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THE

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OCTOBER, 1904

THE FREEDOM OF FREE CHURCHES.

The Free Church of Scotland Appeals, 1903–4. Edited by R. L. ORR, M.A., LL.B., Advocate. Authorized Report. (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace; London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1904.)

THE legal decision in the Scottish Church Case pronounced by the highest Court of Appeal in August last is one of the most remarkable—and, we must add, one of the most unjustifiable morally, however legally correct—that has ever been delivered in an English court of law. It has been received in Scotland with astonishment and indignation, while south of the Tweed careful observers have not been slow to perceive its significance and far-reaching issues. It is not simply that property worth many millions has been assigned to a handful of Highland ministers and their followers, whose own churches have hitherto only been maintained by the aid of subventions, whilst a powerful and progressive Church has been stripped of its hardly won possessions. The very conditions of healthy Church existence are seriously affected by the judgement. It is of the

utmost importance at the present time that the exact significance of this decision should be understood, that it should be studied without prejudice and without panic, but with eyes well opened to all its aspects and bearings.

Are the Free Churches free? is a question easily asked. Before it can be satisfactorily answered, that plentifully abused word 'liberty' must be carefully defined. Every one understands that Nonconformist communities are free from certain obligations attaching to an Established Church, whilst they are deprived of corresponding privileges. No one imagines, on the other hand, that they are free from the duty of submitting to the law of the land, especially in the matter of rightly fulfilling the trusts in virtue of which they hold certain valuable properties. But the question still remains: What measure of freedom in the determination of their own doctrine and the management of their own mutual relations do such communities possess? Is it all that is desirable, or all that can legitimately be looked for and enjoyed, or can any steps be taken to secure a larger measure of real and reasonable liberty in the future? The publication of an excellent résumé of the Free Church Case, giving all necessary details of the pleadings and judgements, prepared by Mr. R. L. Orr, furnishes an opportunity for a brief examination into the subject.

The facts of this particular case are familiar; but a brief recitation of its salient features may help to clear up the issues involved on either side. The origin of the Free Church dates from the great Disruption of 1843. Previously to this there had existed in the Church of Scotland two parties — the Moderates, who dominated it during the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century, numbering amongst them many able and learned men, but Erastian in creed, lukewarm in spirit, and apathetic in action; and the Evangelicals, the party of progress, earnest in preaching the gospel and full of zeal for the extension of the Church at home and abroad. When the Evangelical party gained the upper hand they soon came into conflict with the State. In defence of what they considered the

liberties of the Church they undoubtedly transgressed the law of the land. In 1842 they issued what they called an 'Unanswered and Unanswerable Protest' against the constitution which fettered their action and interfered with the 'Headship of Christ' over His own Church. This made no impression on the Government of the day, and in due course came that historic scene in which five hundred ministers broke away from the Church of their fathers, and, homeless and churchless, started afresh to found in Scotland a 'true' and 'free' Church, in which the rule of Christ should be as real and undisputed in fact as its recognition had always been in theory.

It is not questioned that at its inception the Free Church retained what is called the Establishment principle—'the duty of the recognition of religion on the part of the State, by the establishment, and where possible the endowment, of a national Church.' The Church of Scotland had always held such a view—the Westminster Confession recognized the duty of magistrates to use 'the power of the sword,' as it was the duty of the Church to use 'the power of the keys,' for the maintenance of the purity and peace of Christ's Church on earth. Dr. Chalmers had said, 'The Voluntaries mistake us if they conceive us to be Voluntaries. We hold by the duty of Government to give of their resources and their means for the maintenance of a gospel ministry in the land, and we pray that their eyes may be opened so as that they may learn how to acquit themselves as protectors of the Church, and not as its corrupters or tyrants.' But Candlish, Cunningham, and the younger leaders of the movement very early perceived that the theoretical maintenance of the Establishment principle might easily fetter their action. The former said, 'Let it be that we maintain our different opinions as to the duty of the State to support the Church, and the duty of the Church to receive support from the State, when it is given consistently with spiritual freedom; still shall that question, which has become a mere theoretical question in the Church of Christ, and which, so far as we can judge, seems destined to be a mere theoretical question till

the time when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ—shall that question prevent cordial co-operation and harmony among ourselves, and our united action in defence of one common Protestantism against one common foe?' It is true that in its earliest stage the Free Church did not unite, and could not have entertained the idea of uniting, with those seceding bodies which afterwards became the United Presbyterian Church, inasmuch as these directly denied the competence of the civil magistrate to give legislative sanction to any creed or provide for the maintenance of religion out of national resources.

But the theory of a possible alliance with the State was more and more seen to be a theory only. It remained an impracticable idea in the background, whilst the conditions of Scotch Church life were altering with every year. All hope or intention of returning to the Established Church passed away. The abstract desirability of connexion with the State was recognized as a matter on which diverse views might be held by ministers and office-bearers according to their own consciences, and the time came when only a small minority held to a theory which had long ceased to have any meaning in practice.

So with the Confession of Faith. All three great Presbyterian Churches of Scotland hold by this venerable document as containing the sum and substance of Reformation doctrine. None of them would dream of repudiating its authority entirely. But that authority may be differently recognized, and the utterances of the Confession have been differently interpreted. That is obviously the case as regards the question of Church and State, the Established Church being on this point diametrically opposed to the United Presbyterians. And the Free Church early perceived the necessity of asserting its right to interpret the Confession in its own way. They believed and claimed that the Assembly must have the power of deciding questions of doctrine which came before it judicially, and of declaring from time to time what was the sense in which it interpreted particular passages of the

Confession as a doctrinal authority. This it did on more than one occasion, but notably in the Declaratory Act of 1892—a document which figures largely in the arguments used before the Courts. One statement of this Act in particular was laid hold of by the pursuers. It declared 'that this Church holds that all who hear the gospel are warranted and required to believe to the saving of their souls, and that in the case of such as do not believe, but perish in their sins, the issue is due to their own rejection of the gospel call. That this Church does not teach, and does not regard the Confession as teaching, the foreordination of men to death irrespective of their own sin.' The pursuers contended that this contravened the teaching of the Confession concerning Election and Predestination, and that in putting it forward the Church was acting *ultra vires*, and was guilty of a breach of trust—a charge which the defenders as strenuously denied.

The next question at issue was the legitimacy of the Union effected in 1900 between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians as representative of Voluntaryism. Such a Union had been contemplated, and overtures, more or less serious, had been made in this direction as far back as 1863. More than once, notably in 1873, it had seemed as if the negotiations would be successful. Not till four years ago, however, was union actually effected, when, by a majority in the Assembly of 643 to 27, it was decided that the two Churches should unite, without prejudice to the freedom of either, on the basis that liberty of action and judgement should still be preserved to members of both Churches. The minority at once protested, and appealed to the law for redress. They complained of many of the actions of the Free Church during the period 1850–1900, including the Declaratory Act above referred to, and culminating in the Union with the United Presbyterian Church. Action was raised in December 1900. On August 9, 1901, judgement was given against the pursuers, Lord Low being Judge Ordinary. Appeal was made against his decision to the Second Division of the Court of Session—the Lord

Justice Clerk, Lord Young, and Lord Trayner being on the Bench. These judges, in July 1902, unanimously confirmed the decision of the Lower Court. The Appeal was carried to the highest Court, the House of Lords, and came on for hearing in November 1903, before the Lord Chancellor and Lords Macnaghten, Shand, Davey, Robertson, and Lindley. In March 1904, while the case was being considered, Lord Shand died, and it was reheard before a reconstituted Court, consisting of the members aforesaid, but without Lord Shand, and with the addition of Lord James of Hereford and the Lord Chief Justice (Alverstone). Judgement was pronounced on the first of August last in favour of the appellants, the decisions of the inferior Courts were reversed, and the defendants were mulcted in costs. Five judges—the Lord Chancellor, with Lords James, Davey, Robertson, and Alverstone—held that the previous judgements should be reversed. Lords Macnaghten and Lindley were for upholding them—a majority of five against two.

The volume before us reports the proceedings in full, recounting the different views of the same facts taken by some of the most acute and highly trained minds of the day, and reminding us of Browning's poem of 'The Ring and the Book,' and the utterly different colour given to the same story by different spectators or actors in the tragedy. We do not propose to follow the learned Lords in detail; but it may perhaps help some readers if we narrow down the contentions on either side, and say that the issues turned on the following points:—

1. Had the Free Church departed from the doctrine of the Westminster Confession on the subject of Predestination?
2. Was the Establishment principle, as accepted by those who went out at the Disruption, regarded as an essential and fundamental factor in their creed and action?
3. If the Free Church in the course of its history had changed its attitude on the question of Establishment, had it a right so to change?

4. Were the majority in that Church guilty of a breach of the original trust, in virtue of which their property was held, when they consummated the Union in 1900 and formed the United Free Church?

1. The first of these points does not seem to have weighed seriously with the judges. The Lord Chancellor was the only one who gave any prominence to it. Lord Alverstone, whose opinion was against the defendants on the whole, indicated that on this count he could not have decided against them. Lord Macnaghten considered it was not necessary to enter into strictly theological questions at all. None the less, the question of the power to modify the Confession of Faith is of the greatest possible importance, and a decision with regard to it alone would carry momentous consequences in its train. The Established Church of Scotland, no less than its two 'free' sisters, is bound before the law to adhere to the Westminster Confession; and if no modification of its hyper-Calvinistic doctrine is to be permitted in any of the three Churches, under penalty of the loss of all the property held upon trust of those who accept it, then some other churches and manses will have speedily to change owners. But as Mr. Haldane's subtle arguments, to show that the phraseology of the Declaratory Act did not necessarily contravene that of the Confession of Faith, were not appreciated — one judge suggestively observing that at the end of counsel's remarks he was not sure that he had any clearer insight into the subject than at the beginning—we had better not venture to discuss the question here.

2. On the second point, all eleven judges agreed that there had been a change in the attitude of the Free Church towards the Establishment principle; but all four judges in the Scotch Courts and two in the Supreme Court held that it was not considered from the outset as an essential and fundamental doctrine, but rather admitted 'parenthetically,' or as an abstract theory which had little practical influence and gradually fell into desuetude. The arguments relied on to uphold this view were such as these: That the Free

Church had never maintained that a true Church of Christ could not live without Establishment, and had not itself made any effort to regain such a position; that the 'Establishment principle' was in itself vague and indeterminate, that it concerned the duty of the State to the Church, not of the Church to the State, hence it could not be 'essential'; that the expression 'fundamental' was used in Free Church declarations of several doctrines, such as the Headship of Christ, but never of this principle; and, in short, that the desirability of an alliance with the State depended altogether on circumstances and conditions, and in proportion as conditions grew more and more unfavourable it was naturally and properly abandoned. The judgement of the majority in the House of Lords, however, was that the Establishment principle was from the first a fundamental one, and that the Free Church had been guilty of a breach of trust in virtually abandoning it.

3. On the question of the right of the Church to change its attitude, a similar divergence of opinion was observable. No one of the learned judges contended that a Church had a right to change in 'fundamentals,' though Lord Young went near maintaining that its powers in respect to doctrine were practically unlimited. But those who found for the defendants accepted the arguments of counsel showing that the terms of the Barrier Act implied a power to change in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, if the 'more general opinion' of the Church, as testified in the several Presbyteries and the General Assembly, demanded it. The Lord Justice Clerk argued, 'It might be a question whether under the head of doctrine an unlimited power existed; whether, for example, doctrines which go to the foundations of Christianity, such as the doctrine of the Incarnation, or of the Resurrection, could be declared no longer to be the doctrines of the Church. . . . But can it be said that, given a power to change declaration of doctrine, that power cannot be exercised on such a question as that involved in the present case, which touches only the relations of the State to the Church, not as fundamental to the Church's

existence, nor as regards either the Free Church or the United Presbyterian Church having ever formed a test of membership, or of admission to communion? I cannot answer that question affirmatively.'

The Lord Chancellor, on the other hand, and those who thought with him, laid it down that, whilst a Church might have power to make alterations or innovations in its doctrine *qud* Church, it has no such power *qud* corporation, that is, as possessing property and administering a trust. A non-Established Church, said Lord Davey—we do not quote his exact words—is an organization united by the possession of common principles; and whilst for its own purposes and in relation to its members it has unrestricted power of legislation, yet if its property was intended to be held in trust on the basis of doctrines modifiable from time to time by the decision of a majority in that Church, the intention to permit such modification of doctrine must be made clear beyond question in the terms of the trust. He held that in this case no such intention to permit modification was made clear, and therefore that the majority in the Free Church had acted *ultra vires*.

4. The question whether a breach of trust had been committed has been anticipated, but it was this which chiefly weighed with the majority in the Final Court, and which determined the issue of the whole case. Lord Macnaghten and Lord Lindley regarded the Church as a religious body, possessing an inherent power to determine questions of faith, so long as really fundamental doctrines were not interfered with. They emphasized what may be called the larger historical considerations in this important case, and found that no breach of trust had been committed. The learned Lords, who began with the question of the exact literal terms of trust, as understood and framed by the original founders, naturally held that, since there had been a measure of departure from the position originally taken up by those who went out at the Disruption, the majority who had thus changed were wrong, and the minority—however small—who had remained *in statu quo* were right. The

Lord Chancellor put his view in a nutshell when he said, 'It appears to me that there is nothing in calling an associated body a Church, that exempts it from the legal obligations of insisting that money given for one purpose shall not be devoted to another.' This implied, as Lord Macnaghten ironically phrased it, that Dr. Chalmers's sermon was 'a sort of prospectus, on the faith of which the funds of the Free Church were collected, as if it were a joint-stock concern and the sermon an invitation to the public to put their money in it.' It would be difficult to put the real issue more concisely. Those who think it sufficient to deal with a Church as if it were a joint-stock business, with articles of association which must be closely examined and literally interpreted, will inevitably take a different view of a modification in doctrine from those who view a Church as a living, growing organism, bound to preserve its type, but with power to change in detail as time advances, provided the great ends for which the life of the organism has been originated and maintained are rationally and adequately answered.

The effect of this momentous decision is well known. The whole property of the Free Church as it existed before the Union of 1900 is committed into the hands of about one-fiftieth of its representatives. In Edinburgh fifty-five ministers are threatened with the loss of their churches and manses, only one congregation in the Presbytery represents the successful minority, and no minister belonging to it is to be found within twenty miles of the city. In Glasgow the proportion is 103 against 2. The splendid work of Foreign Missions, costing £50,000 a year, not one penny of which is contributed by the churches of the minority, is handed over to them to administer. More than a thousand churches, several hundred manses, the colleges and divinity halls, the great Assembly Hall in Edinburgh, towards the construction of which the United Presbyterians contributed £30,000—property in all worth more than ten millions sterling—is adjudged by this decision to a small cluster of Highland ministers and elders,

who thus far have been unable to maintain their own churches without help from their brethren in the Lowlands. The funds for the maintenance of widows and orphans pass over to those whose only previous relation to the Sustentation Fund was that they were helped by it. And, as Dr. Ross Taylor has pointed out, the capital fund, which in 1900 amounted to £1,062,173, had all been contributed, with the exception of about £30,000, after the Free Church had begun to move in the direction of Union, and by people who openly countenanced union and the modification of the Confession of Faith in the direction of preaching a free gospel. Surely to hand over this sum to an infinitesimal minority who oppose union is to contravene in the most marked way the Lord Chancellor's dictum that money given for one purpose shall not be devoted to another.

Against a decision which leads to such results the moral sense revolts. It may be law, it cannot be equity. *Summum jus, summa injuria.* By this, of course, it is not intended to cast any reflection upon the learned judges, whose business it is to interpret the law, not to improve upon it. It is said that the position of the Lord Chancellor is legally incontrovertible. Unquestionably the fact that a majority in the Supreme Court have given a certain decision settles the law, at all events for the time being. It is useless, however, to ignore the fact that several judges—a majority of all who have tried the case—do not agree with this decision; that all the Scotch judges in the Courts of first instance were on the other side; and that, if Lord Shand had lived till judgement was pronounced, a majority could not have been secured to uphold the Lord Chancellor. Surely a very serious miscarriage of justice has taken place. Such a thing is possible even under such a system as ours, and with judges who for impartiality and mental detachment are unequalled in any other country. We hold that the judgement, however in accordance with the strict letter of the law, is iniquitous, in the strict etymological sense of the term. But we recognize the legal considerations on which

the judgement of the Law Lords is based, and these cannot be trifled with. Englishmen must accept the law, whatever it is, and bear its consequences, just or unjust, until the law itself be repealed or amended.

As regards the Scottish Churches immediately involved, it is to be hoped that ere long substantial justice will be done by mutual agreement and subsequent parliamentary action. The minority cannot possibly administer the property now declared to be theirs. What they can adequately administer they have a clear right to possess. The chief, perhaps the only, fault that we should be disposed to find with the majority is that at the time of the Union they dealt somewhat hardly—not harshly or offensively—with the dissentient minority. Considering the attitude of the minority in 1900, perhaps no other course in relation to them was open to the majority than that which was actually taken. Looking back, however, it is seen that it would have been wise to agree with the adversary while they were in the way with him. Now they can hardly complain if in the process of negotiation the terms proposed to them are hard. But the United Free Church shows no disposition to complain under obvious moral injustice. Their attitude in a time of extreme perplexity and adversity has been singularly noble. Whatever pecuniary sacrifices may be necessary in order to maintain principle and the true freedom of a Christian Church, they are prepared to make, and they will bravely face the future whatever it may bring. We earnestly hope that the negotiations now in progress will be successful. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with characteristic friendliness and generosity, has offered his services, if any form of arbitration should prove desirable in adjusting the claims of the two parties. Principal Rainy has replied with courteous thanks that in prospect of ultimate parliamentary action such assistance from without would probably be very useful. We trust that the peace of Scotch ecclesiastical life may not be long disturbed, and that soon, though it be at considerable pecuniary loss, the United Free Church will be pursuing its beneficent way unhindered, and that it will carry on with zeal, increased

by the trial through which it has passed, its magnificent work for the cause of Christ at home and abroad.

But, whatever be the issue for the Churches directly concerned, larger questions arise which seriously affect the well-being, and might affect the very existence, of Nonconformist Churches in this country. The Church of England, 'as by law established,' is not self-governed, and cannot determine her own doctrine or discipline. Whether such a body, with all its excellencies, can adequately fulfil the functions of a true Church of Christ, is a question we need not discuss. Many of her own most loyal sons question the possibility, and Lord Salisbury, in the House of Lords, said stronger things than we should venture to say concerning the absence of discipline in the Anglican Church. The other Christian Churches of this country, commonly called Free, are not bound by the same ties to the State; but they have, of course, always recognized their dependence upon civil law as regards the holding of property. The recent judgement raises certain questions concerning the administration of ecclesiastical trusts in their acutest form. In effect —unless a remedy be provided by Parliament—it would unquestionably result in wholesale spoliation or confiscation. It is impossible to help sympathizing with Principal Rainy and his coadjutors in their resolution reaffirming the Church's right 'to revise her statements and confession,' and pointing out that 'to make it a rule of law that confessions cannot be revised by the Church that from time to time frames and utters them, is to penalize the action of the Church and so in effect to deny to her toleration.' But it is not possible to regard lightly a judgement definitely pronounced by the highest Court in the land, and an interpretation of the law supported by the two highest legal officials, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice of England.

The strong hand of the law must defend trust property, else what would become of all ecclesiastical corporations? Sometimes it has been found necessary to defend evangelical truth against 'down-grade' tendencies, as in the well-known case of Lady Hewley's charities. And it is the very nature

of legal enactments to be 'rigid'; it is of no use to declaim against 'the dead hand.' Those who would be entirely free from the dead hand must not inherit the property of dead persons. Within limits, the grasp of the law must be made as firm as possible; the question is, What are those limits, and how may a line be drawn which shall fairly define them?

What is a Church—for the purposes of this inquiry? Lord James of Hereford in his very able judgement said: 'The Church is not a positive defined entity, as would be the case if it were a corporation created by law. It is a body of men united only by possession of common opinions; and if this community of opinion ceases to exist, the foundations of the Church give way. But difference of opinion to produce this result must be in respect of fundamental principles, and not of minor matters of administration or of faith.' Lord Lindley said that it is perhaps impossible exactly to define the powers of a Church and the limits within which its Supreme Council may determine its doctrine and administration; but he thought it would not be impossible, or even difficult, to determine whether a particular act is within its power or beyond it. And the condition which he laid down is one that should in equity be the determining factor in all instruments which create powers—that those powers shall be used '*bonâ fide* for the purposes for which they are conferred.'

It may be that ultimately, as Lord Young said, this 'is not a question of law,' but of fact. None the less, legal tribunals will have, in the last resort, to settle questions both of law and fact. And the present duty of other Free Churches is to consider how far existing trusts permit the '*bonâ fide* use of the powers entrusted to them for the purposes for which they were conferred,' consistently with such liberty to modify doctrine and administration as every self-respecting religious community ought to possess. Changes must come. Dead hand or no dead hand, with the possession of property or stripped of every farthing and driven from every building, a living Church *must* have the power of

re-stating her beliefs in the light of new knowledge and adapting her administration to a new environment—always provided she relinquishes no fundamental principles and does not contravene the great purposes for which her constitution was originally framed. It may be that it is impossible to define 'fundamentals' in legal phraseology, or to prescribe beforehand what changes may, and what may not, be allowed as legitimate. The resources of civilization are not exhausted by the formulae of any particular trust deed; and if that which the Free Church framed in 1844 permitted what they consider to be the monstrous legal decision of 1904, it is not utterly impossible to frame a better.

That decision, however, utters a loud warning to Nonconformist Churches that they should see that their houses are in order, and not attempt to slight the technicalities of legal enactments. Congregationalists have been in the habit of boasting of their superiority to creeds; but where trust deeds are concerned—as, for instance, in the case of Cheshunt College, which it is proposed to sell and amalgamate with Hackney or New College—they will do well to be careful. In the case of the Lady Hewley trust already referred to, injustice was undoubtedly done to Unitarians by the strict carrying out of the law, and this had to be remedied by an Act of Parliament, the Dissenters' Chapel Act of 1844, promoted by the Government of the day on the ground that 'a great wrong would be done if they allowed the law to take its course.' In America a much larger measure of freedom is enjoyed by ecclesiastical corporations; but the cases are not entirely parallel, and it is with English law that we are now particularly concerned.

The Methodist communities afford the nearest analogy to the Presbyterian. As the law stands at present, how far is it possible for Methodist Churches to unite, if in either body there be a pertinacious, though numerically small, minority opposed to union? What measure of freedom does the law permit in modifying administration—say, for example, ministerial itinerancy? We put the question broadly, since we understand that the stipulations of trusts

in the different Methodist bodies vary considerably. Again, in matters of doctrine, the very form of the subordinate standards—Wesley's fifty-three Sermons and Notes on the New Testament—indicates that not a literal but a broadly equitable interpretation of what is meant by adhesion to these standards is intended. But it would not be well for any of these highly organized churches to wait for troublous times of controversy and a hotly contested lawsuit to find out precisely where it stands in relation to its own trust deeds. And we at least hold that it is quite intolerable for the state of things to continue which makes legally possible such a fettering of the powers of Free Churches as the recent judgement has effected.

In closing, we have strong hope that good may come out of ill, not only to the suffering community in Scotland but to all the Nonconformist Churches of this country. They glory in the name 'Free,' and they must learn well what freedom means and what price must be paid for it. They have never claimed, and do not desire, an unreasonable or unrighteous latitude, such as should never be dignified by the sacred name of liberty. They of all men should detest licence. Those who expect to be protected by the law must themselves not only obey but honour the law, even to their own loss—it may be, at great personal sacrifice. Nor must they imagine that the restraints imposed by the past necessarily imply bondage, or be in too great a hurry to change for change's sake, as if every alteration must be an improvement. Respect for legitimate authority and tradition needs to be cultivated in Nonconformist Churches as well as the duty of protest against tyranny and wrong. Reverence and obedience still rank among the virtues of truly Christian men.

But the freedom of self-government, so long as no law of the land is broken, the power to determine its own administration, to interpret its own subordinate standards—which, however sacred, should always be absolutely subordinate to Scripture—and the power to modify doctrine in the light of increasing knowledge, so long as the Headship of Christ

over His own Church is preserved and fundamental principles are not interfered with—these are rights which must be vindicated at all costs. This is what the freedom of Free Churches ought to mean, what it does for the most part actually mean in the Nonconformist Churches of England. But the case of the United Free Church of Scotland shows how such freedom, maintained in a sober, reverent, and even conservative spirit, may be checked and limited by a narrow and literal interpretation of the law of trusts. At best that Church will have to pay an enormously heavy fine, and endure much pain, anxiety, and suspense, for the venial fault of not having sufficiently guarded its powers and principles in the documents which embody its constitution. Parliament will, we hope, see to it that the punishment in this case is not too heavy, and that unrighteous spoliation may be impossible in the future. And if other Free Churches are wise, they will learn by this bitter experience of one of the noblest and best of their brotherhood. In the liberty with which Christ has made us free, every Christian man and every Christian Church should at all costs 'stand fast,' and so help to hasten the time when the world itself shall enter into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.

THE COMING OF AGE OF JAPAN.

The Real Japan. By HENRY NORMAN. (Fisher Unwin. 1892.)

Japan in Transition. By J. S. RANSOME. (Harper & Bros. 1899.)

Japan: Aspects and Destinies. By W. PETRIE WATSON. (Grant Richards. 1904.)

'IN the family of nations Japan is the child of the world's old age.' In that long family history, where the various members with their quarrels and friendships are so familiar by name and nature, our generation has had the new sensation of seeing the unexpected arrival of the little new-comer, and of seeing it grow till it has come of age. Even now the effects of that coming of age and the new resultant adjustments in the family relationships are occupying the absorbed attention of the statesmen of the world. In order to grasp the factors of the problem presented we have left on one side the multitude of books on Japan which flood the market, and have chosen as text three named above. Mr. Norman wrote twelve years ago, and his prophecy is interesting; Mr. Ransome published after the Chinese war and before the Treaty Revision came into effect; Mr. Watson issued his book just as the alarum was being rung for the war with Russia. The dozen years of interval are time-area enough for distinction of past, present, and future.

All are agreed that it is the novice who knows Japan, the man of experience confesses his lack of understanding. The question is whether Japan fully understands herself. On a millennium of feudalism she has superimposed the thin lacquer of a single generation of modern government, and it is no wonder that the puzzle remains whether the deep underlying Oriental elements are the permanent dominant

factors, or whether the one generation has made all the change. No one who knew China and Japan was one whit astonished at the issue of the war of ten years ago; but even the best admirers of Japan are surprised at the success of the campaign against Russia, which, whatever is the final issue of the conflict, makes it certain that Japan is adult in modern warfare. Hesitations as to the reality of her growth are vanishing. Astounded at the rapidity of her change, we have been accustomed to speak of her as shallow, fickle, superficial. It is a comment on our Christian civilization that the decisive test of full-growth has been one of war and death; but it is not altogether unchristian that the distinct negative to the indictment of shallowness is given by myriads who die unhesitatingly and gloriously for Emperor and fatherland.

These elements of patriotism and loyalty are fundamental facts in the appraisement of the future of Japan. The great revolution which abolished feudalism bears witness to this. It was in 1867 that the Shogun or hereditary Mayor of the Palace retired from his active power and the Emperor issued from his seclusion. Up to that time the Daimyos or great Lords held complete feudal power in their fiefs, supported by their military retainers, the *Samurai*. Convinced that it was for the public good that feudalism should cease, the Daimyos *voluntarily* gave up their fiefs into the Emperor's hands. This meant the relinquishment of rights almost sovereign, and the parting with the larger portion of their incomes. Where else in the world is such patriotism to be found? Apart from the last stand made by the old ideas a few years later in the Satsuma rebellion, the change was bloodless and voluntary. The displaced Shogun himself was still living a quiet life as a country gentleman a dozen years ago, and his son holds a good position in the new nobility. *Pro rege et pro patria* is practically the religion of the Japanese, and it is a religion so interwoven with basal elements of being that it is all-effective. Shinto, the indigenous religion of the country, practically says to a man, Worship your ancestors, be loyal to your Emperor, and for

the rest do what your heart tells you, so shall you be right. Shinto claims to be the highest religion in the world, because it needs no decalogue, no code. History shows that this virtue is a vice, for it has so obviously been insufficient as a spiritual furnishing that Confucianism and Buddhism have been brought in to supply its lack. The Emperor has avowedly and historically behind him a direct line of imperial ancestry far older than any other in the world. He is probably of a race different from that of the majority of his subjects, and is believed to be descended from the Sun. Devotion and loyalty to his person is absolutely religious and unquestioning. Ask a modern Japanese, well educated in Western science and history, as to his faith in the divine origin of his ruler, and he will tell you that, while his reason assures him that the Emperor is an ordinary mortal, he can never see him without a thrill as of the superhuman. How long this instinct, inherited with the sanctions of religion, will resist the solvent influences of modern political and social life we may doubt; but we can appreciate the fervent wish of young Japan that the glamour may continue. It is an immensely valuable asset of national stability and enthusiasm. The loyalty and patriotism of the Daimyos went beyond the relinquishment already recorded. They subscribed largely from their impoverishment in order to make the beginnings of a navy; they stood on one side willingly that men of lower class, when abler than themselves, might take the leading positions of the State. They have still the haughty traditions of blue blood and long descent, but, when questioned as to the present grounds of their influence over their clansmen, they frankly and cheerfully acknowledge that it depends entirely on good character justifying race. The self-denial of the present war tells the same story. Rich and poor alike subscribe liberally for the war loans. Our newspapers have rung with the story of the poor widow and her son, which yet is so eloquent that we quote it here. The son, drawn for conscription, yet excused himself because he was his mother's only support. He hid the reason from her and pushed aside resolutely the desire of his heart.

But the mother understood, and, finding her persuasions ineffectual, killed herself, leaving a message that her useless life was well laid down in order that her son might be free to risk his for Emperor and fatherland. A country with such mothers and such sons has the first strong elements of permanence.

When the leaders of new Japan, less than forty years ago, decided that their country to be great must approximate to the Western, it was certain that many mistakes would be made in the process of the revolution.

Never did a nation undertake so vast a programme of reform. Ordinary antiquated rote schools of Confucian classics were to be replaced by a complete national system graded from the elementary village school right up to the imperial university with its many departments of science, literature, and arts. The army was to be transformed from a disunited multitude of feudal units armed with bows and spears to the half million men of all arms with every modern weapon of precision. A navy was to be created for the distant East parallel to that of Great Britain in the distant West. A new type of commerce and manufacture was to be developed. A new legislature was to be created suited to the needs of international intercourse. And all this was to be done in a single generation. The task was undertaken with a light cheerfulness which masked from the world the intense purpose underneath. We look back now and we confess that the impossible is accomplished; the single generation has witnessed the development in a score of matters any one of which was enough to task a nation's energy.

The foreigner is scarcely to be seen anywhere in the result; but he has been there, and there are marks to show the fact. Englishmen have had more to do in aiding the revolution than the representatives of any other race, but Japan has deliberately picked the brains of all parts of the West. The mark of England is on the navy, finance, communications, mining and industrial work; Germany shaped the army and developed medicine; America set the pattern

for education; France formed the legal code. When the instructors had been used, they were politely set on one side; their work was ended. The Japanese are an intensely ingenious race; they are not an originative race. Just as, ages ago, they needed literature, art, religion, and borrowed them all from China, developing them by their own alterations into a final something that was Japanese and not Chinese, so to-day, when in need of a whole outfit of national being, they have borrowed from the Western world, but are rapidly making their own patent improvements. As soon as they could walk alone—often before they could walk alone—they cast off their teachers. They made many a blunder as a result; they incurred the charge of ingratitude; but they fulfilled thus their national character and took the quickest way to the new independent life. How long it will be possible for a nation to progress with this lack of first-hand originality it remains to be seen. We have heard one of their own prominent statesmen lament this tendency: 'It is high time that our nation originated something of its own.'

The keen eyes of her statesmen soon recognized that the first point to be aimed at was to prove her right to take position on equal terms at the Council Board of the nations which decide the destinies of the Pacific. Her ambition was stimulated more and more into hasty life by the constant irritation of the extra-territoriality rights of the foreigners in her midst. By treaty the various nations of the West had insisted that their citizens, if living in Japan, should not be amenable to Japanese law, but should be answerable to their own consuls. Such restrictions were necessary while Japan had given no proof of knowledge of the principles of Christian justice. As long as they remained they were a stigma of inferiority.

Japanese statesmen learnt only too well by their survey of Christendom that a nation is esteemed great according to its manifestation of power. They therefore not only set themselves to learn principles which make international law, but they aimed at actual military and naval power. Com-

merce was developed in order that they might be able to meet the huge expenditure necessary for equality in Western warfare, but clearly the first step must be that Japan should display enough might to make her voice heard. Obviously China must be the natural sphere of any extension of commercial influence; equally obviously Russia's schemes of advance both in China and Corea made a collision sooner or later inevitable.

The multitudes of the old fighting classes made the formation of an effective army comparatively easy; but an island empire must have a navy. Every nerve was strained towards this end, and the war with China was eagerly entered into as the first test of the new system. The success was immediate. For the first time it was clear that the new nation was not at play but in deadly earnest. There was an even greater test as to progress in the way Japan would take her success. From this test she emerged with every credit; she kept her head, and pressed on to new proofs of the powers she felt to exist in herself. The Emperor's Cabinet, happily independent of the votes of Parliament, withstood the clamour of excited and ignorant politicians, and quietly went on with their work, appealing to the world as to whether the time had not come when the stigma of extra-territoriality should not be removed. England was the first to yield; other nations followed suit, correcting England's too hasty concessions; and now for some years past a European in Japan has been as much under the law of the country as a Japanese in England is under English law.

One lesson of the Chinese war had been burnt into the national consciousness. Russia, backed by Germany and France, intervened to prevent Japan from reaping the full fruits of her victory. With most creditable self-control Japan yielded; but the inference was obvious. Russia clearly meant to keep the swallowing of Corea and North China for herself. That meant that all chance of development, perhaps all future free existence, for Japan was in peril. It was clear where the next conflict must be. Now

ensued a most interesting development. All Asia awoke to the possibility that an Asiatic power might be of real weight in the world. China, after her chastisement, saw in the friendship of Japan her one chance of salvation from the insatiate hand of Russia and its allies. A few years brought a mighty change. The common desire for the continuance of China's integrity brought Japan into alliance with Great Britain; and Japan, after a short delirium of joy at this new testimony to her new position in the world, returned to her work of developing commerce and education. The youth of Asia began to crowd to her universities. Before the war broke out last year, young Chinese, Coreans, Annamese, Siamese, Burmese, and Hindus were in considerable numbers in her classrooms. In China, Japanese officers were drilling the army, Japanese lecturers teaching in the schools, Japanese commercial agents organizing trade. We have seen a cartoon in a Japanese newspaper representing the tall, fair figure of Japan as an armed Minerva carefully guarding the steps of two little children—one with the characteristic Chinese queue, the other with the peculiar Corean hat. Asia has no doubt of Japan's possibilities; Japan herself has accepted her task. When Russia continued her stealthy moves, Japan felt ready to strike, and saw that not to strike meant national extinction. Hence the present war, in which the nation, knit into a single patriotic unit, each member cheerful to die for his country, boundlessly loyal to his sovereign, inheritor of a tradition of millenniums of valour, brings the work of thirty years to the test. Each detail has been thought out; the whole of Manchuria has been studied with minute accuracy; every provision has been made for each eventuality; magnificent strategy by land and sea has astonished the world. As we write, it seems that only failure in the Japanese resources of wealth can prevent her ultimate success.

Now it must be noted that it is only in this one department—that of war—that Japan has fully established her coming of age. As Christians we regret it, but none can deny that in the present state of the world she seems wise

in first bending her energies to this end. In other sections of endeavour we have yet to see how far her aims are to be realized. In fairness we ought to say that Japanese responsible statesmen assert that her aims are pacific. She desires to assure an undivided China and quiescent Russia, and then proposes to develop a commerce which shall exploit all lawful fields, but especially those nearest to her.

Our next question then is, How far has the new Japan made sound advance in commerce? The answer is that, for good or ill, Japan has become a competitor in the manufactures of the West; she has great factory centres like Osaka, is developing great naval dockyards and arsenals, and is mining on a large scale. A few statistics here are evidence enough. Cotton yarn began to be made in 1890, in 1902 its exports were over two millions; in 1890 foreign matches were bought, in 1902 the export was nearly a million. In raw silk the export in 1870 was half a million, in 1902 eight millions; and exported coal has sprung in the same time up to a million and three-quarters. There can be no doubt that in the realm of commerce also Japan, if not adult, is rapidly growing. But there are other elements to be considered. Every one knows the unenviable reputation for dishonesty of the Japanese merchants. Mostly a Chinese middleman is used between Japanese and European, because the Chinese can be trusted and the Japanese not. This phenomenon admits, no doubt, of explanation. In old Japan the only profession for a gentleman was that of arms, the merchant was looked down upon. Centuries of contempt have left their mark—as has been the case in the Jew and the Armenian. In self-defence the victim of scorn has lived up to his reputation, and has developed all the arts of craft. Even yet the larger view of honesty, the broader sense of the value of a reputation for probity, the general education of the moral-commercial sense, have not done their full work. Perhaps it has not made matters easier that the emergence from the lower idea of trade has brought contact with a foreign commerce whose honesty is far from unimpeachable. Japan is still on her trial here. Further, even though factory

wages have trebled during the last few years, they are still miserably low. From twopence to eightpence for a day of eleven hours is still paid to girls in the Osaka factories. This immense advantage in competition with English or American manufactures cannot last. All Japan's social troubles are before her. Strikes and factory laws may prove a more difficult crisis to pass through than the revolution of 1866.

