along with such subordinate questions as those of asceticism, of society, of institutions, of culture, is to ignore, if not to deny, the significance and the value for Christianity of the Person of Christ, on which Ritschl wisely and rightly insists. This is the initial error of method, on which due stress must be laid in estimating the adequacy of Harnack's treatment of the subject.

2. Before we can discuss the section in which Harnack deals with Christology, we must consider the bearings upon the question he seeks there to answer, of what he says in his introduction upon miracles. This crucial problem, it is to be carefully observed, is not formally or directly treated. It is incidentally introduced in order to meet the doubt about the credibility of the Gospels, which the inclusion of narratives of miracles in them seems inevitably to raise in modern minds. To allay this suspicion, the following considerations are advanced: (1) 'We know that the Gospels come from a time in which miracles, one dare say, were almost of daily occurrence,' and 'one did not then yet know the strict conception which we combine with the word miracle' (p. 16). (2) 'We now know that regarding prominent persons miracles came to be reported, not first of all a long time after their death, also not first after several years, but at once, often already on the next day' (p. 17). (3) While 'we are unalterably convinced that what takes place in space and time is subject to the universal laws of motion, that accordingly in this sense, that is, as breaches in the continuity of nature, there can be no miracles,' yet 'we also recognize that the religious man—if religion really permeates him, and he does not merely believe in the religion of others—is sure

of this, that he is not enclosed in a blind and brutal course of nature, but that this course of nature serves higher purposes, especially that one can meet it by an inner divine power in such a way that "all must be for the best" (p. 17). (4) 'Lastly, there can be no breach in the continuity of nature; but we are far from knowing all the powers which are active in it, and stand in reciprocal action with other powers,'—especially nobody can tell 'how far the influence of soul on soul and of soul on body reaches.' 'We do not believe,' he adds, 'nor will we ever again believe, that the earth ever stood still in its course, that an ass spoke, that a storm at sea was calmed by a word; but that the lame walked, the blind saw, and the deaf heard, we will not reject as illusion right away' (p. 18). The importance of this statement for our immediate purpose is this, that it has been used by critics of Harnack as a proof that his Christology must be merely humanitarian, that in consistency with his position on miracles he cannot assign any uniqueness to the Person of Christ. We are much safer, however, to judge any man by his express affirmations rather than by more or less certain inferences which we may draw from his statements, as the validity of our logic may not be as apparent to him as to ourselves. As we shall afterwards see, Harnack does expressly affirm that our psychology cannot discover the secret of Christ's consciousness, and we are not entitled therefore to draw any such adverse conclusion regarding what his Christology must be. But, on the other hand, if the Person of Christ is as unique as Harnack admits, we are entitled to press the question: Are you justified in affirming that while His soul might so act on other souls, and these on bodies that acts of healing might be accomplished by Him, it is incredible that there should be any such power resident in His will as in reciprocal action with other powers might cause a storm to become a calm? If we do not know all the forces in nature, and if Christ's person must remain inexplicable by us, have we a right to assert absolutely what was possible or what impossible to Him? To me at least it seems that if Christ

holds the relation to God and to man, which Harnack recognizes, His relation to nature cannot be defined in the same terms as that of man, but may be more nearly expressible in the language which we might use of God. But, without going further into the question, we may remark that Harnack, by his statement on miracles, does lay himself open to the criticism that what he does say about the uniqueness of Christ's Person is not to be taken literally, but must be limited by his denial of Christ's ability to work miracles. I prefer to give him credit for meaning all that his words will suggest to most minds as regards the Person of Christ, while regarding as an inconsistency his statement on miracles—an inconsistency, however, which is much to be deplored, and which is not without its injurious influence on the impression made by his book.

3. To do justice to Harnack's Christology, attention must be called to his general definition of Christianity, as that does in some degree at least modify the adverse judgement which we are prompted to express regarding his exclusion of Christology from the gospel as Jesus taught it. It has been assumed that only the gospel as Jesus taught it constitutes, in Harnack's opinion, the essence of Christianity, and that all else is only secondary development of less significance and value, even if not injurious perversion; and that therefore all Christology is excluded by him from the essence of Christianity. But this assumption is disproved by his own express statement that of 'the two possibilities that the gospel is in all respects identical with its first form, and that it always contains what is valid in historically altering forms'—'the latter is right.' His aim is to find the essence of Christianity, not only in 'the gospel of Jesus Christ,' but also in 'the impression which He and His gospel made on the first generation of His disciples,' and even in 'the principal transformations of the Christian in history.' 'What is common,' he says, 'in all these appearances, controlled by the gospel, and again the fundamental features of the gospel, controlled by the history, will bring us, we dare to hope, near to the kernel of the matter' (pp. 8,

9, 10). Accordingly, Harnack does not exclude all Christology from the essence of Christianity. His plan not only allows us, but even requires us, to consider not only what he states on the question of Christology in the section on 'the gospel and the Son of God,' but to discover whatever other references there may be to the subject in his discussion of the course of 'the gospel in history.' Having given due attention to these preliminary considerations, we are better prepared now to discuss this section.

4. The question which he seeks to answer here is this: 'What position did Jesus assign to Himself in relation to this message, when He preached the gospel, and how did He wish Himself to be accepted?' In investigating the testimony of Jesus to Himself, two points must be affirmed: '*Firstly*, He wanted no other faith in His Person and no other attachment to it than that which lies in the keeping of His commandment' . . . '*Secondly*, He described the Lord of heaven and earth as His God and Father, as the greater, as the only Good.' 'This feeling, praying, acting, striving and suffering "I" is a man who over against His God also reckons Himself with other men' (p. 80). (a) The first statement does not seem to be warranted by the available historical evidence. Jesus' saying to His disciples, 'If ye love Me, ye will keep My commandments,' means surely that obedience will be the test and proof of love, not that love is neither more nor less than obedience. That interpretation limits Christ's relation to His disciples to that of a teacher or a master. Jesus told men to come to Him, to follow Him, to learn of Him, to take His yoke, to confess Him among men. He required of them the abandonment of home and kindred, the surrender of wealth and ease and life itself for His sake. He called for faith in Himself as well as in God the Father. He presented Himself as Saviour, and Judge as well as Teacher and Master. As we shall afterwards see, Harnack admits that Jesus was more to His disciples than Teacher, and that there was warrant in His own teaching for the significance and value which they assigned to His death; if the disciples were not assigning to their Saviour

and Lord a meaning and a worth which He did not claim for Himself—and it is admitted that they were not—then Harnack's statement is altogether inadequate. (b) The second statement may be freely and fully accepted in so far as it lays due emphasis on the complete humanity of Jesus Christ—a fact to which traditional orthodoxy has always done much less than justice. But it has no validity as an argument against the doctrine of the Incarnation, which it seems to be implicitly intended to be. The facts of the Gospels are undoubtedly against a Christology which endows Christ in His humiliation with all the attributes of absolute deity, but not against a Christology which recognizes an essential manifestation of the divine under the conditions and limitations of humanity. One qualification of Harnack's statement is demanded by the facts. Jesus did not reckon Himself with other men, over against His God, as also sinful and guilty. Whatever affinity of nature and community of experience may have united Him to mankind, the fact that He alone knew no sin forbids so bold and bald an identification of Him with the race as is found in Harnack's words, in which he does not leave room for the uniqueness of consciousness in Christ which he afterwards recognizes.

5. The very core of Jesus' self-consciousness can be reached, according to Harnack, in the two designations He gave to Himself—the Son of God and the Messiah. Even if the former had originally a reference to the latter, yet, for us, the Messianic reference is of secondary importance, and the filial consciousness is of primary significance. 'The knowledge of God is the sphere of the sonship to God. Even in this knowledge of God He has learned to know the Holy Being, which rules heaven and earth as Father, as *His* Father. His consciousness that He is the Son of God is for this reason nothing else than the practical consequence of the knowledge of God as the Father and His Father. Rightly understood, the knowledge of God is the whole content of the name of Son. But two things must be added. Jesus is convinced that He so knows God as none before Him,

and He knows that it is His vocation to communicate to all others by word and deed this knowledge of God, and therewith the relation of children to God.' . . . 'How He came to this consciousness of the uniqueness of His filial relation, how He attained to the consciousness of His power, and of His duty and task which lie in this power, that is His secret, and no psychology will discover it. The confidence in which John lets Him speak to the Father, "Thou hast loved Me before the foundation of the world," is certainly overheard from Jesus' own certainty. Here all exploration must be silent' (p. 81). While a prophet, with a similar experience, might attempt to lift this veil, all we can affirm is that 'Jesus, who taught men to know themselves, and be humble, called Himself, and Himself alone, the Son of God.' 'He knows that He knows the Father, that He is to bring this knowledge to all, and that therein He is doing the work of God Himself. It is the greatest among all the works of God, the goal and end of His creation. To Him it is committed, and He will carry it through in God's power.' His is no temporary and local, but a permanent and universal, function. 'His message is not antiquated, but triumphs even to-day, strong and living, over all that happens. And He who proclaimed it has not abdicated His position for any other, and still to-day gives to the life of man a meaning, and its goal—He, the Son of God' (p. 82). Without entering into any minute or elaborate discussion of this statement, two main criticisms may be offered upon it. (a) First of all, we may ask: Is not this reduction of the relationship of Jesus to God to His knowledge of God as Father too one-sidedly intellectual? Did not this knowledge live, move, and have its being in feeling and in willing? There were a filial sentiment and a filial volition as well as a filial apprehension. It was the whole personality which was constituted what it was by this divine relationship. It was not a discovery of the mind that made Jesus the Son of God; there was a determination of the whole personality by that relationship, antecedent to and necessary for the consciousness. I do not suppose Harnack would deny this;

but the mode of his statement is defective, in so far as it does not expressly recognize this. It is an interesting question, for an answer to which, however, we do not seem to have sufficient data, how Jesus became conscious of His filial relationship to God; but we may be sure of this, that His affection for, and obedience to, as well as His recognition of God as Father, were factors in this psychological process. But the phenomenal compels us to go back to the noumenal: mind, heart, and will have their unity and identity in His person. This brings us to our second criticism of Harnack. (b) If Christ is all that He claimed to be, if the history of the Christian religion has confirmed His claim, we cannot acquiesce in Harnack's arrest of all inquiry on the ground that Christ's consciousness must ever be an insoluble psychological problem. It is our wisdom not to dogmatize about the essential nature of the Deity; it may be impossible for us ever to find language which will adequately and accurately express the relation of Jesus to God; yet we must maintain that His cosmical significance must correspond to His religious value, and that the metaphysical truth of His person must not fall short of the historical fact of His life and work. The mission and the message of Jesus, even as Harnack conceives them, justify a more definite statement about His divinity than Harnack, in his excessive caution not to go beyond the strictly historical, will allow himself. Does not the necessary and sufficient explanation of historical fact fall within the province of historical truth?

6. That Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, Harnack holds to be indubitable; the evangelical records demand it; the title 'Son of Man' can be understood only messianically; only this makes intelligible the forms in which Jesus expressed His consciousness and vocation. 'The picture of the Messiah and the Messianic representations, as they lived in the time of Jesus, had developed on two combined lines—on the line of the king, and on that of the prophet; in addition, not a little that was foreign had had influence, and all was transfigured by the ancient expectation, that God Himself would visibly enter on the dominion over His

people' (p. 83). To express very summarily what Harnack says about the distinctive characteristics of the Messianic hope in Judaism as contrasted with the Old Testament, it had become *universalized* (a world-judgement was expected); *moralised* (reward or punishment, according to merit or guilt, was anticipated); *individualised* (the individual would share in a resurrection to shame or glory); *transcendentalised* (the Messianic age would be supramundane and supernatural); and *dogmatized* (the Messiah, although a man among men, is of heavenly origin, has suprahuman attributes and resources, is perfect in character; although others benefit from His merits, yet the idea of a suffering Messiah is not reached). There were some circles even in Judaism that had risen above the popular expectations. Not only was it recognized that the kingdom of God implied a moral order, and could come only to a righteous people, but, instead of seeking to attain this righteousness by works of the law, it was awaited as a gift of God's grace.

.That some were inclined to accept John the Baptist as Messiah shows that the prophetic was supplanting the royal ideal, that the ethical and spiritual elements of the hope were throwing into the background the national and political. 'We shall never fathom,' says Harnack, 'by what inner development Jesus passed from the certainty of being the Son of God to the other that He was the promised Messiah. But the insight that then also for others the representation of the Messiah had received by a slow transformation quite new features, and had become altered from a political-religious to a spiritual-religious idea,—this insight surely frees the problem from its complete isolation' (p. 87). There are some facts in this connexion certain. The oldest tradition bases this Messianic consciousness on an inner experience at the baptism. The story of the temptation at the beginning of His ministry assumes this consciousness of His vocation. Jesus' answer to the Baptist showed how He understood the Messianic function. Peter's confession of the Messiahship is gladly welcomed. The question to the Pharisees regarding the descent of the Messiah is a claim

for recognition as Messiah. The entrance into Jerusalem and the cleansing of the temple were manifestly Messianic acts, and were followed by the crown of thorns and the cross. To Jesus the Messiahship would appear as a heavy burden, which His duty to God would not allow Him to shun. 'It was the simply necessary condition of securing for Him, inwardly conscious of His vocation, absolute recognition within the religious history of Judaism—the deepest and ripest which a people has experienced, yea, as the future was to show, of the distinctive religious history of mankind' (p. 89). While this idea seemed to secure for Him the supreme place in history, in the first instance for believers of His own nation, it thus exhausted its function as Jesus transcended the vocation He accepted; and for us the Messiahship is of historical interest, but not of religious importance. It is not the form in which it is natural for us to think of His work. One is glad to find that Harnack does not share the extreme scepticism of some New Testament scholars regarding the Messianic import of the title 'Son of Man' and the Messianic vocation of Jesus. The main facts bearing on this question have been well stated by him; but one cannot but regret that he has not ventured farther along the path on which he has allowed himself to go a little way, but has arrested his own progress with the words, 'We have already gone too far; we are not able to say any more' (p. 89). One cannot but wish that he had told us more fully what he means in his statement, that Jesus 'must have experienced the knowledge of the Messiahship as the most terrible burden.' He suggests that the idea of a suffering Messiah lies in Isaiah liii. Had he brought into connexion this prophecy and Christ's anticipation of His Passion, as defining more closely His consciousness of His Messiahship as the most terrible burden, the treatment would have gained a completeness which at present it lacks.

7. Most important for Harnack's Christology is his statement of the relation to His gospel what Jesus claimed for Himself. A negative as well as a positive answer is here

offered—(1) '*Not the Son, but the Father alone belongs to the gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it*'; but (2) 'He leads others to God, not only by His word, but still more by what He is and does, and lastly by that which He suffers.' He offers rest to the labouring and heavy-laden; He gives His life a ransom for many. 'What He now renders personally,' of invaluable service to mankind, 'will by His life crowned with death become a decisive and continuously operative fact for the future: *He is the Way to the Father, and He is, as appointed by the Father, also the Judge*' (p. 91). His claim history has verified. '*He was the personal realisation and the power of the gospel, and is still always experienced as such.*' Although the proposition 'I am the Son of God' was not placed by Jesus in the gospel, and whoever includes it makes an addition to the gospel; yet whoever believes the gospel, and strives to understand the bearer of it, will testify that the divine has here appeared as purely as it can appear on earth, and will experience that Jesus Himself has been for His own the power of the gospel (p. 92). Here Harnack goes far beyond his previous statement that Jesus asks nothing of believers beyond obedience to His commandments; but does he go as far as Christian faith demands? On the one hand, it seems to me that the stress he puts on Christ's preaching of the Father, and not Himself, is justified by the Gospels, and is a very necessary corrective of a false and foolish sentimentalism, which seems to lose sight of the infinite and eternal God as Father altogether, and to see only the attractive and pathetic figure of Jesus as an object of religious affection. We do need to remind ourselves that it was God Jesus came to reveal to men, to glorify on earth, to enthrone in the faith and loyalty and submission of mankind. An admiration of or affection for Himself which does not issue in adoration of and devotion to God as Father, is, I am sure, not what He desires. But, on the other hand, it seems to me the revelation of God as Father is so inseparable from the person, vocation, and especially the sacrifice of Christ, that it seems not only an unnecessary but even a confusing abstraction to attempt, as Harnack does, to dis-

tinguish the contents of the gospel from the self-testimony of Christ, to separate the message from the messenger. The truths of the gospel may be permanent and universal, separable for speculative thought from the temporal and local modes of their expression; but for religious experience the facts of the teaching and work, life and death of Jesus alone make these truths accessible, intelligible, credible for mankind. Nay, must we not rather say that, as we know God only in His historical revelation, Christ Himself constitutes the relation in which He reveals God to men? We need to know God, not as He is abstractly in eternity but as He is concretely in time; and Christ Himself is the fullest and clearest manifestation and operation of God in time. His Person is the revelation: in Him God lives, speaks, works, saves, and blesses. Even as He knew Himself and claimed to be one with the Father, so the gospel and His Person are inseparable. How untrue to Christian experience this antithesis of Harnack's is, the account he himself gives of the Apostolic Age will further show.

8. Of the three characteristics of the Christian community in the first stage of its historical development, Harnack places first the recognition of Jesus as the living Lord. 'In this confession,' he says, 'there is, first of all, continued the recognition that He is the authoritative teacher; that His word should remain the standard of the life of His disciples; that they wish to keep "all that He has commanded them." But in this the conception "the Lord" is not exhausted—yes, its peculiarity is not yet indicated. The primitive community called Jesus Lord, because He had brought the sacrifice of His life for it, and because it was convinced that He, arisen, now sits at the right hand of God.' Although 'Paul made the death and resurrection of Christ the object of a special speculation, and identified the whole gospel with these two events, yet already for the circle of personal disciples of Jesus and the primitive community they had a fundamental value.' All Christology rests on these two convictions. 'Already in the first two generations all that men can say to magnify was expressed about Jesus Christ'

(p. 98). Experience confirmed these convictions. Harnack does not undertake to defend them; he regards it to be his duty as an historian to try to understand them by a sympathetic reproduction; and even affirms that 'if one penetrates into the depths of the history of religion, then one recognizes the right lying at the roots of faith, and the truth of representations, which superficially seem so paradoxical and unapprehensible' (p. 98). Declining all speculation about the necessity of the death of Christ for God as leading us into a blind alley, he offers three considerations which make more intelligible and credible this apostolic conviction regarding Christ's death: (1) 'Those who judged this death as a sacrificial death soon ceased to bring any other bloody offerings to God' (p. 99). (2) 'He who looks into history recognizes that the suffering of the righteous and pure is salvation in history. It was the Cross of Jesus Christ at which mankind has so experienced the power of the purity and love which maintained themselves even in death, that it can no more forget, and that this experience signifies a new epoch of its history.' (3) 'No "reasonable" reflection and no "logical" consideration will be able to eradicate from the moral ideas of humanity the conviction that unrighteousness and sin demand punishment, and that everywhere, where the righteous suffers, an atonement is accomplished, which brings shame and cleansing' (p. 100). He concludes this statement thus: 'If we add that Jesus Himself described His death as a service which He was rendering to the many, and that by a solemn action He established for it a continued remembrance—I see no reason to doubt this fact—then we understand how this death, the offence of the Cross, must needs be moved to the centre' (p. 101). Certainly these three considerations do not offer a complete doctrine of the Atonement, and we may feel that much more might be said in defence of what Harnack is pleased to call Paul's special speculations on this theme; but what is here noteworthy is that Harnack evidently allows that the apostolic experience, as well as Christ's own testimony, warrant us in regarding the doctrine of the Cross as of the permanent and universal

essence, and not as a temporary and local phase of Christianity. In this casual allusion to Christ's own teaching in these concluding words he does supply an omission in his formal statement of Christ's gospel. We welcome this correction, but cannot but regret the defect in treatment which gave reason for it.

9. As regards the Resurrection, he distinguishes the Easter-faith from the Easter-message. The latter is concerned with the empty grave and the appearances to the disciples, of which the accounts are so conflicting that no certainty regarding the facts can be reached. The former is 'the conviction of the victory of the crucified over death, of the power and of the righteousness of God, and of the life of Him who is the firstborn among many brethren' (p. 101). The faith does not depend on the message. 'Whatever may have happened at the grave and in the appearances, one thing stands firm: *from this grave the indestructible faith in the conquest of death and an eternal life has taken its origin*' (p. 102). 'The conviction, *Jesus lives*, still to-day is the ground of the hope of citizenship in an eternal city, which makes the earthly life worth living and enduring.' To the question which promptly presents itself, But did not the Easter-faith at first rest on the Easter-message? did not the first disciples believe that Jesus lived because they had seen the empty grave and even the risen Lord? Harnack boldly answers, 'How can one otherwise represent it to oneself, than that also for the first disciples the last ground of their faith in the living Lord was the power, which had gone forth from Him. They had experienced indestructible life as proceeding from Him; only for a brief space could His death perturb them; the power of the Lord conquered all; God had not trampled Him out in death; He lives as the first-fruits of them that sleep' (p. 103). One may think it not improbable that the disciples, in the depressed and despairing condition in which Christ's death left them, needed the outward signs, that the narratives of the Resurrection are not so entirely untrustworthy as Harnack reckons them, that the Christ who conquered death, and had the living power to convince His

disciples that He lived, no less had the power, if needful, of manifesting Himself as the records testify; and yet one must most heartily welcome this confident assertion of the great critic and historian, that a living Lord ever belongs to the essence of Christianity, and that the evidence of His living power is ever Christian experience.

10. In what Harnack writes about Paul's influence in the development of Christianity there is an important reference to Christology. 'It was Paul,' he says, 'who definitely apprehended the gospel as the message of the accomplished redemption and the already present salvation. He proclaimed the crucified and risen Christ, who has brought us access to God, and therewith righteousness and peace' (p. 111). 'Paul changed the gospel, without injury to its essential internal features—unconditional trust in God as the Father of Jesus Christ, confidence in the Lord, forgiveness of sins, the certainty of an eternal life, purity, and fraternity—into the universal religion, and laid the foundation for the great Church' (p. 113). While the absolute character of this religion was thus made clear, yet the new formulation was not without its dangers: (1) The first peril Paul himself had to contend against—it is antinomianism, the claim of forgiveness without the aim of holiness. 'Who can doubt,' says Harnack, 'that the doctrines of "objective redemption" have become severe temptations in the history of the Church, and have concealed through whole generations the seriousness of religion?' (2) The second peril is the substitution of orthodoxy for piety. 'The true doctrine of and about Christ threatens to be moved into the middle point, and to pervert the majesty and simplicity of the gospel' (p. 115). By this criticism 'the right of Paul to sum all up in the preaching of Christ the Crucified is not limited, for here he shows the power of *God* and the wisdom of *God*, and kindles at the love of Christ the feeling for the love of God. Thus still to-day the Christian faith is propagated in thousands, namely through Christ. But that is something else than to demand assent to a series of propositions about the Person of Christ' (p. 116). (3) The third point is the sup-

planting of the gospel by the fact of the Incarnation. 'Paul, guided by the Messianic dogmatics, and dominated by the impression of Christ, laid the foundations of the speculation that not only was God in Christ, but that Christ Himself had possessed a peculiarly heavenly essence. With Jews it was not necessary that this representation should burst the bounds of the Messianic idea, but with Greeks it must set free quite new thoughts. The *appearance* of Christ in itself, the entrance of a divine being into this world, must be regarded as the main thing, as *the redemptive deed* in itself. Paul himself did not so regard it; Crucifixion and Resurrection are for him the decisive fact, and he conceives the entrance into the world from a moral point of view, and as an example for our conduct. But it could not so remain. The fact could not permanently stand in the second place—it was too great for that; but pushed to the first place it threatened the gospel itself, because it diverted significance and interest from the gospel. Who can, in view of the history of dogma, deny that this has happened?' (p. 116).

11. Had space allowed, it would have been both interesting and profitable to discuss Harnack's treatment of the subsequent Christological development; but that subject itself would afford material for another article. His position has, however, already been sufficiently indicated. He does not, be it observed, attack Paul's theology; he recognizes its historical necessity and service; but he detects in it an element of soteriological and Christological speculation which, when unmodified by the religious compound in which it is mingled in Paul himself, is capable of a perverse and injurious transformation; the prominence of the doctrinal in Paul appears to him a somewhat perilous change of emphasis. We may frankly admit that there were these three dangers in Paul's gospel, if divorced from Paul's living experience. Paul himself recognizes the first, James suggests the second, the history of doctrine undoubtedly proves the third. That Paul's gospel contained these possibilities does not condemn it as unsound; the highest truth can be perverted and debased. The dangers became real because the Christian

Church failed to apprehend, because it failed to participate in Paul's living experience, in which doctrine was not divorced from duty, in which speculation was not a rival but a servant of religion. Harnack's statement clearly shows his general position: he dislikes and distrusts the doctrinal development of Christianity. He does not seem to feel at home in Paul's soteriology and Christology; here he sees the beginnings of the ecclesiastical dogma, which for him is an alien element in the Christian history. Can we sympathize with or must we be hostile to his position? On the one hand, it seems to me that we must recognize that all our definitions of the relation of the person and work of Christ to God's nature and purpose must be necessarily imperfect, as we cannot know the Son as the Father knoweth Him, neither can the necessity of the cup the Son drained be clearer to us than it was to Him, who went to the cross by faith and not by sight. Further, all our definitions must have a temporary and local validity; the language of one age and one people loses its meaning and worth for another. Even the decrees of ecumenical councils cannot escape the law of mutability which rules all historical facts; even the words of an apostle may not all have an equally permanent and universal value. On the other hand, I cannot but think that we must, with such means as are within our reach, seek to make intelligible, and therefore credible to ourselves, the facts and truths of the Christian faith. If we are not satisfied with the formulæ, three persons in one substance, or two natures in one person, we must remember that these phrases did at one time satisfy intelligences at least as keen as ours are; their satisfaction does not compel us to be satisfied, but it does encourage us to seek our own satisfaction in a re-statement of the truth which will secure our mental assent. While we cannot help thinking about Christ, yet we cannot forget that the Object must ever be greater than the subjects of Christian thought.

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METHODISM IN RECENT FICTION.

1. *Hetty Wesley*. By A. T. QUILLER-COUCH. (Harper & Brothers. 1904.)
2. *The Infidel*. By M. E. BRADDON. (Simpkin & Co. 1900.)
3. *Concerning Isabel Carnaby*. By ELLEN THORNEYCROFT FOWLER. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1903.)
4. *The Farringtons*. By ELLEN THORNEYCROFT FOWLER. (Hutchinson & Co. 1904.)

METHODISM has so long been 'a garden enclosed' that it is strange to see the writers and readers of fiction rambling along its paths, and to hear them criticizing its cherished trees and flowers. But this is the penalty of popularity. In recent years John Wesley has become a conspicuous person, and everything that concerns him and the Church he founded is now interesting to the British public. In addition, the historian and the philosophic critic have discovered the importance of the eighteenth century. They have made it the subject of special study, and they have learned that its importance, to a remarkable extent, arises from the fact that it is the century of John Wesley and the Evangelical Revival. While the vogue lasts we must be content to abandon our exclusiveness. We must submit to be examined and described by the picturesque investigator. Such examination and description may teach us lessons which a 'self-contained' Church is apt to overlook.

It is not our intention to deal with the many Methodist stories which have been written in recent times. That task would transcend our powers. We content ourselves by saying that some of these stories are admirable, and deserve the

success they have achieved. We will confine ourselves to a consideration of the books mentioned at the head of this article. We will, first, see what Mr. Quiller-Couch has to say concerning the Wesley family. That will enable us to get a glimpse of the domestic life of the Wesleys on the eve of the great revival. Then we will deal with some aspects of Miss Braddon's book—a work which admits us into the scenes of the revival when it was in its full force; and, finally, we will try to occupy Miss Fowler's standpoint, and catch sight of modern Methodism as it exists in the Black Country and its 'green border-land.'

Mr. Quiller-Couch is known to every man who appreciates genial and vivid writing. He has humour and pathos, and, when he is in a good mood, it is hard to escape his thrall. From the days when we read *The Delectable Duck* until now, his work has seemed to possess distinction and charm. His forte, undoubtedly, is the 'short story.' It is whispered that *Hetty Wesley* was written to prove that he could also maintain a prolonged flight without weariness. Authors are sometimes provoked to attempt risky experiments by suggestions that they can only do one kind of work. In their eagerness to prove the incorrectness of the criticism they often establish its accuracy. We think that Mr. Quiller-Couch has not altogether escaped the danger which threatens a man who suddenly quits the work to which he is accustomed. Still it is only fair to say that his book, considered as a work of art, bears the master-mark on all its pages.

In reading Mr. Quiller-Couch's heartrending tragedy we have constantly reminded ourselves of the distinction between the novelist and the historian. *Hetty Wesley* is a novel 'founded on fact.' Mr. Quiller-Couch has consulted every available 'authority' which bears upon the incidents which he depicts. There can be no doubt that he reproduces, after his own style, some of the events which actually happened in the Wesley home. We know the ground over which he has travelled, and we can testify that he has read such books as Dr. Adam Clarke's *Memoirs of the Wesley*

Family and Mr. G. J. Stevenson's *Memorials of the Wesley Family* with close attention. But, having borne our testimony to Mr. Quiller-Couch's diligence as an investigator, we must say that we are also conscious that he has, in several instances, availed himself of his privilege to treat facts in a flamboyant manner. We presume that it will be admitted that a novelist has a right to suppress details which mar the literary perfection of his story, and that he may invent incidents which are unhistorical. If the liberty of suppression and invention is taken from him, his occupation is gone. He is like a painter who, in composing his picture, leaves out an ugly shed, trims an ill-balanced tree, and brightens up his canvas by putting in a rainbow such as never bent o'er land or sea.

While admitting the romancer's right to exercise his imagination and artistic taste, a question has arisen in our mind which demands some reply. When dealing with an historical character, has a novelist the right, out of prejudice, or in order to secure a certain effect, so to darken a man's character as to misrepresent him? The readers of *Hetty Wesley* are aware that scarcely one of the members of the Wesley family leaves Mr. Quiller-Couch's hands without having suffered depreciation in value. He points out the flaws which disfigure the images which have hitherto been revered, with a minute and caustic faithfulness. Samuel Wesley, the Epworth rector, is damaged beyond repair; his wife, the admirable Susanna, is sadly disfigured. John Wesley is unrecognizable by a devoted Methodist. We cannot think that Mr. Quiller-Couch intended to smash the gods after this fashion. He is not a man of 'an inhuman disposition'; but nevertheless he has so laid about him in the Methodist pantheon that scarcely an image there remains intact. Cautious and fully informed readers will still retain their own estimate of the members of the Wesley family, but those who know little about them will gaze with astonishment at the effects of Mr. Quiller-Couch's iconoclastic raid.

We have only space to deal with the main incidents of

Mr. Quiller-Couch's painful story. In doing so we will, first, state the plain facts of Hetty Wesley's life as those facts appear in Dr. Adam Clarke's *Memoirs* and in Tyerman's *Life and Times of the Rev. Samuel Wesley*.

Mehetabel Wesley was a girl who from her childhood was distinguished by the brightness and the strength of her intelligence. Tyerman says: 'The whole of the Wesley family were gifted with poetic genius, but Mehetabel perhaps shone the brightest, Samuel and Charles not excepted. She was gay and sprightly, full of mirth, good humour, and keen wit.' So ready was she in the acquisition of knowledge, that it is said she read the Greek Testament with comparative ease when she was only eight years old. Kirk, in *The Mother of the Wesleys*, tells us that 'her father delighted to have her as his companion and assistant in the study, where she followed her more learned pursuits under his immediate direction.' She was a lovely girl, beautiful in form and features, and must have brightened the dusky Epworth rectory as with summer sunshine. Hetty Wesley had many rustic admirers. When she was about twenty-seven years of age a young lawyer fell in love with her, and his passion was returned. The marriage was about to take place, when a rumour concerning her suitor's character reached the ears of the rector. This rumour led him to conclude that the man was 'unprincipled,' and he determined to stop the marriage. But Hetty Wesley was a woman who possessed a will as firm as her father's. She refused to give up her lover. Dr. Clarke says that had her suitor 'been equally faithful to her, the connexion would in all probability have issued in marriage; but whether offended with the opposition he met with from the family, or whether through fickleness, he in fact remitted his assiduities, and at last abandoned a woman who would have been an honour to the first man in the land.' Opposed by her father, and abandoned by her lover, according to Dr. Clarke and Tyerman, Hetty Wesley did an exceedingly foolish thing. She vowed either that she would never marry another, or that she would take the first man who might offer if his suit

were approved by her parents. The offer soon came. Mr. Wright, a plumber and glazier in good circumstances, proposed to her; and, Dr. Clarke says, 'as her parents saw that her mind was strongly attached to the man who had jilted her, in order to prevent the possibility of a union in that quarter, her father urged her to marry Wright.' She soon found that the man who had proposed to her was 'utterly unsuited to her in mind, education, and manners.' So far as we know, Wright's character, at that time, was good; but Hetty Wesley, guided by an antipathy which intuitively recognized the calamities of the future, revolted against the match. She 'earnestly begged that parental authority might not be used to induce her to adopt a measure that promised no comfort to her, and might prove her ruin.' But her pleading was in vain. Samuel Wesley would not change his mind, and Hetty's own vow stared her in the face. The marriage took place. Hetty removed with her husband to London; and there, after succeeding for a time in business, Wright's character broke down. He became a drunkard, and his abominable cruelty destroyed the happiness of his wife. She died in 1750. Before her death she was brought into sympathy with the religious views of her brothers, and became, as Charles Wesley says, 'a gracious, tender, trembling soul; a bruised reed which the Lord will not break.' She was harassed with 'darkness, doubts, and fears,' but John Wesley testifies that for some years before her death she was 'a witness of that rest which remains even here for the people of God.'

Such, in brief outline, was the tragic life of Hetty Wesley as revealed in the pages of Dr. Adam Clarke and Tyerman. It is a pitiful story, which might well have been left 'to dumb forgetfulness a prey.' But Mr. Quiller-Couch perceived its artistic possibilities, and he has worked up the dreary details into a heart-moving romance. He has done more. Reading Dr. Clarke and Tyerman, the impression we receive of Hetty Wesley is that of a brilliant, light-hearted, pure-minded girl, who possessed in an extraordinary degree the Wesley dower of will and conscience. No moral

stain disfigures her character. But Mr. Quiller-Couch knows a secret which has hitherto been well kept. We presume that in the pages of Mr. G. J. Stevenson's *Memorials of the Wesley Family* he met with the suggestion which he has used with such striking effect. Speaking of Samuel Wesley's interference with the marriage, Stevenson says: 'Wearied of the opposition of the rector, the young lawyer at length resolved on a desperate experiment, and, using forced restraint, kept her away from home all night. She returned home next morning with a sad heart, from the sorrowful experience she had learned.' A letter containing the sad news was written by Mrs. Wesley to John Wesley, and that letter Mr. G. J. Stevenson saw and read before it was destroyed. John Wesley made an abridgement of his mother's letter, and the document came into Mr. Stevenson's possession. We think that there can be little doubt of the truth of the occurrence. Mr. Quiller-Couch has searched out the evidence concerning Hetty Wesley's fall from virtue, and he describes the episode in one of the most sensational chapters of his book.

The melancholy fact which Mr. Quiller-Couch has exhumed sheds light upon many things. Mr. Stevenson, speaking of Hetty's return after the fatal night, says: 'Her father's anger was furious, but her mother's sympathy prevented her from being at once turned out of home. Hetty, seeing that the issue would ultimately be her exclusion from home, made a rash vow to marry the first man that might offer to accept her hand.' This explanation of the 'vow' is much more reasonable than Dr. Clarke's and Mr. Tyerman's. The girl who had been ruined, and then abandoned by her lover, in her desperation might well form such a resolution. But, in addition, the incident explains to some extent Samuel Wesley's conduct. The disgrace that had come upon his home would make him frantic. Greater disgrace loomed in the future. He would be eager to seize the first opportunity to get Hetty married to some man who would consent to take her. The 'vow' was a weapon put into his hands, which he used relentlessly. We do not excuse his

conduct; but, in the circumstances revealed by Mr. Stevenson, we can understand it.