In education the balance between theory and practice has not yet been attained. The utilitarian is aimed at, but a somewhat shallow and hasty 'going through' a curriculum is accepted rather than the application of principles to practical result. These are the natural faults of youth. The United States, on whose system Japan has moulded herself, passed through a similar stage, and have already emerged into a most satisfactory and thorough completeness of applied education; so that it is unfair to speak of failure. At present a graduate of the university is sure of immediate employment in filling the rapidly growing number of teaching posts. These are on the whole poorly paid; and, when the system is complete and an equilibrium between candidates and offices has been reached, we are certain to find the development of the practical application of knowledge to other than mere book-learning. Certain it is that the Japanese are intensely eager in the acquirement of knowledge; mental curiosity and interest are the portion of every son of the race. In certain of the higher branches, notably in medicine, a great deal of ambitious and highly technical work is already done. Literature, as such, has however but few students, and it is but natural that at present it is uncertain what place the literature of its own past will find in the final learning of the race. There is a strong tendency to belittle the imaginative which held sway in all branches of Japanese art in the past. Old Japanese paintings knew nothing of perspective; it is a gain that the new art should possess this knowledge. A similar criticism is recorded on the drama and fiction of the past, and an active propaganda is moving to replace in all sections of art the old heroic and idealistic by the realistic.

The battle is still going on. Japan, with her pride of race, will soon learn that perspective may be gained without the sacrifice of the grace and true artistry of the past.

No aspect of the future is more intensely interesting than that of the religion of this new power. We have already spoken of the extreme simplicity of Shinto, and of the inevitable opportunity given to a missionary Buddhism to supply the empty chambers of the soul. By the new legal code, absolute freedom in religious belief is permitted. The rulers of Japan are frankly agnostic. Count Ito affirms, 'Science, knowledge, culture, education—these are my religion for Japan.' The leading Japanese journal asserts, 'The new religion for our race must be scientific, ethical, cosmopolitan, philosophical, corrective.' Young Japanese who come to be educated in the West take Christianity as one of the subjects of the curriculum, along with and on a par with algebra and political economy. The aristocrats among them consider Shinto as sufficient for the higher classes, but anticipate that, just as the lower classes have eked out religious life by Buddhism, so in the future the simpler Christianity will find a place. Agnostic Western writers obtrude their interest in the fact that a nation avowedly non-Christian is entering on a competition for a place among the civilized peoples of the world, and plead for non-interference in order that the experiment may be fully carried out whether Christianity is an essential of the highest civilization. The Christian student of social problems cannot avoid his preconceived certainties. He knows that the changeful inquisitiveness of the race has been first an incitement towards, and then a deterrent from, Christianity; but he rejoices in the tens of thousands of transformed lives already seen in Japan bearing the distinctive marks of Christ's power to save—some of them in the highest positions of the public service. And he feels sure that he has learnt truly the lessons of history; he believes that his own faith in a living Saviour is bound to fill the vacuum left by the imperfect creed of Japan's past. But of this let us be sure: the final form of Japanese Christian dogma and

Churchmanship will be something different from anything Western. Japan will have her contribution to make to the perfect idea of the Christ.

We have ventured to peer into the future, and to guess at the lines of movement of the nation's life. But the question remains, Which is the nation's life? Is it the life of the revolution, or the life beneath the revolution? The revolution has but little touched the home. The man who appears in public in coat and trousers, sits on a chair, and talks English, goes home to his flowing *kimono*, squats on the floor, and talks Japanese. A medical man claims to have discovered the bacillus of plague—and within a mile many of his countrymen are rubbing wooden idols for delivery from disease. Pilgrims worship mountains which are pierced by railway tunnels, and streams whose energy is used to produce electric light. Buddhist students recite strange legends of the tortoise that bears the world, in the chapels of colleges whose classrooms are filled with the newest apparatus in physics. Which is the true life, and which will conquer?

We have but little hesitation in answering. Such contrasts, translated into expressions of the West, have existed till but recently in Europe; nay, exist even now. Lourdes is not so many miles from Pasteur's laboratory; the White Witch of Exeter is called in to heal cattle by members of the Christian Church; we have met a Cornish local preacher who had been 'pisky-led.' But, apart from these parallelisms, we emphasize that the Japanese nation in its loyalty follows the Emperor; the Emperor and his leading men are determined that the scientific and the modern shall triumph; the nation will obey. It has cast its elements into the alembic of change; from it will issue the same elements, oriental not occidental, but transformed into a compound with the vigour of the West—a new product with which the West will have to reckon.

Whether there is ever to be a Yellow Peril will depend on the attitude of the white races. Asia will undoubtedly find a leader in this new power. Convince Japan that there

is no *White* Peril, and she will be a power for peace. Let her see that the same land-hunger is to continue which has marked the dealings of the Great Powers with China, and she may yet put herself at the head of China's hordes as a repellent force. The faithlessness of Christendom has already taught Japan one evil lesson, that the possession of the mailed fist means consideration in the world. It remains to be seen whether in the future Japan will be left to her own ideal of commercial development and competition in the market of the world. At present England's interests are clearly the same as hers, and we may rejoice, if our ally of to-day come through this baptism of fire without hurt to us, that she may be our ally for many years to ensure the peaceful freedom of the commerce and development of the distant East.

W. T. A. BARBER.

LORD ACTON AS A STATESMAN.

Letters of Lord Acton to Mary, Daughter of the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone. Edited, with an Introductory Memoir, by HERBERT PAUL. (London: George Allen. 1904.)

THIS volume is one of rare and curious interest. It brings the reader into confidential relations with the secret thoughts and purposes of perhaps the most influential circle of actors and counsellors in the modern world—the world of the last generation. To read it is something like entering into the closet where the most momentous and adventurous political projects of the generation now drawing towards its close were canvassed by the most powerful statesman of the world's later history and his most trusted friends. The subjects under discussion were the difficult and daring proposals of the great Minister who at the time swayed the fortunes of imperial Britain. Of the mind and will of that distinguished man we have in this volume no direct personal utterance; but indirectly much is suggested. There are two friends outside the retreat in which he sits, who, on his behalf, consult and inquire; they do not sit with him, but through one of the two he learns all that passes, and is able indirectly to respond. The other friend, in return, learns from the same intermediary all that the central authority would desire to be known. The reader gathers from this volume much, not otherwise to be learnt, of the inmost questioning and of the resulting counsels of the great man in his closet. He learns also not a little of keen and novel interest as respects the parts played by the two whose agency is revealed in the text of the volume.

Apart from an instructive introductory Memoir of Lord Acton, by Herbert Paul, the volume consists of extracts, more or less continuous in their interest and suggestions,

from the correspondence of Lord Acton with Miss Mary Gladstone, now Mrs. Drew, selected and edited by her, and, as now published, dedicated by her to Lady Acton. This very clever and accomplished lady fulfilled the part of a specially intimate private secretary to her father, whose agent and representative she was in regard not to the technical business of his office as Prime Minister, or the form and outline of legislation or of private matters of State action, but as respected questions of right or wrong, wisdom or unwisdom, underlying lines of conduct or procedure such as belonged to the initiative or the inner purposes of the Prime Minister of the realm. As to such matters, if Lord Acton had been at hand, Mr. Gladstone would have confidentially consulted him, having the highest regard for his judgement in such cases. Lord Acton not being at hand, Miss Mary Gladstone, between whom and his lordship there existed a very close and affectionate intimacy, acted as a medium of communication with the great historical student and socio-political critic, and obtained suggestions and sometimes condensed dissertations in the form of letters, full of zeal and knowledge—knowledge not only of history but of the world and of human nature, and remarkable for the enthusiastic confidence they express in Mr. Gladstone's wisdom and greatness as a political leader and statesman, and for the affectionate veneration for him which they breathe in every paragraph. Lord Acton seems always to have thought Gladstone right in his central principles and leading projects, and almost the only political fault he ever found was that Gladstone did not even more daringly and sweepingly follow out his own convictions, especially in regard to Ireland; or, in other words, that he was not sufficiently absolute and masterful in imposing his will and judgement on those with whom he had to consult and co-operate in the guidance of his party and the government of the empire.

The position in which Miss Mary Gladstone seems to have stood in regard to her father was not a little remarkable. She was not only his most private, though unofficial,

confidante and secretary, but she appears to have had the charge of such domestic and social arrangements as were intended to promote and subserve his public policy and political aims. Mrs. Gladstone, during the period embraced in this correspondence, was already of advanced age, and perhaps had at no time shown any disposition to take up any such rôle as that which great ladies in France, or which in this country, in the time of Queen Anne and the earlier Georges, great ladies placed near the centre of political power—such, for instance, as the Duchess of Marlborough—had studied and fulfilled, by way of helping in the conduct of State affairs. But, in the case of Mr. Gladstone, the part which his wife might not improperly have borne in helping her husband to maintain pleasant and useful social relations with persons of influence in political life seems to have been congenially and zealously taken up by his younger daughter, as is shown by the correspondence published in this volume. Lord Acton appears to have taken almost a paternal interest in his sprightly and accomplished correspondent, and his confidence and affection were warmly reciprocated by his younger friend. How highly he thought of her mental capacity and equipment is implied in the whole tone and content of his letters, one illustration of this being his serious statement that she 'would have written a capital review of *Greville's Memoirs*.' With what warmth of affection he regarded both the father and the daughter—and especially in their mutual relations—is strikingly shown by a passage in a letter written in 1882, after a hasty visit to London, when he did not meet with Miss Gladstone, but in which, to the relief of some doubts and misgivings of his own, he found Mr. Gladstone's influence as Premier and as politician triumphantly in the ascendant. He had kept Gladstone talking in the House of Commons till near eleven at night, and had left there, in the Premier's room, an unbound volume of Dante, the *Paradiso*. It was too late for him to call at Mr. Gladstone's house, when he found what he had left behind. Miss Mary Gladstone herself was not at home at this time. To her he describes his visit and his

feelings. 'There was some symbolic propriety,' he says, 'about the title of the unbound volume' (*il paradiso*). 'Of course the impression of my one well-filled day in town—*even with the part of Cordelia left out*—is the very opposite of that under which I lately wrote. The Session ends with a great blaze of his mastery and power. It did indeed impress me most deeply.' Gladstone was Lord Acton's royal hero, and Miss Mary Gladstone was another Cordelia, to his lordship's feeling and in her relation to her father.

Lowe in 1880 had been disappointed not to find himself in the Cabinet with Gladstone, and felt rather insulted than consoled when Gladstone, who could not possibly have taken again such a Jonah into his Cabinet, offered him a peerage instead of power. On this Acton writes to Mary Gladstone: 'One so often finds that acts specially showing delicacy and considerateness, little supererogatory works of kindness, are taken unkindly. Now that is just a state of mind you can improve away by an initiative of civility, bearing in mind that what Lowe says to me, his wife declares from the house-top. . . . Both in Church questions, and ultimately in land questions, your father is at variance with the great bulk of his colleagues and followers. So do not undervalue, or neglect, or waste, the social influence which centres in your hands. . . . Mr. Gladstone dislikes thinking of those things, and allowed Delane[1] to slip from him. Don't leave the whole thing to be done at No. 18.'[2] Similarly, he more than once exhorts his correspondent not to neglect Chenery, Delane's successor on the *Times*.

Miss Mary Gladstone, besides her special gifts and widely cultivated intelligence, was the only daughter now at home—her father's one filial confidante. The eldest sister was married. Miss Helen Gladstone had found her special vocation as an educationist at Cambridge. Upon the one daughter left by her father's side, and as helper to her aged mother—a true Christian lady of a former generation—devolved the part of sympathetic social *aide* to her father as

[1] Of the *Times*.

[2] By Lord Granville.

a political leader. Happy was it for so great and noble a statesman and patriot—and this we must say of him without admiring everything that he said or did—that such a daughter remained at his side through the whole of his strenuous and sometimes at length all but solitary course of greatness.

What we have been setting forth will serve to suggest the confidential and altogether unique character of the relations between Lord Acton and his correspondent. It is by no means certain that Lord Acton was the safest or most sagacious confidential counsellor for Mr. Gladstone. With his continental experience and his knowledge of continental by-helps in state-craft and government he was well fitted to give such prudential suggestions of social management as he imparted to Mr. Gladstone's daughter; but he was too continental and had too much of mixed continental blood in his veins, besides his being a Roman Catholic, however broad might be his sympathies, to be always a wise counsellor in English politics. He was not exactly English *au fond*, and did not intimately understand English party and racial varieties of sympathy, of antipathy, of social and religious forces, long descended and insuperable. He was, after all, too much of a continental theorist to be always a safe oracle for a strong-willed, doctrinaire statesman. Unfortunately his enthusiastic admiration in the abstract for Mr. Gladstone's ideas led him to stimulate him strongly in some cases where caution and counter-consideration were needed. Nevertheless, from time to time, his natural sagacity and his wide outlook enabled him to give wise cautionary counsels to his friend.

It is curious that the two men in whom Mr. Gladstone in his last years most absolutely confided were this eminent Liberal Roman Catholic student and Mr. Morley, an accomplished agnostic scholar. It is indeed melancholy to find, after his final separation from official political life, when he and Mrs. Gladstone were leading a recluse life in Biarritz, that his chief and often his only companion was a friend who, though devoted to him politically and a distinguished

man of letters, could have no true fellowship with him in what was and had always been to him the subject of deepest, of sacred, of paramount interest. In this connexion it is interesting to note a passage in one of Lord Acton's letters, in which he speaks of Morley as having 'so many points of antagonism to Mr. Gladstone. He is a sceptic; his studies are all French, eighteenth century; in political economy he is a bald Cobdenite, and will do scant justice to the political aspects of the French treaty.' In another letter he speaks of Mr. Morley's 'secret Jacobinism.' Mr. Morley's literary gifts and his talent and success as editor of the *Pall Mall* he of course recognizes, as he seems frankly to have recognized the gifts and talents of most of the men with whom he was brought into contact. Lord Acton, at the same time, was a very strict Christian moralist. 'The experience of history,' he writes, 'teaches that the uncounted majority of those who get a place in its pages are bad. We have to deal chiefly, in life, with people who have no history, and escape the temptations that are on the road to it. But most assuredly, now as heretofore, the men of the time are, in most cases, unprincipled, and act from motives of interest, of passion, of prejudice cherished and unchecked, of selfish hope or unworthy fear.' Lord Acton took great pains in the moral and religious education of his own children; preparing for their instruction Scripture lessons, especially out of the New Testament. He was a Liberal Roman Catholic of a very attractive character.

But where precisely he stood as a Churchman would seem to be an almost insoluble mystery. He professed to be a convinced and loyal Roman Catholic, and as such he seems to have kept on terms of clear and satisfactory confidence with his confessor. But, for an historical Roman Catholic, he held extraordinary views as to the principles and settled policy of the Papal curia. He was the intimate friend and ardent admirer of Döllinger, and held, in common with him, the views and convictions which had compelled his friend to separate from the Papal unity—or, perhaps, we should say had brought upon him the terrible penalty of excommunication.

Perhaps Lord Acton's sharpest point of antagonism to official Popery, to the Papacy, and therefore to Romanism, as it stands to-day and has stood for ages, is most clearly stated and most strongly insisted on in the letters to Miss Gladstone, in which he gives reasons why Gladstone ought to beware of promoting Canon Liddon to the episcopate. He regarded Liddon as committed in principle to the recognition of the Papal primacy,[1] and therefore to Ultramontanism, with which has always been bound up the Inquisition. 'An Anglican,' he argues, 'who views with satisfaction, with admiration, the moral character and spiritual condition of an Ultramontane priest, appears to me to have got over the principal obstacle on the way to Rome, the moral obstacle. The moral obstacle, to put it compendiously, is the Inquisition. The Inquisition is peculiarly the weapon and peculiarly the work of the Pope . . . the principal thing with which the Papacy is identified, and by which it must be judged.' There is much more in his letters to the like effect. Therefore, much as he admired and even reverenced Canon Liddon, he labours greatly to bar his way to the episcopate. In various forms he insists on the same point, and on other correlated points which go to stamp the Inquisition, the Papacy viewed as an ecclesiastical institution, and Ultramontanism, as organically immoral and anti-Christian forces, and at the same time inseparably bound up with Romanism as an historical organization. It is well known that, by the letters which he wrote from Rome in 1870, under the pseudonym of *Quirinus*—letters so often referred to by Mr. Arthur in his invaluable book on *The Pope, the Kings, and the Peoples*—Lord Acton did all that an acute and well-informed student of Church history—a European scholar of high reputation and great social influence—could do in support of the views of his intimate friend Döllinger, as against the Pope and his Ultramontane policy, on the question of the Infallibility doctrine and decree, the

[1] Pp. 183–7. Some months later he seems to have overcome his scruples as to Liddon. But it was too late.

issue of the contest being a complete triumph of policy for the Pope and Ultramontanism. And yet there can be no doubt that his allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church, as regarded from the Gallican point of view, as the Church of Bossuet and Fénélon, was sincere and unshaken. His confessor—Bishop Browne of Shrewsbury—vouched for his orthodoxy and steadfast loyalty to the Catholic faith. He believed in the Roman Catholic Church *minus* the Papal Infallibility and necessary Supremacy. If the Papacy in its historical development of political influence and prerogative could have been done away, the ecumenical primacy being retained, he would have been a satisfied and loyal Roman Catholic. In a letter to the *Times* he said, 'Communion with Rome is dearer to me than life'; and—being also an Englishman—he escaped any such proscription and excommunication as his revered teacher Döllinger had to bear.

Lord Acton was a great scholar in one direction—as an historian, including in his range theology as well as politics. Of science he seems to have had but little knowledge, nor do his theological attainments appear to have included a profound knowledge of metaphysics. Neither was he an accomplished critic of poetry or literature in a large and systematic range. He was by birth a Neapolitan; his grandfather, Sir John Francis Acton, an Englishman, having been Prime Minister of Naples under Ferdinand IV; his maternal grandfather, Duc de Dalberg, entered the service of France, and represented Louis XVIII at the Congress of Vienna. For Lord Acton, accordingly, there were from his childhood three languages and three countries, equally familiar—English, German, and Italian. He had a special tie to England, not only as the son of an Englishman, but because his German mother became the second wife of Earl Granville, who was thus his stepfather. Brilliant as his family connexions were, they did not bring him much wealth, but they made him in many ways cosmopolitan, though his paramount citizenship and his whole-hearted loyalty centred in England. Another consequence of his birth and upbringing was that he was not less a man of society than

a student, and too much a man of society to fulfil his own ideal as a writer and historian. He had an excellent memory and was an omnivorous reader, and he made careful notes of all he read, but he did not write out clearly and in detail, or in a popular form and style, the ideas which had passed through his mind as to what he had read. Accordingly, he had not familiarized himself with the work either of detailed description and statement of his ideas and conclusions in writing, or of the succinct and definite summing up of facts and inferences or conclusions. His English hereditary seat —his 'family mansion'—was at Aldenham, in Shropshire. Accordingly, in the neighbouring town of Bridgnorth, he delivered, whilst still a young man, two historical lectures. From the account given of them by Mr. Herbert Paul, in his introductory sketch of Lord Acton's personal history, it is to be inferred that the Bridgnorth townspeople must have been much puzzled in trying to follow the lecturer. It is evident that though he might be able to converse well with well-educated people, to whom the outlines of history and the language familiar to students were not unknown, the popular essay, the clear and attractive historical composition for general use, were hardly in his line of training or of written composition. A learned and widely read man needs to school himself in popular composition if he is to be read with interest and pleasure by the multitude. A double schooling is best—of free conversation with intelligent but not deeply learned or highly educated persons, and of careful and well-considered composition in good vernacular. Allusive 'society' talk, or letters addressed to dear and highly educated friends, will not avail to train even the cleverest and best-informed minds for the argumentative or descriptive work of the historian. How fully furnished the mind of Lord Acton was for historical criticism may be judged by the hastily written long letter to his lady correspondent, in which, for the benefit of Mr. Gladstone as well as his daughter, he sets down in brief summary a statement of the serious errors—or some of them—which are found in the famous novel *John Inglesant*, of which Gladstone was

enamoured. In one instance, indeed, Acton exerted all his best powers as a writer and critic in a contribution to the *Quarterly Review*, which seems to show what he might have accomplished as a critic and historian if he had given his mind and his time to the task. This was his review of Sir Erskine May's *Democracy in Europe*, which he wrote at the request of Sir William Smith, the editor of the Review. It is notable that this article on a Liberal political writer was contributed to the great Conservative journal by a Liberal critic, and it is evidence how great the contrast was in spirit and temper between Smith and his predecessor Croker. Of this article Mr. Herbert Paul says that it would be difficult to find in the great Review from first to last 'an article of more fascinating interest and more solid value.' The date of this composition, however, was 1878. Twelve months later Acton ceased to live at his English home in Shropshire. His great library, indeed, remained at Aldenham; but, when not in London, he spent his time between Germany and the Riviera. He continued to be a very great and various reader, but he was also more and more a society man—finding his society, in the great European centres of cosmopolitan intercourse, among men and women of world-wide distinction, literary, political, or merely social, so long as they were persons of credit and culture.

Nothing, as we have intimated, is so striking in his correspondence as his intense, one might almost say passionate, zeal and admiration for Gladstone. His one business in life would seem to have been to watch, to study, to calculate probabilities, to weigh all that happened, or might happen, in the interest of his friend; and on his behalf to write counsels or suggestions to the daughter whom he recognizes and defines as her father's 'private secretary.' Wherever he might be, such was still his occupation, his absorbing interest. His suggestions are those of an acute observer, of one familiar with the political ideas and chief political and social leaders of all European countries and parties, an intensely anxious partisan of England and especially of the 'Liberal' ideas which were taking hold, more and

more, of the national mind. If and as soon as it could be done wisely and safely, it is evident that, on a Home Rule basis, he would have revolutionized Ireland—not, however, in the interests of an ignorant, praedial priesthood. He cherished the hope that Gladstone might live to accomplish this great matter. But he doubted whether the great and masterful statesman would condescend to use all the legitimate influence, all the lawful acts, without which such a result could not be accomplished by him or in his time; and in his letters to his great friend's 'private secretary' he is continually throwing out hints or even suggestions on this subject. At the same time, he came at length to see that the task was beyond the scope even of Gladstone's genius and force. Sometimes, indeed, he points out difficulties—especially personal difficulties—which even Mr. Gladstone's resources of national influence and party management might be unable to cope with. Some of his latest suggestions rather indicate the almost hopelessness of the problem to be solved than any practical way of solution. The difficulties in his hero's way sometimes excite in him such a personal animosity as Gladstone himself never yielded to. He altogether failed to understand the strong and lofty character of Lord Salisbury, for whom he shows an intense distrust and dislike, which at the same time he knows, and regretfully admits that he knows, that his correspondent and her father do not share. One of the fine things to be noted in our English political history, during the last generation, and indeed a still longer period, is the manner in which such political opponents as Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, with their families, maintained personal friendship and social intercourse notwithstanding their political differences. Nor did Acton ever cease deeply to regret, and strongly to intimate his regret, that Mr. Gladstone, on the death of Lord Beaconsfield, had led the House of Commons, as he did generously and impassively, in the award of honour paid to the brilliant adventurer's memory. The monument to him in the Abbey yard added to the disgust which he felt on this subject. Perhaps Lord Acton's continental life and connexions made

it more difficult to enter into the feelings of Englishmen on such points. His stepfather, indeed, was Lord Granville, but his mother was a German princess, and, instead of an English public school, he was educated at Oscott. He desired to go to Cambridge for his degree, but at that date he could not be admitted, though his last years saw his installation there in the Chair of Modern History.

During his five years' residence at Cambridge he only delivered two short courses of lectures, though he allowed the students the free use of his thousands of notes, chronologically arranged, as to all the eras of European history. He projected and laid out in general outline the plan of the *Cambridge Modern History*, but he did nothing in the way of writing any part of the history. He had talked for many years of the *History of Liberty* which he was preparing, and makes a good many humorous allusions, in his letters, to the explanations which would be found in it of important and interesting points. But he never wrote a line of this *magnum opus*, and for years before his death he must have given up all intention of writing it.

The extracts which Mrs. Drew, to whom the whole of this correspondence was addressed, has selected for publication in this volume end with the year 1885, because the letters which followed up to 1898, the year of Mr. Gladstone's death, touched upon questions which are still matters of controversy. During the years 1879 to 1885, the period of the correspondence as here given, Mr. Gladstone had his own separate correspondence with his friend, which had begun many years before; but that correspondence, though it covers more years, 'does not cover nearly so wide a range of subjects, or appeal so much to general interests, as the series now printed.'

Though in the pages of this REVIEW lengthy extracts are, as a rule, of necessity excluded, an exception may perhaps be allowed in the present case for one extract, as a sample of the wealth of knowledge and brilliance of faculty which Lord Acton lavishes in this correspondence with his beloved friend. The subject is suggested by a visit which the

Gladstones—or at least the father and daughter—had paid to Sir John Lubbock—now Lord Avebury—at High Elms. It will be seen that an idea had been launched by that accomplished man, which has since borne fruit.

I am glad you saw more of Lubbock and liked him better. He has astonishing attainments and a power of various work that I always envy; and he is gentle to the verge of weakness. He has something to learn on the gravest side of human knowledge; apart from that, he would execute his own scheme[1] better than almost anybody. How I should like to see my own list of authorities drawn up by you! There was a Pope who said that fifty books would include every good idea in the world. Literature has doubled since then. How interesting it would be to get that question answered by one's most intelligent acquaintances: Winton, Dunelm, Church, Stanley, Liddon, Max Müller, Jowett, Lowell, Freeman, Lecky, Morley, Maine, Argyll, Tennyson, Newman, W. E. G., Paget, Sherbrooke, Arnold, Stephen, Goldwin Smith, Hutton, Pattison, Jebb, Symonds, and a very few others. There would be a surprising agreement. One is generally tempted to give a preference to writers whose influence one has felt; but that is often accidental. It is by accident—the accident that I read Coleridge first—that Carlyle never did me any good. If I had spoken of him, it would not have been out of the fullness of my heart. Excepting Froude, I think him the most detestable of historians. The doctrine of heroes, the doctrine that will is above law, comes next in atrocity to the doctrine that the flag covers the goods, that the cause justifies its agents, which is what Froude lives for. Carlyle's robust mental independence is not the same thing as originality. The Germans love him because he is an echo of their voices and of their own classic age. He lived on the thought of Germany when it was not at its best, between Herder and Richter, before the age of discipline and science. Germany since 1840 is very different from that which inspired him; and his conception of its teaching was a gross anachronism. It gave him its most valuable faculty—that of standing aside from the current of contemporary English ideas, and looking at it from an Archimedean point of view, but it gave him no rule for judging, no test of truth, no definite conviction, no certain method, and no sure conclusion.

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[1] Sir John complained to Miss Gladstone of the lack of a guide in the choice of books. She had suggested Lord Acton.

But he had historic grasp—which is a rare quality—some sympathy with things which are not evident, and a vague, fluctuating notion of the work of impersonal forces. There is a flash of genius in *Past and Present* and in the *French Revolution*, though it is a wretched history. And he invented *Oliver Cromwell*. This is the positive result of him, that, and his personal influence over many considerable minds—a stimulating, not a guiding, influence; as when Stanley asked what he ought to do, and Carlyle answered: 'Do your best!' (pp. 69–71).

The foregoing quotation is not only valuable for the ideas it expresses or suggests, but interesting and remarkable, as indicating the vast range and the high quality of Lord Acton's social circle. Of Gladstone he has much to say in the same voluminous and brilliant letter. We can but quote a few fractional extracts. After speaking of Chatham, Fox, Pitt, Canning, and Peel, he says that 'the highest merits of the five, without their drawbacks, were united in Mr. Gladstone.' He notes, at the same time, that he fell into what is not seldom 'an error of wise and good men, who are not ashamed to fail in the rigid estimate of characters and talents.' 'This will,' he adds, 'serve to explain his lofty unfitness to deal with sordid motives, and his inability to sway certain kinds of men, and that strange property of his influence, which is greatest with multitudes, less in society—and least at home.' He notes 'the impress left by early friendships with men who died young, or from whom he was early parted, like Hallam or Hope Scott'; his microscopic subtlety and care in the choice of words, and in guarding against misinterpretation, a growth of the Oxford school, with its special training, his familiarity and sympathy with Italian thought, and neglect of French and German genius. 'But,' he sums up,

that illustrious chain of English eloquence that begins in the Walpolean battles, ends with Mr. Gladstone. His rivals divide his gifts like the generals of Alexander. . . . He alone possesses all the qualities of an orator; and when men come to remember what his speeches accomplished, how it was the same whether he prepared an oration or hurled a reply, whether he addressed a British mob or the cream of Italian politicians, and would still be the same if

he spoke in Latin to Convocation, they will admit no rival. 'C'est la grandeur de Berryer avec la souplesse de Thiers' was the judgement of the ablest of the Ultramontanes on his speech on Charities (pp. 45–48).

We have intimated that, immensely as Lord Acton admired Gladstone, and great as was his confidence in him generally, he was not blind to certain flaws in his character, regarded as a party leader and national statesman. Some instances of this occur in some of the latest letters printed in this volume. It would seem also that Mr. Gladstone's daughter not only saw but noted some of her father's incidental and yet characteristic mistakes. The fact that in one of her letters she refers to this subject testifies to her ripeness of mind and strength of character, and also to her high estimate of her correspondent. She was writing at the period of parliamentary dissolution which was directly followed by the great Conservative gain in the election of 1885–6, and brought after it the political reaction which, except for the short interval of Gladstone's pathetic final administration (1892–4) has maintained itself as against the Irish Home Rule policy of 1886. Lord Acton endeavours, writing in 1885, to sum up the probable issues of the conflict which he foresees, and of which he evidently anticipates that the final result will be the conclusive defeat of Mr. Gladstone's administration and the end of his political career. It was not merely the Irish question which threatened the overthrow of the Liberal party. The tragical death of Gordon and the entire conduct of the Soudan business had aggravated and completed the national revulsion from the Gladstonian political régime. Mr. Gladstone had even, as the writer well remembers, been hissed persistently at a numerous gathering of educated and, many of them, distinguished persons, at South Kensington, even though Mrs. Gladstone was with her husband. Not long before matters came to their most critical stage, Lord Acton wrote: 'Three legitimate causes have told in favour of the Tories. They have not done much to make themselves odious, and the position abroad is decidedly easier. Then, the case against us in the Soudan

is a very strong one. I may say so now, and you, at any rate, know how strongly I thought so before. Thirdly, the Church argument is logically against us. Mr. Gladstone's attitude gave no security that the Liberals, if they returned strengthened from the poll, would not eventually employ their increased strength to pave the way for Disestablishment.' To this he adds, in the next paragraph, a remarkable testimony to the insight and independent judgement of his correspondent. 'What you say,' these are his words to Miss Mary Gladstone, 'of a flaw in his reckoning is very true. In his literary occupations it appears still more strongly. The grasp is often more remarkable than the horizon. . . . There is another point of view from which I see much to apprehend and prepare for. The elections send Mr. Gladstone back to Downing Street, with some loss of influence. I see it not only in the reduced majority, but still more in the increase of Conservative minorities at the poll, the infidelity of most important colleagues, and the reluctance with which he will be followed by members under pressure from their constituencies. . . . Mr. Gladstone only retained office after the Egyptian vote by the neutrality of Rosebery, and in the question of concession to Parnell he had to yield to the Lords in the Cabinet. How can they stand by him now to support measures far more formidable, probably, than that which they rejected last spring?'

These words, written in January 2, 1886, are almost the last extracts contained in this most interesting and instructive volume. The few passages we have been able to incorporate with this article can only convey a very inadequate idea of the interest—not seldom of the intrinsic and instructive charm—which will reward the careful reader, nor will any reader wonder at the words with which Mr. Gladstone's accomplished daughter closes her brief and modest Preface. 'To the recipient of these letters,' she says, 'they will always be precious, not merely for the judgements they contain and the memories they recall, but also as the outward symbol of an inward and priceless possession, the treasure of his friendship.'

JAMES H. RIGG.

A SCOTCH SCHOLAR—PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON.

THE invitation is given me to say something of one who was a dear and intimate friend of my own, whose place among us, alas! knows him no more, but who has left behind him a name greatly honoured not only in the Scottish Church which it was his joy to serve, but in all the Churches. The life of a Professor of Hebrew seldom offers much that is of interest beyond the circle of the fit and few. But that of the late distinguished occupant of the Hebrew Chair in the New College, Edinburgh, was of an exceptional kind. The ideals which he set before him, the consistency with which he devoted himself to the vocation he recognized to have been marked out for him in the providence of God, the remarkable influence over the best minds of the earnest and studious youth of Scotland, which he early won and retained undiminished through wellnigh forty years of professorial service, and the work which he did as pioneer and guide at a critical period in the religious history of his country, give a larger importance to the career of Andrew Bruce Davidson and make it appeal to a wider audience.

I gladly embrace, therefore, the opportunity of bringing under the notice of the readers of this REVIEW, in however imperfect a way it may be done, the life of a student who did more than most in our own land in unfolding the message of God in Old Testament Scripture, and who from his early youth to his old age held a most eminent place in the wide world of Christian scholarship. Yet I feel how difficult it is to speak worthily of him, and how much I at least must leave unsaid at present. Appreciative tributes have been paid to his memory by many men occupying high positions on both sides of the seas. The great gathering of

friends and former students who laid his body to rest in the Grange Cemetery in Edinburgh was an impressive testimony to the place he had filled in the hearts of multitudes and the power he had been in their lives. All was summed up in the few simple words which were put upon his tomb—'*Scholar, teacher, friend.*' Memorable as a scholar, still more memorable as a teacher, he was most unforgettable as a friend. Those who knew him best will best understand how this brief description expresses the man, and how these three designations are given in their just order. But of Andrew Davidson as FRIEND I shall not venture to speak at present. The sense of loss is yet too keen to make it easy for one to utter all that he feels in his heart. It must suffice to say that I reckon his friendship among the chief blessings of my life. It will be safer for me to speak of what he was to the Church at large, and of the work, known and read of all men, which he accomplished.

But first it will be proper to say something of the man himself, his mental make, and the particulars of his career. The story of his life is soon told. It is the simple, even story of one who was from first to last a student, to whom his study and his classroom were his world, who lived almost wholly in privacy and took no part in public affairs. He was always a bird of a shy feather, seeking cover—the most retiring of men, delighting in seclusion, and having at the foundations of his being a vast force of reserve on which nothing, not even the most exciting events in Church or State, could make much impression. He never entered into the general work of the Church. He was never a man for the committee-room. It was seldom that he appeared in Presbytery or Assembly; and if some strong constraint of duty drew him for an hour into these Courts, the first thing he did was to look out for the obscurest seat, and the contribution which he made was that of persistent silence.

But it would be utterly to misunderstand him if this were taken to mean that there was any weakness or apathy in his character, or that he lacked interest in events. On the contrary, he had all the strength of the self-contained

man, and he had a keen eye for whatever was happening. He came to his own conclusions on public questions, and to those who had access to him he had opinions to deliver and counsels to give on most things. Among the least self-assertive of men, he had a fine faculty of self-defence—a caustic humour, a sharp eye for men's weak spots, a quick sense of the ridiculous side of things, a piercing wit that cut like a rapier, and made it a hazardous thing to try a pass with him. At the centre of a nature that seemed still and cool and far apart from the strife and struggle of common things, there was a hidden heat which flamed out at times in passionate love for his country, in scathing wrath with wrong, in burning scorn of insincerity. He had in marked measure the qualities of the race to which he belonged. Those not of Scotland often show a remarkable interest in the Scot. The Aberdeenshire man in particular has his character often drawn for him by discerning outsiders. Much is said of the raw accent of the Aberdonian, his cold, dour, granitic disposition, the secret kindliness that is ashamed to show itself kindly, and much else. We are such poor judges of ourselves that it would be rash to say how much of this is true. Probably, like other parts of the British Empire, Aberdeenshire has a good many different samples of character to show. But I shall not dispute the fact that Andrew Davidson had the characteristic qualities of the Buchan man, and he never saw any reason to be ashamed of them. It was in a quiet Aberdeenshire parish that he was born and spent his boyhood. It was in the city of Aberdeen that he had his early education in Grammar School and University. It was there that he passed through his first struggles, and there that the plan of his life was determined for him. He was, to the joints and marrow, an Aberdeenshire man, and it was to that corner of Scotland that his heart always turned. He had the strength of purpose, the untiring, indomitable energy, the patient tenacity, the perseverance defying defeat, the dry, deep-set humour, that are distinctive of the Scot generally, and more especially of the Scot of the north-eastern seaboard. He had also his inwardness and self-

repression, and a certain sensitiveness or aloofness which kept him at some distance from the mass of men, but which gave way in congenial company and in the freedom of private converse, and disclosed the real man, living, moving, loving, brooding, passing by swift changes from mood to mood, surprising and delighting by sparkling fancy, pungent criticism, and flashes of strange light thrown upon familiar things.

And withal there was a certain wistfulness about him, a sense of things unfulfilled, a feeling of the limitations of life and the undefinable mystery of being, that spoke of deep thoughts and deeper experiences behind them. In brief, he was a strong and tender personality, with large qualities of heart and mind that won him the respect of all, the grateful regard of many, the admiration and love of the selected few. And his mental equipment was suited to the work he was called to do. Logic, the linguistic gift, and the critical faculty met with insight, imagination, and poetic feeling, while shrewd Scotch sense kept all in balance.

His future was settled for him, and the real battle of his life was fought out in his Aberdeenshire home and in the Granite City. More than to fortune or to any of his teachers, he was debtor to his parents and himself. His father, a Forfarshire man who transferred himself to the more northern county early in life, settling first in Tarves and then in Ellon, was a good specimen of the old Scotch farmer of modest means and untiring endeavour—a strong, strict, cautious, God-fearing man, looking gravely at most things, slow-moving, slow-thinking, slow-speaking, unbending in his integrity, hiding a kind heart and not a little strong sense behind an impassive exterior. His mother, on the contrary, was a woman of a bright, warm, vivacious, buoyant nature, of nimble wit, hopeful, patient, with the gift of speech which the father lacked, and with a fine courage which laughed at difficulty and refused to let anything lie heavy on her spirit. Andrew, the youngest son, inherited the best qualities of both. But we can easily see how much the mother had to do in shaping the boy's course, and how the two drew together.

One rejoices to know that the father, who lived on in the farm of Kirkhill till 1863, saw something of his son's success, and that the mother, who survived till 1876, had the joy of knowing that the boy for whom she had done so much, and from whom from his very infancy she had hoped so much, had more than fulfilled her most daring expectations.

But at first Andrew's future hung in the balance, and the mother had need of all her fortitude. At one point it looked as if he would have to content himself with farm-work, or some other occupation of a humble sort. For the times were full of agitation and trouble, and the family took the wrong side for the countenance and help of those in power. The Church question was coming to its acutest point. The great controversy shook the parish of Ellon, as it did all Scotland; in the blacksmith's shop and in the farm-steading the question of the day was the great topic of debate. The farmer of Kirkhill sympathized at first with the parish minister, the redoubtable James Robertson of Ellon, thinking with him that legislative action on the part of the Church in the exercise of her own right and the privilege of Establishment could not well go together. The mother, with her warm Evangelical instincts, went heartily and decidedly the other way. But as events thickened, and the jeopardy in which the liberties of the Church were placed by the action of the courts of law became clearer, the father had strong wrestlings with himself in hours of solitary thought and prayer, and came out on the side of Chalmers. It was a great joy to the mother—yet not a joy unmixed. For it meant that the way was made harder for her son. But the mother was not to be daunted, neither was the son. So for a time Andrew did the herding on the farm, and got some instruction after hours from a good man who heard his lessons, at times when he was attending to his fields or cutting his corn.

By-and-by he got more regular instruction from the parochial schoolmaster, and after a while he was enabled to enter the Grammar School in Aberdeen, where he was greatly helped by the famous Latinist, Dr. James Melvin.

All this was made possible for him by the pluck and contrivance of his mother, who looked after him with tireless care and self-sacrifice, not grudging to walk the fifteen good miles or more from Ellon to Aberdeen in order to see to his wants, sparing the coach-hire in order to have the more to give to the young scholar. In due time he gained a bursary, and became a student in Dugald Dalgetty's College, living in a house in the Gallowgate, which was also the home for the time being of a child in petticoats, named William Hunter, who afterwards became Professor of Roman Law in University College, London, and M.P. for North Aberdeen. In Marischal College and University he divided his attention between classics and mathematics, and developed a great distrust of metaphysics. Here, too, he had a disappointment which he felt keenly, but which in later years, as we can gather from veiled allusions to it in his *Sermons*, he recognized to have had the hand of God in it. He was a candidate for the Mathematical Bursary of £30 for two years, but he was beaten by Dr. Mair of Earlston. Had he succeeded, he might have been led into some career, literary or scholastic, which would have turned his life into other channels than those in which happily we know it to have run. But this failure turned him in upon himself and raised further questionings about his future, which ended in his dedicating himself to the ministry of the Free Church.

He was not able, however, to give immediate effect to his resolve. There was at this point a break in his career which might well have seemed untoward. He had to earn the means by which he could continue his studies. So after he graduated in 1849 he became teacher of the Free Church School in Ellon, and continued in this post for three years and a half. But it was not lost time. These quiet years of humble work did much to determine and shape his future. In these he made large acquirements in the study of languages and laid the foundations of his future scholarship. In 1852 he entered the New College, Edinburgh, the Aberdeen College then being only partially equipped. On the

completion of his course in 1856 he became a preacher, and for about two years he did the preacher's work, in Gilcomston Church in the city of Aberdeen, and elsewhere.

But this was not the special vocation which the Maker of men's lives had in store for him, neither was it the one for which he was best qualified. He never had a congregation of his own, nor did he ever feel that the pulpit was his sphere. He loved preaching and set great store by it, but he shrank from large audiences and great city churches. His delight was to speak to humble folk in rural parishes or in out-of-the-way corners of our towns. He had a preaching gift of a rare order, which made him sought after by the discerning; and he had a message to deliver, which we can the better understand now by his published discourses. Some of the gifts, especially that of voice, which go to the making of a popular preacher, were not possessed by him. But his pulpit discourses had a great charm for many. They were remarkable for the quiet force and restrained emotion with which they were delivered, for their chastened style, their fine analysis of motive, their unveiling of the hidden springs of action, their spiritual feeling, their direct appeal to life. They were never scholastic, though they were the work of a scholar, but deliverances meant for common men, the utterances of experience, and not infrequently the reflections of the preacher's own life. What he might have been had he been called to minister to a charge of his own, is difficult to judge. But we cannot doubt that he would have found his audience. Be that as it may, all was changed for him when, in 1858, he was appointed Hebrew tutor in the New College and assistant to Dr. John Duncan. After a few years of distinguished service in that position, which drew the eyes of the Church more and more to him, he was made colleague to Dr. Duncan in the Hebrew Chair in 1863, and took up the great work of his life.

On looking back on his career up to the point which in one sense was its completion and in another its beginning, one cannot but be struck by noticing how little he owed to any one except himself and his mother. In his early years

in Aberdeen he made some good friends, with whom he lived in the most confidential relations. Some of these are with us still. I may refer, among others, to James Donaldson, now head of the University of St. Andrews. And one other I must mention—one who passed from us some years ago—Peter Bayne, a man of rare gifts, fine literary faculty, and pure Christian character, the editor of the *Witness* and the *Dial*, the author of the *Life of Hugh Miller*, the *Life of Martin Luther*, a splendid book on the *Puritan Leaders*, penetrating studies of Ruskin, Tennyson, Dickens, and others of our literary notabilities, and, above all, of the notable volume on *The Christian Life*. I prize this opportunity of speaking of Peter Bayne, and of recommending young men to make his acquaintance. Let them get his *Christian Life*—a book that has been the opening of a new world to many an inquiring youth in the counting-house and in the shop as well as in the college. Such friends were much in many respects to Andrew Davidson, although they went another way than his was to be.

Both in Aberdeen, too, and in Edinburgh he had some distinguished men among his teachers—James Melvin, Dr. William Cunningham, and others. But it does not appear that he was much influenced by these. Nor is there anything to show that, when he took up his academic work, he drew much from the great masters in Old Testament study. If any of these left his mark upon him, it was Ewald; and another must be named from whom, no doubt, he gained much in more than one way. I mean that most remarkable man and original genius, his colleague Rabbi Duncan. It was one of the providential things in his life that he was associated for years with that rare and richly gifted Aberdonian, the simplest, devoutest, most unworldly, most catholic-minded of men, a thinker teeming with ideas of the loftiest scope, a man with the visions of genius, a philosophical sceptic who had taken refuge in theology, a man who had passed through the dark waters of negation and danced on the Brig o' Dee with delight when the conviction pierced him that there was a God. But it was not in

Hebrew that Andrew Davidson was helped by John Duncan. In point of fact, in the special vocation of his life he called no man either master or creditor. He was his own maker. He thought his own thoughts; he found out for himself how the Old Testament should be treated; he saw with his own eyes what its message was, and how it should be interpreted.

He was a young man when he was elected to the Professorship in the New College, and his ways were strange. There were considerable searchings of heart and some misgivings at the time. But if ever an appointment to a Scotch Chair was justified, it was his. His power was soon felt; the Hebrew Chair became one of commanding interest; and such an attraction was given to a subject to which few had devoted themselves with any measure of zeal, that from that time onward it was the favourite academic study, fascinating the choicest minds in each new batch of students.

If we ask, then, what his work has been, this is the answer. It has been, first and above all things, the work of a great educator. The secret of his remarkable influence is his academic genius. He was a born teacher. The gift displayed itself early, and it was the main impulse of his life all through. He had the qualities of a good teacher in unusual measure and in the happiest combination. Recognized command of his subject, lucid, attractive, illuminating exposition, scientific method, the power of making men think out things for themselves, went hand in hand with the faculty of holding their minds, stimulating their ideas, and quickening their imaginations. He kept pace with his pupils, and made them feel that they had in him not only a master, but a fellow inquirer, who understood them and was in sympathy with them. Sallies of quiet humour, rare turns of expression, phrases that stuck like arrows, flashes of insight, checked the wandering attention and charmed the listener; while to all was added the fine contagion of his own spiritual feeling for the Word of God in the Old Testament. His classroom was the birthplace of many minds. From it went forth many of the best

Hebrew scholars of our time. In it multitudes of preachers got the impulse which has been the first secret of their power.

We cannot be sufficiently thankful to God that the Chair of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh, was filled for so many years by a man of the gifts of Dr. Davidson. Much depended, with regard to the religious life and thought of Scotland, much more than was seen at the time, upon the influence that was to go forth from that Chair. The Church was soon to enter into times of disturbance and change, when long-established ideas of the revelation of God in the Old Testament were to be shaken, and new ways of looking at the Bible, new methods of criticism, new conceptions of the Law, the Prophets, and the Messianic Hope were coming in. Such things try men's faith as well as their understanding. They tried Dr. Davidson himself. He had himself to pass through the sifting-time before most others in our country, and he was able when the crisis came not only to keep his own head clear, but to guide others and bring them deliverance. On him fell the responsibility of leading the way in scientific criticism in our country.

It was a great responsibility, but it was discharged with a fine discernment. His own openness of mind conciliated youth. His sanity, his aversion to all extremes, the good sense that made him pause where less-regulated natures ran into loud assertion or wild guessing, were a saving discipline to many at a very critical period. He saved many from a decline of faith and from painful confusion of the religious consciousness. He made the Old Testament a new and living thing to them, and led them into larger conceptions of God and His truth. It was in every respect a great service he rendered in this way to his generation. It was all the greater that he tempered courage with prudence, and eagerness with self-restraint. He never allowed himself to be drawn into exaggeration. It was sometimes made matter of complaint that he was over-cautious, and less ready to speak out than he ought to have been. But he chose rightly, and we can now see how happy a thing it was for us to have

a teacher of this kind, knowing when to move on and when to pause, quick to distinguish between the well founded and the hypothetical, between the use and the abuse of a just principle.

Great as he was, however, as a teacher, we should have a very imperfect idea of the man and what we owe to him if we did not take account of his contributions to theological literature. These have a worth which is gratefully recognized by all students, and best appreciated by those most competent to judge. They are also of very considerable amount. He was never in haste, however, to rush into print. Of all our recent scholars the late Dr. Hort of Cambridge is the one to whom he may be best compared as a writer. There was much in common between the two. They had both, as I have elsewhere said,[1] the same rigorous standard of values in authorship, the same punctilious carefulness of statement, the same precise and finished style, the same exacting ideal, the same shrinking from quick production or frequent publication, the same jealousy of all that comes short of the most honest and best-considered work. Like his great Cambridge compeer, Dr. Davidson knew nothing of the *cacoethes scribendi*. He was as unpractised as a child in the arts of the popularity-monger or the methods of the book-manufacturer. He was never betrayed into writing diffusely. He was incapable of hasty, pretentious, facile work. The books which were published in his lifetime are mostly of modest compass, and still more modest look. But they are packed with thought that comes straight from the mint of a keen, capable, observant, original mind, and each sentence tells. Nothing is allowed a place that is beside the purpose or incapable of satisfying the writer's jealous sense of what the quality of the work should be that the public are asked to accept.

His writings, as was to be expected, are mostly on Old Testament subjects. But he made one important incursion into the province of the New Testament scholar, in this

[1] *The Expository Times*, vol. viii. p. 536.

following the example of Ewald and Franz Delitzsch. I refer to his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*—a book of unpretending aspect, but of great value. It is, in my opinion, one of the most penetrating expositions which we possess of the Epistle, and I believe that the more it becomes recognized that the work of the interpreter is to get at the writer's ideas precisely as they formed themselves in his own mind, the more will the worth of Dr. Davidson's contribution to the understanding of this important section of the New Testament be appreciated. Its strength lies less in its discussions of the literary and historical questions, excellent as these are, than in the precision of its exegesis, its fine treatment of the characteristic teaching of the Epistle, its penetrating expositions of its conceptions of the *Covenant*, the *Rest of God*, the *Word of God*, the *Sonship of Christ*, the *Priesthood*, the *Day of Atonement*, the *purifying* and *sanctifying* of the people, and the like.

But it is, of course, in dealing with Old Testament subjects that he is at his best, and especially when he handles the Prophets or the Poetical books. What distinguishes his work there, and gives it its peculiar value, is the combination of the linguistic gift, the trained critical faculty, and the sincerest exegetical conscience, with insight into the Hebrew genius and an historical imagination which makes Hebrew times and Hebrew ways, Hebrew thought and Hebrew faith, present realities. The smallest and most fugitive of his writings have this note of distinction not less than his more elaborate efforts. Not to speak of his larger contributions to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, and the *Dictionary of the Bible*, much of his most careful work is hidden away in the obscurities of reviews of books in the *Expositor*, the *Expository Times*, the *Critical Review*, and similar journals. It would be easy to fill pages of memorable utterances, illustrating far-reaching principles, and illumined by sparkling flashes of humour and fancy, taken from these minor and more occasional performances.

But it would be out of the question to attempt to give at

the close of this article any detailed examination or specific estimate of his writings as a whole. This would require an article by itself. All that can be said is that, in his various contributions to theological literature, Dr. Davidson has left a priceless legacy to the scholar. They range over a considerable variety of subjects, including his *Outlines of Hebrew Accentuation* and his early *Commentary on Job*, which go back to 1861–2; his well-known *Introductory Grammar* and his *Hebrew Syntax*, the former of which has reached its seventeenth edition; his *Epistle to the Hebrews*, already referred to, published in 1882; his Primer on *The Exile and the Restoration*; and his Commentaries on *Job*, *Ezekiel*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, and *Zephaniah*, contributed to the 'Cambridge Bible' series. Of all these subjects of study the book of *Job* had the most peculiar fascination for him. It was in his mind and in his heart from his earliest youth to his old age. The problems with which it wrestled appealed to his intellectual and spiritual nature in its deepest and most characteristic moods, engaging his speculative gift, his poetic feeling, his imaginative faculty, and the impulse of soul which drew his thoughts irresistibly to the insoluble enigmas of providence and life. No scholar has done more to bring home to us the majesty, the profundity, the pathos of this book, its dramatic meaning, its practical intent, and the living relation of its ideas to the condition and needs of the kingdom of God in the Israel of its time.

Large additions have been made since Dr. Davidson's death, on January 26, 1902, to the mass of his literary work. The public have been put in possession of a collection of his *Biblical and Literary Essays*, his *Isaiah* (in the 'Temple Library'), his *Old Testament Prophecy*, two volumes of Sermons bearing the titles of *The Called of God* and *Waiting upon God*, and his *Theology of the Old Testament*, which forms one of the volumes of the 'International Theological Library.' These books enlarge our sense of the service which he did to his time and land in rescuing exegesis from unscientific methods, and still more in unfolding the conception of Revelation as an historical process,

the disclosure of God and His grace in His acts in the world, and especially in the operations of His will and the guidance of His hand in the history of the Hebrew people. The last-mentioned treatise, his *Theology of the Old Testament*, teems with fruitful ideas. Nowhere is the master-hand better seen than when in this posthumous publication it inculcates the value and illustrates the methods of biblical theology, unfolding to us the religious ideas of the Old Testament in the significance of their connexion with the history of the Hebrew people and in the impressiveness of their increase in clearness, definiteness, and completeness along the course of that history.

To open the pages of the two volumes, which contain a selection from the pulpit Discourses which Dr. Davidson left behind him in MS., is to feel like those who find great spoil. Nothing that we have from his pen will better reward the reader. They have been a revelation to many. They discover the great Hebrew scholar in a new character —that of a preacher of a rare order, worthy to rank with the most instructive and suggestive of his time, the bearer of a message of a peculiarly personal and practical import, which comes straight from a mind living and moving in the Word of God, and having in its deep places experiences of the searching things of the Spirit which cannot but utter themselves. In these remarkable Sermons multitudes of thoughtful men will find expressed in finest form much that they know to lie half articulate in their own souls.

What our friend was as a teacher, that he was also as a writer. In both capacities he has laid us under a debt of no ordinary magnitude. His removal has left a blank in English theology which cannot easily be filled. It is not every day that men of his order arise among us—men of original genius, creative scholarship, and insight into the principles of things—men of strong hand, steady head, and calm authority, capable of making a clear way for devout and question-tossed minds through the difficulties and confusions of a time of change and enlargement in matters of religion.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

DOES GOD SUFFER?[1]

1. *The Blessed God — Impassibility.* By MARSHALL RANDLES, D.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 1900.)
2. *Personality, Human and Divine.* By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1899.)
3. *An Outline of Christian Theology.* By W. N. CLARKE, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1900.)
4. *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.* By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.)
5. *The Book of Isaiah.* Vol. ii. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1899.)
6. *Words by the Wayside.* By GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D. (London: James Clarke & Co. 1897.)
7. 'The Suffering God.' By EMMA MARIE CAILLARD. (*Contemporary Review*, January 1901.)

SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON'S dictum that the sciences always studied with the keenest interest are those in a state of progress or uncertainty, finds perennial illustration within the circle of theological thought. Directly a proposition, however venerable its form, can with any show of reason be quickly turned into an interrogation, it becomes at once a quickened centre of interest, and is subjected to fresh methods of critical or constructive investigation. The doctrine of the Divine Impassibility has recently reached this stage. It has to meet the current of a distinct movement of the modern mind to regard pain

[1] This article was written and the printer's proofs corrected before the writer was aware of the serious illness and subsequent death of Dr. Randles.

as not impossible to God. Affirmed with strong conviction by some, assumed as a reverent probability by others, moving as an unconfessed mood of spiritual consciousness in many minds which have never formulated their prescient sense into a proposition, it is touching religious thought and emotion at many points. Though distinctly defended by a limited number of influential theological teachers, it appears most frequently as a quickening impulse in types of thinking and preaching that perhaps scarcely detect its doctrinal significance; for it is emerging not so much as a dream of doctrinaires as an issue of living experience of the things of God. Theologians who can hear the voice of their own generation, catch distinct tones of the interrogation in the prayers and thoughts of eager but unschooled theologians who hold the ear and the heart of the people. And with these there are signs that the interrogation is already passing into a settled opinion, and that a suffering God is regarded as a reverent and reasonable conception of the Divine. It is important to notice this stage; for whether we hold that the people are sure by spiritual instinct when theologians hesitate, or whether we consider that the multitude who know not the law are sorely in need of correction and instruction, the situation is significant. For it may be possible that the popular mind which feels no awe in presence of the historic symbols of heresies which have divided the Church for ages may leap into the recognition of truths that satisfy mind and heart, even though the results spell confusion to accepted metaphysical theories. However it may end, there is little doubt that a marked humanitarian tendence is at work in the interpretation of the divine nature, that we may well pause to review.

Dr. Randles, whose able book is, so far as we know, the only complete treatise devoted exclusively to the subject, states the question in terms that may be called its 'ultimatum' form: 'Whether God in His own nature is or can be the subject of pain, sorrow, trouble, or any form of suffering from any cause whatever.' Less militantly than in this 'fighting definition,' the question emerges in other teachers

more as a soliloquy of interrogations: Is God pained at the perpetual vision of sin? Does He know the distress of disappointment or the pain of ingratitude? Has His sympathy with a suffering race no true element of suffering in it? Does redemption cost the Divine nothing in suffering? Was the suffering of the Son of God purely human and without any corresponding passion in the mystery of His divine nature? In such more or less articulate forms the question recurs as an undertone or an assumption in many current theological discussions. Few, we imagine, would be disposed to elaborate these questions into a system or harden them into dogmatic expression. But they are not solely a matter of sentiment or atmosphere. They are formative as well as generally influential; they not only affect our conception of the divine perfection and of the Fatherhood of God, but also of the whole range of Christological discussion, and, as some would plead, the group of eschatological topics also. It is on this account that they rise to the rank of primary questions, both in the minds of those who cherish them as marks of progress towards a truer doctrine of God, and in the forebodings of those who cast forth the suggestions they carry as serious heresy.

It is this definite cleavage of opinion as to the tolerance to be granted to these questions that suggests the line of review that it is the purpose of the present article to indicate.

The acceptance of the doctrine of the Divine Passibility by theologians reputed to be orthodox is largely a modern position. The subject was much discussed as a phase of the endless Christological controversies of patristic and mediaeval theologians, but not as a distinct issue. Dr. Randles quotes at length from a formidable host of doctors and masters of the Church to show, what will be generally admitted as correct, that the weight of authority in the past has refused to sanction the conception of pain in God. This was necessary for strategic purposes. To have admitted passibility as possible in the divine nature would have disturbed the balance of the dogmatic statement of great truths. And on this account, though not without much

secret and open dissent, the Church decreed that the rejection of the thought of a suffering God must be regarded as matter of faith. This decision appears to have been regarded as largely axiomatic in the subsequent controversies upon which the idea of the passibility of God impinged. Reformation, Puritan, and Anglican divines in the main respected this tacit concordat. To defer, therefore, with absolute submission to the judgement of antiquity would be to regard the subject as closed. But probably even the strongest advocates of the *status quo* would not desire that this reference should to-day be considered final and exclusive. The well-worn pleas of the modern method will be urged here as elsewhere. No form of doctrine may ever be considered as final. Truth is always moving towards more perfect expression. The ruling ideas and dogmatic moulds of one generation are insufficient for the next. We are at once children and critics of the past. Only in lines that increasing light reveals can we trace the essential lineaments of the face of God. No angle of vision is fixed. And as we can never tell along which awakened nerve quickening thoughts of God may reach us, we may at least ask whether there are discernible any conditions in present-day modes of thought on the things of God that explain, or possibly justify, a reconsideration of the ancient assumption that the divine nature is essentially impassible. It is only reasonable to suppose that there may be causes which encourage modern theologians of repute deliberately to claim the capacity for suffering as one of the signs of perfection in the Divine. It is not safe to assume that these are merely unaccountable personal aberrations from customary opinion. For in theology as in science 'fragments' are unknown. Everything is related. And any deviation in the orbit of what may have been regarded as fixed opinion discovered in the system of honest thinkers in a particular epoch, demands pause and investigation as conscientiously as the aberrations of a planet. What, then, may we consider as an explanation of the fact that an undoubtedly large body of intelligent thought has been deflected from the recognized

ellipse? We think it is possible to indicate some of the changes of attitude in the modern mind which have rendered it possible for an affirmative answer to be given to the question, Does God suffer? by both trained and untrained minds, without their reply encountering instant and instinctive opposition from the general religious sense of the community.

If we take first of all the two terms of the question, 'God' and 'suffering,' we find ourselves in presence of current ideas that will account for many readjustments of mind towards the doctrine of Impassibility as anciently expressed. Take the latter of the terms first. We are conscious of a distinct change in our conception of the place and significance of suffering in the natural and moral order of the world. Our generation has come to think of it as by no means exclusively penal. It is altruistic; it is a cause of progress as well as an effect of degeneration. Though the mystery of its presence and prevalence in many areas of sensitive life is still a problem that perplexes us, we are learning to appreciate its evolutionary value in nature and society, and also in the things of the soul. Physical science, moreover, has taught us to co-ordinate capacity for suffering with the indubitable signs of physical perfection. It is the highest organisms in which suffering is actually or potentially the greatest. All the evidence we possess carries the same principle into the psychological region.

The mark of rank in nature is capacity for pain.

This law has its ethical correspondences. Supreme life is sacrifice. Sacrifice spells suffering. Pain is possible to spirit. 'Surely a true knowledge lays its fullest and intensest grasp upon the painful elements of life, and holds them as fundamental conditions of its joy.'[1] May not, then, the Source of all feeling feel? 'If ye suffer for righteousness' sake, blessed are ye, and the Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you.' Is St. Peter's beatitude only applicable to a personality that

[1] James Hinton's *Mystery of Pain*, p. 38.

is human? Is the blessed God necessarily the happy God, in the sense that we understand a self-contained happiness that is incapable of suffering of any kind? If happiness of this quality is the chief good, wherein does it differ from the utilitarian basis of ethics—the morality of consequences—of which we are virtuously shy as a motive of righteousness amongst ourselves? And in the last analysis will it not be difficult to distinguish infinite happiness of this quality from infinite Hedonism?

Dr. Randles contends strenuously that all pain is essentially and exclusively penal. Even suffering in nature prior to sin and the existence of man he explains as anticipatory of the penal quality of pain. And upon this he ventures the main strength of his argument for the impassibility of God. Perfection excludes evil; suffering is essentially evil; God, being perfect, is therefore incapable of suffering. All suffering is penal; God does not deserve it, therefore God does not suffer. All suffering is due to sin; God has not sinned, therefore God cannot suffer. These propositions illustrate arguments which he urges with acuteness and logical skill. And, if suffering is always and necessarily penal, they are powerful. But the modern mind asks: Are we sure that it must always be evil and only evil to suffer? Is this a psychological or ethical necessity strong enough to bear so vast a strain? At best it is debateable. To maintain it involves wide generalizations or immense assumptions that it is difficult to state dogmatically. And it is this position, that God in suffering is inferior to God without suffering, that the advocates of passibility are disposed primarily to question. All parties are agreed that perfection must be attributed to the Most High, and that the divine perfection excludes all essential evil. But is suffering always essential evil? May not the relation it has held to ideas of perfection be modified when it is clearly seen to be altruistic? Moreover, is not perfect love the nearest approximation to our conception of perfection in God, and is not love itself essentially a vicarious principle? Dr. G. A. Smith's statement is typical of this attitude. 'The highest moral ideal is

not, and never can be, the righteousness that is regnant, but that which is militant and agonizing. . . . To will righteousness and to rule life from above in favour of righteousness, is indeed divine; but if these were the highest attributes of divinity, and if they exhausted the divine interest in our race, then man himself, with his conscience to sacrifice himself on behalf of justice or truth—man himself, with his instinct to make the sins of others his burden, and their purity his agonizing endeavour, would indeed be higher than his God. . . . When a religion affirms that God is love, it gives immense hostages. What is love without pity and compassion and sympathy? and what are these but self-imposed weariness and pain?'[1] It is this readiness to take upon Himself the suffering which belongs to others—a type of suffering that is a universal mark of the perfection of love—that leaves reverent thinkers unshocked in presence of the thought of the passibility of God. And such suffering, they contend, is no limitation of the divine blessedness, but rather its sure sign amongst men.

When we consider the other term in the interrogation —'God,' we are conscious that a change of emphasis has taken place in our own time as to the method of defining the nature of the divine perfection. We are more disposed to content ourselves with the method of suggestion than to attempt metaphysical definition. 'The best manner,' says Dr. W. N. Clarke, 'of framing a statement of what God is, is not by enumeration of attributes, but by the use of comprehensive expressions. In case of the greatest truths, the nearest approach to correct expression is made, not by exhaustiveness, but by suggestiveness.'[2] One of the chief factors in this transition has been a fresh and careful study of human personality as a means of interpreting the Divine. Mr. Illingworth's book is a luminous effort to gather this tendency to a focus. His main contention is that 'whereas physical science has nowise weakened, critical philosophy has distinctly strengthened the claim—the immemorial claim

[1] *Isaiah*, ii. p. 139. [2] *Outline of Theology*, p. 65.

—of human personality to be a spiritual thing; and, as such, the highest category under which we can conceive of God.' He argues by means of careful psychological analysis and by wide appeal to historical developments that the personality attributed to God can at no period have been more distinctly conceived than was its human analogy. 'By necessity of language it would seem that any definition of the conception of God must, so far as it is not pure negation, suggest a human being.'[1] Man's belief in God, from whatever source it is derived, must obviously be interpreted through his consciousness of his own personality. 'One thing is certain, man can never transcend his personality. He cannot get outside himself. All his knowledge is personal knowledge, and is qualified and coloured by this fact. Personality is the gateway through which all knowledge must pass.'[2] Dorner gives the weight of his authority to this supreme method of interpretation: 'the absolute personality of God and the infinite value of the personality of man stand or fall with each other.'[3] This tendency to make the contents of man's personality a court of critical appeal in seeking to know God is bound to exercise a different influence upon the doctrine of Impassibility from that exercised by the philosophical conception of Him as the Absolute. The appeal to a group of metaphysical attributes, many of them of uncertain definition, issues in a very different answer to the question, Does God suffer? from that resulting from the effort to

> Correct the portrait by the living face,
> Man's God by God's God in the mind of man.

And the idea of personality is of the very substance of Christian thought, whilst the more philosophical idea of infinity is reached by inference. Infinity, moreover, is itself in need of definition, and, in the popular sense, is almost certain to act as a separating word, a negation of definition, a denial of knowledge, and renders God vague and

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[1] *Personality*, p. 220.
[2] *Personality*, pp. 24–5.
[3] *Person of Christ*, v. p. 155.

unreal to the mind; for mere vastness and removal of limitation is not helpful to a conception of God as the living God.

This insistence upon personality as a true basis of definition and interpretation of God, especially when, as is the case in our own generation, it is accompanied by an enriched and vivified doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, cannot fail to be fruitful in suggestion to the average mind of certain modified conceptions of the Divine in which passibility finds a foremost place. For 'if,' Dr. Clarke says, 'the largest and richest human personality has the largest possibilities outside itself, what may be the possibilities of the perfect personality of God? The most nearly perfect human personality is found amongst men to be most capable of sacrifice, self-abnegation, self-limitation for love's sake. The man of highest type can empty himself of what is natural to him. How great a possibility of sacrifice, self-abnegation, self-humiliation for love's sake must be in God, who is the original type of all excellence that is possible to man.'[1] Dr. Randles regards these pleas as the product of 'certain so-called "humanitarian" tendencies in the atmosphere of modern thought.' He fears the issue of them, and earnestly contends for the philosophical statement of the attributes as essential to the divine perfection.

Those, however, who admit the possibility of pain in God are not less jealous for the perfect blessedness of the Divine, but they maintain that a suffering love is one of its signs. The difference may be the result of the conceptions of the penal nature of suffering and of the different methods of approaching a definition of the character of God we have suggested. If we think of Him in terms of the Absolute, we conceive of His blessedness only as a perfect assemblage of the attributes that mark His absolute freedom from limitation. And to save divine impassibility it may be argued we easily imperil the divine personality. The

[1] *Outline of Theology*, p. 297.

reasoning which seeks to prove that passibility is liability to limitation, and therefore inconsistent with the highest perfection, may readily be paralleled by the argument that personality is liability to limitation, and therefore incompatible with the highest perfection. For the history of doctrine has many admonitory records of the unwisdom of relying upon the absolute attributes for a conception of the blessedness of God.

Whenever the question of the passibility of God has emerged in the past, it has almost invariably been discussed in reference to the doctrine of the Church regarding the person and work of our Lord. In this position, also, the responsible theologians who to-day vouchsafe the conception any favour in their systems of doctrine find its incidence most vital. We may therefore briefly inquire whether there are discernible any tendencies in the current of present-day thought on the relation of our Lord to the Father, especially in His redeeming work, which favour a recognition of the probability of suffering in the nature of God. We think there are such indications. The intense study of the Incarnation and its issue in a restatement of the doctrine, with marked emphasis on the place of the Kenosis in its interpretation of the person of Christ, which is characteristic of much theological thought of our time, has reacted upon the doctrine of the Atonement. The degree of depotentiation involved in the stress laid upon the 'emptying' in our Lord's earthly ministry, which is characteristic of this attitude towards His person, has led to an effort to show more closely the unity of His redeeming work with the suffering sympathy and activity of the other persons in the Godhead. The Church has limited the sufferings of Christ to His human nature. The doctrine of the Divine Impassibility required this. The infinite merit these sufferings possessed was secured, it was thought, by the succour and sustaining virtue brought to His humanity by His divine nature. As Charnock puts it, 'He had a nature whereby to suffer for us, and a nature whereby to be meritorious in those sufferings.' This position has its value

so long as the Church gives the dominant place in its Christology to the supremacy of the divine activity in His person and work. But when the stress is laid upon the human Christ, not dispossessed, indeed, of His divinity, but voluntarily laying aside His divine prerogatives, counting it 'not a thing to be grasped to be on an equality with God,' it is not surprising to find traces of a movement of thought respecting the Atonement that involves in closer definition the energy of the sacrificial love of the whole Godhead in the redeeming work. This, we think, is the position of Dr. Fairbairn, by far the most definite of the modern defenders of the conception of a suffering God. He is vehement in His assertion of its reality. 'Theology has no falser idea than that of the impassibility of God.' His position is that the Atonement expresses the passibility of God. He discusses the measure in which the Incarnation, with the passion and death it involved, was calculated to fulfil the function of the divine judgement of sin, and to achieve the salvation of the sinner: 'God could not love sin, nay He hated it, and it was, as it were, the sorrow in the heart of His happiness. If He is capable of sorrow, He is capable of suffering; and were He without the capacity for either, He would be without any feeling of the evil of sin or the misery of man. The very truth that came by Jesus Christ may be said to be summed up in the passibility of God. To confine the idea of sacrifice to the Son is to be unjust to His representation of the Father. There is a sense in which the Patripassian theory is right: the Father did suffer, though it was not as the Son that He suffered, but in modes distinct and different. The being of evil in the universe was to His moral nature an offence and a pain, and through His pity the misery of man became His sorrow. The surrender of the Son, as it was the act, represented the sacrifice and passion of the whole Godhead. Here degree and proportion are out of place; were it not, we might say that the Father suffered more in giving than the Son in being given. . . . We may then construe the sufferings and death of Christ as if they were

the sacraments, or symbols and seals, of the invisible passion and sacrifice of the Godhead. That is a message they deliver now, and will deliver for ever.'[1]

It will be abundantly evident that in Dr. Fairbairn's judgement a suffering which is truly divine is an essential element in the work of redemption.

It was to avoid the necessity for such an admission that the Church held through the ages so persistently to the doctrine of Impassibility. 'He suffered grief for our salvation not in the power of His Godhead, but in the infirmity of His manhood. If any man say the Deity of Christ is subject to suffering, let him be accursed.' This position, maintained from anxious desire to retain the doctrine of Divine Impassibility intact, it is contended reveals grave signs of inadequacy in accounting for the infinite merit of Christ's atoning sacrifice. The difficulty of the situation is marked also by the strait to which so careful and deliberate a writer in defence of the ancient position as Dr. Randles is reduced. He is very bold—some might say rash—in the courage with which he faces the dilemma. He writes: 'If it were true that the sufferings of our Lord's human nature could not derive sustenance and honour and value sufficient to render them a propitiation, that would not prove that there was suffering in the Divine. The inference would rather be that they were inadequate to the work of atonement for sin. Even for so great an end as Atonement we cannot divest the Infinite of His perfection of impassibility.'[2] This is decisive indeed! The Atonement must go rather than admit that God can suffer! The difficulty is met by Dr. W. B. Pope in another mood: 'We need not make the most distant approach to the ancient heresy that ascribed suffering to God; but we may boldly say that such is the absolute unity of the two natures in Christ, that the sufferings of His human soul could not be more truly divine suffering were the tremendous error found to be truth. It is the blood and passion of God; the Atonement stands or falls with

[1] *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 483 ff. [2] *The Blessed God*, p. 87.

it.'[1] This ventures a long way, and may appear to some to be inspired by a wistful desire to go further. If it is not God who suffers, it is God's equal.