In writing his romance we can imagine that Mr. Quiller-Couch sometimes laid aside his pen and asked himself the question: 'Is it worth while to rescue these miserable events from oblivion?' After pondering that question he resumed his work, because he felt that he had a 'mission' to fulfil. That 'mission' was to make the British public better acquainted with the real character of Samuel Wesley. Irritated by the saint-like demeanour of the Rector of Epworth as he appears in the pages of Tyerman, Mr. Quiller-Couch determined that the mask shall be for ever torn from his face. But a somewhat pardonable irritation has hurried him into caricature. Because Tyerman pictured a saint, was it necessary that Mr. Quiller-Couch should paint a devil? Lest we should be accused of misrepresentation, we hasten to point out that the Satanic character of Samuel Wesley is suggested at the beginning of the book. Mr. J. Addington Symonds wrote a charming essay, which he entitled 'In the Key of Blue'; Mr. Quiller-Couch's descriptions of Samuel Wesley are all 'In the Key of Black.' Here is one of them. He sketches a pretty picture of the six Wesley sisters, seated on the eastern slope of a knoll a few feet above the desolate fen-land in the corner of the isle of Axholme, in Lincolnshire. Emilia, the eldest, is reading aloud from *Paradise Lost*—'reading with admirable expression, and a voice almost masculine, rich as a deep-mouthed bell.' After describing the loves of Adam and Eve, the poet continues:

Aside the devil turned
For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Eyed them askance; and to himself thus plained:—
'Sight hateful, sight tormenting.'

Now let us listen to Mr. Quiller-Couch:

"Molly interrupted with a cry; so fiercely Hetty had gripped her wrist of a sudden. Emilia broke off—

"What on earth's the matter, child?"

"Is it an adder?" asked Patty, whose mind was ever practical; "Johnny Whitelamb warned us"—

"An adder?" Hetty answered her, cool in a moment and deliberate. "Nothing like it, my dear: 'tis the old genuine Serpent."

"What do you mean, Hetty? Where is it?"

"Sit down, child, and don't distress yourself. Having rendered everybody profoundly uncomfortable within a circuit of two miles, and almost worried itself to a sunstroke, it has now gone into the house to write at a commentary on the *Book of Job*." . . .

"I think you must mean Papa," said Patty; "and I call it very disrespectful to compare him with Satan; for 'twas Satan sister Emmy was reading about" (p. 36).

The key in which this scene is written is maintained throughout the book. Mr. Quiller-Couch's new portrait of Samuel Wesley errs by defect. It is a great work of art, but the likeness is left out. If some of the favourable features in the rector's character had been introduced, the bad portraiture might have been forgiven; but as we gaze upon Mr. Quiller-Couch's canvas we can only discern a face that suggests unrelieved stubbornness, selfishness, cruelty, and Satanic malignity.

We admit at once that Mr. Quiller-Couch's estimate of Samuel Wesley may be right; if it is, then much testimony to the contrary will have to be thrown to the winds. For instance, Miss Sarah Wesley, his grand-daughter, says that 'his children idolized his memory.' That sentence looks very queer after the 'knoll' incident. Mr. G. J. Stevenson, who was not ignorant of the rector's defects, says: 'No one can read the history of Mr. Wesley's life without a feeling of admiration and even affection. After the lapse of more than a century, his nobleness of disposition, his heroic forbearance and endurance, his painstaking care of his children, his indefatigable search after truth, his loyalty to the king, and, above all, his ardent piety towards God, make his memory more fragrant as time rolls on.' We dare not venture to reproduce Mr. Tyerman's estimate of the rector's

character, lest we should increase Mr. Quiller-Couch's irritability, so we will content ourselves by citing one more testimony. It is borne by the rector's son, who had some opportunities of becoming acquainted with his father's character. Samuel Wesley says:

When age, not hasten'd on by guilt or cares,
Graced him with silver crown of hoary hairs,
His looks the tenour of his soul express,
An easy unaffected cheerfulness;
Stedfast, not stiff; and awful, not austere;
Though courteous, rev'rend; and though smooth sincere:
In converse free; for every subject fit;
The coolest reason join'd to keenest wit;
Wit, that with aim resistless knows to fly,
Disarms unthought of, and prevents reply:
So lightning falls the mountain-oaks among,
As sure, as quick, as shining, and as strong.
Skilful of sportive stories forth to pour,
A gay, a humorous, and exhaustless store.
With sharpest point and justest force apply'd,
The purport never dark and never wide.

Such was the man by friends and foes confest,
Worthy the glorious name of Parish Priest.

When we contrast these testimonies with Mr. Quiller-Couch's descriptions of Samuel Wesley, we are inclined to believe that many of his injurious statements, like the blessed St. Piran of *The Delectable Duck*, have 'no visible means of support.'

It is a relief to turn from Mr. Quiller-Couch to Miss Braddon. In reading her book we become conscious not only of a fine literary skill, and a delightful ease and breadth of treatment, but also of an appreciation of the principal actors in the Evangelical Revival, which is remarkable. She reproduces the people, the scenes, the atmosphere, the spirit of the eighteenth century, and she describes the work and the influence of Methodism with insight and sympathy. Her book captivates a man to whom the eighteenth century

is familiar ground. To some that century appears as a wilderness of dust. Carlyle has banned it, and other prophets of despair have wailed over its barrenness and gloom. Miss Braddon has seen its interest and beauty. She has perceived that it was the century of mental and religious problems, and that in it social Christianity, that fairest flower of our own time, lifted itself above the hard selfishness of men. Her principal characters are drawn with a firm hand. They attract us at once. They have personal charm; but, in addition, they arrest us by the skill with which they are made embodiments of the problems which exercised the minds of ardent thinkers in an age that was gradually transformed by the force of new thoughts concerning life, and eternity and God.

The title of the book scarcely prepares us for its contents. The 'Infidel' described by Miss Braddon is Antonia Thornton, a girl of great beauty, who passes upward from the depths of Grub Street to the heights of 'Society,' where, as Lady Kilrush, she shines brilliantly. Strange to say, her social advance does not spoil the natural directness, simplicity, and sweetness of her character. Indeed she steadily rises in moral elevation, and does not for a moment jeopardize our esteem. In watching her we forget the glitter of her surroundings; we have only eyes for the ever-increasing loveliness of her spirit and her deeds. This girl was the daughter of a disreputable literary hack, who is sketched by Miss Braddon with a touch that often reminds us of Thackeray. Her father wrote for the booksellers and the theatres, and lived in a state of perennial drunkenness. He was, in creed, a kind of by-product of the influence of Voltaire. Unlike Voltaire, he had no religious faith. He trained his daughter in his principles of unbelief. That early training affected her to the end of her life. But against it her heart ever contended. Miss Braddon has described the battle with a sympathy which, we think, must have been learned by personal experience. The details of the struggle fascinate us. They depict the stages of a strenuous fight of a woman with a noble heart who has inherited a creed, each article of which

begins with the words, 'I do not believe.' In the end the heart conquers. The final conquest is achieved by the influence of Methodism, and the book must be read for the story of the victory.

George Stobart is the hero of the book. He is described as the son of a Bristol shipowner. Two years before he is introduced to us, Miss Braddon says he had been 'one of the most promising soldiers in His Majesty's army, a man who loved his profession, who had distinguished himself as a subaltern at Fontenoy, and was marked by his seniors for promotion. He had been also one of the best-dressed and best-mannered young men in London Society, and at the Bath and the Wells a star of the first magnitude.' But at an evening service at the 'Foundry' he had been convinced of sin. 'In that awful moment the depth of his iniquity had been opened to him, and he had discovered the hollowness of a life without God in the world.' After his conversion he sold out from the army and became a preacher, acting under the direction of John Wesley in the great evangelistic campaign. George Stobart is drawn by Miss Braddon with great power. His dominant 'notes' are conviction, conscience, and courage. The soldierly qualities of the man are constantly revealed. A sense of duty sways him; he is regardless of danger; he revels in hard work; he is somewhat stern in thought about himself and others; his religious faith is strong and clear. It is true that his faith suffers a temporary eclipse. His passions master him, and he has to fight a harder battle than that of Fontenoy with himself and his insulted but still sovereign conscience. But he also gains the victory. The development of George Stobart's character must always be studied in connexion with the description of the moral progress of the heroine. Stobart is really a foil to Lady Kilrush, and Miss Braddon makes him serve the artistic purpose with great effect. Antonia Thornton, starting from negation of all belief, is led towards faith through her sympathy with suffering—suffering which she relieves by plenteous almsgiving, and by actual contact with miserable men and women; Stobart's 'orthodox' faith is vitalized and

energized by his conversion, his work as a preacher, and by his bitter fight with the temptation which he finally overcomes. Lady Kilrush is the finer character. Stobart is afflicted with the narrowness which is sometimes found in men whose convictions are definite, and whose conscience is tyrannical. We wish that Miss Braddon had not overlooked the fact that the characteristic of a Methodist is joy. A sparkle of that brightness would have relieved the sombreness of her portrait of George Stobart. But few writers who sketch Methodism from the outside recognize the fact that the Evangelical Revival brought a great flood of sunshine into the experience of the people of England. Still, taken as delineations of character, Miss Braddon's sketches of Lady Kilrush and George Stobart excite the keen interest of the psychologist. Those who are capable of studying mind-problems will be the first to confess their power.

We will resist the temptation to pursue the paths which open before us and entice us to forsake the high-road along which we should travel. Avoiding the subtleties of psychological problems, we will try to answer the question: 'How does Methodism fare at the hands of Miss Braddon?'

Miss Braddon has seen into the meaning of the eighteenth century, and she has detected the value of the work accomplished by the Evangelical Revival. As a consequence, she describes Methodism with a respect which is often lacking in writers who have only superficially glanced at the intellectual, moral, and religious condition of England in those critical years when John Wesley preached the gospel to all classes of his countrymen. The great historians and the philosophical students of the eighteenth century speak of Wesley with admiration and reverence. The shallow-minded romancer, incapable of rising above his own level, sees nothing exceptional in him and his work. He makes Methodism the butt of his jibes. In her estimate of Methodism, Miss Braddon has adopted the philosophical critic's point of view; and her book may be read by the historian without any fear that his nerves will be jarred by maladroit references or absurd misrepresentations.

We have only space to refer to two points which have occurred to us in reading *The Infidel*. First, Miss Braddon has seen into the character of John Wesley with rare insight. Then, she has sketched the influence of Methodism in 'Society,' in a manner that reveals just appreciation of its mission. Whenever John Wesley appears in her scenes we immediately recognize the presence of a calm-minded, deep-thoughted, sympathetic gentleman. Miss Braddon understands the value of the artistic law of contrast, and she avails herself of that law to bring out the fine lines of John Wesley's character. It is somewhat the fashion, in certain places, to speak disparagingly of John Wesley when he is compared with George Whitefield. Miss Braddon does not make that mistake. Without dwelling on the essential differences in the character of the two men, we may unhesitatingly refer to her description of the contrast between them as preachers, in confirmation of our estimate of her skill in mental and moral analysis. We have been especially interested to note that Miss Braddon has detected the gentler aspects of Wesley's character. In the midst of Stobart's miseries, Wesley tries to divert his mind from his excruciating sorrows by alluring him into the country as his companion on a preaching campaign. That one touch shows the perfection of Miss Braddon's insight. We do not know if she has read the story of Robert Carr Brackenbury of Raithby Hall, in Lincolnshire. When he lost his young wife, Wesley did for him exactly what Miss Braddon represents him as doing in the case of Stobart. That illustration of the accuracy of Miss Braddon's insight does not stand alone. John Wesley's heart was tremulous with sympathy, and responded to every sight and sound of woe. When a man who could preach was in trouble, there was, in Wesley's estimation, no remedy equal to that which came from riding through the country on a great evangelizing expedition. Those who are intimately acquainted with the contents of the 'Journals,' and who can read between the lines, will be at no loss for further illustrations of the trait in Wesley's character which Miss Braddon has so finely suggested.

We have said that Miss Braddon's book reveals the influence of Methodism in 'Society.' Lady Huntingdon figures in its pages, and her religious assemblies are described with much vivacity. Lady Huntingdon and her coteries lend themselves to the wit of the satirist, but Miss Braddon discerns their character and gauges their influence with exactness. Her descriptions are very suggestive. We refer to them in order that we may raise an important question. Why is it that Methodism has ceased to directly affect 'Society'? We cannot now give reasons which are even approximately correct, but we confess that, in reading Miss Braddon's book, the question has been forced on our attention with special emphasis. In the pages of *The Infidel* we see that Methodism brought an answer to the anxious inquiries of men and women in 'Society' who were conscious of sin, and who were distressed until the torment of their mind was relieved by the good news of a salvation that came through faith in Jesus Christ. Is that consciousness of sin existent now only among the middle classes and the poor? We are convinced that the experience of George Stobart in the 'Foundery' still repeats itself in men who are now, apparently, far removed from the influence of Methodism. The depth of their iniquity is revealed, the hollowness of a life without God in the world is discovered. Speaking of that critical moment in her hero's life, Miss Braddon says: 'He had looked along the backward path of years, and had seen himself a child, drowsily enduring the familiar liturgy, sleeping through the hated sermon; a lad at Eton, making a jest of holy things, scorning any assumption of religion in his schoolfellows, insolent to his masters, arrogant and uncharitable, shirking everything that did not minister to his own pleasures or his own aims, studious only in the pursuit of selfish ambitions, dreaming of future greatness to be won amidst the carnage of battles as ruthless, as unnecessary, as Malplaquet. And following those early years of self-love and impiety there had come a season of darker sins, of the sins which prosperous youth calls pleasure—sins that had sat so lightly on the slumbering conscience,

but which filled the awakened soul with horror.' The angel that brought the liberating message to George Stobart was Methodism, and we cannot think that the mission of that angel to refined and cultured people has ceased.

Miss Fowler is not to be numbered among the strangers who have wandered into the 'garden enclosed.' She writes of Methodism with a loving familiarity which gives her books, in the eyes of a Methodist, a special charm. It is not necessary to write any general criticism of her work. Its popularity is attested by the fact that some of her books have attained the dignity of a 'sixpenny edition'—a sure sign that, in the estimation of enterprising publishers, she has won for herself a high place in the regard of the British public. It will be enough for our present purpose if we point out some of the Methodist characteristics of the books which first made her fame.

Miss Fowler has been fortunate in her selection of the district in which many of the chief incidents of her stories take place. That district—the country round about Wolverhampton—is repellent in the eyes of some lovers of the picturesque. In their estimation it is a dreary land, studded with blast-furnaces and tall chimneys, and covered with a gruesome canopy of smoke. But this is a mistake. Many years ago Charles Dickens, in *The Old Curiosity Shop*, drew a dismal picture of 'The Black Country,' but he took care to put brighter colours on his palette when Little Nell and her grandfather got across the zone of gloom and turned their faces towards Tong. Elihu Burritt also avoided the aesthete's error. In his *Green Borderland of the Black Country* he dealt another blow at the prevailing ignorance. Now Miss Fowler has continued the work of illuminating the public mind, and has pointed out with surprising effect the beauty of a much maligned country. In reading her descriptions of scenery we have often wished that she would give us more frequently 'bits' of landscape sleeping in the sunshine, touched with the shadows of passing clouds or ruffled by the breath of a storm. She is a lover of light, of colour, and of distance, and she excels when she exercises

her power as a landscape painter. We could have spared much smart conversation in London drawing-rooms, if she had given us, in its place, more of her *Mershire* vignettes.

All who know the neighbourhood which she describes in her books will confess that Miss Fowler has, with remarkable accuracy and sympathy, reproduced the characteristics of the country she loves. Has she been equally successful in depicting the characteristics of Methodism and of the Methodist people? So far as Methodism is concerned, we think that the answer must be in the affirmative. Like Miss Braddon, she has seen the meaning of Methodism with precision, and expressed it with success. Methodism has a message, not only for the multitude, but for every man and woman who stands helpless and hopeless in the presence of the problem of personal sin. Miss Fowler knows that the conviction of sin does not spare those who move in what we call 'Society.' Neither is it an unknown experience to those who have won that emancipation of the intellect that comes through strong intelligence, wide reading, much knowledge, fearless inquiry, and profound thought. The fascinations of 'Society' fail, and the daring intellect quails when a man awakens to the fact that 'there are only two beings in the universe—God and his own soul.' Looking into the eyes of his Maker and Judge, conscious of personal guilt, each pleasure and pursuit of life ceases to attract until the question is settled: 'What must I do to be saved?' To a man in whom the consciousness of the need of pardon has become acute, Methodism speaks its message. Miss Fowler has looked steadily into the inner meaning of Methodism, and she has taken care that the music of its refreshing evangel shall be clearly heard in her books.

If Miss Fowler is successful in representing the characteristics of Methodism, does she succeed when she attempts to sketch the characteristics of the Methodist people? Are the men and women whom she describes distinct from the other people of the neighbourhood, and does their distinction arise from their possessing certain traits of character which are due to the fact that they have been trained as

Methodists? Or, are they merely Mershire people who would have displayed the same mental peculiarities if they had never been touched by Methodism? It is at this point we are in uncertainty. If we confine our attention to *Concerning Isabel Carnaby* and *The Farringdons*, we recognize at once the Methodist type of character and the Methodist tone of speech; but if we scan the pages of *A Double Thread* and of *Fuel of Fire*, we meet with figures possessing the same characteristics, and they represent persons who are members of the Established Church! Take, for instance, the comic servants upon whom Miss Fowler lavishes so much artistic skill. We judge that they are sketched from a model which Miss Fowler has had special opportunities of studying. They are entertaining. Unconsciously they obey the great law of contrast, which plays such an important part in humour. One of the most popular forms of humour is that in which sacred ideas and ideas that are absurd are brought into contact without offensive irreverence. This form of humour abounds in Miss Fowler's pages. Her comic servants mix up sacred ideas and names with a surprising familiarity. But is this form of humour distinctively Methodist? If it is, how did Mrs. Candy in *Fuel of Fire*, and Mr. Clutterbuck, the rector's gardener, in *A Double Thread*, obtain the special graces which adorn their conversation?

We can speak with more certainty of Miss Fowler's work as a painter of Methodist characteristics when we turn over the pages of her remarkable book, *Concerning Isabel Carnaby*. In her sketches of Mark Seaton, the Methodist supernumerary minister, his wife, and the home in Chayford, Miss Fowler has achieved one of her greatest successes. She has caught the tone which we think is peculiar to the higher type of Methodist domestic life. That tone existed, we know, in such a home as that of the Taylors of Ongar, and also in many of the families which, in the earlier part of the last century, represented the quietness, the intelligence, the culture, and the devoutness of the 'Old Dissent.' Still every 'child of the Methodist manse' will eagerly admit

that Miss Fowler has stirred in him the undying memories of a sacred past. We do not know who sat to Miss Fowler as the model for Mark Seaton, but we can testify that such men have lived and still exist. Mrs. Seaton, who is described with that delicacy of touch which marks Miss Fowler's highest work, is an easily recognized type. We cannot refrain from reproducing the description of the experiences of the children in the Chayford home.

'Paul and Joanna Seaton were brought up in the good old Methodist style, and learned to take life seriously. . . . They were early taught by their father that the only two things of importance in this life are salvation and education; likewise, that the verb To Be is of infinite moment—the verb To Do of great weight—and the verb To Have of no significance at all. Therefore, whatever faults and failings they might suffer from in after-life, there was no possibility of the little Seatons becoming vulgar. . . .

'At Chayford Paul and Joanna spent three of the interminable years of childhood; and Chayford chapel was ever afterwards associated in their minds with all that is sacred and holy. It was there that they had first touched the fringe of the Unseen, and caught glimpses of life's deeper meanings; it was there that they had sung the old-fashioned hymns to the old-fashioned tunes, and had felt as if they themselves were somehow one with the white-robed multitude, which no man can number, singing the song which the angels cannot learn. Then the hearts of the children were filled with joy, and their eyes with tears, and a strange thrill ran through the whole of their being. They did not understand why they felt so gloriously happy and yet wanted to cry; for they were then too young to know that earth, and probably heaven, has nothing better to offer us than that same thrill which runs through us when we catch fleeting glimpses of the Beautiful and the True, and rise superior for the time being to all that is sordid and cowardly and mean. For the moment we are "pure in heart"; and therefore, either through the interpretation of art or the revelation of nature, either in the loyalty

of a great people or in the love on a familiar face, we "see God."

The severest test to which Miss Fowler subjects Isabel Carnaby is to bring her from the atmosphere of London Society into the light of the Chayford home. The way in which she appreciates the refinement and spiritual elevation which reigned in the modest dwelling of the Methodist supernumerary minister is a revelation of the essential goodness of her own character. Nor does she miss her reward. In the Chayford chapel she listens to the singing of 'There is a land of pure delight,' and she feels the 'thrill' which comes to us when, for a few moments, we rise above 'all that is sordid and cowardly and mean.'

We lay aside the books that have occupied our attention with mingled feelings. We cannot refrain from expressing our regret that Mr. Quiller-Couch has lifted the veil that covered a hidden tragedy; but no such feeling rises within us when we recall the incidents which Miss Braddon and Miss Fowler have so sympathetically described. We are conscious that they have pointed out some of the foibles and the defects of Methodism. By doing so they have rendered us a service. But they have laid us under a greater obligation by reminding us of the ideals of our fathers, and of the great mission to which we must throughout all coming time be true.

JOHN S. SIMON.

ST. PAUL'S PLACE IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY.

Jesus Christus und Paulus. Von D. PAUL FEINE, Professor
der evangelischen Theologie in Wien. (Leipzig. 1902.)

THE attack on Paul's apostolic authority by the early Judaizers has a remarkable parallel in modern days. As the Judaizers contended that Paul's rejection of Jewish ceremonialism was his own idea, and had no sanction from Christ, so a certain section of modern Rationalists hold that the central doctrines of Christian faith are unauthorized additions of Paul. The doctrines of Christ's divinity and propitiatory work, which were the heart of Paul's teaching, have been the heart of the Church's teaching from the first. That Paul held them is no longer denied as formerly. But, in teaching them, Paul, it is said, only speaks for himself. They do not come from Christ. We are no more committed to them than to the teaching of any subsequent Church Father, or Doctor. The only obligatory doctrine is what can be shown to have come from Christ's own lips; and how this is reduced to very narrow limits we need not say. This new theory about Paul is part of a larger scheme to break up the unity of the New Testament, and abolish the immemorial distinction between it and later Christian literature. What such a scheme involves is obvious. The first question on which the early Church made up its mind was the limit of the authoritative Christian documents, and the question was settled with a practical unanimity, which has been maintained ever since. The controversy about one or two books is of little consequence. Now an entirely new basis is proposed. The new version given of Paul's position is not the least considerable part of the theory. One writer, in an essay on the teaching of Jesus and Paul, classes them

together as 'the two men.' The arrangement of Harnack's celebrated lectures on *The Essence of Christianity* is significant. First, he reduces 'the Gospel' to three points—the Kingdom of God, the Fatherhood of God, and the Higher Righteousness. Then, after discussing the relation of the Gospel to various historical powers and ideas, he proceeds to consider the course of the Gospel in history; and the Gospel in 'the Apostolic Age,' in which Paul's teaching is included, is placed on a level with the Gospel in subsequent ages, i.e. with the early Catholic, Roman, Greek, and Protestant interpretations—a sufficiently plain indication of the drift of the new doctrine.

Great stress is laid on the statement that Paul, rather than Christ, is the author and founder of current Christian doctrine. There is, of course, a measure of truth in the contention. Paul was pre-eminently the theological expositor of the Gospel. He draws forth the meaning of the Gospel facts at length. If he did so without call or authority, if he introduced foreign elements, we can only repudiate his teaching as we are advised to do. But the position of the Church from the beginning has been that he did nothing of the kind. The facts of his call and authority are part of the original records. The foisting in of novel fancies is in modern days. The New Testament books form an organic unity and refuse to be separated. The Gospels anticipate and require the fuller exposition of the Epistles, the Epistles are a development of germ-ideas in the Gospels. The antithesis set up between 'the Gospel' and the apostolic writings is as artificial and unreal as the result is jejune and barren. We as little dispute Paul's absolute dependence on Christ as he himself did. But this dependence did not prevent his claiming full authority as an apostle of Christ. If he was mistaken, he was fatally mistaken; we fail to see how he can be trusted in anything. If he was right, his teaching is as much Christ's teaching as the contents of the Gospels. 'The Gospel' covers a larger area than our modern teachers would have us think. Augustine's saying that the New Testament is latent in the Old, and the Old

is opened in the New, describes the relation of the Gospels and the Epistles.

Dr. Feine's exhaustive study is one of many replies to the attack on Paul. The author, who is Protestant Professor at Vienna, is almost excessive in detailed discussion of opposing theories. We could dispense with a chapter against the notion that Mark's Gospel is practically a romance founded on Paul's writings. A few points in the author's exegesis are also open to question. But as a whole his work is a masterly defence of St. Paul and the Christian faith. Christ and Paul are seen to interpenetrate, Gospel and Epistle to interlace, at every point. To destroy one is to destroy both. As Paley, in his *Horae Paulinae*, traced undesigned coincidences in historical facts between the Acts and Epistles, so Dr. Feine traces undesigned harmonies in doctrine between Gospel and Epistle. The interpenetration of thought is the more impressive when Paul's historical relation to Christ is remembered. He was not one of the Twelve. It is altogether unlikely that he ever saw Christ in the flesh; for, if he ever did, the fact must have come out somewhere in his writings. His Epistles are anterior to the Gospels in time. If he borrowed from any Gospel, it can only have been from an oral Gospel, of which we know nothing certain. If there are few allusions to facts of Christ's life, we must remember that Paul's chief interest lay in the field of doctrine. His mission was not to relate but to interpret history; and the interpreter is as necessary as the narrator. Facts, like words, are to us what their meanings are. It should be said that the author makes little or no use of the Fourth Gospel and the Pastoral Epistles, for obvious reasons, although he himself has no doubt of the Johannine authorship of the former.

We mention at once a crucial instance. The doctrine of expiation is one of the most hotly opposed. Is it, as is alleged, to be assigned to Paul and regarded as drawn from his Jewish stock of ideas, or is it an elaboration of Gospel teaching? That it is a pivot in Paul's system is admitted by all. Even Harnack writes: 'It is one of the most certain

historical facts that the Apostle Paul was not the first to push the significance of the death of Christ and the significance of His Resurrection into the foreground, but that in this confession he stood altogether on the ground of the primitive Church.' We might then ask, in passing, how not merely Paul, but the whole of the first Christian Church, could be mistaken on so vital a point? Must they not have known the mind of the Master? As the decision whether Paul's doctrine rests on Christ's teaching depends mainly on two passages, Matt. xx. 28 and xxvi. 28 (also Mark), the author discusses them at length, as Dr. Denney also does in his work, *The Death of Christ* (ch. 1). The utmost efforts are put forth on the opposite side to get rid of these testimonies. The opposing interpretations of Hollmann, Wrede, Wendt, Ritschl, always impress us as far-fetched in the extreme; some are not even intelligible. We can only quote the result of Feine's long discussion. 'The idea of expiation lies in the saying about the Ransom, and no exegesis can set it aside save by evading the natural sense.' 'The idea of expiation, which to-day appears absurd to so many, is not a peculiarity of later Judaism, which the Apostle Paul introduced into Christian theology, but belongs to the inalienable beliefs of humanity running through all nations and ages.'

In order to illustrate the extent to which the thought of Christ broods over the apostle's writings, we should need to quote a large part of those writings. His heart is taken completely captive by the love, the humility, the gentleness, the pity of his Lord. Christ is to him the object of faith, the theme of preaching, the goal of effort; and this not merely as to the central facts of His death and resurrection, but as to the whole of His life and work. It is true that Paul's Christ is not the earthly Christ, the Christ in the flesh. We could not reconstruct the Gospel life from the apostle's writings. We had almost said, it is a higher Christ that Paul saw—the heavenly, glorified Christ; an ideal Christ, and yet a Christ that is most real. He reveals to us the very soul and spirit of the Saviour, not the outer but the inner Saviour, the perfect Son of God and Son of Man in one.

'To the apostle the object of faith, the giver of all salvation, is the whole Christ, nothing more and nothing less.' As we often say that, if we had the Synoptics without the Fourth Gospel, our knowledge of Christ would be greatly diminished, so we may say that, if we had all the Gospels without Paul's Epistles, we should know much less of Christ. The most cursory examination will show how the thought of Christ possessed him completely. Nearly every clause in the great psalm of love (1 Cor. xiii.) suggests the figure of Christ. The sufferings of Christians are described as Christ's sufferings. It is significant that the word for love, *ἀγάπη*, is peculiarly biblical. It occurs in the LXX. version, but only reaches its height of meaning in Paul and John, and is chiefly used of the love of Christ and God (see Cremer's Lexicon). 'Paul, and after him John, have comprised in this word what was the deepest experience of their Christian state' (Feine). Christ's love to Paul is love which passes knowledge. Dr. Feine thinks that the reason why the words *διακονία*, *διακονεῖν* are used so often by Paul to denote Christian service is the occurrence of the term in Matt. xx. 28—a most probable explanation. He prays that God will direct the hearts of the Thessalonians into 'the patience of Christ.' 'Augustine discovered afresh the humility of Christ, and attached himself in his faith to the lowly Son of God, Bernard of Clairvaux lost himself in Christ's sufferings, Francis of Assisi in Christ's poverty; but only the combination of these different rays of love yield the unity of Christ's character, which lived in the soul of the apostle.' In short, to Paul Christ is the Alpha and Omega of all Christian life and joy. 'Because Paul did not know Christ as the Messiah on earth, but as the heavenly Son of God, who gave him the same life that He Himself had, his conception of Christ constantly passes over into mysticism and intuition, rises again to sheer inaccessible heights of religious contemplation, and sinks abruptly into the relation of immanence. Hence it is often hard to discern the fixed outlines of an historical personality in his conception of Christ. Christ is to him not only a person but also a principle, but He

is far more the first than the second. Paul, the herald of Christian freedom, the apostle who disclaims subjection to all men, knows that he is unconditionally dependent on Christ. Not he speaks, but Christ speaks through him; not he is the mighty preacher of the Gospel, but the power of Christ fills and sustains his preaching. His life on earth is already Christ; to be with Christ is the great longing of his heart.' Our author adds another significant remark: 'In the conflict of Paul with legal Jewish Christianity we never find the reproach that the apostle ascribes too lofty predicates to Christ.' His belief about Christ and that of the Church were the same.

Yet, with all the apostle's dependence on his Master, a clear strain of independence is discernible in relation to men. He is under law to Christ, but to no one else (Gal. v. 1). While he refers to directions of Christ (1 Cor. ix. 14), he does not take them as rigidly binding Christians in the details of practice. He is not constantly appealing to verbal commands of Christ. Rather he speaks like one who has assimilated his Master's teaching, and speaks out of the fullness of truth which he has made his own. The certainty he has in presence of the first apostles that his preaching of Christ is right can only spring from the fact that he was 'well acquainted with the historical teaching of the historical Christ.' 'He must have known that no positive utterances of Jesus could be produced against the view of the Gospel peculiar to himself. Else he would always have been exposed to the danger that a saying of Jesus might be forthcoming from the field unknown to him, and the whole fabric of his theology would have fallen to pieces.' He does not even appeal to sayings of Christ which would have been relevant to cases before him. Dr. Feine quotes several instances. Paul's contest with the Judaizers has points in common with the Lord's conflict with Pharisaism; yet Paul does not mention the parallel. He makes no reference in his discussions of the law to Christ's sayings on the subject. He might have supported his doctrine of justification, faith, prayer by Christ's authority, but he does not. His doctrine

of the Spirit is a continuation of Christ's teaching, but this is not dwelt on. The exhortation to Christians to mortify their members upon earth reminds us forcibly of the sayings about plucking out the eye and cutting off the hand. 'The essential matter in which Paul is absolutely dependent on Christ is not a sum of doctrines or traditions, but the spark of life transmitted from Master to disciple. The profound power of Paul's writings lies in the force of his Christian personality, which is rooted in a life that impresses us also with its reality. And this took its beginning from the life of Jesus. By his innate capacity for seeing truth as a vast unity, Paul, laid hold of by Christ, grasped the spirit of Jesus' work, and laboured to reproduce Christ's life in his own life.' Our author reminds us that in Jesus knowledge and action form a unity. The second does not, as in us, lag behind the first, and the first is ever at its highest. The ideal is incarnated in real life. Being and knowing are one. This Paul saw and understood.

The next step is to exhibit the identity of Paul's doctrine with Christ's in detail, and this is done with great fullness and ability. The comparison involves no less than a description of Pauline theology and Christ's Synoptic teaching. The addition of the Fourth Gospel would have greatly increased the material available under each head; but to have included it would have vitiated the argument for those who question the Johannine authorship. The matter is arranged under twelve heads: The Conception of God, The Kingdom of God, The Consummation of Salvation, The Attitude to the Goods of this World, The Son of Man, The Supper, Baptism, The Attitude to the Law and Judaism, Justification, Basis of Paul's Doctrine of the Spirit, Discipleship to Jesus, Historical Data from the Life of Jesus. These subjects cover the whole ground. It would be hard to find anything in the Synoptic teaching and in Paul that is not used under one or another head. The principal studies are very masterly. Some of the chapters, as the one on The Supper, devote much attention to theories of little interest to us.

A comparison of the attitude of Christ and Paul respec-

tively to the ancient law clearly brings out their identity. In Matt. v. 17 Christ declared Himself a Fulfiller of the Law, not a Destroyer. Paul says just the same of himself (Rom. iii. 31): 'We do not make the law of none effect; we establish it!' Christ came to realize the end for which the law was given at first, as it was not and could not be realized before. The new covenant which He introduces is the perfecting of the old one, the fulfilment of the ideal which lay in the heart of the old one. The whole of the Sermon on the Mount is a commentary on the better righteousness of Matt. v. 20. This righteousness is expounded in relation to the commands of the Old Testament, to Jewish externalism, to the things of this world, to our neighbour, and is summed up in the twofold law of love to God and man. 'Only from the time of Jesus do these two precepts rule all religious ethics; previously they were not so united and put at the head.' The fulfilment which Christ brings is indeed an abolishing, but an abolishing of the imperfect, limited form, and an establishing of the spiritual, ideal purpose. Both in principle and detail Paul is one with Christ. In Gal. vi. 2, 'bearing one another's burdens' is a fulfilling of the law of Christ. The language of the Beatitudes, the command to love our enemies and persecutors, the description of Christians as lights in the world, the warnings against worldly care, find striking echoes in the Epistles. There is no express reference in the latter to the Lord's Prayer, but the substance of the several petitions is found there. The new righteousness is far stricter than the old. But in Matt. xi. 28 Christ presents Himself as the Giver, the source of the power necessary to fulfilment. Men are to learn meekness and lowliness from Him. It may be noted that the very words used by Christ in the great invitation are found together in Col. iii. 12, where Paul exhorts to the imitation of Christ ('humility, meekness'). Love, which is supreme in Christ's scale of virtue, is supreme also in Paul's (1 Cor. xiii. 13).

Christ speaks of the Pharisees as 'blind leaders of the blind' (Matt. xv. 14). Paul uses similar language of unbeliev-

ing Jews (Rom. ii. 19; 2 Cor. iii. 14). Both condemn the Pharisees for the contradiction between their teaching and practice (Matt. xxiii.; Rom. ii. 19). Paul's teaching about things clean and unclean in Rom. xiv. 14, 20, Col. ii. 21 f., is exactly the same as Christ's in Matt. xv. 11 ff., the points in common being very numerous. Here also Christ and Paul take the same position towards Jewish teaching. The teaching, again, about marriage relations in 1 Cor. vii. 10 f. is in the line of Mark x. 9. There is probably a similar reference in Eph. v. 28 ff. to Matt. xix. 5 f. Both Christ and Paul refer to the killing of the Messiah as the final crime of the Jewish nation (1 Thess. ii. 15; Matt. xxiii. 31, xxi. 37). There is also a striking parallel between 1 Cor. i. 19 ff. and Matt. xi. 25-7. The knowledge of the Father mentioned by Christ is the knowledge which the apostle represents as the goal of Christian life (see especially Colossians and Ephesians). As the Roman Epistle describes the Gospel as a realizing of the divine righteousness, so the Corinthian Epistle pictures it to the Greeks as the divine wisdom which puts to shame all human wisdom. As Jesus thanked God that He had hidden this wisdom from the wise and prudent and revealed it to babes, so the apostle says that the wise and mighty are passed by and the despised and weak chosen. 1 Cor. ii. 6-16 is an unfolding of Matt. xi. 27, such as was only possible when Christ's course was finished. Dr. Feine instances remarkable verbal coincidences between the passages (p. 265). The analogy is so close that some writers actually argue that the Gospel is based on the Epistle. Paul is said to be the original along with the Book of Sirach. A wilder fancy is inconceivable. Who can be imagined equal to such a creation? 'What human spirit was able to weld these diverse ingredients into a unity so wonderful and compact? And how strange that these words so exactly fit what Jesus brought! We must perforce feel the greatest admiration for the man who produced a picture of Jesus so thoroughly suiting the historical situation, unless we found it more reasonable to regard the Saviour's call as a saying of the One, who could so speak, about Himself.' Holtzmann

also holds it undeniable that the Gospel passage has deeply influenced the apostle.