At the risk of disturbing the symmetry of established systems, several recent writers have maintained a passion before the Passion, a divine suffering before the assumption of human nature by the Son of God in the Incarnation. Those who thus infer the divine passibility trace its revelation both in the bold anthropomorphism of the Old Testament and in the perfect disclosure made in the Incarnation. The historic passion was thus anticipated in the perturbation of the divine mind as the effect of sin, and in the sacrifice of a divine love which withheld not the only begotten Son. Dr. Clarke states this position very fully: 'The spirit of sacrifice was not a spirit that God desired Christ to act upon, but did not act upon Himself. It was God who gave Himself for us to save us. That God is Saviour is a great fact in the invisible realm of existence, which men greatly needed to know. . . . We have long said that Christ is like God, but now we are beginning to see that God is like Christ, and is at heart a Saviour. In God there are no new or transient sentiments, for His character is eternal. The life and cross of Christ express not what God appointed Christ to feel, but what God felt, and not what God felt newly or temporarily, but what He feels because He is the God that He is. It is thus that the cross is revealing God. God is the great sin-bearer.'[2] Sinners suffer, but they do not suffer alone. They inflict upon God the grief of love that is sinned against. If sympathy with God brought this upon Jesus, then upon God Himself it was already. The consciousness of the Son only revealed the consciousness of the Father. Upon God comes all the burden of suffering involved in the sin of the world, and it comes all through time. It is His glory that He can bear it. For in all this Dr. Clarke assures us we do not

[1] *Person of Christ*, p. 47.
[2] *Outline of Christian Theology*, pp. 341–5.

deny the perfect blessedness of God. 'The endurance of redemptive suffering is the highest bliss.' 'God alone knows to the full this noble gladness, and He knows it perpetually.' 'We are not compelled to explain suffering as punishment. . . . Love suffers in saving, and God bears in order that He may save.' The conviction that the only living God we know is the God Jesus makes known to us, and that all else is more or less a human creation of abstract metaphysical reasoning, has taken hold upon the Christian consciousness of our generation, and has made possible, and to some minds consistent, a doctrine of a suffering God. The conception of a being of passionless repose, sublimely exalted above any true interpretation in terms of human feeling—a conception which Edward White called 'the Buddhism of the West'—whatever its value in speculative thought, is felt to be inadequate not only in presence of the fact of the Incarnation, but even in presence of a careful interpretation of the Old Testament anthropomorphism. It is in this latter connexion chiefly that Dr. George Adam Smith makes a contribution to the subject of the Divine Passibility. Any true anticipation of the Incarnation in the Old Testament, he contends, involves and includes the conception of a suffering God. In his *Lectures on Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, and especially in a remarkable chapter on 'The Passion of God' in his *Isaiah*, he states and defends his position. The divine perfection and the divine passibility are recognized and boldly mingled in the vivid imagery of the later Isaiah. And Dr. Smith considers that there is a duality running all through the Old Testament, in which the burden of the future redemption is laid both upon God's human agent and upon God Himself. 'These two lines of prophecy run parallel, and even entangled through the Old Testament, but within its bounds no attempt is made to reconcile them. They pass from it still separate to find their synthesis, as we all know, in One of whom each is the incomplete prophecy.'[1] In a

[1] *Isaiah*, ii. p. 135.

number of passages in Isaiah xl.–lxvi., Dr. Smith contends that the Almighty is clothed with human passion and agony. The prophets in their descriptions of God do not hestitate to be anthropopathic, though no religion more necessarily implies the intense spirituality of God and His sublimity. The same chapters which celebrate God's sublimity and holiness suddenly change their style, and after the most human manner clothe the Deity in the travail and passion of mortals. 'Why is it,' Dr. Smith asks, 'that instead of aspiring still higher from those sublime conceptions of God to some consummate expression of His unity, as for instance in Islam, or of His spirituality, as in certain modern philosophies, prophecy dashes thunderously down upon our hearts with the message, scattered in countless broken words, that all this omnipotence and all this sublimity are expended and realized for men only in passion and pain?' Neither angel of the presence nor the human servant suffers more than the God who sends them forth. As far as human language is adequate for the task, the prophets picture God's love for men costing Him much in suffering. In all their affliction He is afflicted. The pain that is essentially inseparable from love reaches its acme in presence of sin in those who are beloved. God not only sets their sins in the light of His awful countenance, but 'taking them upon His heart makes them not only the object of His hate, but the anguish and effort of His love.'[1] It is this conception of the offence and pain of sin to God even before the Incarnation that offers a sympathetic setting for the doctrine of Divine Passibility which modern teachers have not been slow to widen and apply. It is in no true sense Patripassianism in the ancient significance of that early heresy, which rejected the personal distinction between the Father and the Word, and implied that the passion of Christ was actually endured by the Father. Its contention is rather that the Father suffered a passion of His own in presence of sin, and in giving His Son to suffering and death.

[1] *Isaiah*, ii. pp. 139–41.

The conception that the unity of the Godhead involves the participation of each of the Persons in the pain of suffering love, easily finds an interpretation not only in a passion before the Passion, but also in a passion after the Passion. And the suffering Spirit of God becomes an implication less strongly expressed, but not less truly suggested, than the suffering Father. The Holy Spirit is grieved and vexed and wounded. There is sin against the Holy Ghost that suggests a pain in the presence of evil that is peculiar to His personal share in the councils and sacrifice of redeeming love. His sufferings cannot be human, for He has known no historic incarnation. The Holy Ghost has no cross. But has He no passion? If it cost Christ so much to give Himself for us, does it cost the Holy Ghost less to give Himself to us? And if the measure of love be suffering, who shall deny that the pain of love despised is a real passion to God the Spirit? May there not be a secret, silent anguish which is the parallel in the world to-day of the agony of the august Sufferer whom still we see across the centuries in shame and desertion upon the cross? May not the same mystery of the suffering love of God enshroud them both? And may there not be a passion after the Passion in which divine love still feels the piercing and anguish of our sins?

One other modern tendency which concerns rather the method of theological investigation than its subject-matter has probably exercised a marked influence upon the answer given by some thinkers to the question, Does God suffer? The deductive precision and exclusiveness of Dr. Randles's accurate and relentless logic in the processes of the inquiry which leads him to give so emphatic a negative answer to the question are, from one point of view, admirable. But it is a method of treating the subject from which many minds gravely dissent. They are constrained to ask: Is the method adequate, however ably applied, for the uses to which it is put? For the interpretation of the subjects that confessedly lie within the mysteries of the faith bare deductive processes are very imperfect and unsatisfactory instruments. Reliance solely

upon the syllogism in theology has an unhappy facility, as all history testifies, for getting the Almighty into a corner. Resort must be had to careful inductive methods. This is pre-eminently the temper of modern theological study, and affords further reason why the question of the passibility of God is finding a fresh consideration. Synthesis, rather than analysis, is the approved method of inquiry. The scientific study of physical phenomena has quickened the application of the inductive method to theological research. Origins are investigated afresh; established axioms are scrutinized, and, instead of relying upon *a priori* methods of philosophical deduction, the entire contents of consciousness are interrogated and their co-ordinate and cumulative evidence construed and appreciated. Nowhere is this method of inquiry likely to be more fruitful of modification and restatement theologically than in our conceptions of the character and perfections of the Divine Being. Here the whole spiritual consciousness has a function. Intellectual methods alone are utterly inadequate. Intuitions, spiritual instincts, moral affinities, devout imagination, mystical vision, reverent application of the analogies of human relations and the suggestions of human emotion, should have at least a correlative value with logical definition and syllogism. For a true knowledge of God is the outcome of our entire personality acting as a whole. And, as Bacon says, 'The subtlety of nature far surpasses that of the senses or the intellect,' and 'syllogistic reasoning is utterly inadequate to the subtlety of nature.' It is this growing conviction that man's religious instincts offer through his highly complex personality an important contribution to the completeness and cogency of the methods by which we seek to know God, that inspires the toleration or acceptance of the thought of a suffering God. These are not mere humanitarian tendencies. They are legitimate data for opinion. For the heart, as Pascal remarks, 'has reasons of its own, which the reason does not know.' Indeed the utterance in our modern atmosphere of the old patristic aphorism, 'Pectus facit theologum,' is in itself almost sufficient to

account for the emergence again of the old question, Does God suffer?

> Through love, through hope, through faith's transcendent dower,
> We feel that we are greater than we know.

Wordsworth realized how difficult it is to convert the deeper convictions of our nature into speech. Our confidence is inarticulate often because of its greatness. On this account many of the subjects of vital importance to faith must fall short of demonstration. The inductive method establishes only a strong probability. This, it seems to us, will prove to be the terminus towards which the discussion of the question of the divine passibility will most naturally approach. To press reverent opinion in one direction or the other into dogmatic moulds, opens the way to an irreverence of spirit on the one hand towards the nature of God, and on the other towards the nature of man.

Moreover, much of the movement of mind towards this important question must be directed by individual idiosyncrasies. It is an illustration in theology of the personal equation. All thinkers have an Aristotle or a Plato within them. The logical or the mystical element dominates. Those who render a glad and natural allegiance to the Aristotelian temper, who love a scheme and make a brave effort to fashion even the incomprehensible within the completeness of its ordered symmetry, will be intolerant of any area left unsurveyed, and impatient of the presence of lingering contradictories within their creed. The mystic temperament, on the other hand, discerns with satisfaction potencies and prophecies of reality of peculiar value in the vanishing points, where certainty and even logical consistency of thought on the things of God shade away into mystery. Minds of this type prefer to be at the mercy of such antinomies in their doctrine of God as that He is passionless and passible than to yield to the *a priori* methods of defining His blessedness, of which Dr. Randles is so able an exponent. They are daring enough also to think that theirs is the attitude the Scriptures

encourage, especially in the marvellous boldness and logical contradictoriness of the biblical anthropopathism. For they regard this boldness as at once a revelation and a disguise of the divine attributes. We are assured, moreover, that however vaguely we may apprehend it, there is some reality in the nature of the Most High which corresponds to the scriptural ascriptions to Him of human emotion in His relations with men; and that the paradox which trembles on our lips concerning the Son of God, 'Impassive He suffers, Immortal He dies,' may mean more in abiding knowledge of the divine nature than much logical exactness in such a sphere. Between these typical attitudes there will necessarily be constant opposition on such a question as passibility. Is it necessary that either of them should be dominant, not to say dogmatic? Both may be equally zealous for maintaining the inscrutable perfection of the Blessed God, though to the one suffering excludes this, and to the other exalts it. Enough has perhaps been said in this review to show that there are conditions of thought amongst us sufficiently vital and influential to warrant a careful reconsideration of the question, Does God suffer? And grounds may have been stated for the suggestion that there are probabilities—'a cumulation of probabilities, independent of each other, arising out of the nature and circumstances of the particular case under review, probabilities too fine to avail separately, too subtle and circuitous to be convertible into syllogisms, too numerous and various for such conversion, even were they convertible'—and probabilities, moreover, whose delicate balance may lean to the pious opinion that there may be pain in God, and yet that the doxology of silent rapture and awe may still enthrone Him as 'God over all, Blessed for ever.'

FREDERIC PLATT.

DR. HASTINGS'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE.

A Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., and JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D. Extra Volume, containing Articles, Indexes, and Maps. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1904.)

A DICTIONARY, like a cathedral, is never finished. Even during the years that its voluminous pages are passing through the press, additions are being made to literature and language, whilst contingencies of various kinds arise which make a careful contributor, or editor, anxious to insert, were it possible, a few additional touches. And the last volume of an encyclopaedia is no sooner published than it is necessary to begin to prepare a new edition.

All Bible students will heartily welcome Dr. Hastings's 'Extra Volume,' which is no extra. During the weeks that we have been examining and using its contents we have many times rejoiced that this addition to the previous four volumes has been made, and the reflection has arisen again and again: How small a portion of this Supplement, if any, could be spared from the integral portion of a Bible dictionary? The part which hardly comes within the proper purview of such a work is, after all, in some respects the most important. For much of the information in a good dictionary of the Bible is easily procurable elsewhere, though not in so convenient a form, whilst trustworthy guidance to what may be called 'Borderland' regions can with difficulty be secured by the average student. The subjects included in such an area concern, for example, Philo and Josephus, Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, the Didaché and Papyri, and information concerning the period between the Old and New Testaments —so mysterious to many readers of either Testament, so

important for the full understanding of both. Such are some of the topics ably handled in Dr. Hastings's Extra Volume, together with others which might very fairly have been included in the body of the Dictionary, but were excluded, doubtless for some sufficient reason.

The Indexes, however, constitute an addition to the original work of immense practical value. For some purposes they will double the value of the articles. They include classified tables of the authors and their contributions; an index to the subjects, greatly facilitating reference to the several volumes, the 'Extra' inclusive; an index to Scripture texts, invaluable to the minister; another to the Hebrew and Greek terms, with some minor additions. We have examined these tables with some care, and have found them both full and accurate. They occupy nearly two hundred double-columned pages, and all the more important subjects are worked out with an elaboration which tells of long and loving care on the part of the compilers. If 'St. Paul' be taken for an example, we find about three columns devoted to his name. Professor Findlay's able article is of course referred to throughout, but we find in the list a score of other names —Ramsay, Macalister, Candlish, Robertson—writers who in treating of some other subject have discussed either the doctrine of the great apostle, or his travels, or his physical afflictions, or his relation to the Roman Government. The fact that a considerable part of the incidental or supplementary information is given in the Extra Volume makes, of course, the need of a co-ordinating index to be the greater.

The alphabetical order is not pursued in the Supplement, but an alphabetical list of the thirty or forty monographs it contains is provided. The first in order contains a careful and scholarly examination into the Sermon on the Mount, by Professor C. W. Votaw of the University of Chicago. This is a piece of work of the first rank. It might well have found a place in the body of the Dictionary, but in any case we should have been sorry to miss this able and almost exhaustive discussion of all the chief questions that arise

concerning the chief discourse of the Great Teacher of mankind. The writer's critical analysis is keen, but he is careful in his methods and moderate in his conclusions. Very much is to be learned concerning sound criticism of the Gospels as a whole from this full examination into an important feature common to the First and Third, and the way in which this cardinal portion of the sacred narrative has probably been compiled. One feature gives great satisfaction in this article, which is also observable in other parts of the Dictionary. The writer does not handle his subject from an exclusively literary point of view, as is too often the case with biblical critics who regard such treatment as pre-eminently 'scientific.' In dealing with any part of the Bible, the subject-matter claims reverent and sympathetic treatment, if justice is to be done even to the literary aspects of the composition. In this case, Professor Votaw furnishes a most interesting analysis of the great Sermon, and discusses some points in its exposition almost with the minuteness of a commentary. We can understand its being said that such treatment transgresses the proper scope of a dictionary. If this be the case, we rejoice in the transgression, and hope such sins may be multiplied.

The first article in alphabetical order is that entitled 'Agrapha,' by Professor J. H. Ropes of Harvard. Dr. Ropes is the author of one of the most complete and satisfactory treatises on this subject (written in German), in which he discusses the theories propounded by Resch. The name of the latter scholar is better known, and he deserves all credit for the care with which he has collected material for the full study of all the sayings of Jesus unrecorded in the Canonical Gospels. But Resch's view that seventy-five Agrapha are probably genuine sayings of our Lord has not been accepted by scholars generally, and his judgement does not deserve so much commendation as his industry. A careful reader of Professor Ropes's article will find condensed into a dozen closely packed pages as much trustworthy information on a fascinating but difficult subject as he will need for all practical purposes, whilst the scholar will find collected

within small compass the original texts of all the passages he requires for reference.

The only Methodist scholar who contributes to this volume is Professor J. G. Tasker of Handsworth College. To him has been committed the important subject of the Apocryphal Gospels, and he has handled it in a most complete and helpful fashion. In this case what is required is a bird's-eye view of complex material, and with great perspicuity Professor Tasker classifies and arranges the documents, giving a short but not perfunctory account of each. The master is known by what he omits, says the German sage; in this instance the judicious omission of irrelevant detail conduces greatly to the clearness and definiteness of the outline which Professor Tasker has ably sketched. Full references are given to the voluminous bibliography of the subject for those who wish to pursue it further. The 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' is treated in a separate article by Professor Allan Menzies of St. Andrews University.

Some of the articles before us are elaborate treatises. Amongst them stands out pre-eminently that on the 'Religion of Israel,' by Professor Kautzsch of Halle. It occupies a hundred and twenty pages of the Dictionary, took two years to write, and a lifetime would certainly be needed to prepare for it. Only a thorough student of the Old Testament can appreciate its value, though every careful Bible reader may understand and profit by it. It is written, of course, from the critical standpoint; but it is not, like some similar articles in other dictionaries, extreme in its assumptions, its methods, or its results. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the fundamental principles of Old Testament criticism. The position of this REVIEW has always been that of reserve —possibly of somewhat extreme caution—in accepting new theories and hypotheses in this important subject. But surely for those who value religious faith this is the wisest and indeed the only defensible attitude. Horace's direction concerning a literary MS.—*nonum prematur in annum*— is surely valid for theories which affect the history and

trustworthiness of beliefs dear to millions of Christians. Nine years is a long period in the history of modern biblical criticism; a thousand promising ephemeral hypotheses have come into being, fluttered in the sunshine, and died a natural death before half that period has expired. Critical theories which have stood the test of time, run the gauntlet of opposing criticisms, and proved their power to solve difficulties without creating others far more serious, should have all due consideration. But Polonius's advice is sound in intellectual as in social life—

> Do not dull thy palm with entertainment
> Of each new hatched, unfledged comrade.

These remarks are not suggested by Professor Kautzsch's article, but indicate the spirit in which it appears to us most of the 'reconstructions' of the religion of Israel that are current at the present time should be received. There is something to be learned from every one of them—if it be only 'how *not* to do it'—and from many there is very much to be gained by one who would understand how rightly to read the sacred records of the Old Testament. Very high in this list we should place the long, elaborate, and reverently written treatise on the subject prepared for this Dictionary. Many of its main conclusions may be considered fairly established, and time will test the value of the rest.

Other articles which give distinction to this volume and to the Dictionary as a whole are Schürer's on the 'Diaspora,' containing much original research; Professor Fr. Buhl's two contributions on 'New Testament Times' and 'Roads and Travel in the Old Testament,' and a series of dissertations on old-world religions. Professor Jastrow of Philadelphia has written on the 'Religion of Babylonia and Assyria,' Professor Wiedemann of Bonn on that of 'Egypt,' and Professor W. M. Ramsay on the 'Religion of Greece and Asia Minor.' Dr. König of Bonn deals with the 'Samaritan Pentateuch.' He has also written under the heading of 'The Style of Scripture,' one of the most instructive articles in the whole five volumes for those who are in danger of misinterpreting

sacred writ through not understanding the literary composition of the very various documents which are collected in the canon. Errors on this account are not so common as they were, but they are still prevalent enough. And as there is no such thing as a grammar of the Bible, readers ought to be able to find in a good dictionary some direction as to the literary forms which the sacred writers have used. We can heartily recommend the careful study of this article to young students whose education in this particular respect has been neglected. Some of Matthew Arnold's cavils in 'Literature and Dogma' would have fallen harmless had such a book as Moulton's *Introduction to the Literature of the Bible* been previously read and assimilated by readers who have been disturbed by his criticisms.

It is quite impossible to specify in detail all the articles which deserve attention, such as Mr. Johns's on the 'Code of Hammurabi,' Dr. Schechter's on the 'Talmud,' and Mr. Fairweather's 'Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period.' It must suffice to say that every one of the new articles deserves its place, and some of them eclipse in importance all, save the very foremost, in the volumes previously published.

Now that this monumental work is at all events for the present completed—for even Dr. Hastings's energy and enterprise can hardly compass an 'extra special' edition, like the evening newspapers—it is worth while to pause for a moment, in order to thank and congratulate all who have been concerned in its production. There is no question that the publication of this small library—for it is no less—will prove epoch-marking and epoch-making. It represents a vast mass of patient and careful work on the part of accomplished biblical scholars, which will now be steadily disseminated not amongst the tens or hundreds but amongst tens of thousands of Bible readers. These can appreciate and use what they could not produce, and will find brought within their reach information which they would never have been able to acquire but for the friendly aid of the Dictionary. Dr. Hastings himself has earned gratitude, the greater

portion of which will never be paid to him personally, by his exceedingly able editorship and the large number of shorter but not unimportant articles he contributed to the earlier volumes. He has known how to gather round him an able band of coadjutors—some of whom, like Dr. A. B. Davidson, have passed away before the work was completed. He has understood how to allot his subjects wisely; and in this way, rather than by direct injunction and prescription, he has maintained a unity of tone through the whole without infringing the independence of individual contributors. His assistant, Dr. Selbie, has worked comparatively in the background; but, like many other such helpers, he has done far more for the success of the whole work than many whose names are better known in the theological world.

If the publication of Dr. William Smith's Dictionary forty years ago gave an immense stimulus to the careful study of the Bible, much more will thus be the case with the Dictionary just completed. Some measure of disturbance and unsettlement is inevitable. When the Revised Version was published, many old sermons had to be given up—to the disquietude of few besides the preachers. Some simple-minded folk were dismayed to find that a few favourite texts had disappeared, but they have long since been more than consoled. So in some of the articles of this Dictionary, especially those which refer to the Old Testament, revolutionary processes of handling and interpreting the text are not so much hinted at as taken for granted. It will require some time for such teaching to be assimilated, and for some students to learn that the inspiration of the sacred writers and the religious value of their teaching is not really interfered with by the relinquishment of views and interpretations hallowed by long tradition.

In the carrying out of this process much responsibility rests upon teachers, especially ministers, who are naturally looked up to as religious guides. Their own minds and spirits need first to be thoroughly attuned. The combination of freedom with reverence so conspicuous in Dr. Hastings's Dictionary must also characterize those who wish to teach

the next generation wisely how to read and use their Bibles. The freedom with which the documents are examined on their human and literary side must not interfere with the reverence which belongs to the Word of God—the gradual revelation of His mind and will as it was made known, stage after stage, through inspired but imperfect human minds and tongues. Students who of late years have conducted their Bible studies in this spirit have not only found fresh light for themselves, but are more and more fully convinced that 'God has more light yet to break forth out of His Holy Word.' It is said of the righteous in Matt. xiii. 43 that they shall *shine forth* as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. The word *ἐκλάμψουσιν* implies the radiation of brightness and beauty which before was latent, but now beams forth without obscuring veil or haunting shadow. Such gradual unveiling of the Lamp which burns on the sacred altar, that its own inherent brightness may radiate from within, is continually proceeding, in history, under the providence of God. Every such work as a well-prepared Bible dictionary helps to lift a veil—perhaps many veils; and therefore with all earnestness we wish the work of Dr. Hastings and his coadjutors God-speed.

COWPER'S LETTERS.

The Correspondence of William Cowper. Arranged in Chronological Order, with Annotations. By THOMAS WRIGHT. Four Vols. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1904.)

OUR opinions frequently need readjustment. Too long have we regarded Cowper as a religious maniac whose gloom was relieved by occasional gleams of sanity. There can be no doubt that his life was often darkened by madness and wretched with despair—that he was visited by religious mania which, coming at intervals through his life, finally fastened its relentless grip on his heart, and never relinquished that grip even in the day of death. But while it is impossible, as Mr. Goldwin Smith has well observed, to consider Cowper's life apart from religion, it is important we should be quite satisfied that, in its origin at any rate, the insanity had no connexion whatever with religion; and if we go further and say that instead of being caused by religion the insanity was in some respects cured by it, we may find substantial grounds for the assertion. It has been clearly shown that prior to Cowper's first attack of madness he had in no way evinced any definite religious faith, or lived any markedly religious life, and that it was while under restraint he first embraced religious beliefs. Thereafter all his life was determined by religious considerations; consequently, when he again suffered from attacks, the attacks naturally took the form of religious melancholia, and certain of his friends were not as judicious as they might have been, to say the least of the methods they adopted, in dealing with a man of quivering sensibilities.

The duration and extent of Cowper's madness have also been strangely exaggerated. In the presence of the four

volumes of letters now before us it must be admitted that his periods of peaceful happiness were far more numerous and prolonged than is generally supposed. We should not lose sight of the fact that the sanity of Cowper's life was for a term exceeding the whole span of the life of Keats, or of Shelley, or even of Byron. For the greater portion of his days he was eminently sane, and had unquestionably that humour which is the guard of intellectual and moral sanity. The help afforded by Cowper's letters in any attempt to understand his life is of the highest conceivable value, and Mr. Wright has given us the completest and best edited collection of those letters, while Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published them in a form that leaves nothing to be desired.

During the past decade our great letter writers—Walpole, Byron, Lamb, FitzGerald, and now Cowper—have been well cared for, and the true book-lover can at last turn with joy to a long row of supremely attractive volumes, all more or less admirably edited. As far as diligence and enthusiasm are concerned, Mr. Wright has proved himself to be a perfect editor. With long-continued research and painstaking effort he has brought together 1,041 letters, comprising all that have hitherto been published, besides over one hundred entirely new, and a considerable number printed before but in part. He has also supplied us with many acceptable notes, excellent lists of the correspondents and the letters, some maps of Cowper's country, and a comprehensive index, the omissions from which are sometimes annoying, and the over-minuteness of which is occasionally amusing. No admirer of Cowper can escape a lively sense of gratitude to Mr. Wright for the ten years' devoted labour he has bestowed on this English classic.

We do not, however, exult with Mr. Wright at all times over the results of his research. For instance, we fail to be enthusiastic when told by him that not a single item of the series of letters to Teedon, the schoolmaster and 'Delphic oracle' of Olney—'poverty pinched, verbose, devout, vaticinating Samuel Teedon,' to quote Mr. Wright's own description —'has escaped my net.' These letters may have a possible

import in so far as they add to our knowledge of Cowper's malady, but they synchronize with days when, according to Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his *English Men of Letters* monograph, 'the pair (Cowper and Mrs. Unwin) were in doleful plight. When their minds failed they had fallen in a miserable manner under the influence of a man named Teedon, a schoolmaster crazed with self-conceit, at whom Cowper in his saner mood had laughed, but whom he now treated as a spiritual oracle, and a sort of medium of communication with the spirit-world, writing down the nonsense which the charlatan talked.' And Canon Benham, in his introduction to the *Globe* Cowper, writes in a similar strain concerning this period: 'He had taken the fancy that he heard voices speaking to him on waking in the morning. . . . Samuel Teedon (whether knave or fool may be doubtful), whose uncouth compliments and heavy witted opinions Cowper had often quizzed, undertook to interpret these voices. Mrs. Unwin at first appears to have humoured his fancy, but as her disease grew upon her she too fell in with the insanity, and now nothing was done until the voices had spoken and Teedon had interpreted. The balderdash was all written down, and volumes were filled with it. No one but themselves was made acquainted with these miserable proceedings.' Such being the case, we should hardly have questioned Mr. Wright's good taste and literary instinct if he had omitted seventy of these letters and printed only three, including that (vol. iv. p. 433) in which Cowper states: 'I dreamed about four nights ago that, walking I know not where, I suddenly found my thoughts drawn towards God, when I looked upward and exclaimed—"*I love thee even now more than many who see thee daily.*" . . . This morning I had partly in Latin and partly in Greek—"*Qui adversus σέθεν stant, nihili erunt.*"' Here, at any rate, we have, in a 'happy hybrid,' the scholarship of Cowper. But surely we do not wish 'to gaze on the naked, shivering humanity of a great man, from whom in these moments superstition and disease had torn off the last rag of reason.' The real Cowper—delightful, innocent creature, letter writer of un-

surpassed attractiveness—is not the Cowper of the Teedon correspondence.

Mr. Wright's annotations are not wholly satisfactory, and the promise of his advertisement that every allusion in Cowper's letters would receive careful treatment is not by any means fulfilled. As in his *Life of Edward FitsGerald*, Mr. Wright is prone to give unnecessary details and to make clear the obvious, while needful information is withheld, and that which requires annotation is often untouched; no attempt, indeed, has been made to explain many references, questions, and descriptions. Even Cowper's Shakespearean allusions are not always recognized: 'hollow, pamper'd jades of Asia' should not have been credited to Marlowe, but to Shakespeare. And Mr. Wright ought certainly to have avoided blundering in his transcription of Cowper's postscript to a letter to William Unwin: 'Thanks for the good fish: *tui memores comedienses*,' in which—it cannot for a moment be doubted—Cowper wrote '*comedimus*.' It is also impossible for us to accept 'my delightfully funny friend' as an equivalent for 'deliciae et lepores mei.' And no sufficient reason is given why Mr. Wright should cherish towards William Hayley feelings 'the reverse of kindly,' and believe that Hayley mutilated Cowper's letters 'with the fear of Lady Hesketh before his eyes.' Hayley's *Life of Cowper* is possibly the worst biography on record, and Mr. Wright, like others, no doubt read it at the expense of much patience; and yet with unusual tact Hayley mitigated his tiresome pages with some of the finest letters ever written, and thus added a new treasure to English literature. But even Mr. Wright in this edition of Cowper's Letters gives us abundant reason why we should regard Hayley with the feelings he cannot entertain for him. We will finish our fault-finding with an expression of regret that Mr. Wright should have reprinted, as from Cowper, the brief letter to Joseph Johnson, Bookseller (vol. ii. p. 160):—'Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1784. Sir,—If you have Albinus's *Complete System of the Blood Vessels*, and his Anatomical Tables, beg you will send me a copy of each in sheets. As soon as I know the price shall remit the money.

—I am, Sir, etc., Wm. Cowper.' There are many reasons for the exclusion of this letter, while the sole reason for its inclusion is that Southey gives it in his edition of the Letters. It has been ascertained that at the time when it was written there was a Cambridge bookseller named William Cowper.

It is often said nowadays that letter-writing is a lost art. (In passing, however, we may remark that the best letters are not really *art* according to the proper use of the term.) Carlyle, himself a great letter writer, in the first communication he sent to his mother by the new penny post, ventured a prediction: 'My Dear Mother,—As my *first* penny letter, and a specimen of what penny letters may henceforth be, I fling off three words to you before the week be done—in the greatest haste imaginable. . . .' And P. G. Hamerton, long ago, referred to the ill effects on human intercourse of the post card and the telegram. Were he writing now he would be still more emphatic because of the typewriter and the telephone. We have heard that so far has the taste for letter-writing fallen into decay that a man of cultivation has even been known to communicate with his family in a letter of two sentences—one to announce that he was going into partnership with Mr. Brown, and the other disclosing a similar intention with regard to Miss Smith. A century ago either fact would have been warrant for a whole sheet, crossed and recrossed, on the prospects of the business or the virtues of the lady. We cannot be too thankful that Cowper lived in an age that was propitious to letter-writing, and which produced many of its best examples.

Certain critics of no mean position have declared that biography makes the best reading. We haste to add the statement that letters make the best biography. At their best, letters are the cream of intimate literature. They put us on the closest terms with the writers, and seem in the end to be written directly to us, so that, as we look, our bookshelf changes its form into that of a letter-box where immaterial postmen drop a multitude of delightful packets—the more delightful because they need no reply.

When Mr. Wright asserts that Cowper is 'universally

acknowledged to be the greatest of English letter writers' he is in error. Cowper's right to such pre-eminence has been denied by no less an authority than Mr. Austin Dobson, who has an indisputable claim to be heard on the question. And we are not disposed to apply the superlative to any letter writer in the English language. There are so many opposite excellences to consider in Walpole, Gray, Cowper, Byron, Lamb, and FitzGerald that we find it well-nigh impossible to give any one of these names an abiding supremacy. We are not necessarily 'bird-witted'—to use an expressive word of Lord Bacon's—if we are conscious of a varying preference. Sometimes we find ourselves caring most of all for the Puck-like humour of Lamb, or for the strong human interest, notwithstanding the coxcombry, of Byron. On other occasions we desire the quaint individuality and the literary flavour of Edward FitzGerald, or the admirable simplicity and artlessness of Cowper. And yet again we wish to listen to the echoes of the great world, or to catch the swift revealing lights in the gay, lively, and inconsiderate Walpole; or we admire most the curious, pensive, and philosophical Gray. Now the deliberate memoir letter will be in favour, anon that which is personal and familiar. Our great letter writers differ one from another; each has his own pre-eminent charm, but we cannot say which of them is greatest.

Cowper has left us in no doubt as to his own theory of letter-writing. To his friend William Unwin he says, under date August 6, 1780, in a letter which, strange to say, is not given in Canon Benham's praiseworthy selection in the 'Golden Treasury' series: 'You like to hear from me: this is a very good reason why I should write. But I have nothing to say: this seems equally a good reason why I should not. Yet if you had alighted from your horse at our door this morning, and at this present writing, being five o'clock in the afternoon, had found occasion to say to me—"Mr. Cowper, you have not spoke since I came in; have you resolved never to speak again?" it would be but a poor reply if, in answer to the summons, I should plead inability

as my best and only excuse. And this by the way suggests to me a seasonable piece of instruction, and reminds me of what I am very apt to forget when I have epistolary business in hand, that a letter may be written upon anything or nothing just as that anything or nothing happens to occur. A man that has a journey before him twenty miles in length, which he is to perform on foot, will not hesitate and doubt whether he shall set out or not because he does not readily conceive how he shall ever reach the end of it: for he knows that by the simple operation of moving one foot forward first, and then the other, he shall be sure to accomplish it. So it is in the present case, and so it is in every similar case. A letter is written as a conversation is maintained or a journey performed; not by preconcerted or premeditated means, a new contrivance, or an invention never heard of before—but merely by maintaining a progress, and resolving, as a postilion does, having once set out, never to stop till we reach the appointed end. If a man may talk without thinking, why may he not write upon the same terms? A grave gentleman of the last century, a tie-wig, square-toe, Steinkirk figure, would say, "My good sir, a man has no right to do either." But it is to be hoped that the present century has nothing to do with the mouldy opinions of the last; and so good Sir Launcelot, or Sir Paul, or whatever be your name, step into your picture-frame again, and look as if you thought for another century, and leave us moderns in the meantime to think when we can, and to write whether we can or not, else we might as well be dead as you are.'

In another letter, until now unpublished, written about a year after to the same friend, Cowper gives the secret of his own letter-writing and its charm: 'So far from thinking egotisms tedious, I think a letter good for nothing without them. To hear *from* a friend is little, unless I hear *of* him at the same time. His sentiments may be just, but his feelings and welfare are most to the purpose.' Again, in November 1781, Unwin is told: 'Now, upon the word of a poor creature, I have said all that I have said without the least intention to say one word of it when I began. But

thus it is with my thoughts:—when you shake a crab-tree the fruit falls; good for nothing indeed when you have got it, but still the best that is to be expected from a crab-tree.' And once more Unwin is assured: 'I did not intend a syllable of it when I began. But *currente calamo* I stumbled upon it. My end is to amuse myself and you. The former of these two points is secured. I shall be happy if I do not miss the latter.' To John Newton Cowper also writes (Aug. 16, 1781) in a similar strain: 'When I write to you, I do not write without thinking, but always without premeditation: the consequence is, that such thoughts as pass through my head when I am not writing make the subject of my letters to you.'

It is this perfect spontaneousness, this frequent inconsequence of Cowper's letters which will ever be one of their principal charms. Our pleasure in reading the *Vailima Letters* is certainly not enhanced by Stevenson's reference to the provision those letters might form for his 'poor old family'; and the fact that Scott in writing his journal had 'an eye to a future market' does not deepen our love for those delightful pages. The letters of Walpole, Gray, and Byron were also composed with a view to publication; but such a thought as this was entirely absent from the mind of Cowper when he corresponded with his friends. We shall not err perhaps if we say he was not a meritorious letter writer, but, above all, a letter writer to please himself, obeying an inward impulse to such a mode of expression; and by one of nature's little immoralities, as Mr. Thomas Hardy might put it, this man, to whom letter-writing was largely sheer self-indulgence, sent forth delightful and immortal productions, while another man, who wrote to inform, exhort, or edify his correspondents, was a mere maker of memoranda. Superiority among letter writers has, we believe, been claimed for Erasmus on the ground that his letters have all the charm of conversation, which is the truest test of a good letter. If he describes a curious foreign usage, you see it performed before you. 'You are acquainted with it in a moment,' says Charles Lamb; 'you perceive that you have been in the habit of seeing it ever

since you were born. He introduces you to his friends; you shake hands at once, and are on the most intimate terms in a moment.' Cowper himself happily defines friendly correspondence as 'talking upon paper,' and a better definition of his own letters could not well be found. Lady Hesketh, to whom 166 of the letters in Mr. Wright's volumes—the largest number addressed to any one person —were sent, enforced the propriety of always writing 'what comes uppermost,' in accordance with the opinion and occasional practice of Edmund Burke, who thus expressed himself in a letter to his friend Richard Shackleton:—'I do not know to whom I could write with greater freedom and less regularity than you; for as the thoughts come crowding into my head I cannot forbear putting them down, be they in what order or disorder they will.' Thus Cowper wrote: almost every word is a distinct reflection of his mind, occupied as it is at the moment with his garden, his spaniel, his horses, his guinea-pigs, his goldfinches, or his literary work, or his religious ideas. He said to his old friend and schoolfellow, Joseph Hill: 'In writing to you I never want a subject. Self is always at hand, and self with its concerns is always interesting to a friend.' It was so with him in writing to nearly all his friends, and consequently we have in his letters a faithful picture, firm and delicate in every touch, of his daily life, and a 'story of my heart,' absolutely free from affectation, of altogether inestimable worth. It may well be said that what Cowper calls egotisms are the most seductive methods which genius possesses of making love to future ages; and he has not made it in vain.

If we wish to know how he lived, can we do better than turn to the letter in which his early life in the Unwin household, a Little Gidding kind of sanctuary, is described? —'We breakfast commonly between eight and nine; till eleven we read either the Scripture, or the sermons of some faithful preacher of those holy mysteries; at eleven we attend divine service, which is performed here twice every day; and from twelve to three we separate and amuse ourselves as we please. During that interval I either read

in my own apartment, or walk, or ride, or work in the garden. We seldom sit an hour after dinner, but, if the weather permits, adjourn to the garden, where with Mrs. Unwin and her son I have generally the pleasure of religious conversation till tea-time. If it rains, or is too windy for walking, we either converse within doors or sing some hymns of Martin's[1] collection, and by the help of Mrs. Unwin's harpsichord make up a tolerable concert, in which our hearts, I hope, are the best and most musical performers. After tea we sally forth to walk in good earnest. Mrs. Unwin is a good walker, and we have generally travelled about four miles before we see home again. At night we read and converse, as before, till supper, and commonly finish the evening either with hymns or a sermon; and, last of all, the family are called to prayers. . . . Blessed be the God of our salvation for such companions, and for such a life; above all, for a heart to like it.' Or we may search for the letter in which we are told: 'There is not a squire in all this country who can boast of having made better squirrel-houses, hutches for rabbits, or bird-cages, than myself; and in the article of cabbage-nets I had no superior. I even had the hardiness to take in hand the pencil, and studied a whole year the art of drawing. Many figures were the fruit of my labours, which had, at least, the merit of being unparalleled by any production either of art or nature. But before the year was ended I had occasion to wonder at the progress that may be made, in despite of natural deficiency, by dint alone of practice; for I actually produced three landscapes, which a lady thought worthy to be framed and glazed. I then judged it high time to exchange this occupation for another, lest, by any subsequent productions of inferior merit, I should forfeit the honour I had so fortunately acquired. But gardening was, of all employments, that in which I succeeded best; though even in this I did not attain perfection. I began with lettuces and cauliflowers; from them I proceeded to cucumbers; next to melons. I then

[1] Martin Madan composed the tune 'Helmsley.'

purchased an orange-tree, to which, in due time, I added two or three myrtles. These served me day and night with employment during a whole severe winter. To defend them from the frost, in a situation that exposed them to its severity, cost me much ingenuity and much attendance. I contrived to give them a fire heat; and have waded night after night through the snow, with the bellows under my arm, just before going to bed, to give the latest possible puff to the embers, lest the frost should seize them before morning. Very minute beginnings have sometimes important consequences. From nursing two or three little evergreens, I became ambitious of a greenhouse, and accordingly built one; which, verse excepted, afforded me amusement for a longer time than any expedient of all the many to which I have fled for refuge from the misery of having nothing to do.' Or, again, we may read: 'I am pleased with a frame of four lights, doubtful whether the few pines it contains will ever be worth a farthing; amuse myself with a greenhouse which Lord Bute's gardener could take upon his back and walk away with; and when I have paid it the accustomed visit, and watered it, and given it air, I say to myself—"This is not mine; 'tis a plaything, lent me for the present; I must leave it soon."' And we acknowledge the healthful philosophy of life which these last sentences, written to John Newton in 1780, contain.

With what inimitable lightness of touch does Cowper always tell a story! Who that has ever read them can forget the 'Runaway Hare' and the 'Kissing Candidate' Letters? A quotation from another letter—to Lady Hesketh (Nov. 27, 1787)—must now suffice:

'On Monday morning last, Sam brought me word that there was a man in the kitchen who desired to speak to me. I ordered him in. A plain, decent, elderly figure made its appearance, and being desired to sit, spoke as follows:—"Sir, I am clerk[1] of the parish of All-Saints, in Northampton;

[1] Mr. Wright has indexed another mention of the Northampton clerk, but omits to index this earlier and more important mention.

brother of Mr. Cox the upholsterer. It is customary for the person in my office to annex to the bill of mortality, which he publishes at Christmas, a copy of verses. You would do me a great favour, sir, if you would furnish me with one." To this I replied: "Mr. Cox, you have several men of genius in your town; why have you not applied to some of them? There is a namesake of yours in particular, Cox the statuary, who, everybody knows, is a first-rate maker of verses. He surely is the man of all the world for your purpose." "Alas! sir, I have heretofore borrowed help from him, but he is a gentleman of so much reading that the people of our town cannot understand him." I confess to you, my dear, I felt all the force of the compliment implied in this speech. . . . The waggon has . . . gone this day to Northampton loaded in part with my effusions in the mortuary style. A fig for poets who write epitaphs on individuals! I have written *one* that serves *two hundred* persons.'

We may remark that Cowper's good-nature led him to supply these verses for seven years! His perfect power of pleasant trifling hardly ever seems to fail him. We see it in delightful exercise in his sketch of himself as a man of prehistoric days, or in his description of his poem to Miss Creuzé, on her birthday: 'It is serious, yet epigrammatic—like a bishop at a ball!' As a further example of it, one of the new letters—to 'My dear Mrs. Frog' (Lady Throckmorton), Feb. 2, 1791—must be quoted:

'Tom and Tit are in perfect health. Either Lady Hesketh or I have seen them daily since you went. He[1] gave my cousin yesterday a sprig of box, desiring her in *his* way to give it to Toot as a present from himself, on which occasion, Toot, seized with a fit of poetic enthusiasm, said or seemed to say:

> Dear Tom! my muse this moment sounds your praise
> And turns, at once, your sprig of box to bays.

No other news has occurred at Weston, none at least has

[1] Little Tom Gifford, whose nearest approach to Cowper's name was Mr. Toot.

reached me, except that the long unseen Joe Rye[1] called yesterday. I made my cousin a present of his company for near two hours, when he and I set forth to walk together, he in his great-coat and boots, and I great-coated and in my boots also. We had a very agreeable tour to Dinglederry, and over the hill into Hoebrook valley. Agreeable I mean as it could be while the wind blew a hurricane and the hail pelted us without mercy. But Joe is fond of a high wind, so at least he assured me, and if he does but like hailstones as well he must have supposed himself in paradise.

'We have had nothing but high winds ever since you left us. It must have been on some such stormy season as the present that the following beautiful lines were produced. Did you ever see them, and whose are they?—

> Such was the agitation of the deep
> That even a fish did wish a sleeping potion,
> And yawning said, One drop to make me sleep,
> Were now, methinks, worth all this troubled ocean.
>
> The sprats were bulged against the rocks and split;
> The whales with broken tails were cast away,
> And every lobster's shell did lose a bit,
> And crabs, in vain, with all their claws, gripped hard the bottom clay.

It is impossible that I should follow this singular description of a storm at sea, the sublimity of which I must needs envy the poet who wrote it, with anything worthy your notice. I shall therefore conclude with my best love to Mr. Frog, and with the ladies' best compliments, and am most truly yours,

'WM. COWPER, *alias* W. TOOT.'

The writer of that letter, with its exquisite airiness and ease—who once said, 'I never received a *little* pleasure from anything in my life; if I am delighted it is in the extreme'—is he who not long before wrote thus to John Newton: 'To me is hope itself become like a withered flower, that has

[1] Rev. Joseph Jekyll Rye.

lost both its hue and its fragrance'; and, a few years afterwards (1796), thus to Lady Hesketh: 'All my themes of misery may be summed in one word, He who made me regrets that ever He did. Many years have passed since I learned this terrible truth from Himself, and the interval has been spent accordingly. . . . The night contradicts the day, and I go down the torrent of time into the gulf that I have expected to plunge into so long.' In the words of Sainte Beuve, at the close of the first of his three papers on Cowper, which are amongst the glories of the *Causeries du Lundi*: 'We catch ourselves saying, What a bright nature, full of fun, full of charm, inquiring and open to all impressions when it is not gloomy! The spring causes him a kind of gentle intoxication; there is something of the squirrel about him in the mirth with which it inspires him. But the great and serious sides are sure to reappear; for this lovable being has a side that has been smitten with the thunderbolt.'

We have quoted much from these letters. We have felt unable to quote less; had the space been at our disposal, we should certainly have quoted more. Our readers must, however, make themselves thoroughly acquainted with Canon Benham's 'Golden Treasury' selection, and, above all, with Mr. Wright's four volumes. We now find it impossible to refer further, as we wished, to these letters of perfect style and temper, as in them, with marvellous spontaneity and precision of phrase, Cowper can

> express the occurrence of the day:
> Our health, the weather, and the news,
> What walks we take, what books we chuse,
> And all the floating thoughts we find
> Upon the surface of the mind—

as they bring before us his friends and his pets, his work and his play, his love for the country and his keen appreciation of the life and beauty of nature, the books he read and the books he wrote, his opinions not only on certain literary matters, but also on the events of the time—nothing was foreign to him save the 'pomp and strut' of Robertson, the

'finical French manners' of Gibbon, and the so-called dignity of Pope's epistles, which disgusted him always—and how in the letters, behind an impalpable mask, we have the man William Cowper, full of surprises, ever pure and gracious though sometimes sore troubled, and always a breathing, living entity.

But there is one characteristic of Cowper, as shown in his letters, to which a brief reference might be permitted. In them not only do we become aware of his overflowing good-nature, which found a kindly word for everything about him, and despised nothing of any interest as too humble and too little, but we are led gladly to acknowledge his essential broad-mindedness—his fine spirit of tolerance. He may have been a creature of a narrow sphere. Leslie Stephen, in his article on 'Cowper and Rousseau,' says that a taste for music, for example, generally suggests to Cowper a parson fiddling when he ought to be praying; and that, following the lead of John Newton, Cowper even remarks upon the Handel celebration as a piece of grotesque profanity. But Leslie Stephen is not quite fair in his statement of the case. It would seem, indeed, as though only to himself was Cowper ever really intolerant. And surely we are not to forget the Cowper who, though he called tobacco a 'pernicious weed,' and said it was 'unfriendly to society's joys,' yet had a movable board placed in his summer-house to cover a recess constructed to contain the pipes of his dear friend Bull, to whom he once wrote that his greenhouse of roses, carnations, woodbine, and jessamine 'wants only your pipe to make it truly Arabian—a wilderness of sweets'; or the Cowper who, notwithstanding John Newton's disapproval, numbered among his dearest friends the Roman Catholic Throckmortons ('Mr. and Mrs. Frog') and possibly the *padre*, their chaplain (an interesting sidelight on this friendship is found in the following fact:—When it was formed, Cowper's poems, in which, in the 'Expostulation,' he had written some fierce lines against the Roman Church, were in the press. Cowper sent to the printer and had the leaf cancelled, substituting lines 390–413. We believe that

in some copies of the first edition the cancel is quite apparent); or the Cowper who, despite his friends' grave doubts of the expediency of his studies of the pagan Homer, could say, 'I verily think that any person of a spiritual turn may read Homer to some advantage. . . . Thousands who will not learn from Scripture to ask a blessing on their actions or their food, may learn it, if they please, from him'; or the Cowper who thus expresses himself in a letter to pipe-loving William Bull (July 27, 1791): 'But such as I am, hope, if it please God, may visit even me; and should we ever meet again, possibly we may part no more. Then, if Presbyterians ever find the way to Heaven, you and I may know each other in that better world, and rejoice in the recital of the terrible things that we endured in this. I will wager sixpence with you now, that when that day comes, you shall acknowledge my story a more wonderful one than yours;—only order your executors to put sixpence in your mouth when they bury you, that you may have wherewithal to pay me.'

Towards the end Cowper was distraught—weary—smileless—only waiting; and at the last there was deep and impenetrable darkness, and then, in his own words, 'unutterable despair.' But yet—and we close with a thought with which we began—as Mr. Stopford Brooke says of Cowper in *Theology in the English Poets*: 'Many lovely landscapes lay between these three valleys of the Shadow of Death (his three attacks of madness), where he rested and was at peace; sweet idleness and fruitful contemplation—tender friendships and simple pleasures—hours where charming humour and simple pathos ran through one another, and interchanged their essence like the colours on a sun-set sea—days of sweet fidelity to nature in her quietest and most restoring moods—times when the peace that passeth all understanding made him as a child with God.'

It is fitting that our final words should be from Cowper's letters: 'The world has its objects of admiration—God has objects of His love. Those make a noise and perish, and these weep silently and live for ever.'

R. WILKINS REES.

'UNWRITTEN' SAYINGS OF JESUS.

1. *Λόγια Ἰησοῦ, Sayings of our Lord.* Discovered and Edited by BERNARD P. GRENFELL, M.A., and ARTHUR S. HUNT, M.A. (Henry Frowde. 1897.)
2. *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus.* Edited by BERNARD P. GRENFELL, D.Litt., M.A., and ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.Litt., M.A. (Henry Frowde. 1904.)
3. *Die Sprüche Jesu die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind.* Von JAMES HARDY ROPES, Instructor in the Divinity School of Harvard University. (Leipzig. 1896.)
4. 'Agrapha.' Von A. RESCH. *Texte und Untersuchungen* V. 4. (Leipzig. 1889.)

SEVEN years ago a fragment of papyrus, measuring less than 24 square inches and containing forty-two lines of Greek writing, was unearthed from one of the mounds which mark the site of Oxyrhynchus, a chief city of ancient Egypt in Roman times. In the fourth century, Oxyrhynchus was the residence of a Christian bishop; in the third century, and probably in the second, it was a centre of Christian activity. The fragment in question was not completely legible, and was only a single leaf out of large quantities of papyri discovered during the same series of excavations; nevertheless, its contents were deemed to be of so great importance that they were immediately given to the world. In June 1897 a facsimile of the writing on both sides of the leaflet, with translation and commentary, was published under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund; it was edited by its discoverers, Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, to whose admirable notes all subsequent writers have been greatly indebted. Within four months of the issue of

the *editio princeps*—a thin pamphlet of twenty pages—nearly one hundred publications, dealing with its contents, appeared in England, America, Germany, and France. There can be little doubt that the extant expositions and discussions of the fragment are now more numerous than its words. The deciphering of its obscure letters has fascinated experts in palaeography; valuable suggestions towards the interpretation of its sayings have been made by scholars of many Churches and many countries. This extraordinary and widespread interest is easily explained: among the words most clearly legible in these few lines of ancient Greek are two which are still unique in their power to thrill—'Jesus saith.'

The fragment proved to be as productive of hypotheses to account for its origin as the soil of Oxyrhynchùs has been 'fertile' in papyri. Doubtless, some hasty judgements were expressed, and some enthusiasts were disappointed, as it became evident that the 'Logia' did not furnish decisive evidence in favour of their theories of the composition of the Gospels. On the other hand, voices were heard deprecating premature conclusions on such questions as the authenticity and the sources of the sayings. 'The process of assimilation of new documents,' said Dr. M. R. James,[1] 'is always a long one; and a document so new as the 'Logia' demands years rather than weeks or months for its proper appreciation.' The wisdom of waiting has been proved by the accumulation of materials during the years that have passed. There is now general consent as to the text of the fragment; parallels to the 'Logia' have been supplied by patristic students whose researches have shed light upon passages of doubtful interpretation; but quite recently renewed interest has been imparted to the whole subject by the discovery, on the same site, of a second fragment of a collection of Sayings of Jesus. Another papyrus leaf from the rubbish-heap of Oxyrhynchus has appeared 'like a broken branch floating up from a submerged country.'

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[1] *Contemporary Review*, August 1897.

The 'New Sayings of Jesus' are written 'on the back[1] of a survey-list of various pieces of land,' and consist of forty-two incomplete lines of Greek uncial letters. The newly found fragment is not, therefore, another leaflet from the 'Logia' papyrus book. But the two documents resemble each other in general style and arrangement, and the same formula, 'Jesus saith,' recurs as an introduction to the several sayings. Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt give good reasons for regarding the two texts as contemporary; both are assigned to the third century, though the 'Logia' is thought to belong to an earlier decade. As to the date of the composition of the 'New Sayings,' the editors speak with certainty. Dr. Sanday has accepted their suggestion that A.D. 140 is the latest date to which the compilation of the 'Logia' could be referred; they now say: 'We should propose A.D. 140 for the *terminus ad quem* in reference to the *New Sayings* with greater confidence than we felt about the *Logia* in 1897.'

The 'Logia' and the 'New Sayings' furnish the latest additions to the *Agrapha*, or Sayings of Jesus *unwritten* in the Canonical Gospels. They may be written in other books of the New Testament, in the Apocryphal Gospels, or in the works of the early Fathers, but they are not written in the fourfold Gospel. This definition is important; if it is borne in mind, a question on which critics differ will not be prejudged: the 'unwritten' sayings are not, of necessity, based upon oral tradition; they may have been derived from documentary sources. The word 'Agrapha' has come into general use since Resch published, under this title, an elaborate work which contains a large collection of 'non-canonical Fragments of the Gospels.' Resch, however, was not the first to give this special meaning to 'Agrapha,' and he acknowledges[2] that it is 'not quite appropriate.' Never-

[1] 'Did the poverty of Egyptian Christians compel them to write their devotional works on already used papyri?' asks Dr. Heinrici, who published 'Fragments of Psalms,' preserved on the back of another document.

[2] *Theologische Studien*, Dr. B. Weiss dargebracht, p. 113.

theless, the word may now be used in this well-established technical sense without any danger of ambiguity.

In this article some account will be given of the more important of the 'Agrapha'; no complete list will be furnished, but unwritten sayings, old as well as new, will be included. The following questions, which emerge in this study, will influence the choice of examples: By what channels have the 'Agrapha' been transmitted? is it possible to differentiate spurious sayings from those which are probably genuine words of the Lord Jesus? what bearing have the 'Agrapha' on current discussions in regard to the sources of the Gospels? and do any of them present the teaching of our Lord in a new aspect, or throw fresh light upon 'the words of eternal life' recorded in the Canonical Gospels?

The possibility of discovering lost sayings of Jesus should not disturb the mind of any believer in Christ. His disciples know that His words, even His 'hard sayings,' are spirit and are life (John vi. 60, 63); those who have life in His name are lifted above the fear of His ever being shamed by any record that may leap to light. Modern excavations cannot touch the foundations of the house that is built upon the rock; the man who heareth the words of Christ and doeth them (Matt. vii. 26) has an assurance which no new saying can destroy. The discovery of 'unwritten' sayings ought not even to surprise the reader of the canonical narratives. The Fourth Gospel closes with the statement that materials for a fuller record were within the writer's reach: whether the words are the testimony of John, or an appendix to the Gospel, added by the Ephesian elders before its publication, they prove the existence, at the end of the first century or at the beginning of the second, of recollections and traditions which were not included in the books that were written. Why should it be thought a thing incredible that a papyrus book written thirty or forty years later should contain some of these authentic reminiscences, or preserve some trace of the many attempts to narrate the

life of Christ, to which Luke refers in the introduction to his Gospel? The most ardent believer in the 'grace of superintendency,' which guided the four Evangelists in their selection, need not dismiss as worthless every saying they have not preserved.

In the margin of the Revised Version there are sayings which must be described as 'Agrapha,' inasmuch as they are not written in the Canonical Gospels according to the best authorities for the text. Amongst these are:

'Every sacrifice shall be salted with salt' (Mark ix. 49).

'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of' (Luke ix. 55).

'For the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them' (Luke ix. 56).

That these words are 'unwritten' sayings of Jesus, omitted from the Gospels, is highly probable. Their transference to the margin is no proof that they are the words of an editor put into the mouth of Jesus. There is still less reason for making such an assumption in regard to other sayings not placed in the margin, but marked as doubtful because they are not found in some of the earliest and most trustworthy Greek MSS. It must suffice to mention:

'Neither do I condemn thee: go thy way; from henceforth sin no more' (John viii. 11).

'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do' (Luke xxiii. 34).

Neither of these precious words has an *indisputable* claim to a place in the text of the Canonical Gospels, yet few would deny that a genuine tradition ascribes them to our Lord. The story of the 'Woman taken in Adultery' is probably referred to by Eusebius, who says that the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and the writings of Papias contained the account of the woman accused to the Lord of many sins. Irenaeus attributes the saying from the cross to our Lord (cf. Acts iii. 17, vii. 60); Westcott and Hort, who think it has been inserted into some MSS. of the Third Gospel 'from an extraneous source,' say, 'Few verses bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record.'

Outside the four Gospels, though within the New Testament, there are traces of 'Agrapha'; but the only saying that is distinctly attributed to our Lord is:

> 'It is more blessed to give than to receive' (Acts xx. 35).

The preservation in a canonical book of this 'unwritten' saying is significant, and should ensure the unprejudiced consideration of all sayings that have come down to us by other channels than the narratives of the Evangelists. The introduction to the saying is noteworthy: 'Ye ought . . . to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He Himself said.' Dr. Rendel Harris has called attention[1] to examples of the use of a similar formula in the writings of Clement of Rome[2] and Polycarp; he infers that there was an ancient collection of sayings of our Lord from which Paul and these Fathers quoted; its introductory formula would be something like this: 'We ought to remember what things our Lord said in His teaching, for He said.' . . . One of the remarkable features of the 'New Sayings' from Oxyrhynchus is the presence of an introduction to the whole collection: 'These are the (wonderful?) words which Jesus the living (Lord) spake.' This fact furnishes, as the editors note, 'some support' to the theory of Dr. Harris; it also supplies a strong argument in favour of the view that the newly found fragment is 'part of a collection of sayings as such,' and was intended to stand 'as an independent literary work.'

The saying, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive,' would not have perished, even if there had been no record of Paul's address to the Ephesian elders. It is instructive, however, to compare its wording in the Acts (*μακάριόν ἐστι μᾶλλον διδόναι ἢ λαμβάνειν*) with the form in which it is found elsewhere. Clement of Rome (i. 2. 1) has 'more gladly giving than receiving' (*ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες*);

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[1] *Contemporary Review*, September 1897.

[2] Griffinhoofe points out that the same 'Sayings' occur with almost no variations in Clement of Alexandria, by whom they are introduced with the words, 'the Lord says' (*The Unwritten Sayings of Christ*, p. 78).

Epiphanius (*Haer.* 74. 5) says 'better' (ἀγαθὸν μᾶλλον) instead of 'more blessed.' In the *Constitutions* (iv. 3) this 'Beatitude' is probably the basis of a 'Woe' which is introduced by the words, 'it has again been said by Him.' Clement of Alexandria has a similar utterance: 'But woe to them that have, and receive in hypocrisy; or are able to help themselves, and wish to obtain help by begging from others. For he who has, and receives through hypocrisy or idleness, shall be condemned.' When, therefore, such writers are our only authority for any of the 'Agrapha,' or furnish the only parallel to one of the newly discovered 'Sayings,' it is clear that their evidence has more value in establishing the general trustworthiness of a passage than in determining its precise phraseology. Sometimes, as in the example just given, later writers bear testimony not only to the widespread use of a saying, but also to the meaning attached to it in early times.

It is possible that other passages in the Epistles contain echoes of unwritten sayings of Jesus. Dr. J. B. Mayor is in favour of such an explanation of

> 'The crown of life, which *the Lord* promised to them that love Him' (Jas. i. 12).

In the Epistle of the Lord's brother, Resch discovers other sayings of Jesus not reported in the Gospels (i. 17, iv. 5, iv. 17, v. 20); but the confirmatory evidence is very slight. Resch also includes among the 'Agrapha' quotations which are better explained as giving the general sense of passages in the Old Testament (1 Cor. ii. 9, ix. 10; Eph. v. 14).

For the genuineness of the sayings which once had a place in the text of the Canonical Gospels, but now are relegated to the margin, there is a considerable body of manuscript evidence. There is less external authority for two Agrapha which, on internal grounds, have strong claims to be considered as genuine sayings of our Lord. They are found in Codex Bezae, a Graeco-Latin MS. of the sixth century. One reads as follows:—

> 'On the same day, having seen one working on the sabbath, He said to him, Man, if thou knowest what

thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, accursed art thou, and a transgressor (παραβάτης) of the law' (cf. Luke vi. 4).

No reference to this saying has yet been discovered in any patristic writing: for this reason and because 'transgressor' (παραβάτης) is not found in the Gospels, some critics have doubts as to its genuineness. They suggest that the 'colourless' exposition of an early Christian teacher has been mistaken for one of our Lord's own sayings. But absence of 'colour' at least implies harmony with the recorded teaching of Jesus. Resch calls attention to the blending in the saying of two sides of truth, afterwards developed respectively by St. Paul and St. James. A saying in which we have 'the fountain-head of both streams of teaching,'[1] may well be the utterance of Him who claimed to be 'Lord even of the sabbath' (Mark ii. 28), and yet 'came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law' (Matt. v. 17). Again, the failure of attempts to find in the saying mutually contradictory tendencies—Judaistic and anti-Judaistic—yields strong presumptive evidence of its embodying a genuine tradition. Dr. Rendel Harris has shown that the Western Text, in which the saying occurs, is free from Judaistic elements.[2] As to the objection that the saying is anti-Judaistic, it involves an anachronism and strains the sense; there is no trace of the tendency to exalt the 'Lord's day' by depreciating the Jewish sabbath so early as the second century, when this Agraphon was inserted in a codex of the Gospels. Moreover, the saying upholds the Jewish law by condemning thoughtless disregard of the fourth commandment; yet it recognizes a higher law in obedience to which a man may be 'blessed,' who, whilst consciously pursuing a higher end, does work on the sabbath that involves a breach of the letter of the law.

Before the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, the chief sources of the 'Agrapha' were the writings of the Fathers and

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[1] Cf. Lock, 'Agrapha' (*Expositor*, 4th Series, ix. 9).

[2] *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament*, pp. 1–13.

the Apocryphal Gospels. No doubt, some of the sayings quoted by these early writers may be explained as (1) expansions and conflations of utterances reported in the Canonical Gospels, and (2) words of the apostles wrongly ascribed to Jesus. But in other instances the sayings may accurately trace to our Lord words which His disciples cherished and non-canonical writers preserved. A brief reference to a few examples may serve to indicate the complexity of the problems involved, and to illustrate principles of criticism by which all 'New Sayings' must be judged.

In a passage which describes how 'Christ trains the soul,' Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 6. 34) says:

> 'But seek ye first the kingdom of heaven and its righteousness, for these are the great things; and the things which are small and appertain to this life shall be added to you.'

It is possible that the 'unwritten' portion of this saying is Clement's expansion of the words of our Lord (Matt. vi. 33; cf. vi. 19); but it is also possible that this longer version is nearer to the original form of Christ's utterance. Some confirmation of the latter view is furnished by Origen's statement (*De Orat.* 2):

> 'Jesus said to His disciples, Ask great things, and the small shall be added to you: ask heavenly things, and the earthly shall be added to you.'

The saying is quoted several times by Origen, and in such a stereotyped form that Ropes says: 'He must have known it by heart, and it may have been part of the instruction given to catechumens at Alexandria.'

The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels has this Agraphon:

> 'I say unto you that every good word which men shall not speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement' (cf. Matt. xii. 36).

The extension of the familiar warning so as to include the unspoken good word as well as the spoken idle word is quite in harmony with the inwardness of Christ's teaching. Silence as well as speech may be sinful. The saying condemns

things 'left undone' by the tongue; it is a particular exemplification of the general principle laid down by St. James: 'To him therefore that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin.' Those who boast of to-morrow are guilty of evil vauntings; but their condemnation is negative as well as positive; their tongue boasteth great things '*instead of saying* (R.V.m.), If the Lord will, we shall both live, and do this or that' (Jas. iv. 13–17). The 'good word' unspoken, of which account will be required in the day of judgement, may be a word of rebuke or a word of cheer, a stern word that unmasks falsehood or 'a soft answer' that turns away wrath (Prov. xv. 1)—in manifold ways the tongue may be used to bless as well as to curse; therefore woe to him who by guilty reticence seals up the fountain of sweet water, as well as woe to him whose words are a stream embittered by jealousy or poisoned by hate (Jas. iii. 8–14). This Agraphon is either a genuine word of Christ or an early exposition of His teaching which reveals spiritual insight into its profound significance.

The relation of the apostolic teaching to the teaching of Christ is not that of verbal dependence. The Holy Spirit who guided the apostles into a fuller apprehension of truth, 'even as truth is in Jesus' (Eph. iv. 21), guided them also in their choice of words best fitted to express new unfoldings of the truth. But 'New Sayings of Jesus' may supply new links between His teaching and the phraseology of the New Testament writers. These considerations should influence our study of Agrapha which raise the question: Are the words of another put into the mouth of Christ, or were the words spoken by Him? Ropes disallows the claims of eleven Agrapha included by Resch, on the ground that they are in error ascribed to our Lord. Amongst them are:

'But the Lord says, Let not the sun go down upon your wrath' (cf. Eph. iv. 26).

'For the Lord says, Love covers a multitude of sins' (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 8).

These are examples of sayings which may, by a slip of memory, have been transferred from Paul or Peter to Christ.

Nevertheless, the possibility must not be excluded that the apostolic utterances themselves were repetitions of sayings of Jesus handed down by oral tradition, or gathered into early collections of Logia, but not preserved in the Gospels.

An admirable example of a saying ascribed to Jesus, by a sheer mistake, is mentioned by Ropes in his article 'Agrapha' (Hastings's *Dict. of the Bible*, extra vol. p. 344). In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, iv. 9, we read:

> 'As the Son of God says (*sicut dicit filius Dei*), Let us resist all iniquity and hold it in hatred.'

In 1862 the Greek text (Cod. ℵ) of the Epistle was published; in this MS. the passage reads, 'As becomes the sons of God, let us resist all iniquity,' &c. The origin of the error is a textual corruption: *sicut decet filios Dei* (= ὡς πρέπει υἱοῖς θεοῦ) has become *sicut dicit filius Dei*.

The Agrapha already quoted have been selected on account of their fitness to illustrate principles of criticism. It remains to give a few examples of those which have the best claim to be considered genuine, although uncanonical sayings of Jesus. One of the most frequently quoted and best attested of these sayings is:

> Prove yourselves trustworthy money-changers.

Origen quotes the words as a 'commandment of Jesus' (ἐντολὴ Ἰησοῦ); but Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 28. 177) places them in a more instructive context:

> 'Rightly, therefore, the Scripture also, in its desire to make us such dialecticians, exhorts us, Prove yourselves trustworthy money-changers, disapproving some things, but holding fast that which is good.'

Before the end of the second century Clement found this saying in a document (ἡ γραφή), which he cites as 'Scripture.' He combines it with Paul's words, 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good; abstain from every form of evil' (1 Thess. v. 21). The apostle's threefold injunction may embody a traditional saying of Jesus, but in any case it furnishes an excellent exposition of the Agraphon. 'Prove

yourselves trustworthy money-changers' can hardly mean 'make a right use of riches' (Renan), or 'put your talents to good use' (Westcott), but rather 'show yourselves good critics' (Lock), like money-changers who reject counterfeit coins. The saying may have many practical applications. Clement uses it to show that Scripture wishes Christians to be 'true dialecticians, able to examine things, to test forces and powers, and so to ascend beyond phenomena to the conception of God.' In the *Doctrine of Addai* it is applied to the duty of distinguishing true doctrine from false: 'According as my Lord commanded me, lo! I preach and publish the gospel; and lo! His money do I cast on the table before you.'

An instructive Agraphon preserved by Origen[1] is:

> 'The Saviour Himself says, He that is near Me is near the fire; and he who is far from Me is far from the kingdom' (cf. Mark ix. 49; Luke iii. 16, xii. 49).

This saying is narrowed in its meaning when 'fire' is supposed to refer exclusively to martyrdom (Zahn); neither is it an exact parallel to the words of Ignatius, 'He who is near the sword is near God' (*Ad Smyrn.* 4), nor to the saying which Gregory of Nazianzus ascribes to St. Peter, 'A suffering soul is near God.' Origen furnishes the clue to its import in his paraphrase: 'As he who is near Me is near salvation, so is he near the fire; . . . but if any one in anxiety because he who is near Me is near the fire should keep far from Me that he may not be near the fire, such an one will be far from the kingdom' (*Hom. in Jer.* xx. 8). The truths here combined find separate expression in many of our Lord's sayings. His teaching had a stern as well as a gentle aspect; it repelled some, though it attracted many. His hearers were often reminded of the cost of entering the kingdom, and still His followers need to be told that they are far off, unless they have drawn near

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[1] Origen does not decide whether 'some one put it into the mouth of the Saviour, or some one remembered it' (*sive quis personam figuravit Salvatoris, sive in memoriam adduxit*).

to the fire which blazes forth against iniquity and cleanses the soul from impure desire.

An Agraphon for which there is no evidence earlier than A.D. 300 (*Apostolische Kirchenordnung*, c. 26) deserves to be mentioned, inasmuch as it beautifully expresses the mind of Christ, though the closest parallels to its phraseology are found in the writings of Paul:

> 'For He said before to us, when He taught, That which is weak shall be saved by that which is strong' (cf. Rom. xv. 1; 1 Cor. viii. 7 ff., ix. 22; 2 Cor. xii. 9).

Forty-eight Agrapha from Mohammedan sources have been collected by Professor Margoliouth.[1] For many reasons they deserve more careful consideration than is here possible; in some there is an exaggeration of the ascetic element in Christ's teaching, as for example:

> 'Jesus lay down one day with His head upon a stone. Satan, passing by, said, O Jesus, Thou art fond of this world. So He took the stone and cast it from under His head, saying, This be thine together with the world.'

Others are incompatible with His true divinity, as when He is represented as praying:

> 'O God, I am this morning unable to ward off what I would not, or to obtain what I would. The power is in another's hands. . . . O God, make not My trouble to be in the matter of My faith; make not the world My chief care; and give not the power over Me to him who will not pity Me.'

The Mohammedan Agrapha bear witness to regard for the teaching of Jesus in Islam, but they find their analogy, as Dr. Lock says (op. cit. p. 97), 'in the sayings of the Jewish Fathers rather than in the Gospels.' The best known is:

> 'Jesus one day walked with His apostles, and they passed by the carcass of a dog. The apostles said,

[1] 'Christ in Islam' (*Expository Times*, Nov., Dec. 1893, Jan. 1894).

> How foul is the smell of this dog! But Jesus said, How white are its teeth!'

Ropes adds[1] three sayings to Professor Margoliouth's list; the most interesting is:

> 'Jesus, son of Mary (to whom be peace), said, Whoso craves wealth is like a man who drinks sea-water; the more he drinks, the more he increases his thirst, and he ceases not to drink until he perishes.'

For seven years the Oxyrhynchus 'Logia' have been subjected to careful scrutiny and to comparison with the Canonical Gospels as well as with early Christian writings. In regard to some questions, long disputed, there is now general agreement. The literal rendering of the second is:

> 'Except ye fast the world (*νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον*), ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye sabbatize the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father.'

A slight change in the first clause (*τοῦ κόσμου*) gives a familiar construction, 'except ye fast from the world'; in the second clause the phrase 'sabbatize the sabbath' is to be understood metaphorically. Dr. Taylor[2] has shown that 'in no case' do these words mean to keep the sabbath in the ordinary sense. In one of the 'New Sayings' (No. 5) our Lord's disciples 'question Him and say, How shall we fast?' To such a question, as had already been suggested, the Logion purports to give our Lord's reply. The clauses are parallel as well in meaning as in form: those who would attain to the kingdom and see the Father must renounce the world and desist from sin. Parallels quoted from early Christian writers prove that fasting and sabbath-keeping were often spiritualized in the same passage (cf. Isa. lviii. 6–14). It is therefore quite conceivable that our Lord should insist upon such true sabbath-keeping as Isaiah had enjoined; but in the absence of the context of this saying it is impossible to exclude the possibility of its being, as

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[1] Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol. p. 352.

[2] *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 14.

Dr. Sanday believes, a later expansion of Christ's teaching spoken to 'a narrower and more esoteric circle than that addressed by our Lord.' The literal interpretation favoured by Zahn and J. Weiss[1] involves the assumption of Judaizing tendencies, and is beset with difficulties so great that both these scholars are inclined to accept Kipp's clever but unlikely conjecture that μὴ νηστεύσητε should be amended to μνηστεύσητε; the saying then reads, 'If ye woo the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God.'

Logia 3 and 4 are by most editors now read as one; Dr. Taylor supplies the words here given in brackets:

> 'I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh I was seen of them; and I found all drunken, and none found I athirst among them; and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and s[ee not their wretchedness and their] poverty.'

If this saying be genuine, it probably contains words spoken by our Lord before He suffered, and not after His resurrection (cf. John xvii. 4: 'I glorified Thee on the earth'). The point of view is, however, different from that of the sayings of Jesus reported in the Canonical Gospels; the paradox 'all drunken' and 'none athirst' is startling; the deep pessimism is scarcely in accord with our Lord's use of the metaphor of thirst, as when He 'stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink' (John vii. 37); we also miss 'the thanksgiving of Jesus for His little flock' (J. Weiss). That a genuine tradition underlies this impressive saying it is almost impossible to doubt, but its phraseology may express the thought of some early Christian theologian on the 'mystery' of Him 'who was manifested in the flesh' (1 Tim. iii. 16).

The fifth Logion is much mutilated in the MS., but the restorations of the text suggested by Professor Blass and others are generally approved:

> '[Wh]erever there are [two], they are [not] without God, and wherever there is o[ne] alone, I say, I am with

[1] *Theologische Rundschau*, i. 235.

him. Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find Me; cleave the wood, and there am I.'

With the former part of this saying it is instructive to compare a Logion (Resch, No. 64), which has no earlier authority than Ephraem the Syrian (d. 378). Dr. Lock translates it as follows:—

> 'As Christ provided for the needs of His flock in all their wants, so He consoled those who live a solitary life with the words, "Where one is, there too am I," that none of those who are solitary may be sad, because He Himself is our joy and He Himself is with us. So too, "Where two are, there too will I be," because His mercy and grace overshadow us. And when we are three, then we combine to form a Church, which is the perfect body of Christ and His express image' (cf. Matt. xviii. 20).

The inference which may be drawn from a comparison of this Logion with our Lord's promise to 'two or three,' and with the words of Ephraem, is that the lonely disciple has good reason to claim the presence of Christ in fulfilment of one of His 'unwritten' sayings, as well as in accordance with His word, 'If a man love Me, he will keep My words: and My Father will love him, and we will come unto him' (John xiv. 23). On the other hand, Ephraem's mystical interpretation of 'three' is the product of his own imagination.

The latter half of this Logion has greatly perplexed interpreters; Dr. Lock mentions five different views of its meaning. Some have spoken of its pantheism, but Zahn suggests 'Pan-Christism' as nearer the truth. 'Cosmic ubiquity,' says J. Weiss, is the central thought; this may be granted without reading into the words any denial of a personal presence. Dr. Sanday tersely sums up the teaching of the whole Logion: 'I take the text as referring to the presence of Christ as the Logos in inanimate nature as well as with the Church, even in its smallest fractions. This latter part of the saying is peculiar, but not necessarily heterodox' (op. cit. p. 40).

The eighth Logion has been deciphered by the com-

bined skill of many scholars. In the 1897 edition εἰς τὸ ἐνώπιον is suggested; in their reprint (1904) of the 'Logia' Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt read εἰς τὸ ἓν ὠτίον. It is a picturesque saying, and its meaning is clear:

> 'Thou hearest with one ear, [but the other thou hast closed].'

The Oxyrhynchus fragment published last June contains an introduction and five 'New Sayings' more or less complete. The first was already known:

> 'Let not the seeker . . . cease until he find, and when he has found he shall wonder, and wondering he shall reign, and reigning he shall rest.'