Christ's doctrine of God is not abstract and metaphysical, but practical, being intimately connected at every point with His mission as Saviour. He assumes, indeed, the Old Testament doctrine of God's infinite majesty, but His own work is to make known God's purpose of salvation. The power, holiness, and love of God, and especially the latter, are emphasized under this aspect. His preaching of the Kingdom of God is simply the preaching of salvation in another form. God's greatest act of love is seen in His own mission to establish that kingdom, and the kingdom is already present in all its powers in His own person. The supremacy of love is implied in the title Father used of God from the first (Luke ii. 49). The majesty and grace are combined in the twofold address to God in Matt. xi. 25: 'Father, Lord of heaven and earth.' God's almighty power is exhibited chiefly in His care for the good. God's holiness is revealed in contrast with human sin. That sin made Christ's death necessary—a necessity which early became clear to Christ, and grew ever clearer. 'The holy God can hold no fellowship with sin, but God's love finds ways and means, by rendering to the divine holiness what is due to it, to secure its final universal triumph.' 'If humanity was without God, nay, at enmity with God, it was the task of the Messiah to open a free path for the reign of God's love. Jesus saw the solution of this problem in His atoning death.' Our author adds: 'What Jesus says of Himself in Matt. xi. 27, cannot be fully understood without taking into account also His essential metaphysical equality with God.'

Paul's doctrine of God is based on that of Jesus. 'In all decisive points he holds the same conception of God as his Master.' The differences arise from the fact that Christ's complete life and work lie behind Paul. It was an immense advance for the 'former Pharisee' to set God as Father in the centre of his idea of God, as he everywhere does. 'God is Father in the full sense for Jesus, and, through Christ, the Lord for Christians.' God is spoken of as the Father of

Christians thirty-two times, including the Pastorals thirty-five times. God's love is nearly related in Paul to God's holiness. This underlies the central significance assigned by Paul to the atoning death. Christians are sanctified through Christ, in Christ Jesus; the Spirit given to them is the Holy Spirit; holiness is the end of God's dealings with men (1 Thess. v. 23). But it is characteristic of the former Pharisee that, in treating of Judaism, he substitutes righteousness for holiness. 'In Rom. iii. 21 ff. Christ's atoning work appears as a compact between God's love and God's judicial righteousness in such a way that, in Christ's expiatory suffering, satisfaction is made to the divine righteousness, while the predominant thought is the display of God's love, God having provided a means by which He is able to let grace prevail over judgment.'

Two ideas which Paul carries to a great height are those of God's sovereignty and God's grace. There are passages which, taken by themselves, would make God the sole agent in man's salvation, man being entirely passive. Paul's way of magnifying a particular aspect of truth is to isolate it from everything else; the limitations must be sought elsewhere. In the same way the hardening of man is described as God's work. Dr. Feine sees in this a 'remnant' of Paul's old Pharisaic life. He also speaks of the relation of Christ's death to judicial righteousness in similar terms—an interpretation which we take leave to doubt. No doubt, Paul is pre-eminently the apostle of Grace. The word in his hands acquired a richer meaning and wider range. It is the key to all God's dealings with man. Grace spares sinners and makes saints. It is the fountain whence every gift of redemption comes. Everywhere Paul sees grace working and reigning. Rom. v. 15-21 is a great eulogium on grace, as 1 Cor. xiii. is on love. How Paul delights in magnifying God's 'good pleasure' (Eph. i. 5, 9; Gal. i. 15; 1 Cor. i. 21; Col. i. 19); God's 'kindness and philanthropy' (Tit. iii. 4). 'By grace ye have been saved through faith.' Paul, it is true, takes a dark view of the power and reign of sin in the world. Dr. Feine writes as if Paul scarcely admitted the

presence of grace in the world before the Gospel. Paul certainly makes a sharp distinction between the two periods. Christ also draws a dark picture of sin, although He does not go into detail as Paul does. Still, as our author points out, Paul never fails to use the world's sin as a background against which grace shines with greater splendour (Rom. v. 20 f.). 'God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all' (Rom. xi. 32).

No statement of Paul's doctrine of God would be complete without reference, however brief, to his view of Christ. Whether he calls Christ God or not, there is no divine action in nature, providence, or grace which he does not ascribe to Him from creation to judgement. He applies to Christ sayings which in the Old Testament treat of God (2 Thess. i. 8 f., 12; 1 Cor. i. 31, ii. 16, x. 22, &c.). One of the most usual designations is Lord, with which the LXX. generally translate Jehovah. It is not always clear whether it refers to Christ or God, and in 1 Cor. x. refers to both indifferently. Christians are described as 'those who call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. i. 2). The day of the Lord has become His day (1 Thess. v. 2). In the openings of the Epistles His grace is invoked like God's. The Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God or Christ. The love of God and love of Christ are the same. The Christian glories in God and in Christ (Rom. v. 11; 1 Cor. i. 31). In Rom. xiv. 6-12; 2 Cor. v. 20, observe how God and Christ interchange. Yet Paul does not forget his monotheism. A certain subordination of the Son is often stated or implied. All Christ's work is traced back finally to God (Rom. iii. 25; Col. i. 19 f.). He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation. It was God's good pleasure that the fullness of the Godhead should dwell in Him. According to Phil. ii. 9-11, it was God who exalted Christ, giving Him a name above every name, and making Him Lord. The confession, 'Jesus Christ is Lord,' is a confession to God's glory. Christ's saving work is ordained by God to His glory, that God's power may be gloriously manifested in Christ (Eph. i. 6-19 ff.). The end to which everything tends

is 'that ye may be filled unto the whole fullness of God' (Eph. iii. 19). 'If, despite so strict a monotheism, the apostle describes Christ's rule as divine, and places Christ directly alongside God, this may be taken as proof of the extraordinary effect which proceeded from the exalted Christ upon the apostle, and no less of the impression made on Paul by the historical life of Jesus.' After this the pre-existence of Christ would only appear natural to Paul. No independent place is assigned to it. It is rather assumed as needing no proof. 'It is the idea of salvation which fills the soul of the apostle, and to which he subordinates the entire substance of his thought. Paul was not a religious philosopher, but an apostle and theologian. Hence it is self-evident to him that He in whom the fullness of the Godhead dwells bodily, existed from eternity in essential unity with God.'

A good criterion of the relation of Paul to the Synoptics is supplied by the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. xi. 23-6. The parallel accounts are Matt. xxvi. 26-9; Mark xiv. 22-5; Luke xxii. 15-20. John makes no reference to the subject beyond his general teaching in chapter vi. Paul says that he received the account 'from the Lord' and 'delivered' it to the churches. The ordinance was observed then in his day as it has been ever since. It was not instituted by the apostles, but by the Lord. If the four accounts are compared, it will be seen that they agree in all essentials. In all, the ordinance is the commemoration of a sacrifice, and a sacrifice that is the seal of a covenant between God and man. The covenant is illustrated by Exod. xxiv. 3-8, 'This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you.' The covenant is 'new' in its contents, which are prophetically described in Jer. xxxi. 34. The vicarious element in all four cases points to the suffering Servant of the Lord in Isa. liii. 11-2. Dr. Feine, like a good Lutheran, contends stiffly that the very body and blood of Christ are partaken of by believing recipients, and asserts that all the four accounts teach this, supporting the interpretation by the

views of early Christian writers. The fine points of controversy thus raised do not concern our immediate subject. His last words on the question are: 'The real difficulty is, how Jesus could make bread and wine the representatives of His body delivered up to death; how He could annex the blessing of His sacrificial death to the elements named; and how He could found a sacred feast (*Kultmah!*) of His Church which should contain the same blessing until His coming again. But this is His secret. It has not pleased Him to lift the veil for us. But faith in the power of His word can overcome all the difficulties involved.' We may give an instance of the wanton perversity of some objectors. Dr. Wrede argues against the genuineness of the reference to the covenant, because, although found in all four accounts, it is only mentioned in association with the wine, not with the bread. As one form runs, 'This is My body,' the other should run, 'This is My blood,' and there stop. That is, Jesus should say nothing in explanation of the act, should leave the bare fact as an enigma to future ages. Besides, in Exod. xxiv. it is the sacrificial blood which is the instrument of the covenant. Others argue against the command to repeat the ordinance, because it is found only in Luke and Paul. Why it should be assumed that all the accounts of the same facts must enumerate all the particulars, that no variation must be allowed according to the standpoint and purpose of different writers, it is hard to see. Causes which depend on 'logomachies' (1 Tim. vi. 4) are in dire straits. 'One distrusts the critical methods according to which we must subtract all extra particulars in the several accounts, and by critical sifting get at a residuum that will bear the strictest testing. How can an account from which everything giving life and colour to an incident has been cut off, lay claim to unreserved confidence? We do not doubt that, in the story of the paralytic in the three Synoptics, the bearers carried the sick man to the roof, uncovered it, and let down the man at the feet of Jesus, although Matthew says nothing of this. The same holds good of other narratives, which Mark details more fully than Matthew.'

The doctrine of Justification by Faith alone is peculiarly identified with St. Paul. A little reflection will show that all that belongs to the apostle is the fully developed expression; the grounds of the doctrine are all found in Christ's teaching. Justification is forgiveness under a certain aspect; the ground is Christ's atoning death; the source is grace, to the exclusion of merit and good works in man; the means is faith. All these elements are present in Christ's teaching. He everywhere makes faith in Himself the condition of salvation; His death is 'for the remission of sins'; repentance for sin, as well as faith, is preached to all; He invites all to come to Him for rest; He gave Himself a ransom for all. Here we have the substance of all that Paul said on the subject. 'The essential contents of the doctrine go back to Jesus Himself. Paul was not the first to set up Christ's cross as the only banner of salvation; Jesus already spoke of His death as necessary to salvation.' He made men's destiny dependent on their relation to Himself (Matt. xvi. 24). In presence of such passages as Luke xix. 10, the parable of the Pharisee and Publican, the Prodigal Son, there can be no question of merit in man as a title to forgiveness. The same is true of the inward renewal in righteousness which coincides in time with forgiveness. Even assuming good predispositions in man before conversion, these can only be ascribed to grace. The doctrine of man's universal sinfulness and need of salvation is as much a part of Christ's teaching as of Paul's; and this being so, the way and the conditions of salvation from this state cannot be different. After the atonement has been accomplished on the Cross and sealed in the Resurrection, Paul sums up and formulates the truth as a whole. If, according to him, salvation is all of grace, it is none the less so according to Christ, as the passages referred to above prove. Faith is not more to Paul than to Christ. Paul might have found abundance of support for his teaching in Christ's; but, as we have seen, this was not his way. Nor was it necessary. The early Church trusted him, whether modern writers do so or not. Rabbis might need

to rely on great authorities. Apostles, like their Lord and Master (Matt. vii. 29), took another course.

Again, St. Paul has a very rich and definite conception of the Holy Spirit as the agent in the new spiritual life of man. We need only refer to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians, especially passages like Rom. viii.; Gal. v. 22. For the roots of this line of teaching we must go back to Christ's words. Christ was filled with the Spirit at His baptism (Mark i. 10; Luke iv. 18). In the power of the Spirit He does His mighty works (Matt. xii. 28). The reference to the sin against the Holy Spirit is significant (Mark iii. 28). His gift to the disciples of the power to expel devils is a gift of the Spirit to them (Matt. x. 1). Still the full gift of the Spirit was only promised for the time after the Resurrection (Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 5; Matt. x. 19). He teaches His disciples to ask for the Holy Spirit (Luke xi. 13). (We do not here refer to John xiv.-xvi.) The promise in Matt. x. 19, 'It shall be given you what ye shall speak,' is well illustrated in Eph. vi. 19, 'that utterance may be given me in the opening of my mouth.' According both to Jesus and Paul, the new life of God, alike in the individual and the community, is a strictly supernatural life, a victory of God's Kingdom over Satan's. Note the saying about the strong man armed (Matt. xii. 29); Satan falling from heaven (Luke x. 17); the implanting of a new principle of life in man (Matt. vi. 33). The moral of the casting out of devils is the same. The destruction of Satan's power over the body is the symbol of the destruction of his power over the soul. How similar the description of Paul, 'Wrestling against spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places' (Eph. vi. 12); and again, the treading of Satan under the feet of Christians (Rom. xvi. 20). There is no need to seek direct evidence that Paul founds on Christ. The picture 'is so original that Paul can only have taken it from Jesus.'

To take another side of truth: Christ speaks of His Kingdom as present as well as future; the future consummation is the development of present blessings. Paul everywhere does the same. To him Christ and the Spirit are

inseparable; wherever one is, the other is (Rom. viii. 9-11); and Christ is in every Christian as every Christian is in Christ. A Christian is one who imitates Christ, puts on Christ. Paul describes God's Kingdom as 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' and these are found in every believer. The great events of Christ's life—death, resurrection, ascension—are repeated ethically in the Christian life (Rom. vi. 11; Col. iii. 1). Thus not only the death but the whole life of Christ has present redemptive meaning and power for the Christian. 'The Apostolic Church, and pre-eminently the Apostle Paul, drew their dominant impulses from the life of the Lord, and that life was felt to be directly divine. A creative force goes forth from His person into His disciples, raising them to a divine elevation, while making the human in them more individual. The Spirit of Christ's life seizes them and enables them to form a life that takes its shape from the life of Jesus Christ, and exhibits this similarity in the clearest way. This Spirit implants a new principle in man, superseding his former activities. In this respect Paul's doctrine does not differ from that of Jesus, but is only the development of what is already given in the religious conceptions of Jesus.' 'He that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit' (1 Cor. vi. 17). Life proceeds from person to person. The secret of the Christian life is that Christ's personal life works on believers and becomes theirs (Gal. ii. 20).

Some historical notes from Christ's earthly life may be mentioned (Feine, p. 295). Paul refers to the Lord's brethren (1 Cor. ix. 5), naming James (Gal. i. 19). He mentions the Twelve (1 Cor. xv. 5), and Peter among the chief (Gal. ii. 7), John (Gal. ii. 9). As he himself possessed miraculous power (2 Cor. xii. 12), he must have believed the same of Christ. The prayer on the cross (Matt. xxvii. 46) is taken from Ps. xxii. In 2 Tim. iv. 16-8 words are taken from the same Psalm (vv. 19-21). Christ's burial and resurrection are referred to (1 Cor. xv. 4), also His glorified body (xv. 49; Phil. iii. 21). He is seated at God's right hand (Rom. viii. 34), whence He will return to judge and reign (Phil. iii. 20).

We have said enough to indicate the wealth of evidence

on which the Church's faith in the unity of the New Testament has always rested. The evidence is all the more impressive, as it is drawn from the contents of the New Testament itself and is indirect and circumstantial. Its cumulative character amply makes up for its indirectness. The air of frankness and unreserve in a witness under the fire of cross-examination is the best sign of truth. Another sign is when the cross-examiner stoops to unfairness and violence. There is abundance of this in modern Rationalist controversy. When the key of the Epistles is rejected, the Gospels become an insoluble problem. Locks that cannot be opened must be picked or forced; knots that cannot be untied must be cut. Such are the methods applied to Gospel passages against which no witness can be brought from without or within. 'Many bare false witness against Him, and their witness agreed not together.' The trial of the witnesses is going on, and the verdict will be forthcoming. Extreme criticism reminds us of the allegorizing of early and mediæval days.

JOHN S. BANKS.

RECENT WORK ON GREEK RELIGION.

1. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.* By JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D., Fellow and Lecturer of Newnham College, Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press, 1903. Pp. xxii, 640.)
2. *The Early Age of Greece.* By W. RIDGEWAY, M.A., D.Litt., Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press. Vol. i. 1901, vol. ii. in the Press.)
3. 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak.' By A. B. COOK, M.A., Classical Lecturer at Queens' College, Cambridge, late Fellow of Trinity College. (*Classical Review*, xvii. 174-86, 268-78, 403-21; xviii. 75-89.)

SINCE Mr. Casaubon found his key to all the mythologies, the nature of which his biographer unfortunately withheld from our curiosity, the search has been kept going merrily, and Greek mythology in particular has quite a bunch of keys hanging up in every museum of curious antiquities. A generation ago mythology was a 'disease of language,' and the ingenious philologues of Max Müller's school ransacked the Sanskrit dictionary for convincing equations whereby to explain Greek gods. They had a great advantage over the less imaginative scholars of to-day, in that the absence of the required Sanskrit word mattered nothing to men who had plenary authority to make a new one when required. Science reeled with a debauch of solar myths, and a divinity who could not be explained as the sun or the dawn was only fit to be sent below stairs to keep company with the clouds or the drought which supplied the necessary foil. The fun of this particular fair has now sub-

sided for a good many years, there being no characters left in ancient or modern history to turn into solar myths—though, indeed, I gather from the learned pages of *God and my Neighbour* that the method is still thought good enough for an attack on Christianity. A sounder philology having slain very nearly every linguistic Greek-Sanskrit equation on which the Max Müller theories rested, a new school of linguistic investigators came on the stage, who found Semitic originals for a respectable proportion of Greek gods. The stupendous antiquity of Babylonian civilization exercises to this day a very natural fascination over inquirers in many fields, and it is quite premature to judge as yet how far this key will fit all the various locks into which it is successively thrust. But for Greek mythology, at all events, newer methods have put it aside. Comparative religion has developed along new lines since the appearance of *The Religion of the Semites* and *The Golden Bough*. The intense conservatism of religion is responsible for the survival in Hellas of innumerable cults and ceremonies, so foolish or so repulsive, or both, that we marvel to find them among a people which in intellectual development has been the pioneer of the world. On the application of anthropology to the problems of Greek religion there will be no hesitation in these days. Nor will any one cavil at the position taken by archaeology in the inquiry. To dethrone Greek literature from its first place among our sources may seem a bold step to take, but it very soon becomes clear that the vase paintings and votive offerings, the descriptions of local cult rituals, and similar material, afford us far better evidence of the religion of the average man than the speculations and intuitions of literary genius can possibly give. There will be less willingness in some quarters to receive evidence which depends upon a race-differentiation of the Hellenic tribes, involving the theory that the whole Olympian system was an importation from without.

But it is time to mention more specifically some of the new work which within the last year or two has done much to modify our views. First comes the great work of Pro-

fessor Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, the first volume of which was briefly described in this REVIEW (October 1901). The central thesis of the book is that Homer's Achaeans—the tall, fair-haired warrior race, which leaves such scanty traces of itself in the Greece of history—was in reality of northern origin. Upon the dark-haired 'Pelasgians,' who in prehistoric times inhabited Greece and the Levant and much of Italy, descended fierce hordes of Kelt or German invaders, who reduced the indigenous population to servitude. In the course of some centuries the physical type would be gradually lost as the numerical superiority of the Pelasgians asserted itself; and if the original invaders were warriors only, who found their wives in the women of the land, we can easily see how the native language and customs had an advantage against which the foreign elements could never make headway. Add to this that the brains of Greece were almost exclusively found in Attica and the kindred Ionic settlements, where Achaean blood was wholly absent, and the obliteration of the imported features from our general picture of Hellenism becomes easy to understand. But the Achaeans did not blend with the conquered race and leave them unaffected. Among their contributions to the common stock must be reckoned the Olympian Pantheon, or its most conspicuous members. In particular, Zeus is essentially from the north. That he was worshipped among the Germans is sufficiently witnessed by the name of the third day of our week. The old Latin *Diespiter* (of which *Iuppiter* was the vocative case) tells the same story as *Tuesday*. On Professor Ridgeway's theory, he would be the god of the Sabines, who played in Italy the same part that the Achaeans played in Greece. Far away in North-west India the same conquering race succeeded in leaving traces which can be seen to-day, but they never seem to have planted firmly the cult of their national deity, if we may judge by the faintness of the figure of *Dyaush pitā* in the Rigveda. In Persia, perhaps, they were more successful, if I interpret rightly the passage in which Herodotus describes the religion of the Persian people. When the historian says that they worshipped the vault of

heaven as Zeus, I take it that he was not merely substituting the Greek name for some native name of a supreme deity, but recognizing, quite correctly as it turns out, a Persian name which sounded like Zeus, being in fact the same name in a closely cognate language.

The example just given must suffice to show what possibilities in comparative religion may be drawn from Professor Ridgeway's fertile idea. I shall return to it later when I try to analyse in these new lights the constituent elements of Greek religion. Meanwhile let me note the remarkable confirmation which comes from the work of another distinguished Cambridge archaeologist, Miss Harrison, of Newnham College. The thesis of her *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* will form the main subject of this article; but I must state in advance that it tends to divorce the worship of the Olympians from the popular cults, which either left them alone or used their names to cover conceptions radically different in origin and character. Miss Harrison tells us that the evidence of two wholly distinct strata in Greek religion perplexed her till Professor Ridgeway's theory came in and made all clear. She avoids the temptation of completing the synthesis, but the readers of the two books can easily do it for themselves. The upper stratum of the religion, due essentially to the North European race, is anthropomorphic nature-worship; the lower, that of the southerners, is pure animism. The former, thanks to the commanding influence of Homer, dominates literature, but the latter prevails throughout in the lives and beliefs of the people. The application of this principle throughout will make the subject of interest not only to the students of Greek religion, important though that is beyond all non-Christian systems in its influence upon the modern world. If Greek religion as we see it is really due to a superposition of distinct cults and beliefs, we have in it a peculiarly favourable ground for studying what happens when a new religion is more or less forcibly introduced into a country which retains attachment to the old.

We pass to a more precise examination of the contents

of Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena*. It is unnecessary to say that she writes with authority, as one of the acknowledged leaders in archaeology. She writes, moreover, with lucid and forceful style, and, as her quotations from Greek poetry are always made in English verse (apparently her own, except where expressly signed), the book will continue to make excellent reading, even for the science graduates of Oxford under the new order. Miss Harrison's scholarship is above suspicion, but where the exact proof of a statement is in question one feels inclined to echo the *Athenaeum* reviewer's complaint as to the absence of the original text from the notes in all places where the author is not abnormally out of the way. I may as well exhaust at the outset what sacrifices to Momus I feel moved to make after reading this brilliant and absorbing book. Is it the survival of Max Müller's influence which makes it impossible for an inquirer into Greek religion to leave etymology alone? Certainly, the archaeologists have been extraordinarily busy lately with hammering on the philological last. My friend, Mr. A. B. Cook, in a series of amazingly learned and ingenious researches in the *Classical Review*, has been reeling off etymologies by the score, not many of which will stand the tests of up-to-date science. And Miss Harrison really seems as if she subscribed to the old doctrine, that etymology is a science in which the vowels matter nothing and the consonants very little. She quotes her authorities without discrimination of date; at least four times the worthy Vaniček stands as sufficient sponsor for etymologies which were current before the Deluge—an event which, in comparative philology, took place in the late 'seventies, though the news of it can hardly be said to have reached the general or even the classical public in England to the present day. Now and then Miss Harrison seems to etymologize on her own account, as in the 'nasalizing' of η (p. 405), or the histories of Dithyramb (p. 442), or the enigmatic bird *wals* (p. 305). I am afraid the reader must be warned that here we have only guess-work with no safeguard from science. My protest is not limited to this book,

but covers an exceedingly common feature in the most learned works of writers who have not studied the science of language.

Which ungracious task being accomplished, I gladly resume the position of disciple, to sketch the profoundly interesting results which Miss Harrison has derived from her own proper science of archaeology. I have already indicated the most noteworthy feature of the book—its shifting of the centre of gravity away from the literature. We naturally think of Homer as the earliest evidence for Greek religion. But there are many indications in Homer that we are not in the presence of primitive conditions. The poetry represents the climax of a long development, whose earlier stages are lost. The same is clearly true of the state of culture, which in some respects—notably the condition of woman—is markedly higher than at Athens six centuries later. That these variant cultures really belonged to distinct races is a theory which lies ready to hand. In Professor Ridgeway's view, the Achaean culture and religion descend from Northern Europe, where they have many analogues; and the bards, though of Pelasgian race, are court poets, who only by accident throw out a reference to things which did not concern their lords. The great writers of Athens, and most of all the pious and conservative Aeschylus, breathe a very different atmosphere. But even they cannot be treated as truly representative of the Pelasgian religion in its popular form. What picture of nineteenth-century religion in England would a scholar of the forty-third be able to draw from surviving works of Tennyson, Browning, Ruskin, and Matthew Arnold? The truer sources would be recognized perhaps in some lucky find of popular Sunday magazines, miscellaneous service-books of various Churches, and a heap of old prints which once adorned the cottage walls of some religious working men. The analogy, so far as it goes, may help us to see that the dull pages of the mythographers, the minute descriptions of ritual, and the innumerable vase paintings preserved in our museums, are the most fruitful evidence for the historian of Greek religion.

I wish we could add etymology, but I fear its powers are severely limited. Our forty-third century Max Müller would soon find that *Lord* originally meant 'loaf-keeper'; that *Easter* has cognates in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, with the meaning 'dawn'; and that *God* is perhaps the passive participle of a verb 'worship.' He would have to confess before long that these processes gave little help towards the understanding of religious ideas in an age removed by a millennium or two from the time when the words were first adapted. When, therefore, ingenious archaeologists tell us that *Poseidon* means 'Zeus in the water,' *Demeter* 'Grain-mother,' and *Quirites* 'Oak-men,' or that *Titan* is merely Zeus reduplicated, we have to reply, not merely that these etymologies (according to our present knowledge) are dubious or wrong, but also that their importance is very easily exaggerated if right. It is usage and not etymology which must determine the questions at issue.

With these preliminary generalities settled, let us try to draw a sketch of Greek religion in its main outlines, using the new lights as far as they serve us. The Olympians are not systematically discussed by Miss Harrison, and at present we can only prophetically make use of Professor Ridgeway's second volume, in which he will deal with them one by one. It is not necessary to suppose that all the Olympians have the same origin. The decidedly unquiet life which Zeus and Hera contrive to enjoy together, suggests by itself that their marriage resembles those to which crowned heads on earth have so often submitted; the king of the successful invaders legitimizes his throne by marrying a princess of the conquered race. To differentiate the northerners thoroughly from the gods of the Pelasgian autochthons will be easier, no doubt, when Professor Ridgeway has completed his argument, and in particular has interpreted for us the parts taken by the deities in the Trojan War. Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis are the chiefs of the Achaean Olympus, while Poseidon is the tribal god from whom the Pelasgian heroes claim descent. The invaders presumably fixed the general style of the heaven

into which a few aliens were privileged to rise. Their origin as impersonations of the higher nature-powers remains exceedingly clear. Zeus is, unfortunately, the only one whose evolution was complete before the wave of northern invasion divided itself for the several inundations of Italy, Epirus, and Western Asia. In his case, usage and etymology concur in fixing the shining sky as the source of his personality. For Apollo and Artemis the comparative method fails, but they are manifestly elemental powers, and in their origin wholly of the sky and the light. The worship of the Olympians was essentially one of prayer for blessing. They were not beings to be dreaded or shunned. Their sacrifices were, like the Hebrew peace-offerings, eucharistic feasts, in which the deity received through the vehicle of fire the best parts of the animal upon which the worshippers were feasting. The formula, *do ut des*, as Miss Harrison says, governs all offering made to them, in contrast to the *do ut abeas*, which describes the worship of the sombre and dreadful powers of the other order. It is easy to see how the Olympians lent themselves to the artistic sense of the Greek people. They were essentially things of beauty, free from any features of dread which could not but mar the perfection of conceptions originating in the underworld. The men who brought them, in whose likeness their divinities were naturally conceived, were men of the superb northern type, tall and fair and strong, and their flax-haired Apollo was naturally welcome to the appreciative genius of Attic art. But we feel, as we look at Greek religion in the historical period, that the Olympians are more admired than worshipped. Their names are standing at the head of every ritual, but the ritual is again and again seen to be altogether out of congruity with the character of the deity to whom it is nominally directed. It mattered little to the people what name was given to the service, for it had been entirely nameless hitherto. The primæval rites of harvest home, celebrating the return of the corn-spirit to heaven, to descend again when needed for the quickening of next year's crop, suffered no change when the corn-

mother received the name Demeter, and equally little when Christian teachers so easily persuaded the country folk of the sinfulness of an idolatry which was wholly escaped by celebrating the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. The Olympian religion was apparently victorious, just as Christianity was in many parts of Europe in later days. But in both cases the victory was often one of names and words alone: under new titles the old rites and the old beliefs survived unchanged, as they had survived from the primæval days of the very birth of religion.

Before passing on to the ideas which lay at the heart of the native Greek theology, I may pause on a form of northern religion which in some sense supplies a link between the two elements. There is a considerable mass of evidence to show that the sky-god Zeus was closely connected with the oak-tree. The cult of trees is very widespread: the Asherah of Israelite idolatry links itself with the English maypole as an obvious illustration of its universality, to which the three big volumes of *The Golden Bough* bear perpetual testimony. The exact nature of the link between sky and oak can only be fixed conjecturally, and there is no lack of choice between very different suggestions. I may quote one which was sent me last year in a letter by Dr. J. G. Frazer, whose authority naturally outweighs any other in a matter of this kind. He writes: 'The old Aryans living in oak-forests would make their fires of oak-wood, and would produce fire by the friction of oak against oak, or perhaps of oak against another wood. Seeing then that fire was a product of the oak, they would conclude that lightning was so too, and, observing that it came from the sky, they would further infer that there was somebody up aloft rubbing two oaken sticks against each other, till they flashed fire in the lightning. Thus they found their oak-god and their thunder-god united in one person in the sky as oak-god, thunder-god, and sky-god rolled into one. But the original partner of the firm, so to say, was the oak-god.' That the oak, the name of which produced a title for a thunder-god worshipped all across the north of Europe and

even down as far as India, produced a considerable amount of mythology in Greece and Italy, may be seen especially from the papers on 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak,' by Mr. A. B. Cook, referred to already. That sky and tree—the latter a tree which gave fruit for food to primitive man—should thus have been linked together in a worship of immemorial antiquity, seems to me a striking fact in connexion with St. Paul's declaration in Acts xiv. 17. The apostle surely never thought that the gift from heaven of rains and fruitful seasons could have led primitive man to the apprehension of God, in the Jewish or Christian sense. To worship the sky which gave the rain and the tree which bore the fruit was the natural inference men would take from the 'witness' God gave to Himself by His 'doing good'; and St. Paul may well have realized and been satisfied with this first step of man to the knowledge of his Father in heaven.¹

I pass on to the brief delineation of the southern, chthonian worship. It should be prefaced by a statement as to the views held in north and south respectively with regard to the state of the dead. Professor Ridgeway shows in his seventh chapter how the eschatology of primitive peoples is connected with their method of disposing of the dead. The Kelto-German people of Central Europe were at one with Homer's Achaeans in burning the dead, and holding that the spirit fled away to a distant dwelling as soon as the body had received its meed of fire. Whatever the dead man might need in that long home was sent with him on the wings of flame—wife (the Indian *Satt*), slaves, steed, weapons, clothes, and all manner of provision, according to his rank and importance. But, when once the fire was quenched and the ashes were gathered, there was nothing more to be done: as Tacitus says of the ancient Germans, it was for the women to bewail, for the men to remember the dead. It will be easily seen how powerful an influence this doctrine has upon the general character of the religion, which loses thereby the one element that conspicuously

¹ Cf. my *Two Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 53.

makes for *fear*. A religion which is largely wanting in the element of fear may take an important place in the evolution of religious ideas. It may develop adoration and prayer for blessing, it may contribute greatly to the realization of the might and the beneficence of the Deity, and stimulate the sense of joy in communion with Him. But it is a very imperfect preparation for the more solemn facts of life, for the realization of evil and of the need of purity. These things came not from the light-hearted nature-worships, but from those where the terror of the dead is upon the living. We cannot fail to see a providence in the course of history which blended in Hellas the two great types of religion, and so prepared the Greek medium through which the doctrines of Christianity were to go forth to the Western world.

Pelasgian religion, then, was essentially a religion of fear. The dead were buried, and their spirits continued to haunt the neighbourhood of the grave. If the dead man had been a powerful and beneficent ruler, it was exceedingly desirable to keep his spirit near to watch over his people still. This would be possible if his body were not removed, and if his shadowy existence were rekindled into a kind of life by pouring fresh blood into his tomb from time to time. But if the dead be malign, either from the persistence of his previous character or because he came to a violent end, he needs a great deal of appeasing. The doctrine suggested in Gen. iv. 10-11 exactly expresses the belief of the indigenous inhabitants of the opposite shore of the Eastern Mediterranean. The blood of a slain man cried out from the ground against the homicide, who was 'cursed from the ground,' and that for the killing itself rather than for the murder, which is the central thought in the Israelite story, charged as it is with ethical content. When Alcmaeon slew his mother Eriphyle, avenging his father's death, he could only be purified by taking refuge on soil which had risen to the light of day after the deed of blood was done. A similar explanation is given by Miss Harrison of Bellerophon's mysterious wandering on the Aelian Plain. The very fact

that this story appears in Homer shows us that essentially Pelasgian elements were mixed with the Achaean in the earliest days of which we have surviving monuments, and the admixture became more and more marked as time went on. As the Achaean element in the population relatively declined, the Pelasgian ideas gained the upper hand increasingly. In Aeschylus we find the theory that the fire does not banish the dead man's spirit, which is in the under world, and readily evoked by prayer and offering at the tomb. The ashes of Solon were scattered over the island of Salamis, that his spirit might guard the place he had won back for Athens: what in Thomas Fuller's words about the ashes of Wycliffe was a mere emblem, was for the Athenian of the sixth century a solemn belief. During the Peloponnesian War the Athenians were themselves practising cremation, but by this time they were entirely able to reconcile it with their own inherited views as to the destiny of the soul. They had learnt thus early, what Christianity took ages to learn and has only partly learnt to-day, that the treatment of the dead body has absolutely nothing to do with the future of the man himself. How persistent was this belief in the ghost haunting the tomb may be well seen from two illustrations of a late period. In the third volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* there is a will, dated 156 A.D., in which a certain Acusilaus provides that money from his estate shall go to furnish a feast which his slaves and freedmen shall celebrate yearly near his tomb on his birthday. 'The custom of sacrificing to the dead on that day may very well have been originally intended to bring about his re-birth,' Dr. Frazer writes me: in any case, it illustrates the firm belief still held in the reality of the obsession of the tomb. The other is a case of survival into Christian surroundings. In the collection of Greek inscriptions from the Aegaeon Islands, we find some forty Christian epitaphs from Thera, all of the type *ἄγγελος τοῦ δαίμονος*, 'Here is the angel of A. B.' One inscription, not from Thera, is more explicit: 'And whereas this tomb is full, I adjure you by the angel which hovers (*ἀφαιστώτα*) here, that no one ever dare to lay any one

herein.¹ The good people of Thera were no longer allowed to use the formula 'So-and-so deified (*ἀφηγάσεν*) his father,' &c.; but where the 'hero,' the canonized dead, was forbidden, the 'angel' or 'double' was all right, and the new name meant the same as the old for them.