Clement of Alexandria quotes the latter part of this Agraphon from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and in another passage gives the whole saying almost exactly as it is written on the papyrus, but without stating whose words he is quoting. The newly discovered fragment, by ascribing them to Jesus, confirms the judgement of those who had already given them a place amongst the probably genuine Agrapha. Clement adapted the original sense of the saying to suit his own philosophic views; it suggested to him the Platonic idea to which Coleridge gives beautiful expression: 'In wonder all philosophy began; in wonder it ends: and admiration fills up the interspace.' Harnack explains 'wonder' as a sign not of fear, but of joy; his interpretation finds support in the narrative of Peter's 'wonder' at the draught of fishes (Luke v. 9), and in such statements as 'wonder came upon all' so that they asked, 'What is this word?' (Luke iv. 36; cf. Mark i. 27, x. 24, 32). In Christ's kingdom the wonder[1] which exclaims in rapture, 'Behold, the half was not told me' (1 Kings x. 7), is the reward of him who seeks diligently until he finds; to him it is given to reign with Christ and to share His rest.

[1] Dr. Swete explains 'wonder' as 'the rush of mingled fear and joy which ought to follow the great εὕρημα of life, the discovery of God' (*Expository Times*, August 1904).

The second of the 'New Sayings' is the most important, but unfortunately we depend upon the hazardous process of conjectural restoration for half of each line. In the following translation use is made of Dr. Swete's provisional text, as well as of the rendering of Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt:

> 'Who are they that draw us to the kingdom, if the kingdom is in heaven? . . . the fowls of the air and every creature that is under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea. These are they that draw you, and the kingdom of heaven is within you: and whosoever shall know himself shall find it. For if ye truly know yourselves, ye shall be sons and daughters of the Almighty Father, and ye shall know that ye are in the city, and ye are the city.'

In the early part of the saying the editors find the idea that 'the divine element in the world begins in the lower stages of animal creation, and rises to a higher stage in man, who has within him the kingdom of heaven.' The most helpful reference is Job xii. 7–9: 'But ask now the beasts, and they shall teach thee,' &c. Dr. J. H. Moulton adds Ps. viii. 8; Heb. ii. 5–9; 1 Cor. xv. 27, and forcefully paraphrases: 'The birds of the heaven and the fish of the sea have been subjected to man, and they draw you into the knowledge of your destiny.' Yet the most prominent thought seems to be that the natural creation can teach man lessons[1] which will prove stepping-stones to higher truth concerning himself and God: as he learns those lessons he will discover not only the extent of his 'dominion,' but also the height of his calling in that God is 'mindful of him' and visits him, thereby revealing to him the possibilities of inward communion, and awakening desire for the blessings of the kingdom that is 'within.' The study of nature and of human nature are paths leading to the kingdom.

In the latter part of this saying an invaluable contribu-

[1] Dr. Heinrici finds an allusion to the parables of Jesus, which teach men to find the kingdom of heaven in nature. This suggestion confirms the above interpretation, though the direct reference to the parables is very doubtful (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1904, p. 430).

tion is made to the interpretation of our Lord's words, 'The kingdom of God is within you' (Luke xvii. 21). The rendering given in the R.V. margin, 'in the midst of you,' has the support of many scholars. Some critics are confident that our Lord would not say to Pharisees, 'the kingdom of God is *within you*'; Dalman and J. Weiss try in vain to settle the meaning of the Greek word (ἐντός) by tracing it to its Aramaic original; some make bold to say that the 'inwardness' of the kingdom is quite a modern idea; recently it has been suggested that our Lord chose the expression because of its ambiguity; but Loisy is 'very bold,' and cuts the knot by his discernment of the editorial hand of Luke and his ascription of the saying to the Evangelist and not to Christ.

To the elaborators of these theories the new Agraphon will prove a hard saying. Without assuming that its new and enlarged form exactly reproduces the original utterance of Jesus, we may at least learn from it how His words (Luke xvii. 21) were understood in the early half of the second century. By apostolic men, and probably by apostles, the blessings of the kingdom were regarded neither as wholly external, nor as lying altogether in the future. Devout seekers after truth verified in their own experience the teaching of Christ; therefore they came to know, that whilst the study of nature might lead them to the portals of the kingdom, its gates remain closed to those who never turn their gaze within and are ignorant of themselves. Surely Pharisees given to 'observation' might be told in what direction alone it is possible for seekers to find the kingdom. 'Let every man retire into himself, and see if he can find this kingdom in his heart; for if he find it not there, in vain will he find it in all the world besides.'[1] The 'New Saying' warns us against undervaluing any element of Christ's teaching, and, above all, against narrow views of His kingdom which shut out 'the mystic heaven and earth within.' To-day, as of old, His missionaries go forth, and the kingdom of God '*comes*

[1] John Hales's *Golden Remains*. Quoted by Field (*Ot. Nor.*).

nigh unto' men (Luke x. 9); to-day, as of old, mighty works are done in His name, and the kingdom of God '*comes upon*' men (Luke xi. 20); but to-day, as of old, men must look neither 'here' nor 'there,' but 'within,' for the infallible sign that the kingdom has come (cf. Rom. xiv. 17).

> Thy dearest friend dwells deep within thy soul
> And asks thyself of thee.

To the third and fourth of the 'New Sayings' fairly close parallels are found in the Canonical Gospels. The fourth is:

> 'Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised' (cf. Matt. x. 26; Luke xii. 2; Mark iv. 22).

Sayings of this type do not prove that the fragment is nothing but a compilation from the Gospels; but if all the sayings had the same characteristics as this possesses, the natural inference would be that in the second century collections were made partly from written and partly from oral sources. It is the sayings which are independent of the Canonical Gospels that render the problem more complex, and lead some scholars to suppose that both the 'Logia' and the 'New Sayings' are older than our fourfold narrative. To the solution of this difficult problem the newly discovered fragment furnishes no decisive contribution. The alternatives remain as before. Of the several Agrapha in both collections we are compelled to ask, in Dr. Swete's words: Is it 'a genuine saying of the Lord, or the product of early meditation upon His true sayings and on the miracle of His life'? Enough has been said to show that sayings may be genuine for which no New Testament parallel can be found.

The fifth saying is described as 'broken beyond hope of recovery'; but its introduction is fairly legible, and is important as evidence that this collection differed from the 'Logia,' inasmuch as there are some traces of a connecting narrative. The restoration given here is that of Dr.

W. Emery Barnes;[1] it may with advantage be compared with that proposed by the editors of the fragment:

> 'His disciples question Him and say, How shall we fast, and how shall we [pray], and what shall we observe [that we may have life]? Jesus saith, [As the hypocr]ites [do], do not [ye; for they withstand the way] of truth, [and set at naught the reward which is] laid up: and blessed is [he whose reward] is in heaven.'

There is every reason to hope that the good work of exploration in Egypt may be pursued with increasing success. In some ancient mound other leaves of these or similar lost books may still be hidden; and it may be that some happy excavator will, one day, unearth the 'Expositions' which Papias wrote of 'The Oracles of the Lord.' Until further discoveries are made, many current theories must wait for confirmation or disproof. Meanwhile there lies close at hand a sphere for research in which no earnest student will dig in vain. The comparative study of the words of Christ reported in the Gospels is a field which fascinates a few devoted toilers, but in which there is room for more labourers; in the Epistles of the New Testament careful linguistic investigation may yet reveal more of the mind of Christ than many suppose, who too vividly contrast the Christ of Paul with the Christ of the Gospels. How instructive from this point of view is one of the five 'sayings' embedded in the Pastoral Epistles. The familiar exhortation of the Communion Service, 'Hear also what St. Paul saith,' introduces one of four 'Logia': two are 'comfortable words' of Christ Himself; the third is 'a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, That Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners' (1 Tim. i. 15). But the saying which we owe to Paul is not the language of Paul; the phraseology is Johannine (cf. John xii. 31, iii. 19, &c.); neither in the Synoptic Gospels nor in the Pauline Epistles do we read of

[1] *Spectator*, July 16, 1904.

Christ's coming into the world. May not this 'saying' be another of the 'comfortable words' of Christ, handed down to us in the language of John or one of his disciples, and stamped with the authority of Paul?

The Gospel that lies behind the 'Gospels' may be traced in the writings of apostles as well as of Evangelists. The final reason why early writers ascribe to Christ apostolic utterances may be that the Holy Spirit kept His sayings in the mind of the first generation of believers, and brought them to the remembrance of those who became His witnesses. The Gospel that lies behind the Gospels may also be expressed in what we have been accustomed to call Johannine phraseology as well as in the words of the Synoptic tradition. Agrapha may therefore have value both on account of their intrinsic worth, and on account of their contribution to the solution of the problem of the literary origin of the Gospels. For example, in the promise recorded in the 'Introduction' to the 'New Sayings'—'Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death'—the phrase 'taste of death' does not mean, as in the Synoptists, 'die' in a literal sense (Mark ix. 1, &c.), but 'reach a state unaffected by death,' in accordance with its metaphorical sense in the Fourth Gospel (John viii. 52). Every slight link between the language of the Synoptic Gospels and Johannine phraseology is of value; as Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt point out in one of their succinct and suggestive notes: 'The mystical and speculative element in the early records of Christ's sayings . . . may well have been much more general and less peculiarly Johannine than has hitherto been taken for granted.'

J. G. TASKER.

PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION.

1. *The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Study of Religious Consciousness.* By EDWIN DILLER STARBUCK, Ph.D. (London: Walter Scott, Ltd.)
2. *The Soul of a Christian: A Study in Religious Experience.* By FRANK GRAINGER, D.Lit., M.A. (Lond.), Professor at University College, Nottingham. (London: Methuen & Co.)
3. *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature.* Being the Gifford Lectures in 1901–2. By WILLIAM JAMES, LL.D., &c., Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University. (London: Longman, Green, & Co.)

THE question of the relation of psychology and religion is one of abiding interest and growing importance. To some even theology is repugnant, especially upon its apologetic side. To criticize and systematize our conceptions of the unseen appears to sensitive minds sacrilege. Arguments and theories concerning the Trinity, the Divine Saviour, the Atonement, or the Hereafter, are to them distasteful. Their religion is an exercise of the mind and heart of such a sacred kind as to be above all scrutiny and superior to all investigation. For them neither their faith nor its object needs any vindication nor logical treatment. We are not therefore surprised that with so many any psychology of religion is regarded as an intrusion. To attempt to analyse the emotions of religion, to co-ordinate such phenomena with other kinds of experience, to go behind the historical event and the personal act and make generalizations, to bring the searchlight of science to bear upon the *sanctum sanctorum* of the inner life, seems like admitting the frosty air of winter upon the choicest and

most delicate growths of human aspiration, chilling the warmth of love and withering the flowers of hope; or like admitting a spy into the home, or practising vivisection on one's own flesh and blood.

Nevertheless, psychology must have something to say about religion, and need not be struck with blindness nor leprosy when turning inquiry reverently to the sacred ark of religious experience. The true friends of Christianity do not tremble before any honest examination of what they hold as truth. The imagination of peril may be greater irreverence than the tenderness and love that have unflinching loyalty to truth. This ought not to be the last compliment we pay to our religion and wrung from us by pressure of opponents. In seriously regarding, therefore, the modern phase of inquiry into the psychology of religion we claim equal sincerity with any whose faith could remove mountains, but who shrink from any analysis of faith.

Psychology is the science which treats of phenomena of consciousness. Its material consists of sensations, perceptions, judgements, volitions, ideas, emotions, and sentiments. Its standpoint is subjective and individualistic; but its aim is to arrive at generalizations which apply to others than ourselves, and which have relation to the outside world. As a science it is objective to this extent. Positive sciences deal with concrete objects as existing outside the individual observer. Psychology deals with the complicated transformation of external impressions, which takes place within the organism, and as presented in consciousness. This distinction cannot be broken down. Though it be proved that some physiological process or cerebral movement goes hand in hand with every phase of mental life, yet mind and psychological phenomena are not convertible into terms of matter and force, and cannot be so expressed. It is the distinct product in consciousness with which psychology deals.

It is this that has baffled biological attempts to reduce our estimate of man's nature to that of an animal automaton, and ethics and religion have entrenched themselves behind

the bulwarks of self-consciousness. Concerning God we have said,

> We who believe life's bases rest
> Beyond the probe of chemic test,
> Still like our fathers feel Thee near.

Freedom, personality, and immortality have in this way resisted all materialistic attacks. The personal experience of the believer has been his sheet-anchor in the storm and stress of criticism of his belief. The actual testimony of conversion has been the chief evidence of the evangelical.

We by no means admit this as the last and only refuge of faith; but this emphasis on experience has much to do with the prominence of psychology of religion. We are brought face to face with new developments of science in the department of psychology. That which has had before but scant and meagre attention has now provoked investigation, and what is known as the new psychology has given a fresh appearance to old questions. Fields of long-neglected phenomena have been opened up. The shadowy realms of the subconscious have been annexed. That which was left to the quack or charlatan is now marked with the broad arrow of authorized science.

Telepathy, hypnotism, hallucination, automatism, catalepsy, and a host of weird possibilities of our mental and nervous powers, have been seriously taken in hand. Research has been carried out with indomitable perseverance.

There are two directions of this inquiry which tend to converge: one is experimental, and the other pathological. Fechner was the original founder of experimental psychology, and he reduced the relation between physical and psychical processes to a mathematical formula. Wundt of Leipsic, in 1879, gave further impetus to this movement, and to-day it has an established position.

Measurement of reaction-time in response to sense-stimulus of sight, hearing, and touch; the relative sensibility of the skin at various points to touch and temperature; the discriminating power of senses of taste, smell, and

muscular movement under varying conditions—all these are carefully examined. The compass of memory, fusion of sensations of colour and of sound, the power of attention—these are the modern complications which engage students in psychological laboratories with their appliances, and which are the outcome of Weber's or Fechner's law.

The pathological side of the subject has equally grown. Ribot on Diseases of Memory and Will, Helmholtz on Sight, Janet and Binet on Hysteria, Albert Moll on Hypnotism, Lombroso on the Man of Genius, Podmore on Apparitions and Thought Transference, Havelock Ellis on the Criminal, are examples of how nothing escapes being put under the psychological microscope of to-day. We have advanced far, indeed, from the terrible treatment of the mentally afflicted which prevailed in the times of the Middle Ages.

With such research going on apace, with the phrase 'psychological moment' already in the streets, with a restless spiritualism and mind-cure rampant in America and insinuating itself into the common life of England, we cannot afford to ignore this tendency of modern thought; for of all phenomena of consciousness the least related to material things and yet the most intricately interwoven in the whole fabric of life is religion. Up to within recent years comparatively nothing had been done in this direction. Hume wrote a Natural History of Religion; but it can hardly be correctly termed scientific psychology.

Kant gave the impetus to the inquiry of critical philosophy as to the nature of religious knowledge. He found no place in reality for the ideals of the practical reason, and reduced religion to moral consciousness. He transformed the dogmas of theology into allegorizing interpretations of philosophical ethics. The result of the Kantian theory of knowledge has been seen on the one side in Agnosticism and Positivism, and on the other in the Idealistic Systems down to Hegel. What each of these schools has to say about the psychology of religion is interesting from a metaphysical point of view.

Of the tendency in the direction of Idealism Schleier-

macher is a typical representative. He maintained that religion is founded in man on a special and noble faculty, namely, religious feeling, which is the direction of the spirit towards the infinite and eternal. He found the true import of theological notions and doctrines in this, that through them the religious feeling comes to expression. He is concerned not with the objects of our religious notions, but only with the legitimacy of the subjective states. This is the fundamental theory of Alliott's *Psychology and Theology* and Newman Smyth's *Religious Feeling*, although both seek to avoid the limitations of such a line of argument by maintaining that the idea of God may be empirically acquired. It is really akin to Spinoza's conception of the union of oneself with the eternal in immediate intuition, and also to Mysticism.

The tendency of all this is to transfer the burden of the support of Christian doctrine from history to psychology, or from the history of facts to the history of ideas. It is expressed in Amiel's saying: 'What our age especially needs is a translation of Christianity from the domain of history to the domain of psychology.' Much the same view is stated in Jowett's words: 'Religion is not dependent on historical events, the report of which we cannot altogether trust. Holiness has its source elsewhere than in history.'[1]

There is a half-truth in this last quotation which we gladly acknowledge: that the fully developed forms of religious experience are not to be measured by any stage of earlier growth, nor can the value of earlier stages be clearly apprehended from the historical standpoint of later times. But the clear intention of the quotations is to cut the connexion between religion and history, and to carry the mere subjective consistency of Schleiermacher to its logical extreme. In the interests of psychology, religion, and historical research this is absolutely impossible. Psychology divorced from objective validity is mere carving of the mist. Religion, certainly the Christian religion, can never honestly escape from its historical

[1] *Exploratio Evangelica*, Pref. vii, viii.

origin. And history can never surrender its claim to rule our judgements by its ascertained results. The limitations of psychology in relation to the actual facts of life we shall have further occasion to note; but it cannot be any advantage to religion to surrender the ground of objectivity and history.

The other direction in which thought has moved since Kant, has had the result that certain thinkers have dealt with the phenomena of religion in another fashion. It is indirectly and negatively associated with his theory of knowledge; but only indirectly. It owes its chief quality to Darwin and evolutionary theories. As that great zoologist sought to trace the descent of man from the marsupian mammal, so these methods have been applied to the religious history of the race. Such research has partly to do with the growth of ritual and social institutions, and partly with mythology and comparative mythology. With regard to religious ceremonial, we have the works of anthropologists like Tylor, Bastian, Herbert Spencer, and Frazer. A typical example is Grant Allen's *Evolution of the Idea of God.* The famous ghost theory is urged for all it is worth, and much interesting information gathered as to the primitive religious gropings of mankind. Max Müller, in his *Science of Religion*, traces under the forms of philology the evidence of nature-worship in mythology. These methods of treating the subject are only partially and remotely psychological. They are peculiarly liable to the psychologist's fallacy of interpreting in terms of our own consciousness what is very different. It is exceedingly difficult to do justice to the primitive sentiments that lay behind rude rites, and to avoid all over- and under-valuation of them. Certainly the more completely the environment of the individual can be reconstructed and lines of progress in human affairs discovered, the more adequate will be any attempt to explain the religious consciousness. This much at least has been achieved in the matter of the religious instinct in barbarous nations; the crude statement *Timor deos fecit* is demonstrated as insufficient. The threads used in weaving the tapestry of

man's religious history are of many colours. Ethics, aesthetics, metaphysics, all have their roots in the prehistoric religious instinct. Authority, wonder, beauty, order, reality, all are ideas that gradually join like tributary streams the widening current of religious experience. Volkman views the religious emotion as distinct from the moral. Wundt claimed it was moral in its origin; while perhaps the truest description is the most composite, as that of Sully: 'The religious sentiment is one particularly difficult to define, owing to the protean variety of its changes. We may, however, roughly mark it off as that mingled emotion of awe and delight, which is specially excited by the idea of the unseen world, and more especially of the mysterious power that is supposed to preside over human life.'[1] Hence from a mere statement that it originated in fear, and provides ultra-rational sanctions for morality, we arrive at a juster conception of the composite character of the religious sentiment. It contains elements of memory and anticipation, personal dependence, a sublimated form of self-feeling, social aesthetic, and intellectual instincts.

Yet another converging route of psychological thought is that of biblical psychology. The systematic treatment of what were the notions of Old Testament writers as to the nature, faculties, and processes of the human mind is full of difficulty, owing to the variety of authors and the periods covered by Old Testament literature—a difficulty not lessened by recent criticism as to its editorial construction. The efforts of Delitzsch, Laidlaw, Beck, and others in this direction are important. Still, psychology was at least in as embryonic a state as geology and astronomy in the books of Moses. This is no disparagement of those marvellous revelations of the inner life to be found in the Old Testament. The subtlety and picturesque vividness of the Psalms and Prophets make these writings for ever a rich storehouse of spiritual experience. Above all, in regard to inspiration and direct communion with God, we are brought face to face with the

[1] *Human Mind*, vol. ii. p. 169.

truest and highest examples of that unique feature of human consciousness. The power of introspection finds here its original school, material for its utmost effort, and promise of its highest achievements. Still more is this true of New Testament psychology. The genius and inspiration of the Apostle Paul and his own conversion afford material for psychological scrutiny of the most remarkable kind. But, better still and higher still, the person and teaching of Jesus Christ have given the most potent impetus and provided the greatest problem for the prominent science of the twentieth century. Books like the *Mind of the Master* and *The Christology of Jesus* are illustrations of the tendency to carry biblical psychology to the boldest issues, of which Wendt and Baldensperger were pioneers.

All these lines of thought bring us to that particular development which now demands attention. After all, psychology is not a science of the dead, but of the living. The popular mind takes less account of primitive than present forms, and the complex phenomena of religion have their citadel in the actual consciousness of living men. Broad and comprehensive as may be its base in evolutionary periods of racial history, it is neither a remote nor an uncertain problem. It is with us and in us to-day. The final product demands explanation apart from the stages of its production. Its abiding importance in the present life of humanity is evidence of its supreme value, and it is because of that existing consciousness that we search for its ultimate truth and an explanation of its vital force. Ancient or retrospective psychology has much to do before it can venture to claim unanimity on many points, and meanwhile actual religious consciousness is the impregnable rock of conviction —the gold no solvent of criticism has been able to canker or tarnish in the nineteenth century. Thousands in varying circumstances have echoed Tennyson's words:

> If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep,
> I heard a voice 'believe no more,'
> And heard an ever-breaking shore
> That tumbled in the Godless deep;

A warmth within the heart would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd, 'I have felt.'[1]

This lay at the back of the success of the Evangelical Revival of the last two centuries and withstood deistic and materialistic unbelief. We believe its most triumphant vindication will be the glory of the twentieth century.

The modern modes of treating psychologically the phenomena of religion may be roughly classified as—(1) Statistical, (2) Biographical, (3) Experimental, (4) Philosophical; though in any particular book these divisions overlap each other. An illustration of the statistical is Dr. Starbuck's *Psychology and Religion*, an empirical study of the growth of religious consciousness.

Dr. Starbuck is an American, and his book has an introduction by Professor William James. He states the conclusions arrived at explicitly: 'Conversion is not a unique experience, but has its correspondences in the common events of moral and religious development.' This 'emerges from the general parallelism of ages, sexes, and symptoms shown by statistical comparison of different types of personal evolution.' 'It may in countless cases be a perfectly normal psychologic crisis, marking the transition from the child's world to the wider world of youth, or from that of youth to that of maturity; a crisis which the evangelical machinery only methodically emphasizes, abridges, and regulates.'[2] This conclusion is based upon results acquired in one typical form of religious experience, viz. the Protestant, Evangelical, or Methodist. To be complete, the same method, if possible, would have to be carried out by a collection of answers to circulars of questions among Catholics, Jews, Mohammedans, Buddhists, and others. If possible; but it is doubtful whether any would be as amenable to the process as the type chosen. By reason of conformity to type in each community we only reach a

[1] *In Mem.* cxxiv.

[2] *Psychology and Religion*, Pref. ix.

conventional average. The section of Christendom chosen is the most individual and independent of the religious communities, the most inward, the most available; yet in this favourable instance the real danger of conventionality exists.

With regard to the standpoint and purpose of his study, Dr. Starbuck says: 'The psychology of religion is a purely inductive study of religion as shown in individual experience. It differs from the method heretofore employed in viewing its facts more objectively. It is closely related to experimental psychology in historical development, subject-matter, and method. The end in view is not to classify and define the phenomena, but to see into the laws and processes at work in the spiritual life. The fundamental assumption is that religion is a real fact of human experience, and develops according to law; although these laws are peculiar to its own sphere, and need not harmonize with those of physics, chemistry, and the like.' 'The service of psychology to practical religion is to make possible a harvest of wiser means in moral and religious culture, and also to lift religion sufficiently out of the domain of feeling to make it appeal to the understanding, so that it may become possible to appreciate its truth and apperceive its essential elements.'[1]

The sort of questions from answers to which results are tabulated are as follows:—

1. What religious customs did you observe in childhood? What were the chief temptations of your youth?

2. What forces and motive led you to seek a higher and better life:—fear, regret, remorse, example, influence of friends, external pressure, love, spontaneous awakening?

3. What were the circumstances and experience preceding conversion? Was there any sense of depression, prayer, estrangement from God?

4. How did relief come? and what were the results?

The results are tabulated by diagrams. The maximum age of conversion is sixteen for males, and fourteen or sixteen for females. The effects of pressure, fear of hell, and moral

[1] *Psychology and Religion*, p. 17.

ideal are represented by percentages of uncertain result. Depression, uncertainty, helplessness, loss of appetite and sleep are usual preceding conditions. Revival and non-revival cases show uncertain variation. Exaltation and new life are the experiences following. In conclusion, 'There are two essential aspects of conversion: that in which there is self-surrender and forgiveness, accompanied by a sense of harmony with God; and that in which the new life bursts forth spontaneously as the natural recoil from the sense of sin, or as the result of a previous act of will in striving towards righteousness.'[1] Spontaneous awakening is 'the fructification of that which has been ripening within the subliminal consciousness.'[2] 'The act of yielding is giving oneself over to the new life, making it the centre of a new personality, and living from within, the truth of it which had before been viewed objectively.'[3] So that faith is to 'stop trying, and it will do itself.' Joy and acceptance are emotions which follow according to disposition and temperament. Life at a higher plane, voices, and sudden awakening are concomitant experiences.

Sociologically, there is an unselfing and emergence to a larger world of being, which is natural to adolescence. Physiologically, 'a new crop of nerve branches rapidly reach functional maturity, or those which have already matured come suddenly into activity.'[4] Again, we are told, 'Forces in human life and its surroundings tend to break the unity and harmony of consciousness; and its unity once destroyed, the contrast between what is and what might be gives birth to ideals, and sets two selves in sharp opposition to each other.'[5] One conquers in the rivalry, and this conquest is analogous to conversion.

Revivalist methods of a certain sort are criticized in no friendly fashion as being unintellectual and dependent largely upon 'affirmation, repetition, and contagion,' usual in effects upon a crowd.

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[1] *Psychology and Religion*, p. 100.
[2] Ibid., p. 108.
[3] Ibid., p. 117.
[4] Ibid., p. 151.
[5] Ibid., p. 155.

Abnormal physiological results are due to 'unchecked activity of lower centres.' Permanent good results are tabulated as twelve out of ninety-two compared with forty-one out of sixty-eight, produced by regular methods.[1] The danger of revivals is effectively stated. 'Sterile emotions are not religion, and hysteria of the same nature as drunkenness may even be more dangerous. A certain initiative of religious ecstasy or of guilt, combined with an element of originality of temperament, tends to become automatically cumulative until the emotional state chases everything but itself out of the field of consciousness.'[2] Even as a child cries, and forgets for what it cries. Part II. goes over much the same ground, except the lines of growth are considered as not involving conversion. Adolescence is the period of spontaneous religious awakening. The life-energy must find vent, and it may take intellectual or aesthetical bent instead of religious. The 'storm and stress' of such a period is due to the altered equilibrium from new additions to consciousness. Altruistic feeling is described in harmony with Mr. Benjamin Kidd's theory of its supra-rational basis. The whole concludes with a more or less ordinary sort of exhortation to habitual exercises, and wise and judicious treatment of the young.

There is not much to object to in all this. No attempt is made to decide the significance of the data collected. The position is strictly empirical, and the sacredness of religious life is not necessarily impaired by these generalizations. It may seem a little pedantic to use the unfamiliar phraseology in such connexion; but a new terminology is not necessarily of the devil. But if these generalizations be supposed to dispense with their ultimate significance and supernatural aspect, we should join issue at once. The question of the capacity for religion, its effect upon character, and a host of non-calculated factors in the problem, reduce the value of the results obtained. Is it a tendency to be repressed or cultivated? Dr. Starbuck does not really commit himself to an

[1] *Psychology and Religion*, p. 170. [2] Ibid., p. 179.

answer. He only formulates technical maxims. Our appeal to all mankind is based upon normal capacity, and that adolescence or any crisis of growth did not affect religious consciousness would be a witness against it. The tendency to imagine, however, that the co-ordination of religious experience and natural growth is exhaustive of its peculiar quality is a most astonishing piece of superficiality. That periods when there is the greatest abundance of vitality prove the occasion for the highest functions of our mind is what we should expect. That religion should be regarded as a mere social instrument to tide over a temporary malady or condition is revolting and absurd. The epochs of emotional disturbance are not, after all, the highest phase of religious consciousness, though they may be crises of great importance.

A less empirical method, though thoroughly modern in spirit, is that adopted by Dr. Frank Grainger in *The Soul of a Christian*. It is an attempt to escape from that conventionality and imitative feature in the material used by Dr. Starbuck.

Dr. Grainger deals with such recognized aspects of spiritual life as the Soul's Awakening, Ecstasy, The Dark Night of the Soul, Visions and Voices, Human and Divine Love, Symbol and Ritual, Prophecy and Inspiration, and Mystical Theology. He finds his illustrations in *Grace Abounding*, *The Life of St. Teresa*, Dr. Dale, and the mystical poet Blake. His observations are specially of interest by reason of this broad compass of biography, and his treatment is marked by reverence and keen perception. He makes a valuable distinction between average experience and normal. Thus the average man may be abnormally deficient. The saint as exceptional is not therefore eccentric. This writer keeps a dispassionate attitude towards what has been hastily classed with hallucination, and claims that, if asceticism be a method of entering into psychical states of a certain kind, it does not follow that all favour and praise belongs to the *bon vivant*. Still Dr. Grainger is strictly psychological, and acquits himself of any responsibility as to the objective

validity of anything supernatural assumed to account for religious states of consciousness. So far as he offers any vindication, it is by the adoption of Emerson's theory of the 'oversoul,' and a mystical communion with 'the Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and wisdom.' The nebulous refuge in which he hides is illustrated by his condemnation of all mutual fellowship and confession as 'spiritual unchastity,' and of course the usual evangelistic machinery is to him quite impossible.

By far the most powerful effort in this kind of inquiry is Professor James's Gifford Lectures. Like the previous author, he takes the personal and truly psychological position rather than the anthropological. He deals with biographical documents rather than statistical averages based on suggestive questions. He dissociates the value of religion from any neurotic concomitants in special cases, even as we appreciate the works of genius in other directions on independent grounds. 'Religion,' he says, 'is the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider to be divine.'[1] This definition embraces Fetichism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Emersonianism; but it is workable for a psychologist. Professor James passes on to testimony as to the reality of the unseen, with this conclusion: 'The unreasoned and immediate assurance is the deep thing in us, the reasoned argument is but a surface exhibition. Instinct leads, intelligence does but follow. If a person feels the presence of a living God, . . . your critical arguments, be they never so superior, will vainly set themselves to change his faith.' . . .[2] Not that it is better that the subconscious and not rational should thus hold primacy in the religious realm, but that they do so as a matter of fact.

The chapters on the Religion of Healthy-Mindedness bring the subject into association with faith-healing and mind-cure, apparently in order to put an optimistic, cheerful state

[1] *Psychology and Religion*, p. 31. [2] Ibid., p. 74.

of mind as the normal condition of wholesomeness. It does jar our sensibilities to place religion in such association. The philosophy of all this reference to 'suggestion, meditation, and recollection,' however, is to witness against the impersonal uniformity emphasized by science. 'That the controlling energies of nature are personal, that your personal thoughts are forces, that the powers of the universe will directly respond to your individual appeals and needs.'[1] This may be read as a most satisfactory declaration of our contention; but to the limited empirical interpretation we object. We are not prepared to accept the credibility of religion as a permissible but fantastic method of mind-cure and faith-healing.

The sick soul, the divided self, and conversion are dealt with in a method similar to that of Dr. Starbuck, but with more biographical illustration. We touch the centre of this empirical view of religion in the chapter on the Value of Saintliness. Empiricism is not necessarily scepticism; but it asks the practical value of that which it investigates. This is Professor James's finding: In spite of extravagances, yet asceticism stands for heroic life, and the God-inspired man has valuable dispositions thereby, objectionable features notwithstanding. So Cromwell, Stonewall Jackson, Gordon, Francis, Bernard, Luther, Loyola, Wesley, Channing, Moody, &c., are successes. 'Their sense of mystery in things, their passion, their goodness, irradiate about them, and enlarge their outline, while they soften them.' Thus, by abandoning the theological ground for the psychological, we 'leave religion in possession of its towering place in history . . . on the whole.'[2] Again, 'Religion must be tested impartially by a survival of the fittest.' Mysticism is weighed in the balance and found—(1) to carry authority for those who have such mystic states; (2) but for no one else. (3) Nevertheless, they break down the exclusive authority of rationalistic states; and (4) strengthen monistic and optimistic hypotheses.

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[1] *Psychology and Religion*, p. 119. [2] Ibid., p. 377.

Philosophy has her services politely flouted, and she is invited to give up her profession and seek a situation in the service of the 'pragmatic' science of religion. The subconscious self is the intermediary between us and God, and God is the Emersonian 'oversoul' once more. 'Pragmatically,' that oversoul is plural. Polytheism rules the actual conditions, and we are told we ought to be satisfied. If the present view of the universe will not square with our wishes, that is our own fault for wanting too much and aiming too high.

Inadequacy is written on every part of Dr. James's work. As an analysis of religious consciousness it is at best preliminary. All the complexity of Christian experience, the sense of guilt, the meaning of atonement, regeneration, hope of immortal life, are not exhausted by this kind of examination.

Again, Jesus Christ Himself receives scant attention. We are quite prepared to relieve the psychologist of all theological burdens and responsibilities possible, that he may have utmost liberty for his task. It is no light undertaking to find a common denominator for lives as various as Augustine, Catharine of Siena, John Bunyan, Madame Guyon, Fletcher of Madeley, Newman, F. W. Robertson, and Dale. But to supersede the New Testament in favour of mind-cure is, to say the least, poor courtesy to the facts of history and the problems centring in Christ Himself. We should not expect more of a writer than he legitimately takes into his scheme; but at least some indication might have been given of the bearing of all that is given upon so vital a question as the place of Christ in history.

But the philosophical basis is equally unsatisfactory. The subconscious tends to become the idol of psychologists. If Professor James means the same as F. W. H. Myers, it amounts to this: that in ways beyond our investigation in consciousness we are subject to influences independent of perceived material causes. It is a valuable admission, but a very narrow foundation for the fabric of religion—a poor foothold to justify our leaving the ground of historic

revelation. Mysticism alone is really the despair of reason. Objectively, Professor James is a pluralist and empiricist; but in the name of honesty this amounts to philosophic scepticism, and protest is vain. The mind cannot rest in such complacent indifference to what fills up the background of the subconscious life. It is an attempt politely to explain away religion as subjectivism, and persuade to diplomatic tolerance, pending an evaporation of all supernatural reality. In comparison with the exhausted air-bell of the critic the mephitic air of controversy is preferable.

> Each that thus sets the pure air seething,
> May poison it for healthy breathing;
> But the critic leaves no air to poison:
> Pumps out with ruthless ingenuity
> Atom by atom, and leaves you vacuity.

The vacuity of a spiritual psychology, minus all theology, is either praise of breathing and distrust of air, or reckless indifference to poisoned atmosphere; or, to change the figure, praise of fruit, and indifference to roots and soil.

In conclusion, we value the researches undertaken by the psychology of religion in its own domain, and within its limits. We have no fear of it. Like all scientific generalizations, those of psychology have to be verified in application to particular cases. There is much that is exceptional in the application of the most exact science of mathematics; the more so by reason of its very exactness. Though the whole of man's spiritual nature could be mapped out, we believe the essential relation of personal spirit to a personal God remains. This residuum involves man's whole capacity for the Christian revelation. Whatever fresh avenues be discovered connecting the temple of worship in the soul with other parts of inner life, they can only prove fresh portals to the place of adoration of the Father of spirits. But if that temple is to be preserved from desecration by pluralistic polytheism, we must have other wardens than complacently tolerant empirical psychology. Nevertheless, it is from the examination of the phenomena of religious consciousness that we may expect the apology of religion which shall

meet the needs of our time. It often takes long for the results of technical investigation to affect the thoughts of the majority of men; but we believe that from the most fearless and faithful inquiry into the accumulated facts of man's inner life there will proceed a fuller knowledge, which will quicken the moral instincts of our generation. Reassured by such a scrutiny, the Christian Church will declare with fresh courage and conviction the claims of Christ upon the souls of men.

A. ERNEST BALCH.

MODERN METHODIST HYMNOLOGY.

1. *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists.* The Third Edition corrected. (London, 1782. Facsimile Edition.)

2. *The Methodist Hymn-Book.* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1904.)

3. *The Hymn-Book of the Modern Church.* By A. E. GREGORY, D.D. The Thirty-fourth Fernley Lecture. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 1904.)

IN estimating the religious life of any Church, its hymn-book serves at once as barometer and as thermometer, indicating the condition of the atmosphere and gauging the spiritual temperature. The hymn-book is a comparatively modern institution. Hymns were used, indeed, in the Christian Church from the first, as Pliny's letter to Trajan and the still earlier records of the New Testament most interestingly show. In the opening centuries of the Christian era they played an important part in the life of the growing community, but for several centuries they sank into the background of an increasingly formal worship, and the noble compositions of the saints of the Latin Church lay embedded in the Breviary. Church song awoke again with the new dawn of the Reformation, but it is to the last century or two that we must look for the full development of Church hymn-books as we know them—collections from all times and quarters of the finest Christian lyrics for use in public worship. When liturgical forms are employed, hymns are naturally of less importance, though even in this case it is found that a special interest attaches to the variable element of worship in which the people are more especially invited to join. In other Churches hymns constitute a kind

of liturgy, influencing to an almost incredible extent the thought and feeling of the religious community, and constituting in themselves a mirror in which can be seen with tolerable clearness and fidelity the nature of its life and the character of its devotion.