Out of this cult of the dead, the 'heroes,' arose to a very large extent the Pantheon of Athens, so far as it lay outside the Olympian circle. The case of Heracles is especially instructive. Himself the typical hero—his very name quite possibly a derivative of the title, with form twisted by popular etymology into an echo at once of the goddess Hera and the common element seen in Sophocles, Pericles, &c.—he represents the ideal man, who comes very near to complete admission into the peerage of Olympus. But the mythology is full of 'heroes' whose original humanity is more obvious still—Theseus, Oedipus, Tiresias, Amphiaraus, Cadmus and Harmonia, to say nothing of the great names of the Trojan War. We call them heroes because of their achievements in life, the modern world being quite as convinced as the ancient that the man who can kill his fellow creatures on a sufficiently large scale has obviously earned a title to their enthusiastic admiration and gratitude. In Greek, of course, they were 'heroes' mostly for their puissance after death. Hero-shrines abounded everywhere. A sacred snake was the most characteristic emblem, if we may rightly call them emblems, when they evidently represented the spirit of the dead in a kind of incarnation. How these cults were regularized in many cases by an incomplete but apparently sufficient attachment to the Olympian names, is particularly well seen in Miss Harrison's account of the worship of Zeus Meilichios. At the feast of the Diasia, held at Athens about March 14, there was a holocaust of pigs to Meilichios, an under-world spirit figured in the form of a snake, whose name, 'the gentle,' was clearly given on the

¹ See further in *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1902, p. 519 f., and the context, for a discussion of this kind of 'angel' in the New Testament.

familiar euphemistic principle: if a deity is called by a nice name he is naturally bound to act up to it. Gradually the snake pictures on the votive tablets are replaced by human figures, and Meilichios becomes a cultus epithet of Zeus, a deity originally as far removed from this chthonian power as he easily could be. Here etymology helped the process. The Diasia were supposed to owe their name to Zeus: the trifling obstacle of an abnormal long vowel mattered as little to the Greek interpreter as more serious difficulties matter to modern archaeologists when on the track of a tempting word-equation. In reality, according to a happy conjecture of the late Mr. R. A. Neil, the Diasia was the time of curses, Latin *diras*, a name which well suited the 'gloom' (*στρυγώρης*) which the ritual faithfully preserved in its celebration.

But we must go on to describe another element from which the Athenian religion drew very largely. The dead were naturally not the only owners of spirits needing to be appeased. All the earth was alive with them, many representing beneficent activities of nature, but most of them extremely malevolent and dangerous. A general name for these spirits was *Keres*, a name which Miss Harrison shows to be originally applicable to Aphrodite the spirit of beauty, Eros that of love, and so on. But generally the name attached itself to spirits of danger and pollution, answering curiously, as Miss Harrison notes, to the microbes of modern science. They are represented as little winged mannikins with hideous faces, against which heroes like Heracles wield their mighty weapons to deliver men. Foremost among them come the Erinyes, the Keres of death, who pursue the slayer with relentless foot. Against beings of this class ritual has to wage its warfare. The innumerable local festivals of Greece included rites originally devised as magical ceremonies of 'riddance.' Their nature may often have been far from cheerful; but if they were regarded as effectual, the light-hearted Greek would find little difficulty in accepting them cheerfully and making diversion for himself out of them. The Diasia, with its sacrifice at dead of night and atmosphere of imprecations and gloom, may have

been originally intended for driving off dangerous Keres that might injure the growth of the crops in spring. But Strepsiades in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes buys a go-cart for his little boy, and cooks a haggis for his relations, for all the world as though the feast were a kind of yule-tide. He may pull a long face to scare the bogeys, but if he has done his duty manfully in that way there is all the more reason for jollity after.

The two most interesting and original chapters in the *Prolegomena* will have to be passed over with a bare mention, for the clepsydra is running dry. They depict for us what may be described as the third stratum of Greek religion, and in many ways the most productive of all. First comes the immigrant Dionysus, the vegetation spirit, associated in his native Thrace with a kind of beer, but promoted in Greece to the more respectable vine. How intoxication under ritual conditions could suggest fruitful religious ideas, as to possession by a divine spirit, may well astonish us at first; but have we not, after all, a somewhat similar suggestion in the contrast parable of the New Testament—the scoffers at Pentecost, and Paul's exhortation, 'Be not drunken with wine, . . . but be filled with the Spirit'? The deification of alcohol was, alas! far less calculated to do evil among the Greeks than it is among our civilized and Christian selves. It was, however, not Dionysus who introduced immediately the new ideas to which we have referred, but his successor, Orpheus. Miss Harrison regards him as a reformer, perhaps a martyr, duly heroized after his death, and leaving behind him a profoundly important institution. He purged the Dionysiac cult of its gross features, spiritualized the idea of divine possession, and in the 'Mysteries' which were vitally connected with his name he taught the ideas of consecration to the deity, and a communion which should issue in immortality. Well might the poets of other nations fasten on Orpheus as the most beautiful and moving personality in the world's loveliest fantasy. Vergil, Shakespeare, and Milton have made to live for us a man who, in the dawn of history, brought to Greece a quickening impulse from which even the

world of to-day has inherited blessings we must not undervalue, because the deepest element in them is Christian. The seed of truth was indeed grown upon Jewish ground; but that it sprang up so healthily and brought forth so rich a harvest in the Greek-speaking world, was largely due to the thoroughness with which Hellenism under Providence prepared the soil.

It is superfluous to apologize in conclusion for a survey of Greek religion which does not include Socrates. That the greatest gift any people can bestow upon mankind is the life and thought of its greatest men, is too obvious to need even stating; and Miss Harrison's book, some parts of which have supplied the bulk of this article, only professes to deal with one side of a vast subject. She looks at the average man and his religious belief, which, after all, gives us the indispensable background for the study of great religious thinkers like Euripides or Plato, or even Socrates himself. We may, I think, concede gladly to Miss Harrison that this popular religion of the city where Paul preached in its days of garrulous senility, four centuries after its work for the world was done, was a religion full of elements which have a permanent value. Most of her readers will, however, be disposed to revolt when she scourges so severely the unclean imaginations of the Christian Fathers for denouncing the immorality of rites in which she can only see a beautiful symbolism, or at worst an innocently intended piece of 'sympathetic magic.' The Greeks were probably not at all conspicuously liable to sins of the flesh, as compared with other Gentile races of antiquity. But it surely argues an extraordinarily robust faith in the innocence of human nature to suppose that no harm came of rites like that which is described, without translation, on p. 569. 'Perfectly reverent' they may have been, but we may take leave to doubt whether the young initiates came away unscathed.

And here I must conclude without drawing conclusions, which could only be done adequately by doubling the length of this article, already over-long. Probably the most instructive general lessons we can derive from the study of this

the richest field in the science of comparative religion, will be concerned with the exhibition of the growth of religious ideas, and the superposition of successive strata due to alien elements in the population. We may study the development of Judaism, of Parsism, of Hinduism, of Hellenism, and distinguish the forces which produced normal growth or modification from outside. And the more thoroughly we study them, the more clearly shall we see that each religion had its contribution to bring, large or small, to the world's common store, and, for the maturing of that fruit, was prepared by the sunlight of a Power that beamed alike upon all. But all such impartial investigations into the history of truth and error will only throw into stronger relief the uniqueness of the religion which prepared the way for Christ. God left not Himself without witness anywhere, but the witness was apprehended in greatly varying degree. Greece had her own magnificent contribution to the world's progress, and the nation which taught mankind how to think could hardly be barren in its lessons about God. But the nation which could teach men how to pray was clearly the channel for religion to flow in most fully; and all that we can discern from the scrutiny of national character shows us that the countrymen of Moses and Elijah were fitted for the coming of the Son of God as those of Aeschylus and Socrates could never have been. The providential work of Greece for the Kingdom of God was in the future. Her great language was born anew to speak to the nations the message of the Gospel. Her powers of thought, long dormant or wasted, awoke once more to link Philosophy to Revelation. And so, under the aegis of Roman law and government, the Truth went forth with Hebrew inspiration and Greek language and thought to begin her conquest of the world.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

THE PARADOX OF CHRIST.

IT is the lower stages of religion that are marked by a craving for miracles and prodigies for their own sake. The higher we go we are the less dependent upon them, and, taken by themselves, they are a burden on faith.

Miracles are not the highest kind of Christian work. 'Greater works than these shall ye do,' it is said (John xiv. 12); meaning their spiritual conquests over themselves and over the world of nature and men through Him.

And we do not prize or measure Christ chiefly by the miracles He did. These were of far more use to the bystanders and the healed sufferers than to us. Indeed, to us they are often more of a difficulty than a help in believing. So far from the miracles helping to a belief in Christ, it takes all our faith in Christ to enable us to believe in the miracles. We have to learn the extraordinary nature of Christ, the wonders of His person and work; then we have a basis on which to credit the miracles. We feel the religious impression, then we can credit the miraculous power. We do not trust, therefore, to the direct evidence for the miracles so much as to the indirect. The belief in His miracles is not possible on merely rational grounds, without the help of our religious faith in Christ Himself.

We prize Christ chiefly for the miracle of His person and work. If He pointed to greater things than miracles, He was pointing to Himself and His saving work. He could point to no greater. Whatever great thing He urged His disciples to attain, He must have Himself placed His true greatness there—in His own Spirit's power and kingdom.

Let us look at some aspects of the spiritual miracle, or paradox, which Christ *was*. The roots of any miracle He did were there. The power He had over earth sprang from the power He had in the heaven of His own soul. Every

miracle which has not its root in our moral nature is mere magic—curious perhaps, but worthless for the soul, like spiritualism.

1. To begin with: *Doubtless He could do what He would, but only what He would.* There was not in Him that gulf between willing and doing which there is with us. Paul was racked by this conflict. To will is present with me, but how to do I know not. But such an agony was not the agony of the sinless Redeemer. He who redeems us from such impotence was not impotent Himself. Had He willed to step down from the cross with a sudden escort of angels, doubtless that was in His power. But He did not will it. He *could* not will it. Himself He *could* not save. It was not a physical but a moral inability, as when I say you *could* not steal. Physically, there is nothing to hinder it; morally, there is everything. If 'He could do no mighty work there,' it was because of their unbelief, because of the absence of spiritual conditions, because He could not be brought to will it. It was not because of any failure in the control His will had over the physical world. As we can curb our bodies by our will, and actually force down physical excitement by strength of will, so the will of Christ could control nature. For the Son of God, the Word Incarnate, is to nature no less at least than what our soul is to our body.

It is a question, then, not of what He could do, but what He would. And what He would do was guided by conditions, not of physical possibility but of moral and spiritual propriety, of compossibility. He would do what His soul told Him was the will of God for the great purpose He was set to fulfil, for man's redemption into the kingdom of God—a kingdom of living spirits.

2. *He created the new without destroying the old.* His work was so intensely deep and original, that Paul, who felt it most, could only call it by the strongest term he knew—a new creation. And yet the same man laboured in the very power of this new life to show how it was the old gospel given to Abraham, and the old spirit of prophecy that was completed in Christ.

The person of Christ was the greatest novelty the world ever saw. He was Himself the new thing which His religion brings to the world. Yet He was more conservative than ever such originality has been before or since. 'My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.' 'The Father hath *given Me to have life in Myself.*' He seemed to have God's own power of uniting old and new—the divine power whereby all things (even the oldest) are not destroyed, but made endlessly new. He is like God, the first and last, Alpha and Omega, beginning and end, kernel and husk, Author and Finisher, bringing forth continually things new and old. In Him our old selves are not lost and parted with, but renewed. It is a new birth; but it is *we*, our inalienable, identical selves, who are born again. It is not somebody else that is born and starts into being in our place. Thus He makes a new world—so new that there is no difference greater than between the new humanity and the old. Yet He makes it out of the old. The old is not swept away as by total deluge, and a new race suddenly created on the earth. The new humanity grows from old history. Revolution is interwoven with evolution. Christ arose from human stock, but He was no mere human being. Christianity sprang out of Judaism, but it was no mere development of Judaism. Catholicism sprang out of the Roman Empire, but it was not merely a new phase of old Rome. Scientific theology sprang out of Greek philosophy, but it was something more than another school. In all the workings of Christ, as in Christ Himself, there was an intensity of the new and a profundity of the old which is the very secret of divinity. *There* was the mystery of godliness and spiritual power, a seeming contradiction of history yet its continuity, nature thwarted but perfected, cross and resurrection, a large miracle, a standing prodigy, a universal life in death.

The progress of civilization is perhaps no miracle, but the renovation of man within civilization is. Men become civilized without being renewed, but men do not become renewed in Christ without becoming civilized. ~~And it is~~

a miracle of Christian renovation that is at the root of all our hopes for the civilization of the future. It is the miracle of the changed heart, the self which no longer loves self, which is dead to self, which finds itself in the brotherhood, and walks 'in that new world which is the old.'

3. *He preached the FATHER, and that drew men to HIMSELF.* The more He glorified another than Himself, the more men were constrained to glorify Himself. We are bound to remember that when we are asked to believe that He preached some system. It was Himself, not a system, that He preached. 'Come unto *Me*, and I will give you rest.' But He preached Himself as the way to the Father. And when He was preaching the Father He preached Himself, because He preached the Father as only the Son could do. But it was a very concrete and universal Father, a fatherhood that interpenetrated all life; and therefore Christ was not mystic, cloistered, or distrait, but keenly alive to men and things. He made such claims for Himself as no man ever made; and yet no man was ever so lost to Himself, so lost in God. *There* is a marvellous thing, a miraculous thing, if miracle be the contradiction of our common sense. He preached Himself because He was lost to self, because His meat and drink was to do the will of the Father.

And a second miracle in this kind is the way men run to Him just because of this revealing of the Father. It were folly to leap into the river for the mere image of the reflected moon. Yet men run into Christ just because 'He that hath seen *Me* hath seen the Father.' He must have been more than a reflection of the Father. The more He pointed beyond Himself, the more men drew round Himself. His death drew men to Him as the life indeed. And when all seemed lost—even to Himself—we are made to feel that all was won. We are won at anyrate. And the more depth and truth we find in His words, 'My Father is greater than I,' the more we feel that no man ever stood or could stand where He is by the Father, in the intimacy possible only to the perfect and unique humility. And the miracle of His words about losing our soul to save it we can not only understand,

but we can repeat it and go and do likewise in His power—but only so, only in His power.

4. *No one ever produced such inspiration, and yet no one was ever so free from extravagance, fanaticism, and all the spurious forms which inspiration is apt to assume as it spreads.* He was the sanest of souls. His peace was deeper than the depth of the nightly sky. His judgement was never at fault, whether His knowledge was perfect or not. He would not be hurried into action by any pressure of comrade or crowd till His hour was come. Never was His head turned, yet He was never inhuman, cruel, 'superior,' or cold. He loved men, but He never obeyed men, never gave Himself away to men, though He gave Himself wholly for them. He was a being, so wholly inspired that it is putting Him in too low a class to call Him only inspired; yet He had none of the inferior insignia or excitement of inspiration. When He knew His hour was come He perceived it in no unconscious vision, in no half-conscious frenzy. He was subject to none of those trances in which even Paul received some revelations. He did not dream, He did not mutter, He did not rave. He did not speak like an incoherent oracle, or ramble like a mindless medium. Yet, as I say, He was inspired beyond inspiration. And He has breathed from then till now an inspiration which we use to test all inspiration besides. He was neither fanatic, bigot, nor seer. He had neither second sight nor familiar spirit. Not even the 'daemon' of Socrates nor the conscience of the modern world does He speak of—only the will of God. And that He perceived first of all by self-consciousness. Consider much of that. His consciousness of self was consciousness of God. Of whom can that be said? His self-consciousness was the continuity of God's, its co-relative, its polar other, if I may be forgiven such strange phrases.

But, secondly, He realized the will of God by holy thought, by spiritual reason, by divine prudence, by a judgement ever just, because His will was perfectly pure. 'My judgement is just (not, My insight is miraculous), because I seek not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me.' And, though His personal relation to God was unique, He makes

no monopoly of His method or secret. 'Whosoever will do His will shall know of My doctrine.' He does not parade faith as miraculous, or pique the public curiosity by nursing the magic and mystery of His art like a quack. Yet the more reasonable His methods were, the more we worship His inspiration, and the more we strive to share it (not indeed with Him but in Him). It is because His inspiration was spiritually reasonable that it is still an inspiration for rational men. The finest frenzy will not wear. But the judgement of Christ comes home still, with its utter justice, to men whom He addresses as wise and invites to judge. And His perfect holiness is an inspiration to men, because it is the same holiness to which they are called. 'Be ye holy, for I also am holy,' He might have said. What sense would there be in that, if His holiness were something different from ours? And yet how different from ours, if not in quality yet in its relation to the Father. For ours is a holiness in Him, while His was in none but Himself. But the miracle is just here, that His holy judgement should seem to us the more marvellous and divine the nearer we come to His holiness. We do not know Him till we grow like Him. And we grow like Him as we grow in Him. And the more holy we grow, the more we feel shocked at the thought of any holiness of ours except in Him. It is only as we realize our likeness and fellowship with Him that we feel and own how hopelessly above us He is—and yet how hopefully within us. That is miracle enough—too miraculous for the bulk of the Church to understand or of the world to credit.

And it is all the more marvellous, this sanity and sanctity of Christ, when we remember that His was an age of insane enthusiasm, bigotries, and fanaticisms without end. Judaism had become a bigotry or a fanaticism; and paganism had died into a poetic memory of old superstitions or a perpetual supply of new. Quacks, necromancers, and supernaturalists of all magical sorts were as plentiful in Rome as were Pharisees in Jerusalem. In the decay of both prophecy and paganism Christ arose; and it was amid a helmless and

bewitched world that He kept His world soul calm and His divine judgement just. He was still, and knew that the Lord God of the whole earth was its Redeemer. And so He was their Saviour, their Lord, and their God.

5. *He was not a politician, and yet He founded a kingdom.*

It was an age of politics. It was in that respect like our own. The great political nation of antiquity—Rome—had covered the world, not with its legions only but with something more masterful—its institutions. The sway of Rome was something very different from the empire of a previous conqueror—Alexander. The genius of Macedon was only military; it was not political. It was Greek—more able than mighty, more brilliant than sage. It repressed the nations it subdued. It drained them. It had no scruple about their extermination. It did nothing to develop them, nothing to make them a strength to the centre of the empire. It left them with none of their old independence; nor did it foster in them the new pride of becoming a powerful part of a mightier realm. But with Rome it was otherwise. She not only conquered but she freed. She did not exterminate. She spared the vanquished, and even helped them to their feet. She left them with much, and she even gave them more. She did not give them back their old autonomy, but still she gave them scope. She would not tolerate revolt, but she opened to them her own career. She gave them the Roman citizenship. She made them an integral part of herself. She left them with much relative freedom, and she drew them into the pride of her own imperial place in the world. And since she owed that place quite as much to her politics as to her arms, it was into politics she attracted those national energies which would have gone without her into international wars. The Roman peace spread over the world Roman politics. And how mighty an influence that was, one great fact testifies to this day. We have only to remember the wonderful spectacle offered to the world by the second Rome, by Christian Rome, by the Roman Church, which is still the most imposing and most imperial section of Chris-

tianity. And what is this Church of Rome? What is it but the venerable tradition of political Rome, the imperial genius of oecumenical politics, caught up and kindled by the Christian inspiration? It is Caesarism semi-sanctified.

It was a world of politics, then, into which Christ came, because it was the world of Rome. It was a world which had no dream of universal empire except by political ways. To found and rule a universal kingdom, one had need be either a general or a statesman of the first order. It was a world of Caesarism.

Even the Jews had no other dream, for the most part. The national party among them were the Pharisees, and they meditated in their most sanguine schemes what was really only another Rome. It was only another empire, whose ambitions were similar to Rome, but whose centre should be Jerusalem instead of Rome, and whose law should spring from the ten commandments instead of the twelve tables. The great political Church of Rome, apart from its Christian theology and its Roman centre, is just the empire that was aimed at by the theocracy of the Pharisees at Jerusalem. It is the prolonged victory of Judaism over Christ, and, ecclesiastically speaking, the form in which it crucifies Him afresh from age to age.

The methods of politics, then, were the ruling methods of the hour. Politics, high or low, engrossed the most active and the most capable minds, whether in Judaism or elsewhere. All other energies were absorbed, not to say degraded, by this one—literature, poetry, art, religion, philosophy. And imaginative power of any high order had faded from the world at large to live only in the Epicurean court of Augustus, and to die speedily into the bitter lines of the Roman masters of satire. Rome herself had begun to decline to her fall when mere politics and mere literature had come to absorb all the energies of her soul. It is a lesson which we might do well to heed.

It was into such a world that Christ came, and—this is the point—came with the purpose of a kingdom. He came with the royal instinct in Him so deep, with the range of the

powerfulest minds and their bias to great affairs so strong in Him, that it was part of His temptation to resist the seductions of a political career, for which He cannot have felt Himself lacking—in power at least. He did not come merely as a 'peasant saint.' He did not come as a quiet pietist, who courted the shady retreats of life and fed a mystic devotion in secluded ways. He did not come simply as a 'beautiful soul,' sweetly holy, but too flowery fine and too delicate in the odour of His sanctity to be a power in practical things. He came with unearthly holiness indeed. His sanctity was finer and sweeter, and His grace more winning, than ever saint has dreamed or shown. His greatness was lonely, His momentous seasons were withdrawn and remote, and, when His chief soul business was to be done, it was done far from the madding crowd, or even its noblest strife. But He was not a religious recluse, and He was not an aesthete of piety. He came, and died, with the power of the still, small voice, with the mission of the viewless spirit. He came not 'with observation,' not with self-advertisement. He came into an age and a world of fierce practicality, of high, engrossing, and imperial politics. And yet He came not to live a sweet and hidden life before God, and delight the Father as He is rejoiced by the beauty of forest spots where the foot of man never profanes. But He came among the politicians thus meek and lowly—to found a kingdom and proclaim Himself its King. To found a kingdom, to be a King, to be a Caesar and more than a Caesar, more imperious, universal, and severe—without the strategy either of the council or of the field; to bring a world which would have nothing but Caesar to have nothing but Christ. What a scandal to the natural man! What an offence to common sense! How absurd, how lunatic, judged by all the natural laws then known to society, and by all the maxims that swayed it. Was there a single intellect then in the world who would not have thought himself merciful in his judgment if, when he glanced from the tactics of Rome to the plans of Christ, he characterized these only as an amiable but pathetic delusion, cherished with the infatuate tenacity of a

race dour and doomed? And the coolest observers of events at that day, if indeed you could have got them to give their minds to the absurdity at all, the men whose verdict of the possible and the non-possible would have been taken to settle what was miracle and what was not,—these men would have freely said, if you could engage them to look, that nothing short of a miracle, a direct intervention of some God, could possibly bring about this zealot's dreams. What short of a miracle could make General Booth the ruling spirit of Germany? I do not mean to set up any irreverent resemblance between General Booth and Jesus Christ. But there is an external parallel at least, and may be more, between Rome's attitude to Christ and what you might conceive to be Germany's to a person like Mr. Booth. All I mean is, that as the German Empire would regard him for a Chancellor, so the Roman Empire viewed, or would have viewed, the claims of Christ to a universal kingdom. It seemed just as impossible as any miracle we are now called on to credit.

Yet it has been done. The Saint did take the kingdom from the politicians, even the literal kingdom. Their fabric crumbled as His arose. Their politics could not stand before His principles and powers. In less than half the time that Rome had taken to conquer the world Christ had conquered Rome. And now that once again at Rome politics have got the better of principles, now when the conquering Church has become an empire, and the best conscience of Europe has risen up to protest for the last four centuries against the absoluteness of a kingdom which is of this world,—at this hour the same miracle is going on as Christ performed. The unseen power of His kingdom is asserting itself as mightier than the political organization even of His Church, and in the face of ecclesiastical politics as in the face of pagan politics He is setting up a kingdom which cannot be moved. It can neither be moved, nor, where it moves, resisted; but it will slowly heave into ruin, like a subterranean force, whatever structure is made to lie too heavy on its bosom or stand too proud upon its front.

6. *How did He conquer the world? By freedom.*

It was by emancipating it. He conquered Rome by Rome's own methods. Otherwise, perhaps, He would not have conquered her so soon. But He also came with authority as the condition of freedom. He put authority first, and said it would give the freedom. He did not put freedom first and say it would bring the authority. 'I am the Truth,' He said. 'Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free.'

This was Rome's way upon a loftier plane. Rome demanded subjection to herself, and, that being assured, she gave more freedom than she took away. She gave all the freedom of the Roman peace, and Roman law, and the Roman franchise. The sway of Rome turned subjection into freedom. Christ, like Rome, began with the demand for subjection; like Rome He made the subjection bring a new freedom and peace. This is another paradox. *He demanded in His kingdom a subjection more absolute than the emperor claimed in the empire. And it became the condition of a freedom wider and a peace more profound than it is in the power of empire to give or withstand.* It was the nature of this emancipation that spread His kingdom so fast. As the vexed nations had come to know and prize the peace and security assured by the strong hand of Rome, so men's weary souls leaped to lay down their own dreary independence for the peace, security, and joy of Christ. It was such a peace, and such a security, and such a freedom as that. It made men free (as Rome did in a way), but it made them much more free—free with a freedom Rome could neither give nor take away. Rome could deliver nations from their national selves, their own schisms and broils, and make them merge in a vaster empire, but Rome could not deliver men from their spiritual selves, from soul discord and supernatural fear. Yet it was this that men craved. And it was this that Christ did. He drew men, and they ran to Him. And He drew them all the more, because Rome, with all her outward peace, had even less inward peace to give than some of her subject states. There was in Judaism, for instance, a

secret that Rome had never won. In the Hebrew records and in the Hebrew history there was a food for the spirit, a hope for the race, and a faith in the future, to which Rome was a complete stranger. When Rome destroyed Judaism, in the destruction of Jerusalem she took away what even her franchise could never restore. It was as if we English should suppress the religions of India and demolish its shrines, and yet put no Christian principles into our politics and no Christian missions into our intercourse with that land. Rome had only what we should have if the 'Rule Britannia' people had their way. She had but a State Church, the army, the navy, the bar—and a yearning heart of spiritual agnosticism. The spread of Rome prepared the world for Christ in several ways, but in none more than this negative way. She destroyed nationalism, as Christianity does. She destroyed the independence of nations, and in doing so she destroyed their faith in their tutelary gods; but she had nothing whatever to fill the gulf. She destroyed national religions, she stirred the universal instinct, and she had no universal religion to give, no universal bond. And yet the very order and security she spread made a religion of this kind more and more necessary. She made a universal Church necessary. She extinguished patriotism and she dethroned gods. The patriot, hopeless of his nation's independence, could not worship the old gods who had permitted it to be taken away. What was there left for a noble man to devote himself to? In the Stoic there was stirred the aspiration of a universal humanity, but the state of the world would never allow it to become a certain creed to him. And, on the other hand, the very success of the Roman peace, the very security of life and property, fostered an Epicurean materialism in which the whole human race was doomed at last to sink deeper than the various races had fallen before the empire. Patriotism and local piety were alike destroyed; and Rome, with all her boons to politics, had provided neither a better home for the conscience nor a better god for the soul. And this was at an hour, too, when soul and conscience were assailed by all the luxury and vice

of a vast prosperity. The more Rome secured the natural man, the greater hunger she bred in the man of soul. She gave men leisure to feel their spiritual void. Outward freedom only gave more occasion for men to feel their inward bonds. So a man's heart sometimes gnaws the life out of him when he is free from the need to work for a living. And Rome's spread of culture only woke men to the sense of needs too fine for her blunt liberty to fill. It was therefore that men, and especially men of culture, soon began to flock into the masterful liberty of Christ. Before long, the poor began to find in Him a refuge from the heartlessness of paganism. And the refined found in Him a relief from the spiritual drought of current culture and creeds. The feeblest minds and the largest alike found a King in Him, and a better country in His kingdom. The noblest spirits especially were drawn there. There were men who had the large capacity and wide imperial instincts that would have impelled them into a political career in the great strategy of Rome. But they had also spiritual cravings and tastes of the soul; and these found no scope in the ignoble intrigues of the throne, which seemed to grow up and dwarf even the statesmanship of an empire. These were the men who made the great Fathers and Captains of the Church. Their large capacity was drawn into sympathy with the range of a universal kingdom, and their spiritual nature was captured and willingly yoked to the service of a purely spiritual kingdom. So the Empire became the Church. So Christ reigned at Rome and constrained the emperor himself. It is true there were less noble causes also at work than those I have described, but the main cause which gave all the rest countenance and force was this. Christ conquered Rome (and so Europe) because He brought men a redemption freer than Roman freedom, and a King fit to rule freemen because He was Himself free enough to make them free. An empire of hollow prosperity, a civilization of unveiled materialism, and an emperor the slave of the worst vices, could no longer give the human soul shelter, unity, or centre. The imperial situation could only deepen the craving for a

salvation which was more than prosperity, a civilization more than culture, a kingdom and culture spiritual to the heart, and a King whose throne was set amidst the loves and not the lusts of men. He conquered the world because He freed the world. He became a King because He was a Redeemer.

But just here is the wonder. How did He free the world? Here is the paradox, the blow to rude common sense, the moral miracle. He freed the world by freeing *from* the world. He freed man by freeing him from himself to God.

Even that was an effort that had been made before. Not only had liberators arisen, but they had risen to declare that man's true freedom in the world was to be free from the world. In every land almost, men had come forward to preach an inward escape from outward bondage. And in Christ's day, as at other similar times, people were found who groaned under the spiritual bondage of a godless empire and a heartless civilization, and who counselled refuge in the austerities of the soul and the mysticisms of the spirit. The pagans who came nearest to Christianity were the Stoics, and when Christ came into the world the Stoics included some of the best and strongest spirits of the empire. They cherished the ancient Roman virtues; they had some dream of a charity which should cover the whole human race; they found their theology in a lofty philosophy, and the crown of life in its dignity. But they were driven to discover that they could only resist the pressure of a degraded age by a morality which really meant contempt of the world, retreat from humanity, and mortification of the natural man. Some form or other of asceticism, with its subtle egotism, was the highest means then known for gaining that victory over the world which the best souls felt they ought to win. To be free, they truly felt they must be free from the world. But to be free from the world they had to sacrifice *real interest* in it, they had to despise it. For want of faith in another soul, they had so to emphasize their own dignity that few of them escaped pride. And many of the best of them carried their self-mortification so far as to find in self-destruction,

in deliberate suicide, the only means of keeping their souls unspotted from the world. Moral greatness culminated in voluntary death.

But did not Christ's likewise? Yes, but the Stoic death was self-inflicted in moral pride; Christ's life was laid down in spiritual humility. The one was self asserting its power and freedom to destroy self, the other was self bowing to the will of God and finding a new self. There is a whole spiritual world between the self-sacrifice of Christ and the self-slaughter of the Stoic—as much as between the heroic suicide of the Stoic and the cowardly suicide of the debauchee. It was an age when all the more worthy spiritual efforts ran to asceticism, or some form of self-suppression, as the secret and method of the freedom which masters the world.

But Jesus was no ascetic, nor did He counsel asceticism as the rule and secret of life. He aimed at a freedom from the world which should master it and not mock it. It was not the quietism of self-suppression He preached, but the glory of self-realization in Him. It was to be also a freedom in the world as well as from it. How truly Luther seized the freedom of a Christian man—to be free from the world in Christ, to be free in Christ for the world. It is no true Christian conquest of the world when we only find our freedom by going out of it. The Christian principle condemns every kind of suicide, whether that of the cloister or that of the dagger. Hamlet was not more un-Christian when he bade Ophelia get her to a nunnery than when he toyed with the bare bodkin. We may no more bury our heart in steel than we may bury the steel in our heart. Christ did not deliver men from the world by teaching them to despise the gift of life or the interests of life. He delivered from the world by delivering into Himself. 'Sink into thyself,' said the Stoic; and the Mystic, 'Sink into thyself and rise redeemed.' 'Come unto Me,' said Christ, 'and you shall have rest. You will not escape from the world by sinking into yourself. You will find the world there, or you will carry it there. A new form of the world will spring up in the secret place. The calm retreat and the silent shade are

no protection against the passions which make earth hell and rend the soul with civil war. Come unto Me; ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free; I *am* the Truth. Your Lord is your liberty.'

In an age of asceticism, then, He delivered from the world by delivering unto Himself—Himself, who was no ascetic, who ate and drank so that He was described as a bon-vivant, fond of His table and His glass, a frequenter of publicans and sinners.

He came to rule the world by giving it what most rulers have been afraid of—freedom and power. How sure of Himself He must have been when He faced the human future with such a promise, such an invitation as He did. Only a king with a sense of infinite power could set up a kingdom with such power and freedom for its watchwords. And indeed there is but one kingdom where this is possible and safe—the kingdom of the Christian Spirit. Only the spiritual King could so rule men that they should feel Him more royal and absolute with every growth in their own freedom and power. Only the spiritual, eternal King could be quite sure that He would never be outgrown and left behind by all possible growth in His realm. Men could be raised to this power and freedom only if they were seized and held by their spirit. And they could be raised and enlarged freely only by one who was himself identical with the mighty Spirit that moved their progress. Christ could claim the kingship of mankind only if He came to spiritual men as the spirit and condition of their ever-growing freedom. How sure He must have been of Himself, I say. How He must have realized Himself. What power He must have had and felt, if He claimed to be for ever the king of men, whom it was His work and joy to make kings and to enable to realize their divine selves. How sure He must have been that they could only realize themselves in Him before He could cheer them on to self-realization as He did. It might have cut them loose from Him at a certain point and left Him behind. How sure He must have been that His Spirit was the only spirit and agent of human progress, His soul

their soul, and His throne the centre of God's immovable kingdom in men.

The rule and freedom of Christ means the coming of the Holy Ghost. It is a pentecostal kingdom. Its power is a baptism from on high. Its secret is not an institution but a living person, not a Church but a Saviour, exalted above the world, but in such a way that He fills and conquers the world. The badge of the true baptism is not a sanctity too awful and sacred for earth's occasions or life's uses. It is not the foe of human nature, but human nature's daily good. The kingdom of Christ is not a thing for sects, groups, occasions, or functions. It is for the enlargement and consecration of all life. It hallows life as life. The Spirit of Christ is not to be remembered only at Whitsuntides. It makes itself felt as the motive power of Christian progress, and the secret of the saving purpose in all the manifold agencies and energies of human life and history. We need not abandon human passion to own the kingship of Christ. We do not retire from the politics of history to cultivate the strategy of heaven. We do not become celibates in order to become saints of the true stamp. We do not believe in any superior sanctity in celibacy, or in any superior purity in virginity. We do not believe that England's service of God is a matter of Church establishment or Church services. We do believe that the history of English public freedom is a real chapter in the history of the divine kingdom, and a real effect of the spirit proceeding from the freedom of Father and Son. We do believe that our Free Churches are the fruits of Christ's free Holy Ghost. They are results of the Spirit shed upon the world from the shedding of Christ's blood on that cross which made Him king of a race redeemed. The spirit of holiness is the spirit of Christ our king. Could it be the spirit of a king if it were not the spirit of freedom and power? In Him and His Spirit we have freedom *from* the world *for* the world, power *over* the world *in* the world, *command* of human life without *escape* from human life, the *consecration* of human nature without its *suppression*, *perfection* which does not give the lie to *passion*, glory which is not con-

temptuous of the glory of earth, and grace which is neither blind nor fatal to the graces of life.

The King of the Spirit sends out no rider to tramp roughshod over the inferior provinces of body or soul. He is absolute, but not despotic, tyrannous, or reckless. Neither passion nor affection has to be immolated to the true sanctity. There is a time indeed when they must be sacrificed. The Spirit brings to them, and offers to them, the cross. But from their cross and grave our heart's loves and graces which die with Christ, or for Him, rise again into a new life, not bloodless and pale, but as real and full as all the royalty of Christ with its freedom and power. It is not a bleached world or a blanched soul that can glorify the power of Christ's precious *blood*, but a world of colour and life. It is not an anaemic humanity that can show forth His health. It is not the emptiness of life, but the fullness of the whole ripe earth, that is His glory. Sanctification will mislead us if it make us think of a pallid righteousness as the vesture of the spirit, or a mortified, sickly, ritual humanity as the sphere of Christ's kingship of freedom, glory, and power. Faith and love are themselves passions. But they are unifying, consecrating passions, they are not exterminating passions; and they find no Christian peace in that solitude of heart which clean disowns the spell of the thoughts, aims, loves, hates, sacrifices, powers, and glories of our human life.

7. I pass quickly by the fact that, *in an age when religion had become a system, He found the power of religion to be outside system or organisation.* He was not of the sacred hierarchy; nay, He taught men to seek a righteousness outside the priests. Yet He gave the idea of manhood a larger lease of life than ever before. The elaborate system of the law He despised, and He told the public that if they would please God it must be by far other righteousness than that of the scribes and Pharisees, of professionalism, patriotism, or politics. He was no theologian, yet He taught a faith which held in it the true doctrine of God, and is the source of the greatest theologies the world has seen. Faith answers grace; and grace is Christ. But I pass these points by.

They are familiar to-day. And I go on to point out the crowning miracle of His personality.

8. *Sinless Himself, He alone understands the sinner and forgives sin.*

We do not go far in imitating Christ before we find how inimitable He is. Before long we find His spiritual grandeur like an Alp, as inaccessible, as beautiful. And if we ever dream that to some it might be given to scale even that height, and be pure as He was pure, can they dispense with what He never used—the cry for mercy in their most secret, searching hour? And if any can foster a genial piety which runs to no confession, how many do we find who can presume so far upon their purity as to forgive sins also? Will they venture, will they even aspire, to imitate Him there? Will not those who know Him best and come nearest Him, leave Him most solitary there? If Christ were meant for no more than the splendid example, how is it that the force of it has given to none the heart to follow Him in this? Why may we not forgive sins also as freely and boldly as He? Why may we not at least aim at that power? We may hope to administer His forgiveness; but may we aspire in God's name, and apart from Christ, as from others He was apart, may we aspire to the power He claimed to forgive? He did claim it. It was made a charge against Him, and He accepted the responsibility, though He was not one to waste His strength upon charges which by a word He could disown. He did use God's prerogative to forgive, and He who forgives must never need to be forgiven. He in whose name we ask for mercy could never have said, 'Lord, have mercy on me.'

He forgave sin because He measured sin; and He measured sin because He was the Sinless, the Holy One, the living grace of God.

We say that the experience of sin makes us tolerant of the sinner. Yes, tolerant perhaps. But not redemptive. Christ's attitude to sin was no tolerance. He saw sin as it appeared before God. Only one who sees it so can understand it. We do not understand it by feeling sinful, or seeing

its effects in life round us. Sin has no meaning apart from God. It is vice, crime, or error, but not sin till brought before God. Christ brought it before God, aggravated it, made it exceeding sinful, drove it to a crisis, condemned it, and extinguished it in its principle once and for ever. To experience sin is one thing, and it closes the heart so that you cannot understand either sin or sinner. But to know sin as sin, in its sinfulness, we must see it as God does. We must see its effects on God—see it slay Christ, and then dissolve and die in His atoning prayer. But to do that we must taste the grace of God. And that grace the Son of God alone was; and it is a vision He alone gives. It was purity, not sinfulness, that gave Him such an understanding of sin as to destroy it. Only one who measures sin can master sin. And only God's purity could so measure the sin of the race as to master it for ever. It is a fallacy of the heart to say that to understand all is to forgive all. It is truer to say that to forgive all is to understand all. Only God's forgiving grace in Christ could so know sin as to destroy it. This is the great miracle and paradox of grace. It is what makes grace so much more miraculous than love. It is not the sinner that understands sin. It is not the sinner that wins the sinner's confidence and hope. No soul comes to Christ and says, 'You have sinned too, so you will not be too hard on me. You will help me.' But we say, 'Thou hast overcome. Thou art worthy. Thou dost redeem us to be kings and priests unto our God.' We say, yea we cry, 'O Christ, Thou hast suffered, heal me of my grief'; but we do not say, 'O Christ, Thou too hast sinned, heal me of my sin.'

It is a great blow to common sense, that the pure alone should come to the very heart of the impure. The Sinless is the only being on earth who ever really understood what sin meant. He alone, whom it never soiled, could carry it before God in all its foul horror. He who brought no sin of His own into God's presence to be forgiven, could alone bring the world's sin there to be taken away.

It is, perhaps, not so strange that such a purity should

feel conscious of the power to forgive. For it is because God is righteous that He forgives. Holiness is what forgives, not what impedes forgiveness. But the marvel is that it is reserved for the pure of heart and life alone to understand, measure, master, and destroy sin. Yet it is borne out by our own experience so far. We cannot forgive easily till we feel forgiven. If we abide in our sin, we can help nobody out of theirs. If we are only harsh with ourselves, we will be harsh with others. But if we are cleansed by God, we have power to minister comfort, hope, and cleansing around.

And the marvel runs through the whole relation of Christ to man. None was ever so near to men—so one with them; yet none was ever so different. None was ever so original, yet none so like; none so close, and yet so strange. None was ever so lost in God, yet none so devoted to men. None was so holy, so humble, so self-sure, and yet so free of spiritual pride. None was so free of the ambition to be popular, yet none has so grown upon the world as time went by. We meet with characters in history that combine the most contrary qualities—men of vast reach and range, strangely mixed of good and evil, so that we should say beforehand such contrary qualities could not exist in one person. ‘Bursts of great heart and slips in sensual mire.’ But these are nothing compared with the paradoxes we find mixed in Jesus Christ—the miracles of holy grace and the mysteries of sympathetic forgiveness. How lame, too, is the scanty record, but how intense is His reality, and how vast the actual devotion and obedience to His name. Had ever a character, about whom we know so little, such a sway, and the promise still of such sway, over mankind? No spirit has been so potent, and none has so refused to be portrayed, or has so mocked the representations of Him. Every artist of every order has failed to satisfy the world with the face of Jesus, that lights the humblest true believer. And every biography will be but less incomplete, not more complete than what went before. All He is is more strange than the most gifted can imagine. The truth of Him is stranger than all the fiction we might frame to embody Him. If it were not that He *is* and works, how

could the record of what He *was* produce such results? 'Whatever the future may bring to surprise us,' says Renan, 'Jesus will never be excelled.' Yes, He is the surprise and miracle of all time. He *is* the miracle of which all His mighty works were but sparks and gleams. They are but *works*. The real miracle is in the doer. The supernatural is His nature. We cannot see His miracles any more, but the miracle of Himself is open still, and near. His person still may, still must, live and work, in heaven and in us—doing wonders. It is but another wonder that He never loses His power of doing wonders. The wonders He did *upon* the world He is more and more doing *through* the world, as it gains the power of His Spirit and owns the kingship of His name. Greater works than prodigies are being wrought in His name. The face of the world is being changed. Men do not *see* His miracles, but they grow to *be* His miracles. It is all very slow, but if it were unreal the slowness of it would destroy it, and all men would scorn what promised so much and did so little. It is the mighty power of the promise that reconciles us to the slow pace of the performance. For all things move according to that miracle in the mover. One day is still with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

It is all the infinite paradox and offence of the cross—the moral antinomy which satisfies the soul, vexed with all the other enigmas of life and death.

9. *None has ever humbled men like Christ, who measured their sin, and yet none has ever believed in man and trusted him like Christ, or made so much of him.*

The gospel belongs to the missionary religions, because in Christ's own *faith* it is destined for all. 'I will draw *all men*.' The seed will bear '*much fruit*.' It is the universal Christ that makes the Church catholic (with a small c); and the true test of catholicity is the apostolic succession, which is the missionary spirit. No Church is apostolic or belongs to the Catholic Church which is not missionary. The Church which is not missionary unchurches itself. It doubts of man.

And I would here point out three things: (1) Redemption is something which all men *need*. (2) It is something which all men are *capable of receiving*. (3) And it is something which Christ was perfectly *capable of achieving*—something done by one to whom all power was given in heaven and on earth.

(1) The highest mind and the lowest savage have alike needed Christ, and confessed and glorified Christ. No influence has so fused classes and cultures. The world never knew such a dominion, such a unity. The sun never sets on His empire, and His shadow has never gone back on the dial of time. No *age* is strange to Him. The *kind* or colour of man makes no difference. Nor does the *quarter* of the earth. The gospel in its nature cannot rest till it is preached in every nation under heaven.

Moreover, it is for all men, because it is for the whole man. It gathers all souls, because it covers the whole soul. It is central to man, and it commands him from the centre; it commands him all. It re-makes him from the centre; it is a new creation, 'if any man be in Christ'; it is not a case of partial repair, it is not a piece let in.

And it is central to God. It took His whole holy self to redeem. It taxed the only begotten Son, eternal in the Father's heart. The whole Trinity is involved in our redemption, and not the Son alone. Father and Spirit were not spectators only of the Son's agony. Nay, they were more even than sympathizers. They were agents in it. God was in Christ, and Christ in God. And Christ's sure reversion of the world is so sure, because it rests on His relation to the world in its God before the world was. He is the world's sure King, because He was the Creator's eternal Son.

The gospel is central to man, and it is central to God. The passion to be redeemed is the deepest need of the human soul, and the passion to redeem is the deepest movement in the heart of God. And these two centres meet in Christ, our peace. He felt alike God's passion to redeem and man's cry to be redeemed, and (let me specially say)

man's promise if he were redeemed. The gospel reveals Christ's faith in man. He knew that it was worth while to redeem man, and that it would reward Him. Man *deserved* no redemption, but he was yet worth redeeming to the Redeemer's eye.

(2) Christianity is a religion possible for man. Man is a being capable of Christianity. It is often asked whether Christianity is compatible with modern society, with demands so high and great and piercing. It is asked if a real practical faith in a Father in heaven is compatible with a daily struggle for existence, and a state of toil where hands and hearts grow hard alike. It is asked if the principles of Christ and the gospel can be applied to commerce or to States. And it is often answered that they cannot—that our faith is one thing and our business and politics another. I will not discuss in the mere by-going the large question, how far Christianity comports with modern politics or business. But there is no doubt what Christ thought of its relation to humanity, to society on the whole and at the last. There is no doubt what society must come to, if He is King. Christ was there for man, and for the whole man at last. And He knew He was. He lived His faith Himself in a truly human life, and He knew it was a thing that could be lived by His grace. He asks for nothing He has not outdone. He believed that men could and would become Christians throughout. He believed in man, and He knew man in whom He believed. He believed in man's power to respond to Himself, He knew that man was great enough to feel His greatness at last; and He was not a credulous enthusiast—He knew what was in man, and needed none to tell Him. He knew how His uplifting would work upon men. He felt along the far-flung line how it would seize them and bring them to His feet. Christ's faith in man was as real as His faith in God. He could not have redeemed man had He had faith in God alone but none in man at all. But He trusted Himself to man, sure that, at the last, humanity would respond, that it would rise up and call Him blessed. It is true He trusted Himself among

men, and men slew Him. But it is the function of history to reverse the deed; and what men did, man will undo; what one race did, the whole race at last will repent and disown. Men might slay Him, but man will worship Him. Man's faith at last will justify the Justifier. And that is no fond hope of ours. It was His. And it was no mere hope even of His—it was His certainty, His faith. 'I will draw all men. They will rise to My call.' It is not in Christ that we find the hopeless denunciations and despites of human nature which mark the bigot and the monk. He believed in man because He had alone the key to man's soul, in His human heart and His holy love. He believed in man when men did not believe in Himself, when they rose against Him. 'Though ye slay Me, yet will I trust in you.' When they killed Him they were yet worth dying for. I myself could not believe that, except for His belief in it. He knew He did not die in vain. Time was on His side, and eternity. He sowed unto the Spirit, and He knew that of the Spirit He would reap much fruit. If He had despaired of us, who are 2,000 years away from Him, as we despair of men 2,000 miles away from us, we should never have been here; and, wherever we were, we should have had nothing but despair. To distrust missions is to distrust Christ. And it is to dethrone Christ. And that is to abolish Christianity.

10. *None ever showed such humility, and yet none ever so believed in Himself and was sure of Himself.*

I have spoken of Christ's faith in man, but greater still is His faith in Himself. And how can we spread Him if we do not share it? Our faith in Christ is, after all, but sharing His faith in Himself, just as our own work for His kingdom is but sharing His royal action from heaven always. 'I, if I be lifted up, will draw all.' Is it extravagant and credulous to speak of the *mighty* superhuman soul that could venture on such a word? Is it mere uncritical piety, and pulpit rhetoric, to speak of His sublime consciousness, of His unique self? He shared this feature of the self-sufficient, sure 'I am.' Never was man's composure of self-certainty like this Man's. The awful hour troubled Him,

but it did not appal Him. He suffered, but He never complained. He quailed, but He never broke. He halted, but He never went back. He lost His joy of God, but never His faith. He realized the vastness of His task, and He rose to it; the agony of it, but He went through. The eternity in Him was always equal to the hour when it came. He was despised, rejected, forsaken, but always the King. What manner of soul is this which enables a man calmly to seat Himself on the throne of the whole race and assume, in face of contempt, the sovereignty of the world? And the sovereignty of the world's soul, mark, of the world's gratitude. There is nothing Napoleonic, nothing vulgarly imperial, about this—none of your adventurer's coarse coercion or brute dominion. It was loyalty He drew out, not mere homage. His power was a spell; and He gave men their King because He gave them themselves. Think, too, of the scale of His capacious soul. He not only had room and remedy for all the aching wicked world, but He knew He had. 'Come unto *Me*, ALL ye that labour, and I will give you rest.' There is more of Christ's true Deity in that word than in all the story of His birth. And this consciousness of self was so natural, so effortless, so true and sure, that He took His royal place with entire and noble humility. This Man was no man. The soul that has a home for all men is more than man. He who is all men's bond is no man's fellow. The soul in which all men not only find a place, but find their own place, is no mere soul of man, but the Son of God, in whom we were made. What is there impossible to a spirit like this? A soul so sure of itself can do anything. All power in heaven and earth is given to it. He felt Himself adequate to a work spiritual, universal, and eternal, like the act of creation itself. Who is sufficient for such a thing, but God alone? Who could forgive a sin against God, but the very present God, whom sin offended? What heart could hold the world, but the heart that issued it? Who has a heart for all the world, but the heart from whom the world came? Who can offer the whole world a home, but the love that created

the world for itself? Surely this was the Son of God; and our missions are but the practical confession of such an Incarnation. If He was not the Son of God, He was the most swollen of megalomaniacs, the chief of all the poor lunatics that think themselves God, and dispense fortunes, ranks, and dominions to their *fellow victims*. For if this infatuation be the explanation of Christ, we are all His fellow lunatics. He has taken the best of us in. To say that Christ, with His claims and gifts, was a heady lunatic, is to despise the sanity of our common race. Whatever He was, He has been the greatest influence on the race that ever entered history. And upon its highest no less than upon its lowest. But what a despicable thing humanity is if its best and greatest have yielded to a self-deluded fool! To accuse Christ of delusion is to accuse mankind of being mostly fools. This last charge has been made, but it was by a cynic; yet never, even by that tender cynic, in connexion with the reception of Christ, rather because of His rejection. Scepticism of Christ means cynicism of man, and cynicism of a far darker type than the great and dear Carlyle's.

This mighty, secure soul was either God or lost. And to trust Him is either our last wisdom or our last folly. But if it is our best wisdom, He was God; and if our faith be not foolishness, then He is not the Church's Lord alone, but mankind's. And the faith of Him must be a sanguine and a missionary faith. Mere humanism is kind, but it is not missionary. Unitarianism is philanthropic, but it is not aggressive. But if Christ was right in His conscious self, His religion must be comprehensive, or it ceases to be His. So long as it is His, it believes in the human right to Him, in human possibilities, human dignity, and the greatness of the human soul and the holy salvation. That is to say, it is humane and missionary. There is no other word, and there is no other conclusion. If it be not missionary, it denies itself; and in denying itself it discredits mankind and despises Europe's historic trust. The spirit that distrusts missions is, first or last, the cynic spirit. It is another side of that government by contempt which is ruining us at home

and abroad, and bringing up our youth in more insolence than loyalty. And it will be found that most of those who are cold to missions are cold elsewhere, where they ought to be warm. And many of them are cold altogether, except where they are heated by some passion of self. The historic Jesus is the Son of God and the world's Christ. And the faith of Him is a faith which *must* compass sea and land to make a final kingdom for Him. And if it forgo that effort it makes Him a dreamer, His reform a craze, and His followers befooled.

It is thus another of the paradoxes that make up our faith, that no religion less than universal can continue to be patriotic in any but an idolatrous and immoral sense. When our missions and our politics collide, and we choose our politics and not our missions, we become ourselves the heathens we disown or the Pharisees we despise. And the end of that is public death.

I have thought it needless to dwell on the paradox of the cross, so central and happily so familiar, 'Die to live.' Or such another as 'I live, yet not I, but Christ in me.' Let us urge such things. The paradoxes of Christianity make better sermons, because a better gospel, than all the rationality of it.

P. T. FORSYTH.

PRESENT DWARF RACES AND PREHISTORIC PIGMIES.

1. *The Uganda Protectorate.* By Sir HARRY JOHNSTON. Two Vols. (London, 1902.)
2. *Hints on Evolution in Tradition.* By DAVID MACRITCHIE. (1902.)
3. *Dwarf Survivals and Traditions as to Pigmy Races.* By R. G. HALIBURTON. (1895.)
4. *Fians, Fairies, and Picts.* By DAVID MACRITCHIE. (London, 1893.)
5. *Les Pygmées.* By A. DE QUATREFAGES. (Paris, 1887.)
6. *Voyage aux Philippines et en Malaisie.* By Dr. J. MONTANO. (Paris, 1886.)
7. *Luçon et Palaouan : Six années de voyages aux Philippines.* By ALFRED MARCHE. (Paris, 1887.)

A NEW branch of science connected with the study of Man has arisen during the last fifty years. This is the study of dwarf tribes and pigmy races, and their distribution both in the past and the present. This study has wonderfully advanced in recent years, and now promises to furnish new and valuable materials for throwing light on Man's history. It is remarkable how old traditions are being verified by it, and how even old superstitions are proved to have been founded on solid fact. In considering this question, we shall first notice the manner in which the works under review treat of pigmy races now living, and then draw some general conclusions.

The amusing stories related by the ancient classical writers, such as Herodotus, Pliny, and Aristotle, concerning

the pigmies and their conflicts with the cranes are well known, and have received striking confirmation in recent times by being understood to refer to the combats between the present African dwarfs and ostriches. In 1652 the Dutch occupied the Cape of Good Hope, and on penetrating inland met with the diminutive Bushmen, who are veritable dwarfs and the shortest members of the human race. Shortly before, the Spaniards had seized the Philippine Islands in the Pacific, where they discovered a race of black dwarfs, who under the name of Aëtas (or Negritos) exist at the present day. The Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal were afterwards found to be peopled by another race of black pigmies, or Mincopies, who still live, although unhappily they are approaching extinction. In Africa the dwarfs are more widely spread. Dr. Krapf¹ more than sixty years ago described the Doko pigmies, who were reported to live in the regions near Kaffa. Du Chaillu, in his second series of journeys in western equatorial Africa, met with the Obango dwarfs² in the depths of the forests; and Major Serpa Pinto shortly afterwards described similar pigmies, resembling the Bushmen, in the southern parts of Benguela.³ When Schweinfurth, in 1879, explored the kingdom of Monbuttoo on the Equator, to the north-west of Lake Albert Nyanza, he discovered in this region a veritable nation of dwarfs called Akkas. These he graphically describes,⁴ and relates that when he first encountered a number of them he fancied himself surrounded by a troop of jumping and shouting boys! Many travellers have since seen the Akkas (or Tikki-Tikkis), and their skill in tracking wild beasts and obtaining ivory is so great that they are protected by the king of the Monbuttoos. Sir H. M. Stanley encountered the pigmies of the Congo Forest in his first trip down the Congo,⁵ and afterwards met with many when

¹ *Missionary Travels.*

² *A Journey to Ashangoland*, pp. 316-7.

³ *How I Crossed Africa*, pp. 319-25.

⁴ *The Heart of Africa*, vol. ii. pp. 122-47.

⁵ *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. ii.

in his expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha he passed through the terrible forest between the Congo and the Albert Nyanza.¹ Since this time the dwarfs of the Congo Forest have been frequently described, and at present the Church Missionary Society, from its station on the western edge of the Semliki district, has laboured, not without success, to spread Christianity among these remarkable pigmies. So widespread is the distribution of dwarf races in Central and Southern Africa, that it is now maintained by many anthropologists that in primaeval times the earliest human inhabitants of Central Africa were dwarfs, who, divided into different types and races, peopled the whole of Africa from the Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope. Traces of dwarf races have also been found in America; but we are not concerned with these at present, although we shall refer to them when noticing the valuable writings of Mr. MacRitchie and Mr. Haliburton.

As the work of M. de Quatrefages describes the general distribution of dwarf races, it will be best to notice it in beginning our account of these pigmies. In a former work² the learned French scientist has described the pigmies of South-Eastern Asia, and he deals here at greater length with his subject.

He shows that the stories of ancient pigmies related by Aristotle, Ctesias, Herodotus, and Pliny have been proved to be substantially correct, and he proves that these classical writers were acquainted with the dwarfs of Central Africa and of South-Eastern Asia. These last are at present divided into two classes—the pigmies of the mainland, and the dwarfs of the islands of the Indian Ocean. According to M. de Quatrefages, the Asiatic pigmies inhabit an area which extends from the Himalayas and the Philippine Islands on the north to Borneo on the south; and from the Indus on the west to New Guinea on the east. All the pigmies are black, but the tint varies in depth. In Central India,

¹ *In Darkest Africa*, vol. ii. pp. 92-8.

² *Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages*.

according to M. Quatrefages, 'Monkey Men,' or dwarfs, still inhabit the jungles, and in the same chapter he describes at length the Sakkays, who are dwarfs inhabiting the southern part of the Malay Peninsula. The dwarfs of the Philippine Islands, or Aëtas, are described in two chapters, whilst striking pictures and figures are given of these diminutive men and women. Perhaps the most important portion of the work of M. Quatrefages is the long and elaborate chapter which he devotes to the dwarfs of the Andaman Islands, or Mincopies. These little blacks had a bad character given to them, which is now proved to be undeserved. They are intelligent, moral, and affectionate, and compare favourably with many of their taller neighbours. In many parts of the Andamans the Mincopies use stone weapons, which M. Quatrefages compares with the flints found in the Miocene deposits at Thenay in France. These diminutive flints were once thought to prove that man lived in the Tertiary Era, but this idea is now abandoned by the best anthropologists. The Mincopies have strong religious notions. They believe in a Supreme Being called Puluga, who lives in the sky; and, curiously enough, the tradition of a Great Deluge is held by them. They also firmly believe in the doctrine of a future life, and in a future state of rewards and punishments. Passing to Africa, M. Quatrefages gives a long account of the Akkas (or Tikki-Tikkis), discovered by Schweinfurth. Some of these were brought to Europe, and received a European education. They learnt readily; and one of these pigmies having entered the Italian army, died in the garrison of Verona. Short notices are given of the dwarfs of the Congo Forest, and of pigmies found here and there in French Congo and in Western Africa; but this part of the book might have been lengthened with advantage. The last chapter of the work of M. Quatrefages is devoted to the Bushmen of South Africa, but to us it is disappointing. It rather describes the Hottentots than the Bushmen, and the relations between the two races are still in dispute. The Hottentots are strongly religious, believing in a Supreme

Being, and the Bushmen hold a similar faith. According to M. Quatrefages the Bushmen were the aborigines of South Africa, the Hottentots being (according to our author) a mixed race formed by the union of the Bushmen and later invading Bantu tribes. All travellers dwell upon the extraordinary intellectual quickness of the Bushmen. They are most admirable artists, delighting in music, and they will dance all night by the light of the moon. Some time ago two very diminutive Bushman children, a boy and girl, were brought to England and received a good education. They learnt rapidly, putting many English children to shame, not only by their intellectual ability but also by their pleasing and modest manners. For intellectual power the Bushmen are considerably in advance of many taller African negroes. At the present time Christianity has its converts among these pigmy yellow Bushmen. M. de Quatrefages advances the following theory relating to the origin of the Black Race.¹ The human race originated in Southern Asia, in which region its three varieties—the white, the black, and the yellow—had their beginning. The blacks, both tall and dwarfish, had their leading place of abode in India, the white and yellow races being on the north. Pressed southwards by their assailants, the blacks were compelled to escape by sea, though some took refuge in mountains and fastnesses of the forest. One stream of black emigration passed into the islands of the Indian Ocean, while another setting in towards the west entered Africa. Everywhere the little black dwarfs were the first to occupy the new lands, and they were followed by the tall blacks of different varieties. We heartily commend the work of M. de Quatrefages for its interest, originality, and information. It is charmingly written and well illustrated, and we are glad to see that an English translation has recently been published.

M. Montano was entrusted by the French Minister of Instruction with a scientific mission to the Philippine Islands. He left France in 1879, returning in 1881. He

¹ *Les Pygmées*, pp. 272-3.

has published a technical memoir of his scientific discoveries,¹ and the work under review is his personal narrative. On his way out he stopped in Malacca, and visited the blacks, or Manthras, who live in the Malay Peninsula near Penang. These blacks, who are the aborigines of the region, live in rude huts in the depths of the forests. Although not exactly dwarfs, they are not tall, being only on an average 4 ft. 10 in. in height. Subject to fearfully cutaneous diseases, they are steadily dying out. They are hunters, but also plant and cultivate rice around their dwellings. Notwithstanding their degraded state, their intelligence is of a high order, and the teachers in the schools find the Manthra pupils more quick and clever than their stronger neighbours.² Then M. Montano passed into the Philippines, spending some time in Manilla and in different parts of the island of Luzon. He next visited the Sooloo archipelago, which extends from the Philippines to Borneo, and, whilst stopping in a Spanish settlement, witnessed an attack on the town by fanatical Malays.³ Leaving Sooloo, he came to the British colony of North Borneo at Sandikan, and ascended the river Sagalind for some distance. Dense forests extended on both banks, abounding with apes, elephants, and rhinoceroses; and the shoaling of the water, as well as the narrowing of the channel, at last compelled the enterprising Frenchman to return. His next point was Mindanao, which is, after Luzon, the largest of the Philippines, and whilst residing here he ascended the great volcano of Apo, 9,429 feet high. He passed successively through the forest and grassy zones which encircle the flanks of this giant, and, scaling the upper slopes of lava and cinders, succeeded in gaining the summit. Crossing Mindanao, partly by river navigation and partly by traversing prairies and forests, he reached the eastern coast

¹ 'Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une Mission aux Iles Philippines et en Malaisie' (*Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3me série, tome xi. Paris, 1885).

² *Voyage aux Philippines*, pp. 28-9.

³ Locally called 'Juramentados.'

of the island. After a tedious and dangerous voyage along the eastern shores of Mindanao, he embarked on a steamer and reached Manilla, returning to France in June 1881.

The account given by M. Montano of the dwarfs of the Philippines is most interesting. He visited these pigmies in the mountains near Manilla, where he found them well protected by the Spanish Government. The local name of the dwarfs is Aëtas, but they are scientifically known as the Negritos. These dwarfs are about 4 ft. 8 in. in average height, and although slight are well built, even possessing graceful figures. Their heads are brachycephalic, the aspect of their faces being pleasing and intelligent, whilst their hair is woolly like that of negroes. The colour of their skin is a pronounced black, the lower part of the face being very prognathous. They are armed with lances and gigantic bows, the arrows of which are dangerously poisoned. It is striking to discover that these little blacks are moral, honest, and often more intelligent than their taller neighbours. M. Montano relates that one of these Aëtas, being converted to Christianity by the Jesuit missionaries, was brought to Spain, and, having been instructed in theology, was actually ordained to evangelize his fellow dwarfs.¹ A faint idea of a Supernatural Being exists among them, but it is difficult to fully analyse their beliefs. They have chiefs, also a kind of patriarchal government; and it is singular that M. Rienzi has discovered that they preserve traditions that not only were they formerly sole masters of the Philippines, but that at that time they were far more advanced in culture and in civilization than at the present day.

M. Marche was entrusted by the French Government with a scientific mission to the Philippines, which took six years to carry out. He went twice to the Philippines, his explorations lasting from 1879 to 1885. As a scientific explorer he is well known from the account he published

¹ *Voyage aux Philippines*, p. 72.

of his visits to Western Africa,¹ and his intellectual characteristics are of a high order. Leaving France in July 1879, he reached Singapore and made an excursion into the province of Perak, in the southern part of the peninsula of Malacca, opposite the island of Penang. Here he met with the Sakkays, the small (though not actually dwarf) black inhabitants of the woods and mountains. They are not so small as the Manthras, with whom they form part of an aboriginal black population of the Malay Peninsula. The small blacks of the Malay Peninsula are generally known as Semangs, and may be roughly divided into Manthras, Binonas, Udais, Jakuns, and Sakkays,² M. de Quatrefages gives an illustration of a Sakkay porter of Perak,³ from a photograph by M. de La Croix. This presents us with a picture of a well-built little black dwarf of graceful proportions, and with a pleasing and intelligent countenance. Between the genuine Negrito dwarf of Southern Malacca and their Malay conquerors are many mixed types. According to M. Marche, the Sakkays, Binonas, and Manthras, all of whom are black like genuine negroes, have elaborate ideas on Cosmogony, and are fond of trying to explain the origin of objects. The Sakkays and Manthras are pure black dwarfs; the other tribes mentioned above are mixed races between the Blacks and the Malays. The Sakkays have small heads, very penetrating eyes, and are subdivided into several classes or tribes. They have vague notions of a Supreme Being, to whom they address their prayers.⁴

Leaving Malacca, M. Marche reached the Philippine Islands and took up his residence in Manilla. He visited the other parts of the island of Luzon, and gives lengthy descriptions of its earthquakes and volcanoes. He ascended

¹ *Trois Voyages dans l'Afrique Occidentale*.

² The Sakkays are described also by M. de La Croix in *Revue d'Ethnographie*, Juillet 1882.

³ *Hommes Fossiles et Hommes Sauvages*, p. 204.

⁴ An excellent account of the Sakkays is given in *Living Races of Mankind*, by H. N. Hutchinson, pp. 88-96.

one of these volcanoes named Taal whilst it was in a dangerous state of activity. He returned shortly after to France, but in 1882 again visited the Philippines. During this sojourn he stopped for a time in the long and narrow island of Palawan, lying to the south of Luzon. After a trip to the Sooloo archipelago he finally returned to France in April 1885. The work of M. Marche, full of useful information, is written in a bright and attractive style. The illustrations also, many of which portray the botanical and zoological characters of the Philippines, are particularly good. Omitting the Europeans and Chinese, the native races of the Philippines may be classified as follows:—*First*, the Malays, who invaded the islands in the fifteenth century, and who are Mohammedans except when they have been converted to Christianity by the Roman Catholic missionaries. *Secondly*, the tall Blacks, many of whom are still pagan: whilst those who have embraced Christianity are slothful and effeminate. Some regard them as a mixed race springing from the union of the Malays and Negritos, but M. Montano thinks that they are an independent stock. Half-castes, however, between the Blacks and Malays are very numerous. *Thirdly*, the Dwarfs, who are scientifically known as Negritos, although locally they are called by various names, such as Aëtas, Mamounas, and Battas. These dwarfs were seen by M. Marche, and are figured by him: in his illustration the adult dwarf, armed with a gigantic bow and similarly large arrows, has a pleasing and intelligent countenance. The funeral ceremonies of these dwarfs are most elaborate. The funeral feasts last many days, and are accompanied by dirges and dances. The dead are buried in a bark coffin, covered with leaves and bushes. The Spanish Government in the past has carefully protected these black pigmies, and we may hope that under the new régime the same care will be extended to them by the Americans.

The fame of Sir Harry Johnston as a statesman and a scientific explorer is widely recognized, and his brilliant literary reputation will be further increased by the

splendid work¹ here mentioned. It is delightfully written, and most beautifully illustrated, coloured pictures and fine photographs being thickly interspersed among its well-printed pages. The first volume describes the geographical features and natural history of the Protectorate, as well as its commercial and meteorological characteristics. The second volume deals with anthropology, and is devoted to an account of the various human races inhabiting British Central Africa. The ever-changing scenery of the six provinces included in the Uganda Protectorate is described with graphic power. The grassy prairies of the Masai region; the barren wastes around the shores of Lake Rudolf; the gigantic extinct volcano, called Mount Elgon, which is 14,200 feet above the sea; the glorious and fertile Uganda districts, the very paradise of Central Africa; the hot steaming valley of the Semliki; and, above all, the gigantic snow-clad chain of Ruwenzori, which rises to a height of 20,000 feet, presenting thirty miles of glaciers and perpetual snow, are described so vividly that they pass before our eyes like the scenes of a magnificent panorama. The zoology and botany are treated with equal care and power: the crocodiles, serpents, and monkeys being well described; and the frontispiece of the first volume represents the strange okapi, an aberrant form of zebra.

The coloured frontispiece to Sir Harry Johnston's second volume depicts dwarfs from the forests in the valley of the Semliki. The great Congo Forest reaches the border of the Uganda Protectorate at this point, and the dwarfs can well be studied from the outlying stations between the Albert Nyanza and Lake Kivu. In a space extending to nearly sixty pages,² Sir Harry Johnston describes the pigmies, and gives numerous photographs of them. The average height of the men is 4 ft. 9 in., and that of the women 4 ft. 6 in. There seem to be two types—the dark black and the brown; but too much importance must not be attached to variations

¹ *The Uganda Protectorate*, 2 vols.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 510-65. The volumes are paged continuously.

of colour. The skulls of the dwarfs are dolichocephalic, their cranial capacity being about 1,400 cubic centimetres. The cranial capacity of the Bushmen averages 1,330 c.c., that of the Mincopies 1,240 c.c., and that of the Akkas sinks as low as 1,100 c.c. The Congo dwarfs have no government, but the reports furnished to Sir H. M. Stanley by the Arabs seem to contradict this. According to Sir Harry Johnston, the pigmies are remarkably intelligent, and, when with white men, show a wonderful mental superiority to their tall black neighbours.¹ They have a good idea of drawing, and are remarkably fond of dancing and singing. They have, according to our author, no definite language or religion; but on this latter point, again, the information supplied by Stanley does not agree with this.

Whence came these extraordinary pigmies? Following M. de Quatrefages, Sir Harry Johnston thinks that they were an offshoot of the Black Race,² which, originating in India, spread through Arabia into Africa. The first blacks were of a heavy, ape-like type, which shows itself in the tall simian-like natives of the Protectorate.³ Between the Bushmen and the Congo pigmies there does not seem to be any connexion, but the point requires further elucidation. The pigmies are spread far to north and west, and as Akoas are found in French Congo.⁴ They also seem to have been discovered in the German Protectorate of the Cameroons.⁵

Sir Harry Johnston thinks that the stories which prevail in Europe of the trolls, elves, gnomes, and fairies arose from later races seeing dwarfs in Europe in prehistoric times,⁶ and this idea is widely accepted by many leading students of ethnology and folklore.

Mr. Haliburton traces the dwarf African races north-

¹ *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii. p. 537.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 471.

³ These are called Bunandas (*ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 110-12).

⁴ *Les Pygmées*, pp. 240-6. See also Miss Kinguley's *Travels in West Africa*, p. 319.

⁵ *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii. p. 523.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 517.

wards across the Sahara into Morocco, and ultimately into Spain, in which country he finds many traces of pigmies. More than fifty years ago the great German mythologist Jacob Grimm held that the legends of elves, trolls, and fairies in Germany could only be explained by the existence of a dwarf race in Europe in prehistoric times, and Mr. Edward Tylor agrees with this theory.¹ In Europe, to-day, Professors Sergi, Thilenius, and Köllman declare that they have found the skeletons of dwarf races which lived in Europe in the Later Stone Age or in the Bronze Age. The skeletons of some of the racial dwarfs have been found in Neolithic beds in Switzerland by Professor Nuesch,² and Professor Köllman lately announced their discovery in the Grotte des Fées in Northern France.

It is the aim of Mr. MacRitchie³ to show that the existence of a race of prehistoric pigmies in Great Britain can be established from traditional legends, as well as from archaeological structures. He shows that the Fians and Fairies were identical, and labours to prove that the Picts were dwarfs, and were the same as the Fairies. He describes the various underground dwellings, called the 'Picts' Houses' in Scotland, and in the Hebrides, and shows that their contracted stone cells and narrow underground stone-faced passages (which somewhat resemble a stone drain) could only have been used by a race of dwarfs. These 'Picts' Houses' often contain the relics of food and traces of fires, proving that some of them at least were places of refuge and habitation. A dominant race does not hide and burrow underground, and it is certain that these subterranean dwellings are not in any sense Celtic. The singular burghs, or brochs, in the north of Scotland form another link in the chain of evidence. They are stone-built towers with passages in the walls, and contain a central chamber. The burgh of

¹ *Primitive Culture*, vol. i. p. 283.

² *Scottish Geographical Journal*, September 1897, p. 472.

³ In *Fians, Fairies, and Picts*. In another work, *The Testimony of Tradition*, he still further develops this argument.

Moussa¹ in the Shetland Islands is the most important that now remains, although many others, more ruined, rise on the headlands and hills of the Scottish islands and mainlands in the far north. Tradition states that these burghs were built by dwarfs, and it is singular that the passages which traverse their walls are often so small that only diminutive men could crawl through them. The bee-hive huts in the Hebrides form another link in the chain of evidence, though some are inhabited in the present day.