To confine ourselves to our own times and country, it is interesting to watch the changes in the form and substance of these popular collections. Certain groups or schools of hymnists may be traced in the course of two or three centuries and indicated by the names of Sternhold and Hopkins, Watts, C. Wesley, or Moody and Sankey, respectively. It would be difficult, for example, to overestimate the influence upon Anglicanism, with its sober and restrained expression of feeling, produced by the publication and rapidly extended use of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. The Presbyterians, who for long discouraged the use of any 'human hymns,' have adopted the prevailing fashion, and now the large majority of worshippers in Scotland use *The Church Hymnary*, one of the best of modern collections. Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists of all types, and even—at opposite poles from one another—Roman Catholics and Unitarians, have alike found the value of the hymn-book, and the curious in such matters may watch with interest the fluctuations in usage since the middle of the eighteenth century, when such books became recognized institutions. Some changes effected may be accounted only questions of taste; yet those who remember how theological thought amongst the Jews was affected by the periphrases for the sacred name of God adopted by the LXX will be slow to think even these alterations matters of small importance. Other changes concern the area which hymns may be legitimately permitted to cover, and it means much when regions of thought and life which had been accounted secular are brought within the scope and influence of religion. Others depend upon what we may call tone and emphasis, the immense significance of which we hope to be able shortly to illustrate; whilst in the sphere of doctrine proper a student will be able to detect modifications in the hymns sung—or,

what is quite as important, not sung—much more readily than in definite creeds and articles.

The issue of the revised Wesleyan Methodist Hymn-Book has an importance of its own. The communions affected number millions, in all parts of the world. And, since Methodists are pre-eminently a singing people, any changes in hymns or tunes mean more to them than to Christians of a different type. Simultaneously with the publication of *The Methodist Hymn-Book*, as it is now called, was issued a facsimile of the third edition of *Wesley's Hymns*, the last corrected by John Wesley himself. The juxtaposition of the two books, with an interval of a hundred and twenty years between them, naturally provokes comparison and comment. It happens also—not without intention, we suppose—that the Fernley Lecture of this year delivered at the Sheffield Conference deals with the same subject. Dr. Arthur Gregory has handled a timely as well as a congenial subject in his *Hymn-Book of the Modern Church*. The attention thus drawn to a topic of permanent interest and importance makes this a good opportunity to inquire into some of the characteristics of modern religious life, especially of modern Methodism, as reflected in current hymns.

What is a hymn? What ought it to be? How far does practice differ from theory? Is there more than one type of good hymn? How far is 'goodness' to be determined by popular usage, and how far can taste and judgement be guided or moulded by authority? These are questions which it is easier to ask than to answer. Augustine's definition is well known and is quoted by most writers on the subject—'It is necessary, therefore, if it be a hymn, that it have these three things: both praise, praise of God, and that it be sung.' This is an excellent description if it be understood in the spirit rather than in the letter. 'Praise' must include prayer, and should be widened to include all frames and feeling which properly belong to worship. Further, as a question of form, a hymn need not be directly addressed to God, though its thoughts must all be conceived—like

those 'Confessions' which embody Augustine's own history—as under the very shadow, say rather in the very light, of God's eye and presence. As Dr. Gregory well says, 'The ideal exercise of the Christian hymn-writer is the practice of the presence of God.'

St. Paul distinguishes between psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. The distinction drawn between these three classes by Archbishop Trench is probably just. 'Psalms' refers directly to those Old Testament compositions which were sacred to all devout Jews and to Christians as their heirs and successors; 'hymns' to compositions actually sung in worship; whilst 'spiritual songs' permit a wider range of thought and style; the adjective, however, carefully restricting the subject of the 'ode' in use. But the line of distinction must not be too sharply drawn. The hymn of Matt. xxvi. 30 unquestionably refers to the Hallel, Pss. cxv., cxvi., &c., sung at the Paschal meal. Few better hymns are to be found than some versified psalms. Nor is it easy accurately to discriminate between a sacred lyric which may and one which may not be sung in public worship. None the less, Augustine has put his finger upon the true line of demarcation. A meditation however lofty, a poem however sacred and sweet, which remains a human train of thought or expression of feeling, and is not presented as sacrifice in praise to God, cannot rightly be described as a hymn. The incense remains cold and scentless until it is lighted; only when it is kindled by the spark from heaven and the fragrant smoke ascends heavenward in earthly aspiration, does the true hymn begin. Illustrations might be taken from two well-known compositions—Montgomery's 'Prayer is the soul's sincere desire' and 'Faith is a living power from heaven,' translated from the German by Miss Winkworth—hymns 507 and 347 in *The Methodist Hymn-Book*. As to the former, only the presence of verse 8, 'O Thou by whom we come to God,' makes its introduction into a hymn-book possible; and even so, it perhaps hardly comes within the true category. If the lyric had opened with a similar petition to God, and the description of prayer had been

reduced to three or four stanzas, the whole being interpenetrated by Montgomery's poetic fire, the desired transition would have been effected. In the other hymn, the heavy description of faith in its attributes and exercise almost stifles the hymnic aspiration at the end. Too much fuel extinguishes the flame.

The rapid multiplication of hymns and collections, the number of which is legion, is not altogether a good sign. When the fount of inspiration runs dry, the work of the compiler begins. It seems the easiest thing in the world to write a good hymn, but it proves to be amongst the hardest. The explanation is easy: though few ingredients are required, they must all be found, and they are such as are very rarely found together. 'One falsetto note,' says Lord Selborne, 'will spoil the whole.' Dr. Gregory mentions as necessary characteristics of a good hymn, sincerity, reverence, dignity, beauty, and other similar qualities, and the pages in which he pursues these thoughts are very interesting. But he hardly succeeds in securing the true connotation of the term by an accumulation of epithets. Instead of following him, it may not be amiss to remind our readers of Milton's definition of poetry as 'simple, sensuous, and passionate.' At first sight these adjectives perhaps hardly commend themselves to the lover of poetry. But on reflection we see that the last secures the prime quality of deep and earnest feeling, the first insists upon the main characteristic of the purest style, while the second epithet is to be understood as indicating the form or manifestation of what is essentially a spiritual essence, which, without appropriate embodiment, cannot move or sway men. Emerson speaks of the poet's translation of spirit into form as 'the secret of the world, there where Being passes into Appearance and Unity into Variety.'

> For, of the soul, the body form doth take,
> For soul is form and doth the body make.

J. R. Green, describing in his *English History* the secret of Charles Wesley's power as the bard of the Evangelical

Revival of the eighteenth century, uses these words: 'His hymns expressed the fiery convictions of its converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared.' In that sentence we find reproduced Milton's three epithets and, summed up in a single phrase, the characteristics of all good hymn-writing. 'Fiery convictions' of deepest and most earnest spiritual experience, even 'passionate' in its character—that is the first requisite. But the flame must burn white and clean, with strength enough to purge away the dross of lower and less worthy feeling—like the antiphon of the higher Temple, *Quasi seraphim sub alis Dei vidit faciem*—so that the expression should be 'simple,' chaste, and lofty. Any descent into the merely didactic is fatal. And so, lastly, unless the charm of poetic beauty be added, fitly to enshrine sublime emotion, the crowning grace of the true hymn is lacking.

So much from the point of view of the poet as artist. But another consideration must undoubtedly be taken into the account. It concerns the subject-matter. A Christian hymn should in substance, perhaps in phraseology, approximate more or less to Scripture as its norm and guide, else it will miss the note of classic utterance and true catholicity. There are many byways of Christian life, down which it is wellnigh fatal for the hymn-writer to travel. He must keep the King's highway; the nearer to the centre, the better. It is not necessary, nor desirable, that the adhesion to Scripture should be close in expression, like the paraphrases beloved north of the Tweed, though there is much to be said for Sir Walter Scott's judgement: 'I think that those hymns which do not immediately recall the exalted language of the Bible are apt to be, however elegant, rather cold and flat for the purposes of devotion.'[1] The 'elegant' writer is the very last to pen a good hymn. But some of the favourite songs of the Church have been those which have not only been animated by the Spirit, but have used the very phrases of Scripture as wings to raise men heavenwards. The many versions of the

[1] Lockhart's *Life*, vol. ii. p. 140.

23rd Psalm would illustrate this, as would also C. Wesley's beautiful christianization of Ps. cxxi. and of Deut. xxxiii. 26–29—see hymns 399 and 676 in *The Methodist Hymn-Book*. But C. Wesley's great facility as a verse-writer led him away, so that very many of his thousands of paraphrases are mere Scripture-and-water, even the water being often not of the best.

It is hardly necessary to say that the spirit of controversy must be absent. If its distant shadow do but darken the sky, the hymn is fatally marred. Sound doctrine may be, should be, present, but not as sound doctrine taking up its testimony against heresy. There is a time and place for dogma, and for denunciation of error, but never in singing. John Wesley fairly claimed that his collection was 'in effect, a little body of experimental and practical divinity.' But if it had been mainly this, what he rightly describes as 'the genuine spirit of poetry' would have been banished from his brother's hymns. Religiously polemical verses were in the times of the Wesleys unfortunately too common, and Charles Wesley wrote them by the ream as anti-Calvinistic broadsides. But for the most part these were kept out of the original hymn-book, and one of the great improvements of recent editions has been the gradually completed elimination of the element of religious—we ought to say, theological—controversy. The 'Unitarian fiend' disappeared many years ago, and now those 'who sing hymns to Christ as God' do not think it necessary to invoke anathemas upon others who cannot join them in the exercise. Dr. Gregory refers to the fact that 'Father whose everlasting love' (H. 65) had its origin in the Calvinistic controversy, and he draws attention by italics to the repeated phrases in which the universality of the divine grace is emphasized. But he does not quote the most characteristic verse, or the couplet in which is concentrated the pith of the Arminian position—

> For those that will not come to Him
> The ransom of His life was paid.

It is a glorious hymn, but it can only be properly sung

when all thought of Calvinism is forgotten, and pure praise of God's boundless grace fills the mind and heart of the worshipper. That hymns should ever be used as missiles, and by the Wesleys of all men, is one of those facts we would fain forget.

Another way of judging of excellence is by type rather than by definition. What are the best known and best loved hymns, on which time has set its sanction, which have made their way into all Christian communities, and have best expressed the devout sentiments of successive generations? Mere popularity is not a sufficient test of worth; *vox populi, vox Dei* is not a rule which can be trusted. But if what theologians call 'the Christian consciousness' may be appealed to in doctrine, it surely may also in worship; and if we allow for transient fashions and caprices of taste, if we cover a sufficiently wide area in our examination, the general acceptance and use of a hymn furnishes a fairly trustworthy criterion of value. Several attempts have been made to furnish a list of standard hymns, as fixed by the consentient verdict of the Christian Church. One author has collected one hundred and seven hymn-books and classified the hymns they contain according to the frequency with which they appear. Eighty per cent. gives a place in the first rank, and this principle gives thirty-two hymns which may claim to be the best Church hymns, so far as the judgement of modern Churches goes. The four that are virtually included in all books are—

1. Rock of Ages, cleft for me . . . *Toplady.*
2. When I survey the wondrous cross . *Watts.*
3. Jesu, Lover of my soul . . . *C. Wesley.*
4. Glory to Thee, my God, this night . *Ken.*

Others that run very near in popular favour are Bishop Ken's morning hymn, Keble's and Lyte's evening hymns, C. Wesley's 'Hark! the herald angels sing,' and Newton's 'How sweet the name of Jesus sounds.' Dr. Gregory, in an Appendix to his book, has given the results of his examination into six typical collections—Anglican (of two types),

Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian. His list of hymns, practically common to all, includes about 160, of which 14 are by C. Wesley, 5 by Watts, and 5 by Ellerton, 4 each by Lyte, Heber, Bonar, Montgomery, and Mrs. Alexander, whilst Keble and Cowper are represented by 3 each. Of course this method is not perfectly fair, the general acceptance of a hymn being sometimes due to its subject rather than to its intrinsic excellence. But as a rough-and-ready mode of eliminating hymns which appeal only to sectional taste, and retaining those which on the ground both of subject and style have commended themselves to English-speaking Churches, the examination is instructive.

If then, proceeding partly by way of accurate definition, and partly by way of typical examples, we have reached an idea of what a hymn ought to be and what the best actually are, the question arises, What are the characteristics of contemporary hymnody as compared with preceding periods? Are we drawing nearer to the true standard, or receding from it? What changes are discernible in schools of hymn-writers, or fashions prevailing amongst compilers, and how far are prognostications favourable, or otherwise, in estimating by means of hymns in actual use the strength and purity of our religious life? A full answer would demand an inquiry into the successive editions of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*; the development traceable in the Presbyterian Churches from the psalm-and-paraphrase singing of a century ago, which still lingers in Highland districts; and the contrast (say) between Watts's *Hymns* and Dr. Barrett's *Congregational Church Hymnal*. But, for the sake of definiteness and brevity, we may confine ourselves to a comparison between the two volumes named at the head of this article —the last book prepared by John Wesley in 1782 and *The Methodist Hymn-Book* of 1904. The Preface to the latter says that it is 'the lineal descendant' of the former: what points of similarity does it present, what of contrast, and how far has the family likeness been preserved?

The two books contain substantially the same core or

nucleus. Out of 981 hymns in the new book, 480 Wesley hymns, with 82 of Watts and Doddridge, making 562 in all, practically correspond to the 525 of the earlier collection; and on the great cardinal themes of religion the preservation of type is even more striking. For example, 18 out of the 22 hymns on Faith in the new book are found in the old, 17 out of 23 'for believers rejoicing,' 40 out of 44 for Christians 'seeking full redemption,' whilst all the 17 on Christian fellowship are Wesley hymns. The conservatism thus observable extends very largely to the headings of the various subdivisions. Some quaint phraseology has been dropped; we no longer read of 'Mourners brought to the birth,' or 'Believers groaning—and brought to birth,' but it is still recognized that Christians will be found praying, fighting, watching, and 'seeking full redemption.' Whilst speaking of matters of phraseology, it may be noted that Charles Wesley employed with considerable freedom terms of endearment and familiarity in devotion which the purer taste of his brother John condemned. But some of the expressions retained in *Wesley's Hymns* have of necessity been since removed. Few belonging to later generations who have sung the well-known hymn, 'Jesus, the name high over all,' know that one of the original verses ran—

O that my Jesu's heavenly charms
Might every bosom move!
Fly, sinners, fly into those arms
Of everlasting love.

Correspondingly, in describing the future punishment of the wicked, language was employed in the eighteenth century which now not only shocks good taste, but must be repudiated as conveying a coarse and false impression of very real and dread terrors. The hymn beginning 'Terrible thought! shall I alone' originally contained the verse—

While they enjoy His heavenly love,
Must I in torments dwell?
And howl (while they sing hymns above)
And blow the flames of hell?

Language of this kind has gone far to produce a reaction against the idea of future punishment at all. But the hymn as it appears in the new book, No. 315, is one that may be sung; inasmuch as, while it breathes a wholesome fear of the terrible consequences of sin, it concentrates attention upon that immediate repentance and reformation which such stern thoughts are intended to produce.

The changes in taste which make it quite impossible for good Methodists now to sing words which John Wesley put into the lips of his followers—'O might I hear the Turtle's voice, The cooing of Thy gentle dove' (H. 143), or 'O Jesus, let me kiss Thy name' (H. 139), or any part of the long hymn (24) dealing in detail with the physical sufferings of the Saviour—do not need minute illustration. We are not more inclined to Mohammedanism because we no longer call its prophet 'that Arab thief,' nor have we lost missionary zeal because we do not intercede for 'the servile progeny of Ham,' or the conversion of 'the dark Americans.' A true veneration for Charles Wesley as perhaps the very first of evangelical hymn-writers has not blinded the compilers of the new book to the fact that, despite his brother's disclaimer, he could and did write doggerel, and that some of his rhymes were atrocious. To make 'shadows' rhyme with 'glad us' (H. 59) is an offence in one direction which can only be matched in another by the inclusion in H. 94 of the following verse, addressed to the world by the saints, intended forsooth to be sung in worship!

> Wherefore from us depart,
> And to each other tell,
> 'No, no, we cannot on our heart
> The written pardon feel';
>
> A stranger to that bread
> You may beguile and cheat,
> But us you never can persuade
> That honey is not sweet.

Homer sometimes nods; Wordsworth passes only too often from the sublime to the platitudinous; and if Charles Wesley

mingled some dross with the much pure gold which he prepared for use in the sanctuary, he was but human. Those who smile at his foibles may well ask themselves how far their religion will bear comparison with the spirit of his loftier strains.

The points on which we have commented are comparative trifles, but unquestionably such modes of expression now obsolete have tended to alienate many in succeeding generations from evangelical truth embodied in somewhat extravagant phraseology. John Foster has told the truth, but not the whole truth, in his 'Essay on the Aversion of Men of Taste from Evangelical Religion.' It is a part of the work of compilers in successive generations to minimize this evil by preserving the substance of gospel teaching in the hymns they retain, whilst removing all that will repel persons of really refined taste. To dilute the truth in order to please the fastidious is a danger in the opposite direction, and one into which our own generation is far more likely to fall.

The arrangement of hymns as indicated by a Table of Contents is not, as it might seem, a matter of secondary importance. It indicates the principle on which, and the object for which, the collection is made. Wesley wrote in his celebrated Preface, 'The hymns are not carelessly jumbled together, but carefully ranged under proper heads, according to the experience of real Christians.' The last clause is significant. It implies that the order pursued practically follows the outline of the soul-history of men who might, according to Wesley's ideas, claim to be 'real' followers of Christ. Hence he places first a series of hymns which are only 'Introductory.' These 'exhort and beseech' men to return to God, and describe the pleasantness of religion, death, judgement, heaven and hell, in such a way as to produce that result. Then 'formal' is carefully distinguished from 'inward' religion, and a large number of hymns deal with repentance in its various forms and stages. The next part deals with 'believers' in their varied experiences, till at last they are 'saved,' which means fully saved from indwelling sin. The last part contemplates these believers as gathered

into a 'Society'—not a Church—such as Wesley established for 'real' Christians, as distinct from the mere formalists of the Church of England of his time. This scheme of arrangement bears the marks of the period to which it belongs, and was exactly suited to impress on all who used the book the lessons which the whole-souled evangelist wished to teach. His business in life was to bring the Church and the nation of England—not to say the world—to understand the meaning of true Christianity, thorough-going 'Scriptural holiness.' One of the most effective agents in that great work was his *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists.*

The new book strikes another keynote. It contemplates a Christian Church, fully formed and equipped for its work in the world, but engaged in divine worship. It begins with the Glory of God. It celebrates the Holy Trinity, the Divine Attributes, the Person and Work of the Redeemer, the offices of the Holy Spirit, the sacred Scriptures as the Word of God. Then only does it turn to man, his need of redemption, the gospel call, repentance from sin, and the new life in Christ. In dealing with these central themes of Christianity the two books contain, of course, a very large number of hymns in common. But a new complexion—and, what is more, a new character—is given to the same hymns, when they are viewed as setting forth the glory of God, instead of some phase of experience of believers. In Wesley's *scheme* there was no place for the praise of Christ as Redeemer, though the thought, of course, is dominant throughout his whole collection. Now a sharp distinction between 'subjective' and 'objective' hymns cannot be consistently maintained. The very idea of a 'hymn' includes two elements—the God who is praised and the men who praise Him. But the emphasis and point of view may vary, and it can hardly be questioned that, for the purposes of true worship, the stress should lie on the thoughts so admirably expressed in one of the very earliest of Christian hymns—'We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, *we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory.*'

The sun, not the earth, is the centre of the solar system; the experience of believers will lose nothing—nay, in reality it can only be adequately maintained—by their losing all thought of self in contemplation of the grace and the glory of God.

Hence, in a hymn-book, compositions should predominate in which direct addresses to God are the prevailing strain. But pedantic insistence upon this as a rule without exceptions would be misleading. There is nothing necessarily egotistic in the repetition of 'I,' 'mine,' and 'me' in sacred song. A discussion has been going on amongst scholars for some years past concerning the 'I' of the Psalms, and many hold that the reference throughout is not to an individual, but to the Church-nation of Israel. Granted that that view is extreme, the very fact that it is tenable shows how completely the Psalmist lost himself in his theme and offered his praise and prayer as a true representative of a community. St. Paul, in describing the spiritual conflict of Romans vii., wrote so graphically that commentators have hardly yet settled whether an individual or generic experience was intended. Tennyson said of his own *In Memoriam*, '"I" is not always the author speaking of himself, but the voice of the human race speaking through him.' The question concerning a hymn, therefore, is not how often the first personal pronoun occurs, but whether the utterance of personal feeling is sufficiently catholic, and so phrased as to lead the congregation upwards in adoring gratitude or supplication to the Source of all good.

The same principle applies to verses which contain addresses to sinners or believers, the Church or the world—more common in Wesley's day than in ours. No canon should be adopted which would shut out from a hymn-book 'Sinners, turn; why will ye die?' or 'Weary souls that wander wide'; nor, we venture to say, any that would admit such hymns as 94 and 266 in Wesley's *Collection*. The difference between the two classes is clear. In the former case the address to sinners is formal only, the real subject is the grace of God, and its animating spirit an eager desire that

all mankind should enjoy its benefits. But individual self-examination and self-reproach, or personal discussion and mutual recrimination between saint and formalist, Church and world, believer and devil, have no place in the true worship of Almighty God.

When we turn to the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, we find that modern Methodists have fallen away in no respect from the standard of John Wesley, and the evangelical truths in which he gloried are still proclaimed with unfaltering voice in the modern hymn-book. Indeed some of them receive more explicit recognition. The doctrine of the Trinity, for example, is brought more directly before the attention of the people, by the collection in one section of hymns in which the mysterious Three-in-One is adored. We think, however, that the compilers of *The Methodist Hymn-Book* have done well to leave out Samuel Wesley's hymns on this subject with their eighteenth-century modes of expression, such as 'All the glorious persons joined To form Thy favourite man,' and 'Again Thou did'st, in council met,' as well as the frequent reference to a divine 'Sire,' a word with associations best forgotten in the praise of the Eternal Father. The Person of Christ as God-man is still supreme in the worship of the younger as of the older generation of Methodists, only—and this is pure gain—the addresses to the Saviour are less familiar and less alloyed with mere sentiment in the modern book. The Atonement of Christ, as the one sacrifice for the sins of the world, is still proclaimed with earnestness; but misleading and unscriptural expressions, such as 'He disarms the wrath of God,' 'The Father hath *punished* for you His dear Son,' 'The *rigid* satisfaction,' have given place to language which is less suggestive of division between the Persons of the Trinity. That the old testimony to the doctrine of Entire Sanctification is to be strenuously maintained is clear from the number and strength of the hymns still devoted to this subject, nearly all of them Charles Wesley's. It is true that the section headed 'For Believers Saved' no longer appears; such a phrase being, indeed, ambiguous and tending to mark

off a certain state of grace from the ordinary Christian life, as if the justified sinner and the regenerate saint were still outside the pale of 'salvation.'

The main difference between the two books is not found in the laying aside of the noble Wesley hymns—only some feebler products of Charles Wesley's have been dropped, together with a few which we think might well have been retained—but in a remarkable enlargement of the scope of the original hymn-book. The book has become less denominational at every successive revision, says Dr. Gregory. If this means that the hymns as a whole speak more directly to and from the common heart of Christendom, it is surely matter of rejoicing. But more may be intended than that. We believe that what the Methodist Churches of to-day chiefly desired, when a revision of the hymn-book was undertaken, was that it should more fully recognize religion as covering the whole area of life, and not as concerned only with spiritual 'experiences,' though real religion must ever be most truly experimental. There was no small danger of unreality in worship when miscellaneous congregations were constantly set to sing lofty spiritual words describing the inward aspirations and struggles and raptures of saints. Hence the new book emphasizes the graces of the Christian character in action and Christian service and influence in practical life; it dwells upon the pilgrimage of life as a whole, and shows the bearing of religion upon its successive stages and various vicissitudes. Wesley was practical enough—few men more so. But the book called *Wesley's Hymns* was not practical in the same sense. It laid stress, of set purpose, upon inward experience. Attempts have been made in successive 'supplements' to redress this balance, but it could only be successfully done by that more thorough recasting of the whole book which has now been effected. Hence, in the modern hymn-book, life inside and outside the Church is touched in all its aspects and attitudes. All sorts and conditions of men are remembered. The needs of ministers, teachers, the family, young men and maidens, old men and children, are borne in mind. Wesley's book

contained hymns for parents and children; but if any one would measure the gulf which separates the social and family life of the eighteenth century from our own, he could not do better than compare these hymns with modern ones on the same subject. The recognition of morning and evening, seed time and harvest, the natural beauties of earth and skies, 'the loom, the forge, the mart,' and 'homeliest work' of all kinds,—national life is not forgotten; we pray to-day for king and country, though we no longer offer the petition, 'Support Thy great Vicegerent,'—marriage, travel, sickness, death, is now fairly complete. The worshippers who frankly and fully use the new book will be led into the enjoyment of a more robust and comprehensive religion than those who confined themselves to the old hymns, while the level of inward spiritual experience need be no less lofty and devoted in consequence.

One question has been raised—though Dr. Gregory only incidentally refers to it—which may claim a moment's attention. Is the sense of sin less keen in the modern Church? That it is far less keen in our generation as a whole is a commonplace; some seem to doubt whether sin, as a heinous offence against a personal God, exists for the modern conscience. But is the Church, are the modern Methodists, according to the testimony of their new hymn-book, losing their sensitiveness to the evil of sin? The answer, we think, must be a decided No! True, they have changed their phraseology. They do not call themselves names, as did the penitents in Wesley's day. Such epithets as 'vile,' 'Ethiop,' 'abject worm,' tend to disappear. If feeling is to be estimated by the use of strong language—such as 'Woe is me! what tongue can tell My sad afflicted state?' 'Hastening to infernal pain,' 'My exiled soul deep in a fleshly dungeon groans'—then undoubtedly the poignancy with which sin is felt is diminishing. But real repentance may find very various expression, and there is surely more of true humility and penitence in William Bunting's hymn, 'Holy Spirit, pity me,' with its keen self-analysis and self-reproach, than in the use of a multitude of general phrases which, to

modern ears at least, sound exaggerated and therefore unreal.

We are quite ready to admit, however, that much of the anxiety of soul which is reflected in the hymns of the Evangelical Revival is not felt to-day, and that religious life is the poorer for it. The difference of tone in evangelistic hymns is marked. A note is absent which Charlotte Brontë brings out well in one of her graphic pictures. When describing the Methodist prayer-meetings and class-meetings of a hundred years ago she puts into the lips of the worshippers words much more characteristic of their religion than of ours:

> O who can explain this struggle for life!
> This travail and pain, this trembling and strife!
> Plague, earthquake, and famine and tumult and war
> The wonderful coming of Jesus declare.
>
> For every fight is dreadful and loud,
> The warrior's delight in slaughter and blood,
> His foes overturning till all shall expire—
> But this is with burning and fuel of fire.

Unquestionably also there is a difference of tone as regards assurance in believers. In Wesley's time there was but one question for the religious seeker: What must I do to be saved? When he truly apprehended the answer, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved, his faith in Christ was simple, entire, and strong, and a vigorous type of religious experience resulted. His conversion took place at a definite moment, to which he continually recurred; he enjoyed a direct appropriation of the merits of Christ; he clearly realized a present Saviour, and not seldom the assurance of entire sanctification. There are tens of thousands of such Methodists to-day. But the conflicts of our time are not quite so simple. Faith in general, that is the realization of the unseen, is harder to come by; when attained, it is often with difficulty retained. There is more general sympathy in the Church with Faintheart, if not with Feeble-Mind, and Mr. Fearing is somewhat of a hero. There were

'fightings without and fears within' amongst the early Methodists, as in every generation of true Christians, but Wesley and those who sang his hymns in 1782 would have had scant patience with reformers who wished to introduce 'O it is hard to work for God,' 'The cloud broods o'er us still; We hope, yet fear to fall,' 'Forgive me, if too close I lean My human heart on Thee,' and other strains which are—quite rightly, as we think—included in the new Methodist hymn-book. This recognition of temptations without and weakness within does not necessarily imply less trust in the power of religion to overcome both, but rather a more exact appreciation of the facts of an increasingly complex life. It is hardly needful to say that hymns which are spiritually feeble in their tone, which relax the moral fibre, or indulge in anything like a strain of religious whining and whimpering, are utterly to be condemned. Such pusillanimity would indeed augur ill for the spiritual health of a community which tolerated it.

In estimating the relative moral and spiritual value of older and more recent hymns, it would be necessary to examine their relation to Faith, Feeling, and Action—too large a theme for an article. But one hardly knows which influence is the most important of the three. Their value in inculcating and preserving doctrine is proverbial, and has been abundantly illustrated in the history of Methodism. Their function in at the same time stimulating and restraining emotion is no less important. St. Paul bids the Ephesians not to be 'drunken with wine, wherein is riot,' but to be 'filled with the Spirit'; and immediately afterwards he enjoins them to 'speak to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.' The higher and purer emotion is partly to banish, partly to purify and raise the lower. Religion should minister to the fullest and richest life of feeling. And as a well-balanced and well-nourished physical frame needs no alcoholic stimulant, so the heart swayed by those lofty feelings which the best hymns engender and maintain is no longer at the mercy of gusts of passion. Milton describes how the pealing organ and full-voiced choir

may 'dissolve us into extasies and bring all heaven before our eyes.' Charles Wesley's warning against the witching charms of sound is well known. But when hymns and tunes are wisely chosen and well sung, their influences on thought and feeling and action is amongst the highest and purest known to us short of

> That undisturbed Song of pure concent
> Aye sung before the sapphire coloured throne
> To Him that sits thereon.

THE EDITOR.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things. By Rev. H. A. Kennedy, M.A., D.Sc. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. *7s. 6d.* net.)

THE choice of a comparatively young divine to deliver the current series of the Cunningham Lectures is abundantly justified by the volume before us. Dr. H. A. Kennedy has proved his capacity by his scholarly commentary on Philippians in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, and by able contributions to periodical literature. In this exposition of Pauline eschatology he proves himself a master. His mind and methods have largely been influenced, we gather, by the late Dr. A. B. Davidson, whose pupil he was. We find the same thoroughness, accuracy, and insight—the same independence of thought combined with a wholesome conservatism and distrust of novelty for novelty's sake. He remarks in the Preface upon the 'necessity of grasping the great religious conceptions of the Old Testament in their original setting, if we are to penetrate into the texture of the Pauline theology.' No word can be truer. Doubtless Dr. Davidson furnished to some extent inspiration and guidance in this task, but Dr. Kennedy proves himself quite able to apply to the New Testament the principles which the Professor, at whose feet he sat, so admirably illustrated in the study of the religion of Israel. These lectures exhibit a thorough acquaintance with modern German literature in its bearing on the study of St. Paul, but the references are for the most part given in notes, and the student of the subject may pursue his way without being disturbed by allusions to the latest Teutonic novelties in theorizing.

The two or three points which will most likely strike the reader as valuable in these lectures are: first, the extent to which Paul's ideas of the last things influenced the whole of his thinking; secondly, the formative influence of his Jewish training; and next, the importance of understanding his cardinal words—'life,' 'death,'

Parousia, *αἰώνιος*, and some others. The study of St. Paul's doctrine of the Resurrection is very fine and suggestive, especially as regards its connexion with the apostle's whole view of the new spiritual life in Christ. Dr. Kennedy is wise also in observing the silences of the Scriptures. Great harm has been (unintentionally) done in the department of eschatology by the tendency of theologians to draw inferences, fill up gaps, and round off what seems to them an incomplete scheme of doctrine. Where St. Paul is silent, Dr. Kennedy does not put words into his mouth. If this were always done in the treatment of the New Testament, much mischief would be avoided.

We heartily greet this thoughtful and most suggestive volume, and shall confidently look for still greater things from its able author.

The Theology of the Old Testament. By the late A. B. Davidson, D.D. Edited by S. D. F. Salmond, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 12*s*.)

This work has been long and eagerly anticipated, and will be welcomed as a standard contribution to the literature of the important subject it treats. Dr. Davidson is unfortunately no longer with us, and he did not survive to put into final form his long meditated and matured thoughts on Old Testament Theology. His lectures to his students had been many times revised, and Dr. Salmond has arranged these in the best form available for a continuous treatise. The process involves some measure of overlapping, and the repetitions are numerous; but the reader will find very little to interfere with his enjoyment in the consecutive study of this masterly book.

The method of Biblical, not Systematic, Theology is of course pursued. The object is to present doctrine as a living growth, not as a plant dried and pressed in the herbarium. And whether the subject be the doctrine of God, the constitution of man, the Messianic hope, or the future life, Dr. Davidson's treatment will be found to be fresh and stimulating. Some portions of his exposition may be anticipated by those who know his book on *Old Testament Prophecy* and his articles in the *Dictionary of the Bible*; but there is plenty of new matter here, whilst each topic is treated as part of an organic whole.

As a critic, Dr. Davidson is conservative of temperament and habit; but he is fearless, and there is nothing narrow or reactionary about his methods—the safest kind of guide in times of transition.

As an exegete he is delightful. A taste of his quality in this respect has been given in his commentary on Job, but he has done few finer things than some of the intercalated specimens of exposition to be found in this volume. It is pre-eminently a book for preachers. Those who wish to understand the Old Testament under the guidance of a thoroughly equipped modern scholar, who knows how to penetrate to the heart of a nation's religious thought and life, should study this last volume of Dr. Davidson's. Both ministers and congregations will benefit greatly by the result.

The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament. By Arthur S. Peake, M.A. (London: C. H. Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

The subject is well worthy of independent treatment. Any light that can be cast on the problem of pain is most welcome, although we should regard the problem of evil as 'the most powerful objection to a theism adequate to our deepest needs.' Still the problem of pain is serious enough. Professor Peake's discussion is full of interest. His survey of Old Testament teaching is very thorough —beginning with Habakkuk's questionings, and then taking up Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, the later Prophets, Job, Psalms, the Apocalyptic books, and the Preacher in turn. The chapters on the Servant of Yahweh and the Book of Job are the longest and most interesting. The outcome is a negative one. The Old Testament furnishes hints only, no complete answer. For the latter we must come to the New Testament. Still the hints are suggestive of valuable lines of thought.

Professor Peake's thorough adhesion to the critical school controls his entire exposition. To us it seems doubtful whether the denial of a personal application of 'the Servant' will ultimately stand. Professor Peake identifies the Servant with the nation only. Undoubtedly the national aspect is the first; but it is remarkable how the mention of the nation ceases at the later stages. Professor Kirkpatrick's interpretation of a development culminating in an individual seems to do most justice to the language. Professor Peake ends by acknowledging that 'a nation could not be adequate to the functions here assigned to the Servant,' and that 'these marvellous poems have been more than realized in Jesus of Nazareth.'

The three Appendices on Habakkuk, Second Isaiah, and the Servant add to the value of an excellent study. It is needless to say that the work is written in the most devout spirit and with delightful simplicity and freshness. J. S. B.

The Theology of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles. By the late Wm. Hastie, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The 'Reformed Church' here is of course the Calvinist side of the Reformation in distinction from the Lutheran and every other, and the 'Fundamental' Principles are the Protestant, Theological, and Anthropological Principles respectively. The Theological Principles are man's Absolute Dependence and God's Absolute Sovereignty. In these abstract terms the doctrine of Absolute Predestination is veiled. It requires some courage now to defend this doctrine as alone consistent with modern science, true philosophy, and the higher theology. Yet this is what Dr. Hastie does with much learned reference and philosophical acumen. The author moves easily in lofty planes of thought. His too early death was a loss to scientific theology. The volume gives much interesting information about doctrinal developments in Protestantism, especially in Scotland. J. S. B.

Faith and Knowledge. Sermons by W. R. Inge, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Hertford College, Oxford. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These sermons have, and deserve to have, the place of honour in a series of volumes chosen for 'the suggestiveness of their thought'; so fair and competent a judge as Dr. Hastings has expressed the belief that 'no one will be disappointed in the reading of them.' The author's Bampton Lecture on 'Christian Mysticism' was attractive on account of its philosophic insight into spiritual truth and of its lucid exposition of sublime themes, in the treatment of which profundity often means obscurity. These sermons reveal the same high qualities of thought and expression as the lecture. A short extract from the sermon on 'Wisdom' will serve to show how Mr. Inge meets present-day materialism: 'We need never fear that the telescope or the microscope will rob us of the right to believe in God. . . . Even if, as some hope, the mechanical equivalent of consciousness is some day found in the movements of brain substance, that would only mean that the voice organs of nature had been discovered—a wonderful and improbable discovery, but one which would rather suggest that matter is spiritual, than spirit material.'

These sermons prove that a mind familiar with modern thought,

so far from losing its hold on faith, may grasp essential truth more firmly and restate it more forcefully. Mr. Inge perceives that one great need of the Church of the twentieth century is 'a rigidly scientific study of the *normal* phenomena of religious experience.' His writings give evidence of his own high qualifications for this important work.

Seeking a Country. By Thomas F. Lockyer, B.A. (London: F. Griffiths. 3*s.* net.)