We think Mr. MacRitchie fully proves his case, and that it is undoubted that in the beginning of the Neolithic Age the earliest representatives of the human race in Northern Europe were dwarfs and pigmies. These were exterminated by stronger invaders, after they had for some time maintained a precarious existence amidst the rocks and forests. The stories of the satyrs, the legends of the fairies, elves, and goblins, as well as the traditions of the pixies or piskies in Devon and Cornwall, all seem to be recollections of a prehistoric race of pigmies. The numerous minute arrow-heads of flint found in many European countries seem to have been used by these dwarf tribes. M. de Mortillet has described and figured many of these,² and they are found in England in great numbers. They occur in Ireland also, and it is singular that these stone darts have been called elf-shots, and tradition says that they were arrows shot by fairies at the cattle. In this case tradition may be perfectly right, and the idea be merely the recollection of the nightly attacks made by the dwarfs on the cattle of their stronger neighbours. In the Isle of Man it is even now said that the gorse should be burnt on All Hallow E'en, lest it should afford a hiding-place for the fairies (? pigmies in prehistoric days). The Manxmen dread to walk along certain paths for fear of the 'little people,' and in Cornwall, even in recent times, the same terror of the 'little people' existed amongst

¹ A good photograph of this erection is given in Lord Avebury's *Prehistoric Times*, 6th edition (1900), p. 50.

² *Formation de la Nation Française*, p. 250.

the country folk. These traditions are clearly to be referred to the existence of a prehistoric dwarf race, and to its conflicts with taller and stronger neighbours.

Sir Harry Johnston's opinion is clearly stated in the following words:—

'Other dwarf races of humanity (than the Congo pigmies) belonging to the white or the Mongolian species may have inhabited Northern Europe in ancient times, or it is just possible that this type of Pygmy Negro, which survives to-day in the recesses of Inner Africa, may even have overspread Europe in remote times. If it did, then the conclusion is irresistible that it gave rise to most of the myths and beliefs connected with gnomes, kobolds, and fairies. The demeanour and actions of the little Congo dwarfs at the present day remind one, over and over again, of the traits attributed to the brownies and goblins of our fairy stories. Their remarkable power of becoming invisible by adroit hiding in herbage and behind rocks, their probable habits in sterile or open countries of making their homes in holes and caverns, their mischievousness and their prankish good-nature, all seem to suggest that it was some race like this which inspired most of the stories of Teuton and Celt regarding a dwarfish people of quasi-supernatural attributes.'¹

With these views we fully agree. We consider it now proved that at the beginning of the Neolithic Age a race of dwarfs overspread Northern Europe, and that the legends of fairies and gnomes relate to these pigmies. Mr. Mac-Ritchie, in a further pamphlet,² refers to the account given of the pigmies and ape-like men of Central Africa by Mr. Grogan,³ and illustrates the account by comparing it with ancient Welsh and Scotch traditions. We believe he is perfectly correct, and his conclusions in our opinion are as valuable as they are interesting.

D. GATH WHITLEY.

¹ *Pall Mall Magazine*, February 1902, p. 178.

² *Hints of Evolution in Tradition*.

³ *The Geographical Journal*, August 1900.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

Christianity in Talmud and Midrash. By R. Travers Herford, B.A. (London: Williams & Norgate. 18s. net.)

THIS scholarly book, if not quite as original in theme as the author supposes, is full of interest to the student of the early days and documents of Christianity. Acknowledgement is made of indebtedness to Laible's 'Jesus Christus im Talmud'; but the issue of an English version of that essay eleven years ago, under the editorial care of Dr. A. W. Streane, and with the original texts and translations by Dr. Gustaf Dalman, is fatal to Mr. Herford's claim to priority, as far as the Talmudical treatment of Christ is concerned. More than half of his book, however, is occupied with the investigation of Rabbinical references to Christianity in its primitive conceptions and usages; there, indeed, though the subject has not been by any means entirely neglected, and discussions of the identification of the Minim and of their relation to Jew and Christian are accessible, no ampler collection of the materials has hitherto been made in English, and the conclusions derived from them are generally reasonable and convincing.

Mr. Herford's method is to supplement a literal translation of the various passages with a minute commentary, in which the exegetical difficulties are carefully dealt with. His equipment of technical knowledge in one of the most perplexing, though attractive, branches of study is sufficient; and details of date, dependence, meaning, are exhibited with general accuracy and clearness. The results are gathered up in a few sections at the close. A full apparatus of indexes is provided, with a bibliography, which may be complete as an indication of the books consulted by the writer, but might with advantage have been extended.

In the first part the author gives reason enough for his con-

clusion that the historical Jesus of Nazareth is referred to in the Talmud. The allusions are not numerous, but include His birth, residence in Egypt, claim to be divine, influence amongst the people, and execution on the eve of a Sabbath. Of so much there can be no well-founded doubt. Many of these allusions occur in the earlier Tannaite literature, and are not without apologetic significance. One, for instance, may be confidently dated at the close of the first century or beginning of the second, and shows that even then there was a tradition amongst the Jews of something exceptional about the birth of Jesus, whilst the authority cited is possibly an Aramaic forerunner of the pedigree recorded in Matthew. Hitherto comparatively little use of neo-Jewish literature has been made in the examination of critical and exegetical problems; but not only are many linguistic discoveries awaiting the patient searcher, it looks as though a new line of defence might be drawn around the so-called Gospels of the Infancy.

The evidence for the connexion of the Minim with Christian thought and worship is, as in the previous case, examined point by point, and afterwards summarized. Friedländer himself will not find it easy to meet Mr. Herford's contention, or to maintain any longer his own view that they were Gnostics of the Ophite sect. The conclusion is now set almost beyond objection, that the Minim, strictly so named, were Jewish Christians, whose Christology was not unlike that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but who were reluctant to sever entirely their relations with Judaism. Their history proves the existence on the Jewish side at once of a somewhat contemptuous remembrance of Jesus, and of an inflexible determination to disown all who sought to reduce and modify Judaism by mingling it with Christianity. The particulars are set forth at length by our author, who, whilst not meeting the good fortune of sinking an entirely new shaft, has been more scientific and unwearied in his methods than any of his predecessors, and has brought up more treasure. His book will be of the utmost use to those whose work is hindered by misrepresentation of the Talmudic misrepresentations of Jesus, and will help in its measure in the illumination of the origins and early days of Christianity.

R. W. M.

Buddhism: An Illustrated Quarterly Review, No. 2. (Buddhist Society: Rangoon. 3s.)

The second number of the new Review has a full and varied table of contents. The first article describes and illustrates the

official installation in open Durbar of the Buddhist Primate by the Lieutenant-Governor—an act which has caused much joy to Buddhist circles and controversy in others. Dr. Rhys Davids has a short paper comparing Pali and Sanscrit Buddhist texts. Pali is to Sanscrit as Italian to Latin; more precisely, it is later than Vedic and earlier than classic Sanscrit, the age of the last running into centuries. Mr. James Allen describes the Noble Eightfold Path, the Buddhist way of salvation, in a sympathetic spirit. The Path is a scheme of self-redemption in the most absolute sense. Another article continues the story of the famous Shwe Dagon pagoda near Rangoon, and describes the ceremony of initiation into the Buddhist order of monks. The two notable articles on 'The Processes of Thought' and 'Transmigration,' by Burmese Buddhists, are curiously complimentary. The first emphasizes the Buddhist doctrine that there is no soul in man as a separate existence, a tenet of negative philosophies nearer home. What we call mind or soul is only the sense of thoughts and feelings, 'an ever-changing congeries of mental and other phenomena, as in the flame of the lamp or the flowing of the river,' a ceaseless flux. There is therefore no transmigration of a soul. The subject of the transition is simply Kamma (Karma), a certain influence or force which is the final resultant of the whole life. This impalpable, indefinable influence passes in some way from one man dying to another being born. 'It is not he, and yet is not another,' is the definition. 'Nowhere is there an enduring soul, but only a transference of character, the fruit of mental action in the past.' The illustrations and arguments used are such as no Western writer would think of. The clever writer uses the equality of births and deaths as a statistical argument in favour of the doctrine. Modern science and philosophy are pressed into the service. The brightness and ability of the articles are remarkable.

B.

The Hibbert Journal: A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. April 1904. (London: Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d. net.)

More than one article in this number exemplifies the wisdom of the words with which Hume closes his *Treatise on Human Nature*: 'The true sceptic will be diffident of his philosophical doubts as well as of his philosophical convictions.' A little more diffidence of doubt would have added to the value of Sir Oliver Lodge's 'Suggestions towards the Reinterpretation of Christian Doctrine.' One

of his most noteworthy statements is: 'No science asserts that our personality will cease a quarter of a century hence, nor does any science assert that it began half a century ago.' Canon Henson is on firmer ground when he emphasizes the witness of Christian experience to 'The Resurrection of Jesus Christ' than he occupies when he criticizes the witness of history to the fact.

Professor Henry Jones, of Glasgow University, discusses 'The Moral Aspect of the Fiscal Question.' His own convictions are clearly stated, but not in the spirit of a partisan; too frequently politicians overlook the fact that 'national prosperity depends upon national character,' and not solely upon material conditions. 'France has been prosperous under protection, and it would be prosperous were its trade free; for its people are thrifty and industrious. And I should say the same of the British Empire; it will survive its policies, if it keeps its character.' That every political question has a religious as well as a moral aspect, is shown in a striking contribution by the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia* on the much debated theme, 'The alleged Indifference of Laymen to Religion.' He cannot regard rancour as consistent with Christianity; but in the quarrel over the Education Act many Church people say that 'the motive which actuates the passive resister is hatred of true religion,' whilst many Nonconformists say that 'the bishops and clergy are actuated by motives of ecclesiastical greed.' His impartial appeal to the two parties is not to foster misunderstandings; religious papers ought persistently to advocate 'throwing into the bitter waters of this controversy that generous love which is the first necessity of Christian character.' The inner secret of Christianity must find less fitful expression, if the indifferent layman is to be persuaded that the Christ of the Gospels lives to inspire men, and if Christianity is to be a compelling force in our land.

J. G. T.

The Old Riddle and the Newest Answer. By John Gerard, S.J., F.L.S. (London: Longmans. 5s. net.)

The title of this work was suggested by Haeckel's *The Riddle of the Universe*, as Haeckel's title was suggested by Du Bois Reymond's famous address on 'The Seven Riddles.' The author is familiar with recent scientific research, and he is not one of the specialists who cannot see the wood for the trees. He is at his best as he clearly and cogently exposes the absurdities of the philosophy which calls itself monistic, though it is, in reality, a thinly disguised

materialism, destitute of scientific basis. He is not so successful in his attack upon Evolution, though he does good service by showing that evolution is not a creative force. There is also much weight in his adverse criticism of Darwinism proper—the theory that evolution works by natural selection. It is important that Haeckel's followers should be reminded that his 'great selective divinity' is rejected by many leading scientists, and that many more who stop short of disavowal make fatal reservations.

J. G. T.

The Tree in the Midst: A Contribution to the Study of Freedom. By Greville Macdonald, M.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 10s. 6d. net.)

If it were not for the title-page, we should have difficulty in discovering the main purpose of this work. With the clue given us, we see that the author's object is to defend the idea of free-will against the inferences sometimes drawn from modern theories of evolution. But the main theme is presented in such an elaborate setting of collateral discussions that it may be easily overlooked. We fear that few readers will have the patience to pick their way through such labyrinths of subsidiary argument. In other respects, also, the form of the work can scarcely be regarded as happy. The style is cultured in the highest degree. The author handles his apparatus of abstract reasoning with the greatest ease. In all these respects he shows himself a master of debate. But he prides himself on having read little on the subjects of which he treats. There are the fewest possible references to other writers; originality is carried to an extreme. The author's style is intensely metaphorical; metaphor enters into its substance. In a philosophical discussion, titles like 'The Face of the Waters,' 'Adam's Revolt,' 'Thorns and Thistles,' puzzle us. The work ends with questions, not conclusions: Whence is our Inheritance, whence is the Seed? Of the singular ability and independence of the work there can be no doubt.

B.

Apostolic Unity and Variety. By Rev. W. B. Ritchie, M.A. (Demerara: Argosy Company.)

An able reply to Father Purcell's criticism of Mr. Ritchie's pamphlet on *The Ministry in the Early Church*, confirming and supplementing the position formerly taken. The criticism seems to have been singularly weak and crude; the exposure is very complete.

The early evidence on the subject is effectively dealt with. We wish the *format* of the pamphlet were more worthy of the matter.

The Journal of Theological Studies. April 1904. (London: Macmillan & Co.)

This number is a specially interesting one both in the leading articles and subsidiary notices. Professor Sanday, on 'The Injunctions of Silence in the Gospels,' deals with Dr. Wrede's extreme position, to the effect that the miracles and Resurrection never took place, and that the 'injunctions of silence' were inventions of the evangelists to cover the fact that Christ never claimed such powers. Wrede's work has excited great interest in Germany. His argument is characterized by Dr. Sanday as artificial and far fetched. Dr. Sanday suggests that one reason for the injunction was to discourage the tendency to violent measures always present among those who held worldly views of the Messiah's mission. Mr. Burkitt's article on 'The Early Church and the Synoptic Gospels' is most suggestive and animated. Some of the more learned articles have a practical bearing. Dr. A. J. Mason treats at length of Hilary of Poitiers (fourth century) as the first Latin Christian poet, analysing some recently discovered fragments of his work. A long discussion of the 'Poemandres of Hermes Trismegistus' throws much light on early Gnostic darkness. Mr. Tennant criticizes a German's work on *The Philosophy of Religion*, and Dr. Bigg criticizes Mr. Tennant's recent work on *Original Sin*. B.

The American Journal of Theology. April 1904. (Chicago: University Press.)

The articles and reviews of books are thoroughly up to date. The former deal with questions like Religious Education, Miracle, the Babylonian Code. Besides thirteen extended reviews of recent books, five other papers review a number of books under such heads as 'Philosophy and Ethics,' 'New Testament,' 'Systematic Theology.' The conduct of the review shows great system and thoroughness. B.

The Education of the Heart. By William L. Watkinson. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d. net.)

These 'brief essays on influences that make for character' are likely to be as popular and as really useful as anything Mr.

Watkinson has written. The moralist who wishes to get a hearing from jaded people must open new doors into the soul. He must beguile the listener into attention, and set him thinking by some stroke of fancy or some fresh setting of familiar truths. This is Mr. Watkinson's gift. His illustrations have a wide sweep, and they are so fresh and so felicitous that the barbed application pricks its way in before we dream that it is being thrust at us. There is an essay for each week of the year, and we pity the man who is not cured of some fault and led on to some new grace of character by putting himself under the care of this master moralist.

The Beauty of Goodness. By G. Beesley Austin. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.)

There is a meditation and a prayer here for each Sunday of the year, with a quotation from some well-known writer, and a few choice verses of poetry. The prayers are true devotion, and the meditations are graceful and suggestive. The book will be a real help in many a sickroom, and ought to sweeten the Sunday meditation of all who use it as an aid to devotion.

The Missioner's Handbook, by the Rev. Paul Bull (Grant Richards, 3s. 6d. net), is a series of counsels for evangelists and their helpers, by a member of a preaching brotherhood. It is intensely earnest, full of feeling, and it is the outcome of extended experience. Mr. Bull is no friend to Nonconformity, but every Nonconformist may thank him for many wise hints as to mission work, and may learn how to put his soul into his work. The book is splendidly written, and it is a living thing. We have greatly enjoyed reading it, though we strongly dissent from much of its teachings.

The Parables of the Way, by A. A. Brockington, M.A. (Longmans, 2s. 6d. net), is a comparative study of the Beatitudes in St. Matthew and twelve Parables in St. Luke. The comparison is somewhat forced, but the treatment is suggestive and the illustrations are happy. There is much apposite and striking quotation, much fresh thinking.

The Teaching of Jesus, by Rev. D. M. Ross, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, 2s.), is a little book based on the Synoptic Gospels. It is a singularly lucid and helpful summary of our Lord's teaching. Dr. Ross writes with much force, and his arrangement of his matter is likely to be of real service to many. It is a valuable handbook.

Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies. By A. H. Sayce, LL.D., D.D. (Religious Tract Society. 2s.)

Dr. Sayce takes a few facts from the monuments, and shows how effectively they dispose of some critical theories. 'Centuries before Abraham was born, Egypt and Babylonia were alike full of schools and libraries, of teachers and pupils, of poets and prose-writers, and of the literary works which they had composed.' The professional scribes of Assyria and Babylon carried on the reproduction of the older documents with almost Masoretic exactitude. The little book is eminently reassuring.

Religion and Science (Longmans, 2s. 6d. net), by P. N. Waggett, M.A. These suggestions will stir up many thoughts and questions. Religion has much to learn from science, and Mr. Waggett's discussion of 'Heredity' and 'Society as an Organism' will be distinctly helpful. The value of the book lies largely in its candour and its eager interest in every advance of scientific research.

Messrs. Williams & Norgate have published a third and revised edition of Harnack's *What is Christianity?* in their CROWN THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY (5s.). Mr. Bailey Saunders has made some improvements in his translation, which give greater clearness to the author's statements. The limitations of the work are so well known that there is no need to dwell on them at this moment, but the volume marks a new stage in Continental thought. Professor Harnack himself describes it: 'We are about to enter on a synthetic age, in which it is easier for religion to obtain a hearing.' No one who reads this book can fail to be profoundly interested. It will open many minds to the claims of Christ, and we are persuaded that honest inquiry must lead to the highest results.

Clarion Fallacies, by Frank Ballard (Hodder & Stoughton, 1s. net), is the book that all Christian workers want to put into the hands of those who are troubled with the infidelity of the day. Mr. Ballard knows the ground so well, and is so quick to see the weakness of his adversary's case, that he is a master in his defence of Christian truth. All Churches owe him a great debt, and will feel him to be a worthy champion of the cause which is so dear to our hearts.

The lectures in the *Is Christianity True?* series make three attractive sixpenny volumes (C. H. Kelly). They ought to be in great demand. The essence of many a learned treatise is here put

in the clearest and most helpful form. The lectures will clear away difficulties and strengthen faith.

Christ and the Christian Faith, by the late Rev. Dr. Cairns (R.T.S., 6d.), is a noble defence of Christian truth, which ought to be put into the hands of every one who is troubled by sceptical teaching.

Jesus Christ the Supreme Factor in History, by the Rev. G. S. Streatfield, M.A. (S.P.C.K., 3d.), is based on Mr. Kidd's *Principles of Western Civilisation*, and shows how the world is accepting Christ's lead and bowing to His authority. A sensibly and well-timed pamphlet.

Recent Attacks on the Faith, by Rev. John Wakeford, B.D. (S.P.C.K., 3d.), is the best brief answer to recent attacks on Christianity that we have seen. It is so clear, so relevant, so reasonable, that it will strengthen the faith of all who read it.

Mr. Kelly publishes a third edition of *When Jesus Comes*, by Rev. T. Waugh. It has evidently arrested attention, and supplied a need which many feel. Those who do not accept its teaching will not fail to be interested in Mr. Waugh's views.

The Training of Life. By the Rev. D. W. Whincup, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 2s. net.)

Seven excellent sermons on *The Pilgrim's Progress* in its relation to modern life. They are so bright and helpful that we hope they will have a large circulation.

Outlines of Pastoral Theology. Translated and edited by the late Rev. W. Hastie, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Hastie picked up a tattered little German volume from a native hawker in Calcutta more than twenty years ago, which greatly impressed him by its quiet wisdom. He translated it carefully, and it has now been published, with a preface by the Rev. D. Macmillan. It is a sober little manual for the guidance of a minister in his care of souls. It strikes us as somewhat pedestrian and suspicious of enthusiasm, but it will furnish many hints which may be fruitful in a pastor's work, and it has won much favour from very competent judges.

Recent Discoveries illustrating early Christian Life and Worship. By A. J. Maclean, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 2s.)

Dr. Maclean is Principal of the Theological College of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, and his three lectures are a very happy attempt to show what light has been thrown on the worship of the fourth century by recent discoveries. The book is packed with information, and it is brightly put. We hope it will be very widely read. Every one interested in such subjects will find it deeply interesting.

Reminders of Old Truths. By Hannah E. Pipe. (London: Longmans & Co. 3s. 6d.)

Miss Pipe's *Reminders* are both timely and tender. They are, evidently, counsels given to successive generations of Laleham girls, and they help us to understand the secret of training in that famous school. Everything that is pure and lovely is here set forth in its most attractive light. Obedience, truth, love,—these are the pillars, and the character reared on them becomes a house beautiful, where rest and solace and strength are found for all who have the right of entry. Miss Pipe's notes on 'The Decalogue' are full of moral insight and right feeling; her little Bible papers are fine specimens of the best lay sermons; and her talks on manners, method, unhappy marriages, are likely to be real aids to good living. The paper on 'Sanctification' pleases us. Miss Pipe's views come near Wesley's definition, and it is the unattained ideal that inspires us to the life-long battle with temptation and personal weakness. Many a home will be the richer for this book.

The Illustrated National Family Bible, with the Commentaries of Scott and Henry. Edited by the late Rev. John Eadie, D.D., LL.D. (Manchester: John Harrop, Ltd. 45s.)

The only serious objection we have to this Family Bible is its weight, but that will probably be part of its charm for many. Its thirteen chromo-lithographs are very attractive, and we can understand what delights these will give to successive generations of children; the twenty full-page combination plates contain 110 wood engravings illustrating Bible life and customs. There are five excellent maps, with a coloured plate showing the arrangement of the tabernacle and the temple of Solomon. Spaces are provided

in the family register for marriages, births, and deaths. There is a chronological index, a concise harmony of the Gospels, a list of Bible titles for the Church, an index of proper names with their meaning, besides other useful tables and a concise biblical cyclopaedia; the Psalms of David in metre as authorized by the Scotch Kirk, with some Scripture paraphrases and five hymns, complete the volume, and fit it for use in family worship. The commentaries of Thomas Scott and Matthew Henry, condensed and revised by Dr. Eadie, fill the lower third part of each page, and 11,000 marginal notes give the cream of 200 British and foreign commentaries. The Bible has massive brass clasps, and measures 13 inches by 11. It is 4 inches thick, and weighs 13 lb. The volume is so complete a biblical treasure-house in itself, so full of explanatory matter, so likely to attract the younger people of a family, so helpful for a teacher or a lay preacher, that it may well claim to be one of the best investments a working man can make for himself and his family. It is a book that such a family will be proud indeed to have in the place of honour on its best table.

The *Concise Teacher's Bible*, published by the Cambridge University Press, is really a library in itself. The atlas and its index are just what a student needs, and the dictionary of the Bible gives all information in the most compact and reliable form. Teachers will find no edition on the market so helpful and so convenient as this. The half-guinea copy before us is the perfection of neatness and durability.

The Oxford University Press have just added a brier 16mo clarendon type Bible on India paper to their set of Bibles. It is the Authorized Version, and combines lightness with bold type in a way which will commend it to many as the best of all editions for ordinary use. It is bound in the most attractive style, and the large, heavy-faced type is simply delightful to read. Such an edition is a public boon.

Great Souls at Prayer (H. R. Allenson, 2s. 6d.) has reached a third edition, and it deserves its popularity. Mrs. Tileston has arranged a prayer for each day of the year. Her selection ranges from Augustine down to Christina Rossetti. It is a real book of devotion, and one of unusual interest.

Thirsting for the Springs (Allenson, 3s. 6d.) is a volume of Mr. Jowett's week-night meditations. There is nothing forced or rhetorical here. Quiet good sense and deep knowledge of human nature and life look out from these simple yet deep and suggestive

homilies. They are likely to encourage and strengthen all who read them.

Anti-Haeckel: An Exposure of Haeckel's Views of Christianity. By Friedrich Loofs, Professor of Church History, Halle. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6d.)

In Relief of Doubt. By R. E. Welsh, M.A. (London: H. R. Allenson. 6d.)

These two books are intended to counteract the influence of the publications of the Rationalist Press Association. In scathing language Dr. Loofs convicts Haeckel of making 'the wildest assertions' in regard to the parentage of our Lord, the formation of the New Testament Canon, and kindred subjects. In the preface to the English edition it is rightly urged that Haeckel's offence is made graver, inasmuch as the discrediting of his authorities has neither led him to justify his statements nor adequately to amend them. Mr. Welsh's book treats many subjects in a popular style, and is well fitted to bring 'relief' to perplexed minds.

The People's Psalter. By the Rev. G. H. S. Walpole, D.D. (London: Elliot Stock. 2s. net.)

Dr. Walpole's little book is intended to make the use of the Psalms in public services more intelligent and therefore more devout. The general subject of each Psalm is stated briefly, the circumstances out of which it sprang are explained, and its application to some experience in the life of the Church is pointed out. The change of thought as the Psalm moves on is indicated by a headline over each division. Brief footnotes are added where explanations are needed. The little volume deserves a warm welcome. The idea underlying it is good, and it is worked out with much skill and good sense.

The Master's Questions to His Disciples. By the Rev. G. H. Knight. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5s.)

This book gathers together the questions which our Lord addressed to His disciples, and arranges them so as to form the basis for a series of meditations. Mr. Knight seeks to bring out clearly Christ's sovereignty over His disciples. He writes in a devotional and practical style, which will make his book a real means of deepening and enriching the spiritual life.

The S.P.C.K. publish cheap editions of Archbishop Trench's *Notes on the Parables* and *Notes on the Miracles* (3s. 6d. each), which will be of untold service. The first volume is in its seventy-second thousand, and the other comes close to it with a sale of seventy thousand. No preacher feels himself equipped without these books, and, now that the quotations from the Fathers and other writers are translated, the humblest village evangelist may be master of these stores of learning. Archbishop Trench has many claims to loving remembrance, but these volumes are his masterpiece. There is so much stimulating thought, so much apt illustration, such a survey of all previous exposition, that there is no excuse for dull sermons on the parables and miracles. To use these Notes thoroughly will be quite an education for the preacher as well as his congregation.

Yet another Day (T. Law, 1s. 6d.) contains a prayer for every day of the year, by the Rev. J. H. Jowett, M.A. The length of the prayers is from four to eight lines. A rich thought, suggestively touched on and happily phrased, gives a keynote for each day's devotion. The book will almost go into a waistcoat pocket, and it is very neatly got up. The Christmas Day prayer is not sufficiently appropriate to our thinking, and that for December 19 might be meant for Good Friday; but the little prayers are, in general, models for a moment of devotion, and never fail to lift up the heart.

Morning, Noon, and Night (James Clarke & Co., 1s.) is a sparkling little book by Dr. R. F. Horton. He is always stimulating. 'Success is the last thing in the world that you need desire. The world crowns those who amuse it, ignores those who instruct it, and hates those who better it.' He holds that 'you cannot make the best of both worlds. They are not related to each other in an order of succession, but rather concentrically, as a core to the fruit. The heavenly world is the core, and our whole business is to get the core right.' These are samples of this thought-provoking booklet. It ought to strengthen and sweeten many a reader's spirit.

Devotional Services for Public Worship. Prepared by the Rev. John Hunter, D.D. Eighth Edition. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is an admirable book, both for its simplicity, its fervour, and its breadth of range and sentiment. Nonconformists who wish for some set of prayers to enrich their services will find here a framework into which they can fit extempore prayer, whilst they secure

the compass and richness of a liturgy. The way in which Dr. Hunter's work is appreciated is shown by the call for this eighth edition, and every minister would find it a great help to have this book by his side in his study, even if he does not use it in his church.

A Help to Family Worship, by the Rev. F. Bourdillon, M.A. (R.T.S., 1s.) gives morning and evening prayers for four weeks, with prayers for special events in family life. The simple language and evangelical tone of these prayers ought to make them great favourites. It is a book that will teach those who use it how to pray themselves. Its bold type adds much to its usefulness.

Messrs. Dent & Co. have added to their TEMPLE SERIES OF BIBLE CHARACTERS AND SCRIPTURE HANDBOOKS (9d. net each) a beautiful little volume on *The Post-Exilic Prophets*—Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. It is written by Dr. J. Wilson Harper, and may be strongly commended to teachers and preachers. It is a judicious and suggestive study of three precious little prophecies. *The Twelve Apostles*, by George Milligan, B.D., in the same series, gives a sketch of each apostle's life, with notes and 'points for inquiry.' It is a book that many need, and they will find it a real help in the study of the New Testament. Other additions of the same series are, *Saul and the Hebrew Monarchy*, by Rev. R. Sinker, D.D., and *The Early Christian Martyrs*, by the Rev. J. Herkless, D.D. The frontispiece to these volumes is an attractive feature, and sets of questions are given by which a reader can test his grasp of the subject. The *Saul* is a fine study from a master hand, and Dr. Herkless's summary of the early persecutions is a wonderful tribute to the glorious constancy of these heroic martyrs of the first centuries.

The Christian Review: A Quarterly Magazine of Religious Thought. Vol. i. No. 1. Edited by Isaac Tambyah, Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon. (Colombo: Cave & Co.)

The first number of a magazine said to be unique in the East. There are articles on the inevitable 'Hammurabi,' on 'Biblical Archaeology,' the 'New Conception of God,' 'Present-day Religious Thought in India'—all of much ability. The epitome of Western thought and literature is well done. We wish the new venture all success.

B.

II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

An Introduction to the New Testament. By Adolf Jülicher, Professor of Theology at the University of Marburg. Translated by Janet Penrose Ward. With Prefatory Note by Mrs. Humphry Ward. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 16s.)

PROFESSOR JÜLICHER, of Marburg, needs no introduction to English students. Though no complete work of his has hitherto been translated, his name and attitude have long been known in this country, and his contributions on one or two important subjects to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* show what manner of man he is. The present volume is a translation of the second and enlarged German edition of 1900, and is commended in flattering terms in a prefatory note by Mrs. Humphry Ward. Mrs. Ward's daughter has been the translator, and deserves to be congratulated on her success. Her author, as far as language and style are concerned, is one of the best of his nation, capable occasionally of humour, and often too merciful to leave his readers to find or miss their way through the intricacies of a labyrinthine phrase. Miss Ward has inherited the gift of clear expression; and, apart from a few errors in technical terms, she translates as though she were giving form to ideas of her own. So far, the book is of unusual excellence, well adapted to meet the tastes of the people of education for whom it was designed outside theological circles.

Whether Jülicher's book itself, in its substance and method, is of a similar character, is another question, to which Mrs. Ward gives a confident but very precarious reply. He professes to apply a strictly historical treatment to the study of the New Testament in the departments of criticism and the canon, in entire freedom from theological bias, and in the interest of the large class of inexperienced readers. It is an admirable enterprise; but, unless these courted lay readers are as deficient in common sense as they are assumed to be in knowledge, they will not be entirely satisfied with the performance, nor will they gain an accurate idea of the state of opinion on the principal points in dispute. They will find the authenticity of the greater part of the Synoptic Gospels described

as more than doubtful, and the Fourth regarded as an artistic creation of the second century, of no independent value for the history of Jesus. They will be cheered a little at learning that from an aesthetic point of view the Acts deserve high praise, and that Colossians probably, and possibly also Ephesians, may be strictly Pauline. The Pastoral Epistles are dated about 110 A.D., and classed as Pseudepigrapha, sharing thus the fate to which the Catholic Epistles also are consigned. Conclusions of this kind are jauntily represented as suitable for consumption by the educated layman, and as reached by scientific and judicial processes of study. Yet there is scarcely one that has not recently been traversed in works of equal learning and ampler detail. Partisanship is the characteristic of the pages in which Jülicher professes to give a general view of the literature of his subject, and of the frequent and defective paragraphs of a bibliographical cast; and Zahn is his *bête noir*. And a book, commended to the educated layman as supreme in its methods and authority, proves upon examination to be merely one of the tendency-writings, whose value can be judged by the expert alone, written in better style than most, but with the reasoning frequently vitiated by subjectivity and conjecture.

R. W. M.

Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel: An Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament. By Rev. J. C. Todd, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co. 6s.)

The volume is an attempt to reconstruct the history and religion of Israel from the view-point of uncompromising criticism. We cannot imagine a more unhappy presentation of the critical theory. Even if the theory were proved up to the hilt, it would only be right to present the consequent changes in as moderate a form as possible. Here they are made as revolutionary and stated in as blunt and even offensive terms as possible. Convinced adherents of the school will not be thankful to the author. The features common to the Old Testament and surrounding heathenism are isolated and magnified, the differences are almost ignored. Natural development is the only law acknowledged. Nor is it shown how prophetic doctrine grew out of the crude, non-moral conditions of early days. The first sentence does not presage a broad outlook: 'The Old Testament is the epos of the Fall of Jerusalem'; and the Book of Lamentations as the dirge over the fallen city is exalted beyond measure. In view of the author's repeated statements as

to our ignorance of the facts of Israel's history, his dogmatic explanations and conclusions are surprising. 'Religion' is lost in 'Politics.' The Old Testament shrinks into the story of the evolution of a 'city-state,' like the many city-states of the ancient world. Judaism is altogether a most insignificant affair. If this is so, its immense influence on the world's life is mysterious indeed. 'Like cause, like effect,' 'Out of nothing nothing comes,' are axioms which play us false. We are constantly warned against reading modern ideas into ancient history; yet the author makes Samuel 'pontificate' at the shrine of some town. He knows the condition of Israel better than contemporary prophets. Amos and Hosea were utterly mistaken respecting the state of religion in Israel. 'The ark itself undoubtedly was Yahweh to the ancient Israelite in the same sense in which any material object can be said to be God.' 'That Abraham was the ancient god of Judah is extremely unlikely.' Scores of other statements are of the same calibre, and far worse. The author is presumably a disciple of a former Natal bishop. Poor Natal!

J. S. B.

Horae Semiticae. No. 3. 'Acta Mythologica Apostolorum,' transcribed from Arabic MSS., and an Appendix of Syriac Palimpsest Fragments of the Acts of Judas Thomas, by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., D.D., &c. (12s. 6d. net.)

No. 4. 'The Mythological Acts of the Apostles,' translated by Agnes Smith Lewis. (Cambridge University Press. 6s. net.)

The first two numbers of this valuable series were edited by Mrs. Gibson; for the third and fourth, English students are indebted to her sister. The most important of the MSS., beautifully printed in No. 3, and translated with admirable notes in No. 4, was found in the convent of Deyr-es-Suriani, in Egypt. Editions of the original Greek form of the 'Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles' by English and German scholars are well known; Dr. William Wright published a Syriac version, Malan and Budge an Ethiopic version. In this Arabic text the occurrence of the Coptic names of the months, and other evidence, point to the conclusion that the tales contained in it are translated from the Coptic. The use of the adjective 'mythological' instead of 'apocryphal' is a distinct gain; it is on all grounds desirable to distinguish these legends from the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, which have 'some sort of relation both to the Hebrew canonical books and to historic fact.'

There is little of historical value in these stories. Perhaps their chief interest lies in incidental allusions to heathen customs—e.g. the account of the burial of a living girl beneath the foundation-stone of a bath-house. 'In Siam, quite lately, human victims were buried under the new gates of cities.' 'The Legend of Matthew' is, however, truly described as having 'more beauty both of a moral and literary kind than any of the other mythological Acts.' In 'The Preaching of Thaddeus' a man and his camel are represented as entering into the hole of a needle at the word of Peter. Even in this grotesque incident there is evidence of the wide diffusion of the Gospels. Index II. gives a useful list of passages which reveal acquaintance with the canonical books of Scripture. How different are these legends, which degrade the Apostles 'to the level of the heathen wizards, for whom we are so frequently told that they were mistaken,' from the narratives in the Lucan 'Acts of the Apostles'!

J. G. T.

Paradosis, or, In the Night in which He was (?) Betrayed. By Edwin A. Abbott. (London: A. & C. Black. 7s. 6d. net.)

This work is Part IV. of *Diatessarica*—the general title of a series of critical investigations into various aspects of the problem of the literary origin of the Gospels. The note of interrogation in the sub-title of *Paradosis* calls attention to the question raised by Dr. Abbott. It is maintained that, in the earliest Gospels, the 'paradosis,' or delivering up of the Son by the Father, for the redemption of mankind, has occasionally been confused with the delivering up of Jesus by Judas to the servants of Caiaphas. In great detail and with learned elaboration the various passages are examined; but the main topic of this book is often the occasion for interesting digressions into paths in which Dr. Abbott is always an instructive, if not always a convincing, companion. To a greater extent than in the previous volumes, use is made of Hebrew and Aramaic. Light is cast on obscure passages, but sometimes an ingenious suggestion rather raises than elucidates a difficulty; as, e.g., when a connexion is sought between the many mansions (*Monae*) of John xiv. 2 and the pounds (*Minae*) in Luke xix. 11 ff. But how full of wisdom and insight is the note: 'Perhaps the best periphrasis of "Paraclete" for modern readers would be *The Friend in Need*.'

Many will regret to read the expression of Dr. Abbott's doubt as to his being able to publish the commentaries mentioned in the preface to *Clue* (*Diatessarica*, Part I.). Their publication would be

a test of the practical value of some of the author's theories; it is, however, as he says, perhaps not reasonable to expect one man 'to be both investigator and commentator.' One judgement is worth recording: in Dr. Abbott's opinion, the Fourth Gospel brings us closest, not indeed to the words but to the mind of Christ.

J. G. T.

The Century Bible. The Psalms I.-LXXII. Introduction, Revised Version with Notes, and Index. Edited by Rev. Professor Davison, M.A., D.D. (Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack. 2s. 6d. net.)

Professor Davison has given in his Introduction and Notes a general idea of the views of recent critics, both the more conservative and the more advanced, and has then briefly stated his own conclusions. He has concentrated his attention 'upon exegesis pure and simple, a discussion of the best translation available, with special emphasis upon the renderings of the Revised Version both in text and margin.' The Introduction is divided into seven sections: The Name and Character of the Book; Formation of the Psalter; the Titles; Date and Authorship; Poetical Structure; Versions and Use in the Church; Literature. A careful study of these forty-three pages will give the reader no mean acquaintance with the best results of critical science. Dr. Davison knows the ground thoroughly, and he has a luminous way of setting out his conclusions. He thinks that the Psalter was practically complete about 180 B.C. The titles are of ancient origin, and help considerably in the attempt to understand the earlier grouping of the Psalms. 'The spiritual value of the Psalms is unquestionably increased by the absence of those definite historical allusions which would enable us at once to determine their date and authorship, while, at the same time, the references are close enough for us to illustrate the meaning from various events of Israelitish history, to which, with a little modification, they would not inaptly apply.' The notes on each Psalm bring out its special character, and light up many passages that are obscure to a student of the English version. 'The first Psalm forms an appropriate portal to the sanctuary of the Psalter.' It was probably set in its present place by the editor of the first collection of 'Davidic' Psalms. Jeremiah xvii. 5-8 is most likely borrowed from the Psalm. The notes on Psalm xxiv. show how much it gains if read as it would be sung antiphonally by a choir. The notes are some-

what full, and preachers will get many a welcome hint from them for sermons and expositions. The scope of each Psalm is brought out by a suggestive heading. Dr. Davison thinks that the famous words in Psalm lv.,

But it was thou, a man mine equal,
My companion, and my familiar friend,

can scarcely refer to the treachery of Abithophel, and that the exact occasion of the Psalm cannot be fixed. The volume is both fresh and suggestive. Every preacher will want it close to his hand, and Bible students will soon feel that it has established its place as one of the most prized and trusted volumes in their libraries.

The Titles of the Psalms: Their Nature and Meaning Explained. By James William Thirtle. (London: H. Frowde. 6s. net.)

Mr. Thirtle claims to have found a long-lost key. He thinks that the Psalm in Habakkuk iii. makes it clear that the 'Chief Musician' line prefixed to the Psalms ought really to be placed at the end of the previous Psalm, and he argues out his case with great ingenuity. The experts will scarcely allow his claim to have solved the mystery, but no one will read his book without interest. There is very much to learn from such a study as this, and, though we are not convinced, we are decidedly grateful to Mr. Thirtle for a theory that will set all students thinking.

Dr. Skinner's *Kings* (Jack, 2s. 6d. net) is a volume of *The Century Bible* which will be very welcome. The account of the conception of history embodied in the book is most suggestive. Professor Skinner points out that a number of passages are strongly coloured, not only by the spirit and ideas but also by the language of the Book of Deuteronomy; the most obvious trace of a pre-Exilic redaction is in the phrase 'unto this day.' The notes will be of great value, and the maps and plans deserve special recognition. *The Century Bible* has certainly established its claim to a place on every preacher and teacher's book-shelves.

Religio Critici, by ἀγνώστος (S.P.C.K., 2s. 6d.), is an examination of those great problems which press on all thoughtful minds, by one who has gained firm footing after years of doubt and after prolonged study of the evidences for Christianity. The book is full of matter, and some of its arguments are put with much force and freshness. The chapter on 'Biblical Criticism' has some strong words, but we cannot say that they are unjustified.

III. HISTORY.

Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India. By John Campbell Oman, formerly Professor of Natural Science in the Government College, Lahore. (London: T. F. Unwin. 14s. net.)

THIS goodly volume, popularly written and well illustrated, places within reach of the general public a mass of information concerning the religions of India, hitherto practically inaccessible to all but savants. It is a learned and scholarly book, the fruit of many years' study at original sources of knowledge and of personal observation and thought, and it displays well-balanced judgement and admirable open-mindedness and candour in dealing with subjects extremely difficult of unprejudiced and equitable treatment. The study of Hindu asceticism, of *Sadhuism*, which is no less than an embodiment of the spirit of the East, of its religious and fraternal aspects, of its bearing on politics and industry, and of its persistence in all the manifold sects of Hinduism, and through many ages, is in effect the study of the history of the people of that fascinating land whose fortunes are bound up with our own. Light is thrown back, enabling us to see how and why Hinduism developed and came to attain its dominating and enthralling influence over the races of India, to root itself in their intellectual life, and to shape the social fabric.

In discussing asceticism, Mr. Oman finds its origin in dualism. The disqualifying elements that hinder the religious in the realization of their aspirations, and especially from attaining unending rest (though differing greatly according to the teaching of the various cults), may be included in the one term—*sinfulness*. But, according to the Hindu religious philosophy, the spirit is pure: it is in the body that evil inheres and that is responsible for sin. Hence, for the salvation of the soul and for the furtherance of its yearnings for supreme bliss, it is necessary that the body should be kept under restraint, and that sin should be purged away by self-inflicted tortures. It is the faith of asceticism that the temporary communion of the human soul with the divine in this life, which is the ecstatic hope of many a *sadhu*, as well as direct union with and absorption

into the Universal Spirit, with its attendant freedom from *Samsara*—that is, embodied existence—can only be reached by the suppression of natural desires and the positive ill-treatment of the body. This may be the origin of asceticism, but, as Mr. Oman shows, complex motives underlie it.

It is a deep-rooted belief in India that asceticism confers unbounded supernatural power; the rationale of this, from the Hindu point of view, being that, as bodily austerities are intensified, the hopes of the soul's reunion with the Absolute Being are proportionably strengthened and the probability increased of the attainment of its goal, and that with approaching reunion its power over matter and natural phenomena becomes more and more effective. Thus a man's unknown supernatural powers are gauged by his self-inflicted tortures—such torture constraining the Supreme Being, even in spite of the opposition of lesser gods, 'by immutable and primordial laws to grant the desired boon.' This is the Hindu doctrine of merit. It is a curious story to read of rivalry in austerities, carried on for thousands of years between the gods themselves with a view to gaining supremacy. No doubt, ambitious men, under the guise of ascetics, seek for power—the consideration most deeply engrained in the Indian mind—power to bless or to curse. The influence of men credited with this power is practically limitless. There are others who find in *Sadhuism* an easy way and a sure way of securing a livelihood, perhaps a way to wealth, in a country where the people are chronically poor; others are disguised profligates who minister to the worst vices, which find shelter, alas! under the very sanctuaries of Hinduism.

But when we remember the life of privation, of lowliness, of unspeakably cruel suffering which many persons voluntarily choose and persist in unto death, we cannot doubt that amongst them are found not only the disappointed and the world-weary, but elect souls who become ascetics because they are hungry for wisdom and righteousness, and who, having some vision of the Absolute Good, desire silent and unbroken communion with Him.

The chapters on 'The Successive Phases of Modern Hinduism' and of the more important 'Hindu Sects in relation to Sadhuism,' and on 'Ascetic Sects and their Subdivisions,' are of great value, and evince much research and prolonged study. There are graphic glimpses of sadhus in Indian fiction, with marvellous stories. We also see mendicants, almost nude or in the scantiest of rags, at the public fairs; we see them as thaumaturgists, doctors, palmists, fortune-tellers, acrobats, as well as engaged in devotion. Mr.

Oman's 'Personal Experiences with Sadhus' are interesting reading. There are chapters on 'Female Devotees' and 'Hindu Monasteries.' This is a book that many a hard-working missionary will be grateful for. It is a veritable storehouse of knowledge and a handbook on Hindu Sadhuism by an expert. R. C. C.

A History of Classical Scholarship. By John Edwin Sandys, Litt.D. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

The Cambridge Public Orator presents in this volume the results of a survey of classical scholarship extending over twenty centuries—from B.C. 700 to A.D. 1400. This is a colossal undertaking, and, so far as we know, unique in our language. It is a closely printed book of nearly 700 pages, but compact and portable. It is not a dry catalogue of names and works, such as is associated with the ordinary reference book. If he is a lover of literature, the reader will agree that the author's aim to produce a 'readable' book is amply fulfilled. For it is not only a work of monumental erudition, it is full of information of the most curious interest, and is a rich treasury of out-of-the-way lore. For example, the very word 'classical' is traced by Dr. Sandys to the phrase *scriptor classicus* used by Gellius, who got it from Verrius Flaccus, who drew it from the division of the Roman people by Servius Tullius into *classes*, those in the first class being called *classici*. The reader will also learn how *κλῆσις* became the model verb of Greek grammars; it first appeared in the earliest Greek grammar by Dionysius Thrax (c. 166 B.C.). He may perhaps, for the first time, discover that Sophocles was once defeated for a prize in a tragic contest by a minor poet, and that at the production of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*; and also that Plato never quotes a line of Sophocles! There are some interesting remarks regarding the beginnings of grammar—e.g. the name *Omega* is late; in Rev. i. 8 it is τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ᾠ (not *omega*); so also in Prudentius:—'*ἄλφα* et *ᾠ* cognominatus' (Cath. ix. 11). Zenodotus of Ephesus (c. 325 to c. 234 B.C.) is claimed as the first of textual critics, his recension of Homer being the first recension of any text which aimed at restoring the genuine original. But our available space goes,

singula dum capti circumvectamur amore.

The matter is so neatly arranged in periods that the student will find it a most convenient and valuable reference book. Suppose, e.g., he wishes to be informed of the Latin scholarship of the fourth century, here he will find adequate information as to Nonius, Ausonius,

Paulinus, Symmachus—not to speak of Macrobius, Jerome, Augustine, and the schools of Gaul. It remains to add that the volume is enriched with many facsimiles of manuscripts and illustrations of ancient and mediæval art.

R. M. P.

The Valet's Tragedy, and other Studies. By Andrew Lang.
(Longmans & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Lang is always entertaining, and we give a very cordial welcome to this volume of studies from his pen, the mere titles of which will at once arouse the most pleasant anticipations on the part of the intending reader. Of the twelve studies comprised in the volume, three are purely literary in character, one of which, 'The Shakespeare-Bacon Imbroglia,' is perhaps the best of the whole series. In a manner which strangely appeals to one's sense of humour, the writer, whose own attitude is one of quiet and good-natured sarcasm, points out the absurdities involved in the Baconian-authorship hypothesis. The remainder of the subjects treated are, however, mainly of historical interest, being for the most part certain of those unsolved, if not insoluble, problems in which history is rich. As a reader of riddles, Mr. Lang, although always interesting, is not always quite convincing, and sometimes fails to give the impression that the last word on the subject has been spoken, or that an entirely satisfactory solution has been reached. The first two studies are concerned with that strange question, which has been the starting-point of so much ingenious speculation, and to which so many answers have been given: Who was the Man in the Iron Mask? According to Mr. Lang, it was neither queen's lover nor king's son, neither the disgraced financier Foquet nor the ruined rebel Monmouth, not even the Mantuan Mattioli, but a very humble individual—a mere valet, whose unhappy fate has given its title to his book. The argument with which Mr. Lang supports the view which he advances, and the explanation given of the peculiar precautions taken in the case of a prisoner of this class, while interesting and plausible, nevertheless leave the reader with the feeling that the subject will bear further treatment. Among other historical mysteries which come up for treatment are those of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, and Amy Robsart, the false Jeanne d'Arc, and the 'Voices' of Jeanne d'Arc, this last question being interestingly dealt with in the light of recent psychological research. Into any detailed criticism of Mr. Lang's studies our limited space makes it impossible to go; but it

may be said, in general terms, that while Mr. Lang's method of treatment does not display the historic grasp and insight of that of a Freeman or a Bryce, and is critical rather than constructive, it awakens an interest which is well sustained throughout, and will admirably serve to bring home to many minds the wonderful fascination of historical research.

W. ERNEST BERT.

Lives and Legends of the English Bishops and Kings, Mediaeval Monks, and other later Saints. By Mrs. Arthur Bell. (London: G. Bell & Sons. 14s. net.)

Mrs. Bell brings her great task to a close with this fine volume. Her first volume dealt with Lives and Legends of the Evangelists, Apostles, and other Early Saints; the second with the Great Hermits and Fathers of the Church, with other contemporary Saints. Here a still wider field is covered. Mrs. Bell begins with the first bishops of Canterbury, then she turns to famous names like those of Paulinus, Wilfrid, Chad, and Cuthbert. Two delightful chapters are given to Anglo-Saxon abbesses of the seventh century, and to saintly women of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. The reader will probably be surprised to find how many Anglo-Saxons are enrolled among the saints, though there are few works of art which enshrine their memory. Many well-known names come in this volume. The stories of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Catherine of Siena, are told with great skill and tenderness; but it is the lesser lights that attract us. The two Saxon Ediths are a charming pair of saints; St. Wenceslas, the hero of the famous ballad, has his place of honour; St. Hedwig, St. Roch, and many other saints of whom one is glad to have a brief sketch, all live again in these pages. The illustrations are of great interest, and the account of legends and symbols will often be of real service to a student. Mrs. Arthur Bell is to be congratulated very sincerely on the skill and success with which she has carried out a vast undertaking. Her three volumes will be regarded as one of the chief treasures of any library that is fortunate enough to possess them.

Mediaeval England, 1066-1350. By Mary Bateson. (London: T. F. Unwin. 5s.)

Miss Bateson is one of the lecturers at Newnham, and has aimed in this history of Mediaeval England to keep social rather than political facts in view. Characteristic details have been drawn from contemporary accounts, and the book is copiously illustrated

with pictures that throw light on the times. The civilization of England during this period differs from our own more in kind than in degree. 'The waterman who travelled with the king got an extra salary when his master put him to the trouble of preparing a bath, except on the three great Church festivals when the king was bound to bathe, and the waterman must bathe him without charge.' Anselm's influence over Queen Matilda is seen from the fact that neither worldly business nor pleasure could keep her from hurrying to meet him wherever he passed, that she might prepare convenient lodgings for him. The gluttony of the time is shown by the story of Samson, Bishop of Worcester, who sat down to a dish of eighty chickens. As he could not eat them all, the poor fared the better. The monks were often skilled as leeches. The Italian Abbot of Abingdon, Faricius, attended Queen Matilda in her confinement; and, when he was near being chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, it was urged against him that he attended women in sickness. The book is full of such incidents as these, which give the most lifelike picture of the times.

The Missions of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. in the Punjab and Sindh. By the late Rev. Robert Clark, M.A. Edited by R. Maconachie. (C.M.S. 3s. 6d. net.)

This book was first published in 1885. It has been revised with much care, and brings down to the present day the story of one of the most important and most interesting missions in India. The lay missionary of Peshawar was Colonel Martin, who was quartered with his regiment in Lahore, and persuaded the C.M.S. to begin a mission in the Punjab after the second Sikh War. He was accustomed to spend some hours every day in prayer, and then 'came forth to act for God with a purpose and a courage which were everywhere blessed in all that he undertook.' The C.M.S. has had a glorious band of workers, among whom are enrolled Bishop French and Miss Tucker. Amritsar is the religious capital of the Punjab. A religious fair is held there every day in the year. Stories of the work, cases of conversion, description of men and methods, make this a book of the highest value for all missionary students.

The S.P.C.K. publish a new edition of Bishop Montgomery's *The Light of Melanesia* (3s. 6d.). It represents the most wonderful experience of Dr. Montgomery's life when he visited Melanesia during the illness of Bishop John Selwyn, and those who wish to

know more about 'one of the noblest missions of the day' will find here full particulars as to each station in the Melanesian Mission. The book is full of missionary enthusiasm of the purest kind.

The Rights of a Particular Church in Matters of Practice (S.P.C.K., 3d.) is a paper read by the Bishop of Gibraltar (Dr. W. C. Collins) before the Church Historical Society. It shows that the action taken by the English Church at the Reformation may be justified by the teaching of Roman Catholic divines. The Bishop contends that every custom used by authority in any part of the Catholic Church may fairly be described as a Catholic custom, and has, for those who are under that authority, the full sanction of the Catholic Church.

The S. P. C. K. also publish Bishop Collins's address on *Church and State in England before the Conquest* (2d.), which was delivered at the Bristol Church Congress, and his *Suggestions for the Study of Early Church History* (3d.). The last is a list of books on various branches of the subject, with a few hints for study.

The Religious Tract Society publish three books of great importance. *Thirty Years in Madagascar*, by the Rev. T. T. Matthews (6s.), gives an account of the island and its history since 1820, when the London Missionary Society sent out its first agents. Mr. Matthews has had special opportunities of studying the subject, and his survey is of great interest. The record of his own work is brightly told, and the story of the French conquest is clearly sketched. The French Protestants have risen nobly to their great opportunity, and have gained much by the call to self-sacrifice. Things are not so bad as the English missionaries once feared, though they are far from satisfactory. In the capital 'all branches of manual labour are carried on on the Sabbath, while Sabbath markets, open shops, and stores are general.' The moral tone has been lowered, and there is much need for zealous Christian work if the natives are to be saved from slipping back into immorality.

The China Martyrs of 1900, compiled and edited by R. C. Forsyth (7s. 6d.), gives a complete roll of the Christian martyrs of the terrible year of the Boxer movement, with 144 portraits and other illustrations. Escapes from death wellnigh miraculous are here, and stories of heroic constancy in the presence of death which make one's heart leap with joy for the grace given to frail women and even to little children. The book is one of the most impressive and touching volumes in the whole library of missionary literature.

Mr. Stevens, formerly editor of *The Leisure Hour*, has written a volume on *The Slave in History: His Sorrows and his Emancipation* (6s.). Vivid pictures are given of slavery in all lands and all ages, and sketches of the chief workers in those great emancipation movements which have thrown a halo round modern Christianity. These short chapters are very brightly written. Mr. Stevens seizes on the features of general interest, and never allows his reader's attention to wander. The present position of the negro in the *United States* is briefly touched on; but this part of the book might have been amplified with advantage. The closing words of the book are significant. 'As we measure the successive steps of progress, and the changes wrought in the face of evils that seemed overwhelming, we would blot the word *despair* out of history.' We are glad to have such a survey of a great social revolution as this.

The Wonderful Story of Uganda, by the Rev. J. D. Mullins, M.A. (C.M.S., 1s. 6d. net). It is certainly a wonderful story. Since 1875, when Mr. Stanley's letter in the *Daily Telegraph* awoke England to the claims of Uganda, a noble Christian Church has been built up amid persecution and martyrdom. Hannington's death and Mackay's life both contributed greatly to this result. The story is one of the most inspiring narratives of the mission field, and it is splendidly told by Mr. Mullins.

The Story of the Bible Society, by William Canton. With Illustrations (London: Murray, 6s.). Mr. Canton's chronicle opens with that memorable meeting of the Religious Tract Society at which Joseph Hughes asked, 'Why not for the world?' Exhaustive study of the Bible Society's reports and its world-wide history for his monumental work, has enabled Mr. Canton to gather together in this single volume a host of facts as to the founders, the officers, the helpers of the Society in all lands. Those who cannot afford the larger work will find their wants well met here. The book shows what a famine of Bibles there was in 1804, and describes the wonderful way in which the needs of the world have been met in some measure. The suspicion with which the help of the 'Christian fair' was regarded by the leaders of the Society is something of a marvel to our age, and the fact that no prayer was offered at the Bible Society's meetings till 1859 is a strange revelation of the temper of its supporters. Mr. Canton's book is full of incidents which show how the Bible has proved itself the best of missionaries in all lands. It is an inspiring record, for which every Christian man and woman will be thankful.

Letters of Horace Walpole (Newnes's THIN PAPER CLASSICS, 3s. 6d. net). Such an edition as this is a real boon to us all. Horace Walpole is the great letter-writer of England, unrivalled as a painter of contemporary life and manners. Now at last he is accessible to people of modest means and scanty leisure. Mr. C. B. Lucas has had no easy task in selecting and editing these letters, but he thinks that nothing of real and permanent value has been omitted. There is a full index, a useful introduction, and an excellent portrait. The volume is likely to be one of the most useful and most popular in a very attractive series.

The second volume in Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co.'s DRYDEN HOUSE MEMOIRS is the *Memoirs and Travels of Sir John Reresby* (3s. 6d. net). Sir John enjoyed a large share of favour from Charles II, and it brings us very close to historic events when we find him dining with Titus Oates and taking him to task for his rudeness, so that Oates 'flung out of the room with some heat.' The book will be prized by all who wish to know more about the reign of Charles II and his brother.

Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum, 1898-1904 (Murray, 3s. 6d. net), is a small handbook of singular interest by E. Burton-Brown. The writer lectures in the Forum every week during the winter season, so that he knows how to present his facts in the most striking way. As we visit the home of the Vestals, the palace of the kings, and other great buildings, the past seems to rise from its grave. Every student of Roman history is keenly alive to the importance of the excavations now going on in the Forum, and this brief but lucid description of the results is invaluable. About forty wells have been cleared in the Forum. These throw light on various sides of the domestic life of the city. Many skulls of weasels have been found there, recalling the days when the cat had not been introduced from Egypt and the weasel was the household scavenger of Rome. We advise every one to get this little book. They will find it well worth careful study.

Historical Memorials of Canterbury, by Arthur P. Stanley, D.D. (Murray, 2s. 6d. net). This is the tenth edition of Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Canterbury*. Its price astonishes us. 300 pages and 31 full-page illustrations for half a crown! The book is one of the most delightful which Dr. Stanley ever wrote, and one of the most instructive. It is worthy of a great sale, and we hope that it will have it.

IV. BIOGRAPHY.

Le Père Didon: Sa vie et son oeuvre (1840-1900). By P. S. Reynaud. (Paris: Perrin et Cie. 5 francs.)

THE famous Dominican preacher, who is best known in England by his *Life of Christ*, was born at Touvet, a pretty village not far from Grenoble, in 1840. His father was in a humble position, but he managed to give his only son a good education, and at the age of sixteen and a half the youth began his novitiate at Flavigny. He spent a year of his period of training in Rome, and after some experience as a professor at St. Maximin was sent in 1865 to the convent of his Order in Paris. The following year he came to London to preach the Lenten sermons at the chapel which the French ambassador attended in Baker Street. He also visited Queen Marie Amelie, the widow of Louis Philippe, at Claremont, and gave addresses in her private chapel. His fame soon began to spread in France, and for fifteen years he was one of the most popular Dominican preachers. Then he fell under suspicion, and was exiled to Corbara in Corsica by the General of his Order, who accused him of being 'not an apostle but a tribune.' His faithful and fearless addresses on 'Divorce' had roused great opposition from the worldlings of Paris, and Père Didon was a victim to that animosity. The glimpse into the discipline of the Order and its ideal of obedience, which we gain from this incident, is very instructive to a Protestant reader. There is no doubt that the sufferer felt himself hardly and unjustly used, but he submitted patiently, and grew in public esteem by his whole temper and bearing in this time of trouble. At Corbara he seems to have matured his plan for writing his *Life of Christ*, and after two visits to Palestine the great work appeared. It was the achievement of his life. The catholicity of his spirit and his intense spirituality reveal themselves on every page. There are passages which reveal the devout Catholic with his special veneration for the Virgin; but it is a book which makes every Christian heart thrill and glow. His desire to hand on to his readers something of the inspiration which his study of the life of Christ had brought to himself, has certainly been granted. Père Didon's last years were spent as

Director of the school of Albert the Great at Arcueil. Here he did splendid service to his Church and to the cause of education. He believed in travel as a great instrument of liberal education, and arranged journeys to Rome, Constantinople, and Palestine for his pupils. A broad-minded, large-hearted man is revealed in these pages. It is a comfort to know that Rome has such sons, even though she does not always serve them handsomely.

The Life of Frederic William Farrar. By his son Reginald Farrar. (London: Nisbet & Co. 6s.)

Mr. Farrar has planned this most interesting biography on novel lines. He has invited his father's colleagues at successive stages of his course to contribute reminiscences of the periods when they lived in close daily contact with him. The writers seem to have caught the spirit of the plan, and their contributions read like a set of contemporary documents. They deal with salient features of Dean Farrar's life, and enable us to trace his course from his boyhood of poverty and obscurity to his days of more than national reputation. He had a marvellous memory, and the practice followed in his Manx school of setting passages of English poetry to be learnt by heart, proved a life-long benefit to him. He was steeped in all the best poetry, and the quotations which studded his sermons and writings were simply the natural pouring out of his treasures. His *Life of Christ* will remain as his chief achievement. It gave new vividness to the great gospel story, and made it for multitudes 'a living, bright reality.' Any flaws of taste are but as dust in the balance compared with this result. This biography shows that Farrar was not spoiled by popularity. He was one of the most affectionate of men, and his loving concern in his parish work and his zeal as a temperance advocate prove his eagerness to do all the good that he could to every one whom he was able to reach and help. The reminiscences by Bishop Montgomery are very happy, and the Hon. Mrs. Northcote contributes some delightful memories of her father. The book will certainly deepen the respect of every reader for a noble-hearted Christian man, whose least praise was his eloquence.

Rossetti. By Arthur C. Benson. (London: Macmillan & Co. 2s. net.)

Rossetti is one of the most attractive figures in our English gallery of artists and poets. He never quite fulfilled the possibilities

of his nature, as Mr. Benson shows in an impressive passage. His wayward impulses gave much sorrow to the young wife who was so deeply and passionately devoted to him, and his 'chloral habit' was one of the dark shadows of his life. Over his friends he exerted a spell that was almost hypnotic. Ruskin felt that he must abjure his society, because Rossetti 'dominated him intellectually to such an extent that he could not think his own thoughts when he was with him.' Burne-Jones described him as 'the greatest man in Europe.' He had rare gifts as a conversationalist. He did not monopolize the conversation, but his sayings were incisive, fascinating, humorous, and suggestive. In early life he was decidedly indolent, with 'the volatile desultoriness of a man with superabundant vitality, who had a thousand schemes in his head, and who found it difficult to settle down to any one thing.' But as he grew older he became absorbed in his work, and began to feel the pleasure of making money, though his expenditure was so lavish that 'money-making became a prime necessity.' Two chapters are given to his poetry. 'It seems shuttered close in a fragrant gloom of strange perfumes, which have a perilous and magical sweetness about them.' That is Mr. Benson's verdict. His whole critique strikes us as healthy and just.

Robert Browning. By Edward Dowden. (London: Dent & Co. 4s. 6d. net.)

Professor Dowden's object has been to give a biography of Browning's mind. He uses the poems to throw light on the growth and expansion of the poet's genius. *Paracelsus*, *Sordello*, and, on a more contracted scale, *Pauline*, are studies in 'the development of a soul.' They gain and lose through the immaturity of the writer. Only part of Browning's mind is yet alive, but his faculties do not impede each other; the love of beauty is not tripped up by a delight in the grotesque. *Sordello* did not improve Browning's position with the public. 'An excuse for not reading a poem of five or six thousand lines is grateful to so infirm and shortlived a being as man. And indeed a prophet, if prudent, may do well to postpone the privilege of being unintelligible until he has secured a considerable number of disciples of both sexes.' Students of the poems will find this one of the most interesting and helpful hand-books. 'All the parts of Browning's nature were vigorous, and they worked harmoniously together.' The illustrations to the volume are excellent.

Newman. By William Barry. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Barry is an eminent Roman Catholic who has filled some important professorial positions in his own Church, and, although he judges Newman's course of thought with more sympathy than a Protestant can do, his book is so candid and so masterly that it will be read and discussed with eager interest in many circles. The account of Newman's descent, with Hebrew, Dutch, Huguenot strains of blood, the description of 'the infant of genius,' the discussion of his works, and the estimate of his sermons, are all tempting subjects, and Dr. Barry knows how to handle them. He does not disguise the fact that Newman was not altogether trusted by his co-religionists. 'He was the one Catholic who understood his country, who handled its prose as Shakespeare handled its verse, and whose devotion to creed and dogma found expression in undying eloquence. But the lesser spirits, which could not see with his penetration, suspected and thwarted him.' For more than a quarter of a century he was 'a hermit in his oratory at Edgbaston,' strangely cut off from other people. Rome did not seem able to make much use of its greatest convert, but Dr. Barry claims that his *Development* will be consulted for its 'hints and seeds of thought' during many years to come. The book is certainly one of the most important and suggestive studies of Newman's life and course of thought that has yet appeared, though it is by no means satisfactory from a Protestant point of view.

A sixpenny edition of Newman's *Apologia pro Vita sua* has been published by Messrs. Longman. It is printed in bold type, with double columns. Such an edition will be sure of a great sale. The book has taken rank as an English classic. Protestant readers will not find it hard to understand how it was that Rome won Newman as they read this autobiography.

Matthew Arnold. By G. W. E. Russell. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6d.)

Students of Matthew Arnold's life and thought already owe a large debt to Mr. Russell, and this book will increase it. It labours under the disadvantage of Arnold's prohibition of any biography of himself, and is practically a discussion of his opinions on method, education, society, conduct, theology. The discussion is the work of a disciple who is also a critic, especially a

critic of Arnold's theology. That part of this book is no doubt the most valuable. Mr. Russell says, 'His faith seems to have been, by a curious paradox, far stronger on the Christian side than on the theistic side. He had an unending admiration—a homage which did not stop far short of worship—for the character and teaching of Jesus Christ; and he placed salvation in conformity with that teaching as it is explained by St. Paul.' Mr. Gladstone expressed the feeling of many when he wrote, 'His patronage of Christianity fashioned by himself is to me more offensive and trying than rank unbelief.' Arnold's life was beautiful in its home affection, and its patient devotion to uncongenial drudgery.

Life and Letters of H. Taine, 1853-1870. Translated by Mrs. R. L. Devonshire. (Constable & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

The first part of this work, which was published in 1902, described Taine's long uphill fight with circumstances. Here we see him emerge from the clouds and become famous both in France and England as historian and critic. His letters have a welcome touch of gaiety, and give some pleasant glimpses of Flaubert, Sainte Beuve, Renan, the brothers de Goncourt, and other celebrities. He thought 'Jeremy Taylor, the so-called English Bossuet,' a thousand feet below the great French preacher, but adds, 'There are fifty pages at the beginning of his *Holy Dying*, which are sublime in their deep and bitter sentiment, rendered in true and masterly style—full of the feeling of death.' Of Dickens he says he 'never forgets his moral for an instant: he praises, wounds, sneers, weeps, or admires, but never paints.' The volume is so full of varied interest that it ought to have a large circulation.

Mr. Deane has added to 'Bijou Biographies' a sketch of *The Bishop of London*, by F. J. Melville (1s.), which will be eagerly read. Dr. Winnington-Ingram has been an apostle among the poor, and has taught the rich to love and help those who are sick and sorrowful. The little book is full of good stories, and they make one's heart warm towards Dr. Winnington-Ingram.

Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley. (H. R. Allenson. 3s. net.)

This is a Centenary edition, with a fine set of portraits. It is an autobiography that every student of the eighteenth century has to read, and there is much to learn from this record of a strenuous life devoted to theology and science.

Roads to Christ, by Rev. C. S. Isaacson (R.T.S., 3s. 6d.), is a book that will be of real service to preachers, and is likely to be very useful to seekers after Christ. These stories of conversion are drawn from a wide circle, and are told in a way that cannot fail to interest and attract.

Thomas Wakefield. (R.T.S. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Wakefield was a missionary of the United Methodist Free Churches, who rendered eminent service in East Equatorial Africa both as a missionary and a geographical pioneer. He threw much light on what was then the mysterious interior of Africa, and this work won high tribute from many eminent explorers. Mr. Wakefield was devoted to the cause of Africa, and this simple record prepared by his widow will be precious to all lovers of missions. It is full of interesting facts about the natives and their beliefs and customs. The chapter on 'Galla Ideas and Legends' is especially valuable.

John Wesley: The Man and his Mission, by G. Holden Pike (R.T.S., 1s. 6d.), is a thoroughly reliable sketch of Wesley's character and work, written with ample knowledge and hearty sympathy. No one will read the book without thanking God that this great light arose when the world most needed it. The pictures are good, and the book is very pleasantly written.

Champions of the Truth. (R.T.S. 3s. 6d.)

Eighteen short Lives of Wyclif, Tindale, Latimer, Foze, Hooker, Baxter, and other leaders in thought and action. Dr. Rigg's *John Wesley* and Dr. Benjamin Gregory's *Charles Wesley* are the studies which they prepared for the 'Penny Biographies,' and every Methodist ought to be familiar with them. There are fifteen full-page portraits to this most instructive volume. These sketches are the work of experts, and they are admirable condensations of the story of great lives into a few pages. The book is edited by the Rev. A. R. Buckland.

V. BELLES LETTRES.

The 'Hampstead' Shakespeare, published by Messrs. Finch & Co., is one of the most attractive editions on the market. The photogravure portraits prefixed to the four volumes are superb, and the end-papers giving views of Holy Trinity Church and the Memorial Theatre at Stratford, and other objects of interest, are singularly novel and attractive. The works are in three volumes, printed in clear type on a double-column page, with an entirely new glossary of seventy-four pages. The text is that of the Globe edition. A fourth volume gives Mr. Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, specially revised for the Hampstead edition. It is beautifully printed, and its portrait of Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, is a wonderful reproduction of the picture at Welbeck Abbey. In art linen with gilt tops, the price of these four handsome crown octavo volumes in a case is only one guinea net; for six shillings extra the volumes can be had bound in limp leather. A more attractive present could not be found for any lover of Shakespeare. It scarcely leaves anything to be desired.

John Dryden. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by George Saintsbury. . Two Vols. (London: T. F. Unwin. 2s. 6d. net each.)

There is a stately dignity in all Dryden wrote, and these six plays are worthy of close study from every lover of English. There is solid eloquence in the dramatist's weighty phrases, and many a fine touch of insight into life and character reveals the hand of a master. *All for Love*, Dryden's version of the great tragedy of 'Antony and Cleopatra,' is his finest piece of dramatic work, and it stirs up strong feeling. Charles Wesley borrowed a phrase from it about the Christian's hours—'Glide with down upon your feet'; and Byron seems to have been thinking of another passage, 'Much better thus to die, Than live to make a holiday in Rome,' when he dwelt on the gladiator's fate in *Childe Harold*. Dryden had not Shakespeare's nimble wit or his exquisite felicities of phrase. He does not touch us with the magic wand, but he is a great master

of English, and all will grow richer who sit at his feet. The portraits in these attractive little volumes are very fine, and Mr. Saintsbury's introduction and notes are just what one needs to appreciate the plays.

The Defence of Guenevere, and other Poems. By William Morris. Edited by Robert Steele. (De La More Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

This is a charming volume, printed on rough paper, and with a beautiful reproduction of Rossetti's picture, 'King Arthur's Tomb,' as a frontispiece. Mr. Steele's introduction traces the Romantic Revival in England from the publication of *Ossian*, and deals with Morris's life and his use of Malory and Froissart in a most attractive style. The poems are steeped in tenderness and sometimes in mystery. 'The Defence of Guenevere,' 'King Arthur's Tomb,' 'Sir Peter Harpdon's End,' are the soul of pathos, and the shorter poems have a lovely delicacy of sentiment and expression. The volume is a little garden of delights.

One of the latest additions to the UNIT LIBRARY is *Sir Roger de Coverley* (8d. net). The papers are reprinted from *The Spectator*, with a few useful notes and some introductory lines by the editor. *Sir Roger* has a sure place in our hearts, and this charming volume cannot fail to have a warm welcome. Still more interest attaches to the publication of *The Poems of Richard Lovelace* (10d. net). It is a reprint of the two rare volumes printed in 1649 and 1659. The tragic fortunes of the poet are told in Antony Woods' touching little biography; some useful notes are given, and a set of poetic tributes to Lovelace's memory. Only a few fragments of the cavalier poet reach the highest flight of poetry, but there are other pieces which have real beauty and merit, and the volume ought to be one of the most popular in the UNIT LIBRARY.

Messrs. J. M. Dent & Co. have issued *The Thoughts of Blaise Pascal* in their TEMPLE CLASSICS (1s. 6d. net). The translation by Mr. W. F. Trotter is from M. Léon's Braunschweig edition. Mr. Trotter has also prepared the biographical note, the notes, and index. It is a most reliable and attractive edition of a Christian classic, which never ceases to appeal to those who grapple with the problems of life and thought. Open it where you will, there is something to set the mind at work. The translation specially pleases us.

Aids to Reflection and *The Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*.
By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. (London: Bell & Sons.
2s. net.)

This neat reprint belongs to the YORK LIBRARY. The text is taken mainly from the fourth edition, and a valuable preliminary essay is given from an edition by Dr. Marsh, President of Vermont University. Coleridge's work has a Unitarian tinge, which makes it necessary to read it with caution, but its message is by no means exhausted. It is a strong plea for calm reflection, and it gives abundant material for thought in its citations from Archbishop Leighton and other masters, and in Coleridge's own suggestive words. His claim that any one who seeks instruction in his pages will find entertainment also, will be endorsed by every thoughtful reader of this masterpiece. It is one of the finest studies we possess of 'the principles of moral architecture.'

The Maxims of La Rochefoucauld. A new Translation by
Walter Scott. (London: Finch & Co. 1s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Scott has translated the famous Maxims with skill and taste. They are crisply phrased and easily carried in the memory. A good biographical and critical note adds to the interest of a book which has left its stamp on France, and taken its place 'among the scanty number of pocket-books to be read and re-read with ever new admiration, instruction, and delight.' Self-love plays a large part in human action, but the world is better than our cynic dreamed. He saw one side of life, but he saw it so clearly that there is force in Mr. Scott's verdict: 'The power of seeing ourselves as others see us is the gift bestowed on the diligent student of Rochefoucauld.' This little volume is bound in art linen, and has a portrait.

The Poetical Works of Elisabeth Barrett Browning is a selection from our great poetess, which contains 'Aurora Leigh,' 'The Sonnets from the Portuguese,' and other favourites. It is the first volume of the HAMPSTEAD LIBRARY OF FAMOUS AUTHORS (Finch & Co., 2s. net), bound in art linen with gilt tops, gilt lettering, a capital portrait, and an excellent memoir of eight pages. It has 749 pages. Such a selection ought to be very popular. It really cannot be beaten. Other volumes of the series include our chief poets, with *Westward Ho!*, Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, and other favourites.

Studies in Browning, by Josiah Flew (Kelly, 2s. 6d. net), is a suggestive book by one who regards Browning as the greatest poet of the nineteenth century. His teaching 'Concerning God,' 'Concerning Jesus Christ,' 'Immortality,' and other subjects, is gathered together in an impressive and helpful fashion, and Mr. Flew's comments will be of much service to young students. Browning is a prince in the realm of thought, though his head is so often in the clouds, and this book cannot fail to win him new admirers. It is a piece of really good work.

The Poet's Mystery. Translated from the Italian by Antonio Fogazzaro by Anita MacMahon. (London: Duckworth & Co.)

This book might have been written a couple of centuries ago, when the chivalrous devotion of a man to the lady of his choice exhibited itself in a species of worship which, though not of the highest order, inspired and purified his soul. It belongs to the Romantic period, and appeals entirely to the emotions. There is no plot, and the author does not invest his story with the sentiments of self-sacrifice. Yet it must be confessed he entertains his readers. He tells autobiographically the love-story of a dead poet. One Signora Yves is the object of the poet's passion and the inspirer of his muse. But he learns that she is betrothed to an elderly German professor. Openly avowing her love for the poet, she at last tells the professor her position and obtains her freedom. Then she marries her 'more than friend,' and 'the gate leading to the infinite is open.' There is considerable art shown in the account of the honeymoon, which ends in direst gloom. In its English dress the story will secure new readers, but we doubt whether it will appeal to the less impulsive and more matter-of-fact Britisher of the twentieth century.

J. C. W.

The Prisoner of Love. By F. W. Orde Ward (F. Harald Williams). (Grant Richards. 3s. 6d. net.)

A set of verses is given for each day of the year. They deal with 'the message of the Cross' in its application to the problems of living, and are written by one who feels that the message is as new as ever, and is 'all the music of our lives.' The verses are full of thought, and have many gracious and tender touches, which set one thinking about things that are lovely and of good report.

The De La More Press publish a handsome reprint of *The Gull's Hornbook*, by Thomas Dekker, the poet and dramatist. The edition is limited to fifty copies on Japanese vellum and 650 on hand-made paper, of which 480 only are for sale in England. Mr. R. B. McKerrow has taken great pains to secure an exact text, and has supplied a glossary which is unusually full and helpful. The satire itself helps us to understand how Londoners behaved in the days of James the First. It shows how the fop bore himself at the theatre, the tavern, in St. Paul's Walk. It does not increase our respect for him and his friends, but it helps us to see them with our own eyes. This edition will be much sought after, and Mr. McKerrow has done everything possible to make it understood by modern readers.

The Religious Tract Society publish a shilling edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which is neatly bound in cloth, and has eight coloured illustrations of great merit by Harold Copping. The text has been carefully revised, and a brief Memoir of Bunyan is given. It is really a wonderful shillingsworth.

Sir Mortimer (Constable & Co., 6s.) is, in our judgement, the best piece of work that Miss Mary Johnston has given us. The hero is worthy of the friendship of Sir Philip Sidney, and the way in which he is suspected of revealing the secrets of his expedition under the rack is described with rare power and pathos. How he wins back his honour and dares to claim again the love of Damaris Sedley, Miss Johnston must herself be allowed to tell. The book is nothing short of entrancing.

Rulers of Kings, by Gertrude Atherton (Macmillan & Co., 6s.), has a millionaire hero, and an Austrian archduchess is its heroine. Fessenden Abbott is brought up in complete ignorance of his destiny as heir to the richest man in America, and his after-course abundantly justifies the father's foresight. The story is a tissue of improbabilities, but it is a work of art, and Mrs. Atherton has not failed to make it fascinating. It worships strength, and the way in which the American wins his bride is too wild for belief. The sketches of life in Buda-Pesth, and the glimpses of court life in Austria, give special interest to the story.

Strong Mac, by S. R. Crockett (Ward, Lock, & Co., 6s.). Mr. Crockett's return to Galloway in this story will be welcomed by all who enjoy his Scotch scenes and characters. The opening chapter, in which Adora Gracie keeps school for her father, is as rich as

anything in the book. Mr. Crockett has never drawn a character that pleases us better than Strong Mac.

The Cardinal's Pawn, by K. L. Montgomery (T. F. Unwin, 6s.). This is a notable addition to Mr. Unwin's FIRST NOVEL LIBRARY. The plot is somewhat involved and overloaded, and it is rather grim in its vengeance, but as a story of intrigue in Florence and Venice no one can deny its tragic force. The Englishman is a very fine figure, and the girl who gives a title to the book is a brave and true woman. The terrors of *The Ten* lie heavy over the Venetian scenes, and the final tragedy is terrible.

The Poet and his Guardian Angel, by Sarah Tytler (Chatto & Windus, 6s.), gives a pleasant view of Cowper and his circle at Olney. John Newton appears in the tale, and the family of the Thornes, who come from London to add to their income by lace-weaving and straw-plaiting, supply two love-stories of real interest. Fact and fancy are skilfully mingled in this happy tale of country life.

The Gage of Red and White, by Graham Hope (Smith, Elder, & Co., 6s.). Jeanne d'Albret appears on the scene as a child-bride, sacrificed for state purposes to the Duke of Cleve. Happily, the girl is allowed three years' grace before she is taken to her husband's court, and the way in which she at last wins her freedom forms a stirring part of the tale. Anything about the Guises has a fascination of its own, and this story is very exciting and attractive.

The Corner-Stone, by David Lyall (Hodder & Stoughton, 6s.). This is a story of a Scotchman who buys back his family estate, and sends his children home from the Australian goldfields in time to save his sisters from something like beggary. There are some strong characters in the book, and it has real charm and tenderness, though we wish the useless corner-stone were out of it. The old judge interests us as much as any one.

V.C., by David Christie Murray (Chatto & Windus, 3s. 6d.), is a chronicle of Castle Barfield and of the Crimea. John Jervase and his brother are detected in dishonest practices just as Polson Jervase gets his commission and is ready to start for the war. The son refuses the commission, enlists in a cavalry regiment, and wins his V.C. by saving the life of his enemy. The story is rather slight, but it is told with spirit and it warms one's heart. Polson deserves good fortune, and he wins it.

Gypsy Roy, by Harry Lindsay (C. H. Kelly, 3s. 6d.). A thoroughly good tale of Wesley and the early Methodists. The gypsy loves the squire's daughter, and wins her after years of waiting. He is worthy of his good fortune; and when the squire disinherits Marian in his will, the last obstacle to Roy's happiness is removed. The book is a pleasant one, and one that cannot fail to teach some good lessons.

Mr. Newnes publishes a sixpenny edition of *The MS. in a Red Box*. It is a good tale, though it lacks distinction. This edition will tempt many readers. It is well printed, and has eight full-page illustrations.

Messrs. Cassell issue very tasteful editions of R. L. Stevenson's *The Master of Ballantrae* and *The Black Arrow* (2s. net). *The Master* is a grim portrait—one of Stevenson's great pieces of work, though its conclusion disappoints us. *The Black Arrow* is not deemed a triumph, but it is 'a wonderfully good' story of the great struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster. The text is good for tired eyes, and as pocket editions these are perfect.

Mr. Newnes publishes *Tennyson's Poems, 1830-1859*, in his THIN PAPER CLASSICS (3s. 6d. net), a series dear to every lover of a dainty book. Bound in limp lambskin, it makes a very attractive volume, with a fine portrait and title-page on Japanese vellum. 'In Memoriam,' 'Maud,' 'The Princess' are included. The 'Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington' and 'The Charge of the Light Brigade' should not be given under the heading 'English Idylls and other Poems published in 1842.'

Greening's Popular Reciter (1s.) has some sensible hints on elocution, and a set of recitations in prose and poetry that will not fail to arrest attention and delight an audience. They have been selected with great skill, and the little book will be of real service to young reciters. Messrs. Greening also send us a sixpenny edition of Harrison Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard*. We cannot say that we want to see such a book circulated broadcast.

Heroes in the Fight and *Her Great Reward* (Bateman, 5s. each) are stories intended to bring home religious truth to those who can be best reached by a bright tale. Each of these volumes contains twenty-five stories. They are full of incident, and teach many a good lesson in a pleasant fashion. We fancy that the religious teaching is a little too obtrusive, but the series has evidently met a want of the times.

Mr. Grant Richards is publishing a series of **BOYS' CLASSICS** (1s. net each), neat pott 8vo volumes in red cloth, with an attractive design on the cover. *The Captain of the Guard*, by James Grant, and *Mr. Midshipman Easy* are the first volumes, and they are just the books that boys like best. The series is sure to be popular.

The Methodist Hymn-Book, just published by the Conference Office, will, we venture to predict, give general satisfaction both to preachers and people. The wisdom of making a complete rearrangement of contents, instead of adding a new supplement to Wesley's Hymn-Book, is very manifest as one studies the plan of this book, and, though here and there some Methodists may feel a twinge of regret for the omission of a hymn that has some happy personal associations, the hymns that are omitted have ceased to be of real service for congregational use. The new hymns will prove a welcome addition to the riches of Methodist worship. The claims of the young for representation in any such collection are now at last duly satisfied, and no part of the book will give more lasting satisfaction than that for 'Children and Young People.' The 'Hymns for Special Occasions' have been selected with great care, and those who have worn the Sunday hymns of the old book somewhat threadbare will be delighted to have access to a new treasure house. The indexes are the most complete set of guides to authors, subjects, texts, that any hymn-book possesses. An enormous amount of skill and patience has been lavished upon them. The music, prepared under the editorship of Sir Frederick Bridge, is admirably adapted for Methodist worship. A small committee of Methodist experts has worked with Sir Frederick, and the tune-book will be as popular as the hymn-book. It is beautifully printed, and the selection of canticles will be greatly appreciated, and will enrich many a service which has sorely needed them. The bindings of both hymn- and tune-book are very attractive. Every purse and taste seems to have been provided for. The Committee and the Book-Room are heartily to be congratulated on the way in which a great work has been carried through.

VI. NATURAL HISTORY AND TRAVEL.

Some Indian Friends and Acquaintances : A Study of the Ways of Birds and other Animals frequenting Indian Streets and Gardens. By Lieut.-Colonel D. D. Cunningham, C.I.E., F.R.S. (London: Murray. 12s. net.)

THIS is a pleasant book to read, and is full of instruction. The author is a lover of all wild things, a patient and careful observer of their interesting ways, and an accurate narrator of what he has seen and heard. In particular, nothing relating to the delightful *avians* of India of which he writes escapes him :—the marvellous brilliance of their colour, some of them being animated prisms refracting and flashing all the rays of the spectrum ; their distinctive call-notes and songs ; their nests, from the most artistic, like those of the honey-suckers (*Arachnechthra seylonica*) and the tailor-birds (*Orthotomus sutorius*), to the plainest structures, like the little platforms of loose twigs which the pigeons build ; their coming and going with the seasons ; their intelligence and inventiveness and power of adaptation ; their confiding ways when not persecuted ; their place in nature, not only as ornaments of the landscape but as servants of man. Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham makes us long for a sight of the gardens, where he spent his leisure hours through so many years, with their gay shrubs and flowering trees alive with the fluttering wings and shrill voices of the orange and scarlet and purple and green and violet and snow-white plumaged creatures, that come to rifle the blossoms for nectar and fertilize the plants, and to work havoc among the insect pests of the vegetable world. It is much to the credit of the Indian people that they are guardians of bird-life. And no wonder ; for their insanitary cities would scarcely be habitable in the hot, steaming months of the year, were it not for the work of such scavengers as the kites, crows, storks, and vultures.

Some remarkable instances of protective colouring are cited, as for instance in the plumage of the orange-headed ground-thrush (*Geocichla citrina*), and the small-billed mountain-thrush (*Geocichla dauma*). The former bird, of contrasting tints of orange and slate colour, haunts groups of trees and shrubberies, and is very incon-

spicuous where the direct sunlight is not wholly excluded and where the dead leaves abound in tawny and yellow hues. The latter bird, of rich brown and tawny gold and white under-surface, harmonizes closely with the damp and dead leaves and bleached undergrowth of the dense groves in which it spends its time in the investigation of fallen foliage. Still more striking examples are given, as in the small flying-foxes and certain doves, on which we cannot linger.

The volume is full of exquisite pictures. We do not refer only to the numerous and beautiful illustrations in black and white, and the coloured plates that illumine the text, but to word-pictures that shine in the hues of the Orient, and in which the gardens of that fair land with their inhabitants are painted by a loving and masterly hand.

This is a book to be placed by the student of nature on the shelf by the side of White of Selborne's and Richard Jefferies' volumes—a book to be consulted for its minute knowledge, and to be read in half-hours of leisure as a pure delight. The latter part of the book is occupied with an account of the common beasts, reptiles, &c., of an Indian garden, and is marked by the same careful observation as the former part of the volume.

R. C. C.

The Natural History of Animals. By J. R. Ainsworth Davies, M.A. Half vol. vi. (London: Gresham Publishing Co. 7s. net.)

This volume has four very effective coloured plates and about a hundred and fifty black and white illustrations. The subjects treated are animal movement of the parachute and kite-flying types; muscular locomotion of cats, birds, and insects; animal development by vegetative reproduction and by means of eggs. All this is told in a fascinating way, and throws a flood of light on familiar processes. The series of instantaneous photographs showing how a pigeon descends to the ground, and how a gull and pigeon fly, are well worth attention. The machinery of motion is explained with great care, though it is acknowledged that no entirely satisfactory explanation of many bird evolutions has yet been advanced. The larger half of this volume is taken up with 'Animal Life-Histories'—a rich and vast subject. We do not know any book which will open the eyes of its readers to the wonders of the animate world so delightfully as this.

Asia and Europe. By Meredith Townsend. Second Edition. (Westminster: Constable & Co. 5s. net.)

We do not wonder that a new edition of Mr. Townsend's book is called for. Every student of Indian life will feel that it is one of the most suggestive and thought-provoking works on the subject. The writer is a pessimist who thinks that our Eastern Empire, on which we have lavished so much blood and treasure, may disappear in a night, and he knows his subject so well and has probed into its recesses so deeply for forty years, that everything he says will compel respectful attention. In his judgement, the fusion of Europe and Asia will never come to pass. The ordinary reader will get a new view of India from these studies. Its people, their life, their habits of thought, their religion, are all lighted up, and, even if we do not accept Mr. Townsend's views as to the prospects of Christianity, he says enough to rouse the Church at home to a new conception of the vastness of its task if India is to be leavened by Christianity. The book gathers up the thoughts and studies of a lifetime, and those who are not able to accept all its positions will not be the less eager in their recognition of its fearless candour and its great ability.

Old West Surrey: Some Notes and Memories. By Gertrude Jekyll. With 330 Illustrations from Photographs by the Author. (London: Longmans & Co. 13s. net.)

Miss Jekyll's book is concerned with the south-western corner of Surrey where it joins on to Sussex and Hampshire. She has lived here almost continuously from her early childhood, and the people and their ways have been a source of never-failing interest for her. No one can read her chapters without feeling how warm her friendship is for these homely friends, or without a touch of kindly sympathy for them. She lets us see their homes, she turns over their scanty wardrobes, describes their daily work, takes us out into their gardens, shows us their household utensils, and gives some racy specimens of their talk and some glimpses of their smuggling habits a century ago. The photographs are a great addition to the book, and help us almost to reconstruct the life of the region. In 1812 the wage of a farm labourer was about twelve shillings a week, but there was a fine spirit of cheerfulness abroad. The people had a frank, free bearing and a ready smile. The mower toiled through the long day with every muscle in full play, but his meals were many and he had large supplies of beer and cider. The

women were almost as sturdy as their husbands. One old man said of his mother: 'She was a six-foot woman; she could pick up and carry two bags (sacks) of meal, one under each arm; in pattens too.' The chapter on Godalming, where the dog-cars brought fish from Littlehampton, and convicts were turned out for rest and food in the yard of the 'King's Arms,' is very pleasant reading. The book has a quiet charm, which makes it singularly attractive for every lover of rural life in Surrey.

Austro-Hungarian Life in Town and Country. By Francis H. E. Palmer. (London: Newnes. 3s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Palmer wrote the book on *Russian Life* for this series. His new volume is the outcome of close personal knowledge of Austro-Hungary. It will help an English reader to understand the difficulties of the Emperor Francis Joseph, who rules not merely over two peoples but over numerous races, more or less distinct from one another in language, religion, and habits of life. 'Local patriotism is a far stronger passion than that which unites them to the empire as a whole.' It is only the consummate prudence and statesmanlike conduct of the Emperor that holds these various peoples together, and the future has many perplexities in store. The Austrian noble is a great lover of country life, but he has no business capacity, and the Austrian lady of the higher classes is not distinguished by practical common sense. Gambling is one of the pests of society, and the account of the races between snails is really pitiful. Every side of life in the empire is described in a most interesting style.

The City of the Magyars. By F. Berkeley Smith. With Illustrations by the Author. (London: T. F. Unwin.)

Mr. Smith is an American painter who found Budapest a land of wonders. He has many stories to tell of the hospitality of the people, of the life of the cafés, of the gipsies and their famous bands. These musicians perform at the coffee-houses. They are short-lived, sleeping most of the day and playing most of the night. They never save a cent. If some rich patron gives them gold they stay up drinking the rest of the night, and pay some poorer band liberally to play for them, until by morning not a cent of the gift is left. An account is given of one of the chief of these players. Rácz had forty-eight sons, 'for the gipsy *ménage* is as polygamous as a sultan's.' He was a pure-blooded nomad gipsy, a brickmaker, who won great distinction in the war, and became an officer. For

twenty years he was the favourite player of princes and nobles, and wished himself to be regarded as a noble and a gentleman. He was seized with illness suddenly, and when the physician arrived he found the dying man lying on his bed with a gorgeously embroidered coverlet of silk. On his chest was a silver salver containing a ham which he had been carving when he was seized. It was not moved, but lay where he left it until he passed away.

The Adventures of Elisabeth in Rügen. By the Author of 'Elizabeth and her German Garden.' (London: Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

A new book from the author of *Elisabeth* is an event for many households. 'The gracious lady' has now slipped her moorings, and is holiday-making, with her maid for protectress, in the island of Rügen, which lies in the Baltic Sea off the coast of Pomerania. The writer has not lost her capacity for enjoyment or her high spirits, and every step of the road has some sparkling talk or bright little incident to give zest to the pilgrimage. 'The picnic-like simplicity' of the preparations was full of promise to the pilgrim, and she was not disappointed. She carried with her her own capacity for enjoyment. 'High over our heads the larks quivered in the light, shaking out that rapturous song that I can never hear without a throb of gratitude for being alive.' Charlotte, the cousin who turns up unexpectedly at Thiessow, supplies a foil to Elizabeth, and her professor husband with his odd forgetfulness is worthy of a better fate. Her cousin made heroic efforts to bring about a happier state of feeling, but the curtain falls as Charlotte applies for a judicial separation. The book has all the charm and kindly humour of its predecessors.

Marsh County Rambles, by Herbert W. Tompkins (Chatto & Windus, 6s.), is a description of the little Essex towns and villages that lie between Southend and Colchester. Mr. Tompkins strolls leisurely through the region, describing a picturesque cottage, chatting with the shomen about wild fowl, gathering up bits of history and legend. He is never deep and never dull, but gossips pleasantly about men and things in a region of which most of us know so little.

The Story of a Grain of Wheat, by William C. Edgar (Newnes, 1s.), is one of the little books that every Englishman ought to read. It describes the developments in wheat-growing and in milling, in a most instructive fashion. The United States 'wheat-raiser' is the

most intelligent in the world; his Canadian brother is his only equal: both read and think. Minneapolis can produce about 70,000 barrels of flour per day. The book is full of pictures.

A sixpenny edition of Mr. Douglas Sladen's *The Japs at Home* (Newnes) will be specially welcomed by many at this moment. Here is Japan as it looked to a keen-eyed Englishman a dozen years ago. It is a very bright picture of the people, but it scarcely carries in it any promise of the position to which the nation has climbed, to the amazement of the whole world.

The Spins of 'The Cycling Parson.' By the Rev. Frederick Hastings. (Walter Scott Publishing Co. 6s.)

Mr. Hastings has an inexhaustible store of good spirits, and his trips over England and on the Continent make really pleasant reading. He finds his way into all sorts of quaint places, has a quick eye for any bit of lovely architecture, and mixes freely with all sorts and conditions of men. The book is never dull, and the personal touches add much to its charm. It has eighty-two illustrations.

Stratford-on-Avon (Seeley & Co., 2s. net) is a new edition of Mr. Sidney Lee's charming volume. It gives an instructive picture of Shakespeare's birthplace, its history, its people, its sports, its social and civic life, and sets the great dramatist among its inhabitants in a way that throws much light on his plays and on his life. It is one of the best aids to a real understanding of Shakespeare and his times that we know, and it is singularly bright and entertaining. The pictures are very attractive.

Messrs. W. & A. K. Johnston have just issued a sixth edition of *The World-wide Atlas* (7s. 6d.). It contains 128 plates, which cover every feature of geography, political and physical; the flags and times of all nations are given in two very attractive plates. The index is very full, and Dr. J. Scott Keltie, secretary to the Royal Geographical Society, has written an introduction calling attention to the geographical discoveries and territorial changes of the last century. Such a summary by such an expert is itself worth the price asked for this atlas. The plates are finely executed, and the colours are very effective. We know no cheap atlas to compare with this, and it is very convenient to handle.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

A Protestant Dictionary. Edited by Revs. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., and Charles Neil, M.A. With Maps and Illustrations. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 15s. net.)

THIS dictionary has been produced under the auspices of the Protestant Reformation Society. Questions as to the Book of Common Prayer have been specially treated, both in their legal and theological aspect, and in this department the work may claim unique importance for Evangelical Churchmen. On liturgical matters the editors have had the benefit of the advice of Mr. J. L. Tomlinson, who is a recognized expert. The list of contributors is impressive. Many will turn with eager interest to Dr. Rigg's 'Non-Juring Leaven in the Church of England and Oxford High-Anglicanism.' It is really a masterpiece of lucid exposition. The Non-Jurors were 'Protestants, whereas Pusey adopted Romish doctrine and discipline in all essential particulars.' The illustration in another article, showing Pusey's 'discipline,' confirms Dr. Rigg's position. The Rev. J. S. Simon has written on 'Wesley' and 'Wesleyan Methodism' with his usual clearness and knowledge. Dr. Beet deals with such subjects as Reason, Conscience, and Faith. The work is marked throughout by sound sense and good temper. It will be of immense service to all who have to meet open or secret attacks on Reformation doctrine and history.

John Wesley on Preaching. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Dawson. (Grant Richards. 2s. 6d.)

Mr. Dawson had an excellent idea when he first thought of gathering together Wesley's views on preaching, and he has given us a little book of unusual value and interest. The sketch of 'Wesley as a Preacher' forms a vestibule to this school for prophets, and every one who weighs Mr. Dawson's tribute will be eager to learn Wesley's art. The selections are arranged under such headings as 'The Preacher—his graces; his gifts; subjects of preaching; voice; gesture.' There is a helpful chapter, 'For Choirs and Congregations.' Mr. Dawson's own comments add much to the value of a book which appeals both to the Wesley student and to every man who wishes

to know how to preach or how to preach with more force and effect.

The Colour-Prints of Japan: An Appreciation and History.

By Edward F. Strange. (London: A. Siegle. 1s. 6d. net.)

This little volume belongs to 'The Langham Series of Art Monographs.' It deals with a subject of which most people are entirely ignorant, and deals with it in such a charming style that most readers will feel that they want to know more. Mr. Strange is assistant keeper in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and has given much skilled attention to Japanese art. The *Colour-Prints of Japan* were the work of an artist who made the design on paper, an engraver who prepared the blocks, and the printer. The prints were sold in shops at trifling prices to the working classes, and some of them appeared under fanciful and poetic titles. Hokusai drew up a pictorial encyclopaedia of Japanese life in fifteen volumes. 'They are printed in light tints of black and red, and contain studies of every imaginable kind, drawn with rare vigour and fidelity: street scenes, caricatures, architecture, patterns, birds, beasts, and flowers in marvellous profusion, and all of high excellence.' The chapter on the influence of Japanese art on Western painters is very interesting. The little book will open a new world of art to many readers, and some delightful illustrations are given of characteristic prints.

Rules for Compositors and Readers at the University Press, Oxford. By Horace Hart, M.A. (H. Frowde. 6d.)

Mr. Hart is at the top of his profession as head of the Clarendon Press, and this little manual not only represents forty years' personal study of the technicalities of printing, but the experience of many friends and colleagues. Dr. J. A. H. Murray and other experts have lent their help in perfecting this small book. It has established its reputation in fourteen earlier editions, and is now first offered for sale. Here is the highest judgement on the spelling of words in -ise or -ize, the use of hyphens, italics, capitals, the division of words. Printers and editors will know how to be thankful for a manual which has real authority behind it.

The Making of English. By Henry Bradley. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d.)

Dr. Bradley has endeavoured to show in this little manual some of the causes that have produced the excellencies and defects of

our language as an instrument of expression. He proceeds on lines that are familiar to students, but he puts everything so clearly, and illustrates his various sections on the making of English grammar, the debt English owes to foreign tongues, word-making in English, changes of meaning, and some makers of English, in such a way that young readers can scarcely fail to gain an appetite for the subject. The explanation of 'culprit' will be fresh to most readers, and they will be surprised to learn that the word 'flour' does not occur in Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1755. He gives one of the senses of 'flower' as 'the edible part of corn, meal.' The chapter on 'Some Makers of English' is specially instructive. This is a book which schoolmasters will find of great service.

Marvels in the World of Light. By the Very Rev. C. T. Ovenden, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.)

The phenomena of light are here presented in a way that even an intelligent child may understand and enjoy. Dean Ovenden has brought out a mass of interesting information, and directions are given by which the illustrations of the book may be turned into slides for a magic lantern. A capital little book on one of the wonderlands of science.

Descartes, Spinoza, and the New Philosophy. By James Iverach, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 3s.)

This is a very lucid and very readable sketch of a great epoch in the history of philosophy. Professor Iverach's preface shows how wide his reading has been. He gives an introductory account of the thought of the Middle Ages. In those times thinkers seem to have been ignorant of any kind of culture and life save that of their own age. There is hardly a reference to history, and the Church forbade men to search for the foundations of their belief or to inquire into its validity. Descartes 'transformed the problem of philosophy and set it anew for subsequent thinkers. He demanded the removal of all presuppositions. He set the world a-thinking, and the answers to the questions he raised form the history of modern philosophy.' Spinoza sought to develop the Cartesian principles, and to make them a complete representation of existence. Professor Iverach's readers will feel that they owe him a great debt for this masterly study.

Leviathan. By Thomas Hobbes. Text edited by A. R. Waller. (Cambridge University Press. 4s. 6d. net.)

This is a volume of the 'Cambridge English Classics.' Mr. Waller has edited the text with very great care. It has been reprinted from a copy of the first issue of 1651, and the proofs read with a second copy of the same issue. The editor's note shows with what scholarly exactness this task has been done. In *Leviathan* Hobbes applied philosophy to the solution of political questions. He pushed his doctrine of 'state absolutism to the extreme of subjecting even conscience and religion to the authority of the ruler.' The book was condemned by Parliament in 1666, and Pepys tells us how prices went up so that he had to pay 24s. for a second-hand copy published at 8s. It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the work on later English philosophy. This is an edition for which all students will be grateful.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton's 'Start in Life Series' (3s. 6d.) is a good idea well carried out. *Journalism as a Profession* is the volume of greatest interest to a general reader. Every literary aspirant may learn much from it, and he will learn how much success depends on patience and enterprise. The *Guide to the Civil Service* and *Guide to the Legal Profession* are both written by experts. They give examination papers, and describe all the steps that a young student has to take in order to win success. Full particulars are also given as to salaries and prospects in the professions concerned. The books will be of great service to young students.

Mr. Dent has added Newman's discourses on *The Scope and Nature of University Education* (2s. 6d.) to his 'Cloister Library.' It makes a dainty volume, and Mr. Waller has supplied a few helpful notes. The book is the memorial of a disappointing period in Newman's life, but the lofty standard here set up 'gave an impulse to the comprehension of true university culture, which had a very great effect in stimulating the reforms which soon afterwards took place in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.' There are pages here which never cease to charm the lover of English.

Chats on English China, by Arthur Hayden (T. F. Unwin, 5s. net), is a bright set of papers, which show that the china-shelf holds the monuments of men's lives. Mr. Hayden acts as a guide on a round of visits to the most famous English manufactories, pointing out the chief merits of each, and giving many hints for collectors and owners of china. The book is so pleasant to read, and so profusely illustrated, that it is sure of a warm welcome.

Memories and Impressions (1831-1900). By the Hon. George Charles Brodrick. (Nisbet & Co. 5s. net.)

We called attention to this volume on its first appearance in 1900. Reading it over again, we have been struck by the quiet force and wisdom of Mr. Brodrick's estimates of men and measures, and have found new delight in his notes on English scenery. The volume is a worthy memorial of a strenuous and fruitful life.

The Official Year Book of the Church of England, 1904 (S.P.C.K., 2s.), is a volume that Nonconformists will scan as eagerly as Churchmen. Its account of missions at home and abroad, and of Church work in all branches, is a wonderful study. Voluntary contributions for Church work reach a total of nearly six and a half millions sterling. The handbook has been prepared with great care, and for Churchmen it is indispensable.

Gambling: An Analysis (R.T.S., 6d.) is a timely and forcible argument and appeal, which ought to do real service in the struggle with a deadly vice. *Our Marching Orders* (R.T.S., 3d.) is Dr. Horton's missionary address to the Congregational Union. A noble appeal with a great promise: 'The missionary work put first will bring the salvation of the Heathen at Home.'

Fiscal Facts and Fictions, by Frederick G. Shaw (Balliere, Tindal, & Co., 5s. net), is 'a strictly commercial view of the Tariff Problem.' It is a strong statement of the argument against 'so-called Free Traders,' and argues that our commerce needs to be helped by the taxation of imported foreign goods. It is certainly a complete armoury of facts and statistics.

Messrs. Newman publish two pamphlets by the Rev. S. C. Tickell. One deals with *Corporal, Facial, and Vocal Expression* as only a teacher of elocution could do, and is intended to be committed to memory; the other gives *Speeches from Shakespeare emphasized and punctuated*. Both will repay careful attention. The way in which the Shakespeare selections are emphasized is really helpful, and worthy to be followed.

Counsels for Intending Colonists (S.P.C.K., 2d.) is admirable. Bishop Montgomery has bought his experience, and he knows how to make it available for young settlers. These hints will be worth a very great deal to many.

The Present Position of the Irish Church (S.P.C.K., 2d.), an address by Dean Bernard, is distinctly encouraging. The Church has gained by disestablishment. An average income of £240, generally with a house, is given to the clergy, and laymen have proved most efficient allies in all the work of the Church. This pamphlet deserves a wide circulation. It is very clear and very hopeful.

The Baptist Review and Expositor (April 1904) is the first number of a quarterly edited by the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Kentucky. It is laid on sound lines, and the articles are such as ministers will prize. It has friendly notices of Mr. Jackson's *Teaching of Jesus* and Dr. Moulton's *Science of Language*. Such a Review was evidently needed, and we wish it great success.

The Direction of Hair in Animals and Man. By Walter Kidd, M.D. (London: A. & C. Black. 5s. net.)

Dr. Kidd claims that his researches into the direction of hair are distinctly opposed to Weissman's view that acquired characters are not inherited. The facts seem to point to a fusion of two great principles—Nature and Nurture. The devotion to science which has given birth to this notable book is not likely to lose its reward. As one turns its pages one can understand something of the fascination of such studies, and their bearing on the solution of many questions of the greatest significance.

Justice in Education: A Word for Peace, by W. Sanday, D.D. (Longmans & Co., 1s.), is a clear and temperate statement of the Anglican side in the Education controversy. It deserves and will well repay a careful perusal.

What is 'Christian Science'? by the Rev. C. E. Little (S.P.C.K., 2s.), is a timely protest against a mischievous delusion. Mr. Little shows where the Christian Scientist denial of the reality of matter and of sin really leads. His pamphlet is full of good sense.

The New Zealand Official Year Book for 1903 (Wellington, N.Z.) is a volume of 755 pages, giving statistical tables, lists of officials, special articles, and descriptions of the various land districts. Those who wish to gain the fullest and most reliable information can have no safer guide than this.

The Government Printing Office at Washington publish an account of *Copyright in Canada and Newfoundland*, with the rules and forms necessary for registration, and a digest of the laws on copyright. It is a work that only a Government office could attempt, and it is done with great skill and care.

The Letters of John Hus: with Introductions and Explanatory Notes. By Herbert B. Workman, M.A., and R. Martin Pope, M.A. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

This is the first attempt to give English readers an adequate translation of the letters of John Hus. It is nearly sixty years since any English translation appeared, and that was made from a French edition. This is the first translation attempted from the text of Palacky. The task has not been easy. The Latin is often a rugged and homely *patois*, and sometimes Hus is obscure of set purpose, 'in order to escape the consequences of the capture of his correspondence.' Mr. Pope has done his part as translator with great skill, and has produced a clear and spirited version. Mr. Workman has made this epoch his own, and his brief introduction and notes clear up many obscurities, and enable a modern reader to understand the circumstances under which the letters were written. The earlier correspondence is somewhat bald, but as the great hour of trial comes we seem to be drawn into the current of events. We see the martyr facing death with quiet fortitude. He puts away from him the temptations to escape the stake by the sacrifice of his convictions, and calmly leaves himself in the hands of God. He shows his faithful Bohemians what a scene of foulness the Council at Constance really was, but adds, 'God in His mercy, whose gospel I have spread abroad, *was* with me, and *is* still; yea, and will be, I trust, to life's end, and will keep me in His grace unto death.' The story here told is one which can never lose its interest, and this volume brings us nearer to the prison and the stake than any other. It is a work for which all lovers of truth will feel a deep debt of gratitude.