This is a volume in a series of 'English Preachers' to which the Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow and Canon Teignmouth-Shore have contributed. Mr. Lockyer has a quiet strength of thought and an assured felicity of style which make his sermons very pleasant reading. He is an expositor of real insight and careful scholarship. His choice of subjects is characteristic. They are all variations on one central theme—the life of God in the soul of man. *Seeking a Country* leads us into the charmed circle of the Epistle to the Hebrews; *The Homeward Way* is a beautiful invitation to set our affections on heavenly things; *A Citizen of no Mean City* strikes the same chord; *Idylls of Home Life* is a lovely plea for domestic piety, with all its gentle courtesies; *The Abiding Christ* unfolds the great words: 'Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea, and for ever.' Thus the volume closes with the note on which it opened: 'Let this, therefore, remain with us as our heart's true watchword, while, as pilgrims of the night, we yet have our faces towards the day-dawn, and are ever "seeking a country." For whether we look back along the changeful years and the fleeting generations of the past, or look forward to the unknown to-morrow, and all the mystery of the hidden future, we have learned one secret which charms away our fears, and evermore allures our longing faith, as we say to ourselves, and testify to others, that "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to-day, yea, and for ever."'

The Hibbert Journal: A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Vol. ii. No. 4, July 1904. (London: Williams & Norgate. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The two articles of most general interest in a very good number of this Review are the Bishop of Rochester's reply to Sir Oliver Lodge on 'The Re-Interpretation of Christian Doctrine,' and Dr. Mellone's paper on 'Present Aspects of the Problem of

Immortality.' Dr. Talbot welcomes the appearance of a great scientist in the arena of theological discussion, and gracefully recognizes 'his respect for the phenomena of spiritual experience.' Nevertheless, in firm though gentle words, it is shown 'with fullest respect,' that in his criticisms of 'the expression of the doctrine of the Atonement' Sir Oliver's 'thoughts about the Incarnation are as yet immature.' Dr. Mellone, commenting on Harriet Martineau's confession that she would 'tire of the Forever,' calls attention to a truth often forgotten, that such expressions are really 'a protest, not against the thought of continued life, but against an inadequate interpretation of immortality, against the notion of mere endlessness without growth.' To those who maintain that the desire to live after death is the utterance of human egoism, the reply is: 'The man who desires the compensation of another life is not desiring anything which he can enjoy by himself, and from which others can be excluded. He wants to be allowed to go on loving those whom he has loved here, and to go on doing whatever good he has done here, and more.' Without giving in his adhesion to Myers's theory of the subconscious self, Dr. Mellone holds that 'the *facts* are of first-rate scientific importance,' and amount to a disproof of 'the supposition that the existence of mind depends on the mechanism of nerve and brain.'

Selections from the Literature of Theism. Edited, with Introductory and Explanatory Notes, by A. Caldecott, D.D., and H. R. Mackintosh, D.Phil. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. *7s. 6d.* net.)

The idea of this work is to present the various aspects of the theistic argument in the words of leading thinkers. This is done, not in brief extracts, but in quotations of adequate length. Descartes, Spinoza, Berkeley, Kant, Comte, Lotze, Martineau, Janet are the principal speakers. We can well understand that the chief difficulty was in the selection from so wide a field. The selection might have been different, but it could scarcely have been more fairly representative. The introductions and notes by the editors are helpful. Apart from the matter, the volume supplies excellent specimens of English style of many kinds. It is well adapted to form a textbook for students, especially if it is used as an introduction to wider and detailed study. The idea of the work might be applied to other theological questions. J. S. B.

A Manual of the Leading Muhammadan Objections to Christianity. By Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, D.D. (London: S.P.C.K. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

It would be hard to overstate the value of a work like this to young missionaries and students of the missionary problem. The author is well qualified both by study and practical experience to deal with the subject; and the work gives ample evidence of the greatest care in carrying out the plan. It is thrown into dialogue form. 'The authority of the Bible is the great question upon which the controversy turns,' and two chapters are given to detailing objections and suggesting lines of reply. Two other chapters deal with the Trinity and Atonement. If this seems strange, it must be remembered that these form the core of the debate with Muhammadanism. There are ample references to authorities and leading works. J. S. B.

The Eternal Will: A Study in the Interpretation of Life. By J. Sandys Stanyon, M.A. (London: H. R. Allenson. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

In view of the conflict in our days between experience and tradition, the author endeavours to make experience his starting-point in an argument for the substantial truth of the teaching of tradition. From the consciousness of will in ourselves he seeks to find a way to a personal holy will in the universe without. The goal reached at last is Jesus Christ as a moral teacher. The whole argument is tentative and preliminary. The working out is abstract, and not always easy reading. But there are, doubtless, many to whom the line of reasoning will be useful.

J. S. B.

The Biblical View of the Soul. By Rev. G. Waller, M.A., formerly Rector of St. John's, Stamford. (London: Longmans. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The biblical view is said to be that the soul is mortal like the body, and that both perish at death. An immortal soul is a heathen notion. Between death and the judgement there is no existence for man. At the final judgement, however, the body rises again; and with it, we suppose, the soul. This is the thesis which the writer seeks to establish by a most laborious collection and quotation of Scripture passages relating to the soul, Sheol, Spirit, Man's Mortality,

as indicated by terms like perish, destroy. The quotations are from the Authorized Version. Taylor's *Hebrew Concordance* and Lee's *Hebrew Lexicon* are much used. Some of the transliterations are scarcely intelligible—psukee, rooagh, doomah. Sheol or Hades is translated 'gravedom,' as man's existence goes no farther before the judgement. J. S. B.

Buddhism: An Illustrated Quarterly Review. March 1904. (Rangoon, Burma.)

In an article on 'Seeing Things as they are,' Mr. Rhys Davids suggests that Matthew Arnold and Goethe were unconscious Buddhists. Other well-written articles throw much light on Buddhist ways and doctrines. More and more it is evident that in Buddhism the philosophy outweighs the religion. But the most interesting part of the Review is the fifty pages of notes, news, and reviews, which discuss things in general from the Buddhist standpoint. There is an account of a recent Buddhist traveller's experiences in Tibet, also a full appreciation of Herbert Spencer, who is hailed as 'the Great Agnostic,' like Buddha. 'The *Hereafter* enigma defied even the powers of his great mind. The savants of the universe profoundly mourn his demise. Herbert Spencer is for the world a man no longer, but has entered with Socrates and Plato and all the wise of olden days into the realm of the immortals in the world of thought.' J. S. B.

1. *The Journal of Theological Studies.* July 1904. (London: Macmillan & Co.)
2. *The American Journal of Theology.* July 1904. (Chicago University.)
3. *The Critical Review.* Edited by Principal Salmond. May 1904. (London: Williams & Norgate.)

1. These numbers supply abundant evidence of the revival of Christian learning, which is so marked a feature of our times. In the first Dr. Mason gives a much needed, yet friendly, criticism of Mr. Tennant's able and learned works on the doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin. There are also no fewer than four articles by Roman Catholic scholars. The one on the rhythmical structure of Jude's Epistle, as also of St. James's, is very interesting. A Benedictine scholar contributes a long article on 'The Historical Setting of the Second and Third Epistles of St. John.' These Catholic essays display acquaintance with the entire field of

literature on their respective subjects. The more erudite notes include reprints of Syriac and Coptic texts. The Rev. E. Lyttelton writes a thoughtful note on 'Christ's Teaching about Divorce.'

2. The American Review has five first-class articles, including a strong plea by Dr. Briggs for graduate schools for the study of higher theology, and papers on 'Persian Dualism' and 'Faith and Mysticism.' A long article by Rev. F. P. Badham, of the Temple Church, argues for the early martyrdom of John the apostle, which would preclude his being the author of the Fourth Gospel; the argument cannot be called a strong one. The reviews of current theological literature are marked by the usual completeness and breadth, dealing not so much with single works as with all recent publications on particular subjects. There are no fewer than twelve such notices. Dr. Bacon of Yale goes far in the negative direction. Some of the advertisements in the Review are scarcely in keeping with its high style and character.

3. This has a full and attractive programme. The criticisms of works, Tennant, H. P. Smith, Réville, are at once appreciative and discriminating. Some of the works noticed are scarcely worth the space given them. The second part of Professor Iverach's notice of Spencer is suggestive. The critic well points out that Spencer does more justice to matter than mind. It almost seems as if the latter were an enigma beyond any attempt at explanation. 'In his system mind is later, secondary, derivative, ruled by matter. . . . The evolution of feeling or of the mental life is never described in its own terms. It is always dependent on the evolution of the nervous system.' Justice is done to Spencer's emphatic recognition of the *a priori* element in our experience, although this element is inconsistently derived from experience. This article alone is worth the price of the whole number.

The Unity of the Spirit: Its Seven Articles. By H. W. Holden, Vicar of North Grimston. (London: Skeffington. *2s.*)

The writer's spirit is excellent, but his outlook is cramped in the extreme. The only Church having ministry and sacraments is the Episcopal one. The author could not write of other communions as he does, if he knew them as well as he knows his own. A frequent cause of defective charity is defective knowledge. 'This I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and all discernment.' J. S. B.

Holiness by Faith: A Manual of Keswick Teaching. By Bishop Moule, and others. (R.T.S. 1*s.*)

The sub-title of this book is somewhat misleading, for only one side of Keswick teaching is here enforced. But the four papers are stimulating, and will lead many to think and pray. Dr. Moule's account of the way in which Canon Battersby received the gift of spiritual power is very impressive, and the Rev. Hubert Brooke's chapter on 'Christian Holiness and Evangelical Work' will interest many readers. Mr. Meyer writes helpfully on 'The Conflict with Temptation,' and Dr. Elder Cumming on 'Christian Holiness in Ministerial Life.'

St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, by the Rev. J. Gamble, M.A. (Dent, 9*d.* net), is a little book of unusual value and interest. We know nothing quite like it, and as a general introduction to St. Paul's Epistles it would not be easy to match this manual.

Mr. Frowde has made it easy for a child to find any book of the Scriptures in a moment by his *Oxford Thumb-Index Bible.* The title of each book is cut into the edges of the pages in a very ingenious fashion. Many will greatly appreciate this device, and find it a real help in turning to some Minor Prophet or Epistle. The Bible ranges from 5*s.* 6*d.*, in yapp leather bindings, ruby 24mo. The brevier type edition at 10*s.* makes a beautiful book for eyes not quite so young.

The Churches and the Supernatural, by J. Leonard Posnett (Elliot Stock, 6*d.* net), is a timely and sensible pamphlet, which calls attention to 'the need of supernatural power in order to secure the ultimate triumph of righteousness.'

II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

The Book of Kings: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, printed in Colours, exhibiting the Composite Structure of the Books, with Notes. By Bernhard Stade, Ph.D., D.D.; assisted by F. Schwally, D.D. English Translation of the Notes by R. E. Brünnow, Ph.D., and Paul Haupt, D.D. (London: Nutt. 18 marks.)

SCHOLARS know how to value this coloured text, which shows at a glance the critical view of the construction of the sacred books. It is a most ingenious method of presenting results, and the present volume is a notable specimen of the polychromist's art. The critical notes are a monument of patient research, and will be a valuable guide to the advanced student. The note on 2 Kings xix. 26, 'The inhabitants of the fortified cities were frightened to death, their faces had not the colour of ripe wheat, but they were deathly pale, greenish yellow like green blades of wheat,' gives a vivid touch to the story of Sennacherib's invasion, and there are many other gleams in these notes, though they are chiefly concerned with the detection of glosses and the discussion of textual difficulties. Every one concerned in the preparation and production of this volume is to be congratulated on a very fine piece of work.

The British and Foreign Bible Society has published, in connexion with its Centenary, a new Greek Testament, edited by the eminent German philologist, Professor Eberhard Nestle, D.D. It is a reproduction of the fourth edition of the text which Dr. Nestle prepared for the Würtemberg Bible Institute, and is the resultant furnished by the readings found in a majority of the three great recensions by Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and Weiss. The text can be had alone in prices from *1s. 9d.* to *3s.*, but the edition with critical apparatus, from *2s.* to *3s. 6d.*, is that which all scholars will want. It can be had in two parts, and there is a special edition with broad margins and strong binding. The apparatus for the study of the different readings is very complete, and puts the results of modern New Testament scholarship within easy

reach of all students and translators. The editions on India paper will go comfortably in the pocket. Such an edition is a real boon to us all. The marginal references are a good feature.

The Minor Prophets. Edited by Rev. R. F. Horton, M.A., D.D. (Jack. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Horton's volume covers the first six Minor Prophets. We are glad to see his tribute to Dr. Pusey's great Commentary. It is 'rich in erudite illustration from the Fathers, from other Church writers, and from such travellers and scientific authorities as throw light upon the subject. And, further, it glows with a beautiful piety; it is like Godet's commentaries on the New Testament, an applied homily all along.' Dr. Horton's work will be especially prized by preachers. The notes are full, and light is thrown on difficult passages. It is a really helpful little book for students.

The Philippian Gospel. By W. G. Jordan, D.D. (F. H. Revell. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Jordan is Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. His earlier volume, *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals*, received a warm welcome. Here he concerns himself mainly with the religious teaching and moral influence of St. Paul's Epistle, and tries to show that the revelation 'which the great apostle received from his Master and ours is neither ancient nor modern, but a power of life through all time.' The idea is carefully worked out. The papers are singularly clear and persuasive. Such an exposition cannot fail to be of real service to all devout readers.

III. HISTORY.

The Flemings in Oxford: Being Documents selected from the Rydal Papers in Illustration of the Lives and Ways of Oxford Men, 1650–1700. Edited by John Richard Magrath, D.D., Provost of Queen's College. Vol. i., 1650–80. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 31*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Magrath has long devoted his leisure moments to studies of his own college and its former students. His attention was first called to the Rydal Papers by Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte in 1885. Five years later he got permission from Mr. le Fleming to inspect the documents at the Public Record Office, and spent three weeks of his Christmas vacation in examining and transcribing them. A growing sense of their value led to the Papers being brought to Oxford, where every available hour was given to the selection, transcription, and annotation of the six thousand documents in the collection. The result is seen in this volume. It begins with the college life of Daniel Fleming, who was born at Conistone, Lancashire, in 1633, entered Queen's College at the age of seventeen, married Barbara, the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Fletcher, Bart., of Hutton in Cumberland, whom he first met at Oxford, and had fifteen children, three of whom were members of Queen's College, and one of Edmund Hall. He became head of his family at the age of nineteen, and was soon involved in responsible duties as justice of the peace for Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, and landowner in the three counties. His reputation as a wise and honourable man brought him much work as arbiter in the settlement of family disputes, and won him the respect of all parties. When this volume closes he has lost his wife and two of his sons, and has a son and a nephew at Oxford. The Rydal letters and notebooks give many details of the life of a scholar at Oxford, his expenses, his course of study, his books, and the prices he paid for them. The set of letters describing the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 are of unusual interest. 'The King was above twelve hours in passing from Cobham to London, the like show never seen in every particular.' The eagerness with which news was expected in Westmoreland is brought out in Mr. Fleming's correspondence:

'When one of our letters fail, we then conferre notes together; but when both fall short (which they have done severall times lately) then wee are at a great loss and are forced to read over our Diurnalls twice (out of our necessity), and are very apt y^t^ to sensure your clerk, or y^e^ post, of forgetfullness.' Daniel Fleming was a true son of the Church, and showed himself, the Bishop of Exeter says, much alive in 'suppressing those disorderly and fanatique humours, which we have found to be so pernicious both to Church and State.' It is interesting to find the Rev. Thomas Dixon excusing some delay in answering a letter of Daniel Fleming's by saying that he had been 'exceeding busie in composeing a sermon for St. Maries against Saturday next, which will be y^e^ first time of my appearing in that dreadfull place.' Two years later he says, 'Since my first arriveall at Oxon (about 10 dayes ago) I have been extraordinary bussy in composeing a sermon for St. Maries (that dreadfull place) against this day.' As to study at Oxford in 1678, Henry Fleming tells his father: 'My tutor reads to me once for y^e^ most part every day, and sometimes twice, in Sanderson's logick, which book is all he reads to me as yet, wherein I have read two of y^e^ first bookes, and part of y^e^ third. And in spaire hours from logick I read Lucius Florus, Sallus, and such histories, out of which I write collections. And for exercise I make none yet but such as all y^e^ scholars make, which is verses every Saturday during y^e^ terme, and sometimes declames.' The letters have been edited with minute care, and the volumes throw a flood of light on Oxford life and study in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Every student of such subjects will feel that he owes a great debt to Dr. Magrath and to the Oxford Historical Society, for which he has edited the volume. We shall look forward with eagerness to the second part of the work, which is in course of preparation.

The Dark Ages. By W. P. Ker. (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 5*s.* net.)

Professor Ker has used some freedom in the selection and arrangement of matter for this history of literature in the Dark Ages. Old English literature, which is fairly familiar, has been treated with less detail than Icelandic, especially the poems of the Elder Edda. The Dark Ages are the centuries of the barbarian migration before the establishment of the Romance literatures about 1100 A.D. The richest vernacular literature in the period which Professor Ker has to review is the older Teutonic poetry in the Teutonic alliterative verse. 'It comes to an end before the

Crusades, except in Ireland, the dissident and long-resisting country where the old forms of language and poetic diction are better protected than elsewhere against innovation, especially against the innovations of the Romance tongues and their poetry.' After an introductory chapter the subject is divided into four sections: The Elements; Latin Authors; The Teutonic Languages; Ireland and Wales, Greece, the Romance Tongue. The schoolbooks of that darkest time in the Dark Ages which lies between the end of the sixth century and the revival of learning under Charles the Great, did much to preserve the standards of a liberal education. 'The darkest ages, with all their negligence, kept alive the life of the ancient world.' The educational work was pursued by men whose original genius and poetic inspiration might have been held to relieve them from the drudgery of such work. Bede has full justice done him in this record. The sanity and dignity of his mind transcend the limitations of his time; he has the historical gift, and knows its proper applications. Many amusing things may be found in these pages, such as the description of the forty ladies who left their convent because of their abbess's severity, and travelled forty miles on foot to throw themselves on the protection of Gregory of Tours. The section on Latin hymnology is very instructive, and the whole book is profoundly interesting, not merely as a study of a period of literature, but also as a picture of a memorable era of human life and thought.

A Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism. By John J. Tigert, D.D., LL.D. (Nashville M.E. Church, South. $2.)

This is the second edition, revised and enlarged, of the standard work which Dr. Tigert published in 1893. It is based on the recognized authorities, and in this edition a complete collection of the early *Disciplines* has been used with the Minutes of the American and English Conferences. Dr. Tigert's position as Secretary of the General Conference of his own Church has given him unusual facilities for his task. He has added two important chapters to this edition dealing with 'The Eighth Delegated General Conference, 1840,' and 'The General Conference of 1844: The Louisville Convention and the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.' Here we watch the struggles amid which Dr. Tigert's Church was born. The reader of this work will gain a clear view of the problems which confronted

American Methodism in the slave-holding States. Separation was inevitable, and, although there was an era when feeling between the two Churches was somewhat embittered, the happiest relations have now been established between the two great branches of American Methodism. The Appendices are of special value. One is a critical descriptive catalogue of all the editions of the *Disciplines* of the M.E.C. from 1785 to 1808; another deals with John Fletcher's suggestions to Wesley for the organization of Methodism. The work is monumental, and we shall be sorry if other tasks, however important, draw Dr. Tigert off from the completion of it by the addition of two other chapters, bringing the history of the two Churches down to the death of Bishop Simpson and Bishop McTyeire.

Men of the Covenant. By Alexander Smellie, M.A. Third Edition. (London: Melrose. *7s. 6d.* net.)

Mr. Smellie has chosen a great subject, 'The Story of the Scottish Church in the Years of the Persecution,' and he has treated it in a way that has made all of us his debtors. His heroes are the Covenanting worthies who fought for freedom in Church and State with such dogged zeal and such unflinching courage. The history opens dramatically with the signing of the Covenant in the church of Greyfriars in Edinburgh on February 28, 1638, six months after the new liturgy had been brought into the church of St. Giles. Then follow stories of martyrdom and of constancy, with many a glimpse of faithful ministries and happy homes. John Livingston's courtship is a quaint story. For nine months he had no clearness of mind to speak to the lady. It was another month before he 'got marriage affection to her, although she was for personal enduements beyond many.' He asked it from God, and 'thereafter I had greater difficulty to moderate it.' Lord Warriston's death on the scaffold is a touching scene, and there are not a few like it in this book of heroes. The chapter headed 'A Field Preacher' gives an account of the great conventicles of the time, which did so much to keep alive the constancy of the people. The narrative is relieved by many happy incidents, such as William Carstares' kindness to Robert Calder, who had been most scurrilous in his denunciations of Presbytery. Carstares saw that this man's clothes were threadbare, and cleverly contrived to have a suit made which fitted him, and which he got him to accept with a ten-pound note in one of the pockets. Mr. Smellie has written a book which will quicken the pulses and stir the heart of every one who reads it.

A History of the Gunpowder Plot; the Conspiracy and its Agents. By Philip Sidney. With sixteen Facsimile Illustrations from Old Prints. (R.T.S. 5*s.*)

The story of Gunpowder Plot has often been told, but never with such fullness and impartiality as in this volume. It is based on the original evidence preserved at the Public Record Office, and Mr. Sidney's research has led him to the conclusion that the Government knew of the existence of the plot long before Lord Mounteagle received the famous letter of warning. He thinks that Mounteagle had acted as a spy upon the conspirators, and that the composition and delivery of the anonymous letter was devised by him in conjunction with Francis Tresham, Warde, and Anne Vaux. The part which the Jesuits took in the matter is clearly shown, and many details are given as to the conspirators and their nefarious plot. The illustrations are of exceptional value and interest.

Wesleyan Methodist Reminiscences Sixty Years Ago. By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D. (London: Robert Culley. 2*s.*)

Dr. Rigg's *Reminiscences* excited much interest when they appeared in the *Methodist Recorder*, and many will hail this little volume with great delight. It is a picture of Methodism and Methodist preachers and people in the middle of last century such as no other living hand could paint. Some of the appreciations of men like Jabez Bunting, Joseph Fowler, William Arthur, and Benjamin Gregory show the touch of a master, and the glimpses of Cornish Methodism are very pleasant reading. We seem to see how Methodism was carried on sixty years ago; and though Dr. Rigg has stopped short when we all wanted him to go on, we are very grateful for this gracious and instructive little volume. We should like all the young people of Methodism to read it.

Messrs. Bell have published Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* in their 'York Library' in three neat volumes (2*s.* net each). The biographical introduction by Moncure D. Conway was written for the edition of 1896, and gives a view of the way in which Motley found his vocation as the historian of Holland, which will add much to the interest with which his masterpiece is studied. The history established Motley's reputation, and no story of the modern world is more dear to lovers of civil and religious freedom than that of William the Silent and his brave people. This edition will

be a delightful pocket companion for many. It is clearly printed, and has a full index. The volumes are neatly bound, and are very pleasant to handle. Those who have not Motley on their shelves should make haste to secure this edition.

The Recollections of a Minister's Wife. By Alice Ellen Hirst. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This little book will be welcomed by many. Mr. Hirst was one of the closest friends of Dr. Punshom, and some pleasant letters from him add to the interest of these *Recollections*. There is nothing very fresh or remarkable in the book, but it contains some good stories. It is vivacious, and bears many traces of that old-time courtesy which won Mr. and Mrs. Hirst a host of friends. We are glad to be carried back for a few moments to such homely scenes, and to get a picture of two happy and useful lives.

IV. BIOGRAPHY.

The Life of Major-General Wauchope, C.B., C.M.G., LL.D. By Sir George Douglas, Bart. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

'ANDY WAUCHOPE' is one of Scotland's national heroes, and those who read Sir George Douglas's volume will understand the tender and affectionate regret with which the news of his death at Magersfontein was received in Edinburgh. He had had his full share of the dangers and hardships of war in the Ashanti campaign under Lord Wolseley, who became 'his idol and hero'; had fought against the Mahdi at El Teb, and had commanded the First Brigade at Omdurman. He went out to the Boer War with many forebodings. He at least saw that the struggle must be protracted and severe. His biographer hints that he was not convinced of Lord Methuen's ability to lead in such an attack, though he had a real admiration for Sir Redvers Buller: 'He is absolutely cool and reliable.' The anxieties of that race to the seat of war, when the British officers did not know what disastrous news might be waiting them at Cape Town, are vividly brought home to us in General Wauchope's letters. He says: 'I am not going to bother about what the news of the situation may then be—I have given that up.' When the *Aurania* reached Cape Town they learned that Kimberley and Mafeking still stood, and that there had been no rising of the Cape Dutch. That was far better than their fears. Wauchope went to De Aar, and was soon worked off his legs in arranging about supplies. So the story moves on to the black night of December 1899, when Wauchope fell leading his men against the Boer trenches. He had only been on the ground three or four days, and had had no opportunity to master the situation, but he died as a brave man at the post of duty. Wauchope's distinction as a soldier lay in his almost unequalled excellence as a regimental officer. He was devoted to the Black Watch, and once told Sir Garnet Wolseley: 'I could not possibly allow the regiment to go into action without me.' He was a strong disciplinarian, but no man loved his soldiers or did more for them

and their families than he. Drill was real business for him. 'I have worked so hard and long at it, and drill is one of those things that really to understand thoroughly require from ordinary mortals great and constant care and attention.' He saw clearly that 'example was the one thing' for an officer. 'You may talk till you're blue in the face, but if you want to be followed you must lead. I like being in the middle of the men—it is a glorious feeling to lead men in a hot corner if they will follow.' General Wauchope was a sincere Christian, whose faith bore the strain of many sharp sorrows. He appeared in a new light when he opposed Mr. Gladstone as candidate for Midlothian, and that brave fight which reduced the Liberal majority from 4,631 to 690 showed the mettle of the man, and gave him a new reputation all over the country.

Sir William Henry Flower, K.C.B.: A Personal Memoir. By Charles J. Cornish, M.A., F.Z.S. (London: Macmillan & Co. *8s. 6d.* net.)

Few men have rendered more lasting service to the nation than Sir William Flower. He was trained as a surgeon, and had a tempting prospect of professional success before him when he accepted the post of Curator of the Hunterian Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1862. There he steadily set himself to provide material for the advancement of scientific knowledge. He made the museum a college where each bone of a skeleton could be detached, so that by comparison and contrast learners were able to gain a truer knowledge of facts as a basis for theory. Twenty-two years of service in Lincoln's Inn Fields earned him the undisputed right to the post of Director of the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, where for fourteen years he carried out a silent but fruitful revolution in that great national collection. For twenty years he was President of the Zoological Society of London. In performing routine work he was faithful to the word, 'God is close to us in our daily life.' His scientific knowledge never robbed him of his faith in God and immortality. On his deathbed, after words of loving farewell to his children, he added, 'Remember, the same God, the same Saviour, the same heaven in which to meet again.' Sir William was the intimate friend of Dean Stanley and Lady Augusta, of whom some pleasant glimpses are given in this volume. Mr. Cornish's book is written with his usual skill and felicity, and a beautiful chapter on 'His Last Years'

is added by Lady Flower. Such a record is not only a lasting monument to a noble worker, but a real contribution to those happy relations between science and religion which are being established in our time.

Walford Green, D.D. A Brief Memoir by his Son, Walford Davis Green, M.P. With Sermons selected by his Son, Ernest Davis Green, M.A. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The face that looks out on us from the frontispiece to this volume was one of the best known and best beloved in Methodism. The portrait is a true index to the mind and heart of Dr. Green, and those who read this memorial volume will feel that their respect and regard for him are, if possible, deepened by the review of his life. His eldest son has done his work with great propriety and literary skill. The Memoir helps us to understand what Dr. Green said on the last day of his life: 'My sons have loved me well.' The early pages of the volume show us the Methodist home at Whitchurch, Shropshire, where Dr. Green received his early training. His father was a business man, 'gentle, thoughtful, and pleasantly humorous.' His mother was a Methodist of the fine old type, who 'cared most of all that her children might be securely saved from the temptations of the world, so that her passionate tenderness became the most powerful of all the influences of religion, and the most compelling of all the means of grace.' The boy received an excellent education at the grammar school at Whitchurch. He was converted in his sixteenth year, and his private diary shows how real his religion became. It is an interesting study, with its antique phraseology and its brooding over the deep things of God. The love of souls was already beginning to glow in the youth's heart. In September 1854 he was sent to Didsbury College to be trained for the ministry, but within the year he volunteered for service in the West Indies. After a few months of strenuous labour there his health broke down, and for nearly three years he was compelled to rest. Then he took an English circuit in the Black Country. There he met Miss Eleanor Davis, to whom he was married in 1862. Her father was 'a man of striking personality, an able and successful business man, holding a leading position in the public life of his town, a shrewd judge of men, himself full of force, energy, and power, devoted with extraordinary sincerity to the work of his Church, and to the poor among

whom he dwelt.' He was naturally reluctant to accept 'a young, untried, and delicate minister as a son-in-law. However, the determination of Mr. Davis's daughter soon conquered her father's hesitation.' He lived to see that his daughter had made a wise choice. Her home was for forty years one of almost unclouded happiness. Her husband owed much to her strength of character, and relied implicitly on her 'judgement, capacity, practical wisdom, sympathy, hopefulness, and love.' She rejoiced in her work as a minister's wife, and threw herself enthusiastically into all its opportunities of usefulness. Her husband was a model Methodist preacher. He gave himself to every branch of his work, and his order, method, and punctuality were conspicuous. He was genuinely humble, but he had a lofty estimate of the Christian ministry, and he bore himself in all things as a Christian gentleman. When wealth came to him he used it as a talent, and many a task from which others shrank was made possible to him. He rendered conspicuous service to the whole Connexion as Treasurer of the Theological Institution; and his loving care of Methodist finance, and of the Worn-out Ministers' and Ministers' Widows' Fund, laid his Church and his brethren under the deepest obligation. He was immersed in the cares of office, but never allowed them to rob him of his taste for reading or his delight in preaching. Thomas à Kempis was his companion all through his ministry, and in his first Presidential address to the Conference he quoted one of his favourite passages, through which, on that morning, God seemed to be speaking to his heart: 'If I am left to myself, behold, I am nothing; but if Thou shouldst suddenly look upon me, I presently become strong, and am filled with a new joy.'

His Sermons and the Ordination Charge given in this volume show where the secret of his strength lay. He was wholly devoted to his work and his Master. His sermon from the words, 'We would see Jesus,' is a lovely bit of simple eloquence—the eloquence of the heart. We have heard an old lay preacher who listened to it describe it as one of the most sacred joys of his life. As Chairman of the Third London District, Dr. Green proved himself a true bishop. Spiritual things were always first, and great was his delight at the successes of such workers as Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Meakin, Mr. Mantle, and others. He had a keen eye for the extension of Methodism, and the work he did for Hither Green and the Sussex Mission will bear fruit for generations. He had the art of winning confidence, and the youngest man in his District felt that the Chairman was his best friend. The tributes of the Rev.

Marshall Hartley and his brother are among the gems of this volume. Mr. Galland Hartley, who often spent a holiday with his friend, says: 'Travel tests character; it brought out the finest features of his. Intense was his delight in the beauties of nature; and he had a habit of connecting fascinating scenery with chapters of history, showing that he had been a careful reader and observer. He loved to turn to favourite books and read aloud some extracts from them, and he was equally ready to hear others quote authors whom they loved. He keenly appreciated good literature. His own library was not only well selected, it was also well used.' Mr. Marshall Hartley touches on his work as a minister. 'He loved preaching. Many a talk have I had with him about the work of preaching. I think that great theme lay as near to his heart as any department of his work. When other subjects had been dismissed, he delighted to talk over points of exposition. He loved to think out the meaning of the Word. And, whilst he was most careful in his preparation, there was a warmth, earnestness, and glow which brought his words home to the hearts of the people.' The volume is a worthy tribute to a man of sterling sense, fine character, and unceasing industry.

Montesquieu. By Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2*s.* net.)

This is the Romanes Lecture for 1904. As Clerk to the House of Commons Sir Courtenay Ilbert naturally takes a peculiar interest in the French writer who long held sovereign sway in his own peculiar realm. The days are gone when his *Spirit of Laws* was the oracle of statesmen, the Aristotle of parliamentarians. The interest in his work is now literary and historical, but this lecture shows that he was one of the greatest of the apostles of liberty in modern times. 'His new ideas, his new methods, once so fresh, so attractive, so stimulating, have passed into and been merged in the common heritage of Western thought. But in his generation he succeeded, with a success beyond his most sanguine hopes, in doing what he tried to do—he made men think.' He wrote with the Censor and the Index always before his eyes, so that he had to weigh every phrase he used. 'Hence the allusive and hypothetical style, which in some of his imitators became a mannerism.' Yet with all its obvious and glaring defects his book had enormous influence, and changed the thought of the world. This most interesting and suggestive discussion will well repay close study.

The Letters of Charles Lamb. Newly Arranged, with Additions. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by Alfred Ainger. Two Vols. The Eversley Series. (London: Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* net.)

It was a saying of De Quincey's that the chief pleasure we derive from Lamb's writing is due to a secret satisfaction that his admirers must always be a select few. There may be cynicism in that remark, but yet there is truth. To understand and enjoy Charles Lamb we must entertain a personal regard for him, we must feel that he admits us to the circle of his intimates. Not a little of the peculiar affection in which this beloved essayist is held to-day may be traced to the perfect sympathy and enthusiasm of his biographer and editor, Canon Ainger. Since the Eversley edition of Lamb's Letters first appeared, other editors, such as Mr. E. V. Lucas and Mr. William Macdonald, have done much towards the strengthening and adorning of the temple of Charles Lamb's fame; but for that structure as we find it at present we are largely indebted to the devoted labours of Canon Ainger. Here, in this new issue of the letters, we have the Canon's final touches—his farewell tribute to the one man of genius born within the precincts of the Temple with which Canon Ainger himself was long and honourably connected. The fact that two important series of thoroughly characteristic letters—those to the Lloyds and those to John Rickman of the House of Commons (the latter here printed for the first time)—are now added to the Eversley volumes is enough to show that all previous issues of these volumes are quite superseded. How clearly Lamb himself is brought before us in these letters—new and old alike! We seem as we read them to look right into that face of which Talfourd wrote as being full of 'deep thought, striving with humour; the lines of suffering wreathed into cordial mirth, and a smile of painful sweetness.' And the letters put us on the most charming terms with the writer, so that we add the name of Charles Lamb to our list of intimate correspondents. In the best sense the writer is modern to us who read him to-day; he belongs to us now, and herein is one of the marks of his genius. When we remember how entirely devoid of cant was the mind of Lamb, we cannot resist the temptation to quote from one of his earlier letters — to Robert Lloyd: 'Friends fall off, friends mistake us, they change, they grow unlike us, they go away, they die; but God is everlasting and incapable of change, and to Him we may look with cheerful, unpresumptuous

hope, while we discharge the duties of life in situations more untowardly than yours. You complain of the impossibilities of improving yourself, but be assured that the opportunity of improvement lies more in the mind than the situation. Humble yourself before God, cast out the selfish principle, wait in patience, do good in every way you can to all sorts of people, never be easy to neglect a duty though a small one, praise God for all and see His hand in all things, and He will in time raise you up *many friends*—or be Himself instead an unchanging friend.' Charles Lamb dipped into the deep waters which run perennial, and even his bubbles live. R. W. R.

Maria Edgeworth. By the Hon. Emily Lawless. (London: Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* net.)

This volume could not have been put into better hands. It will be read with unmixed delight by all lovers of Miss Edgeworth's tales, and will give them a charming picture of the society in which she moved, and the patriarchal home-circle in which she played such a gracious rôle. She came of a well-built race, and her shortness was somewhat resented by her family. To give nature a chance, the girl of fourteen was 'swung by the neck to draw out the muscles, and so increase the growth.' This odd treatment proved vain, and she remained a little slight creature, 'very active, very good-humoured, and full of enthusiasm.' She said of herself at a party in London, that the crowd closed over her. Some delicious anecdotes are given of Day, the author of *Sandford and Merton*, and his matrimonial proposals. Mr. Edgeworth naturally fills a large place in the early chapters of this biography, and no man ever had a more devoted daughter. Joanna Baillie tells Sir Walter Scott, 'She is cheerful, and talks easily and fluently, and tells her little story (when her father did not take it out of her mouth) very pleasantly. However, in regard to her father, she is not so much hampered as she must have been in Edinburgh, where I was told she could not get leave to speak to anybody, and therefore kept in the background wherever she went. When they take up the same thing now they have a fair wrangle (tho' a good-humoured one) for it, and she as often gets the better as he.' *Castle Rackrent* was written entirely without her father's advice or supervision, and it is the best of her books—the best Irish novel or story, her biographer holds, which has seen the light. The promise made by that first book was never thoroughly fulfilled, but she will always

take rank 'as one of the very pleasant personalities to be met with in the whole wide world of books.' This biography will certainly send its readers to Miss Edgeworth's tales with new zest, and give them fresh interest in one who was not merely a famous authoress but an 'exceptionally pleasant Irishwoman.'

The Story of my Conversion. By the late Abbé Corneloup. (London: R.T.S. 1*s.* 6*d.*)

Abbé Corneloup was led to become a Protestant by a word spoken by a Protestant lady whom he met when visiting his parish at Arcachon. 'I believe in the gospel, and the gospel alone.' He made a reply, but as he left the house he felt dissatisfied with it, and was gradually led to forsake Rome. It is an impressive story of a soul struggling into the light. Every Protestant reader will be eager to study it.

Our Latest Invasion. By David Williamson. (R.T.S. 1*s.*)

This little book is an account of the influx of Roman Catholic Orders into Great Britain. Mr. Williamson shows why the Orders had to leave France, and gives an account of 'The Tragic Story of Maria Leconnet,' who was so cruelly treated by the Convent of the Good Shepherd at Nancy. Facts and figures show how the tide of emigration has flowed over England. The book is a strong and timely appeal to Protestants.

The Methodist Review (July – August) is bright and varied. Professor Bowne writes on 'Mr. Spencer's Philosophy'; Dr. Quayle on 'The Literature of Nature,' an article of unusual interest. He says: 'Burroughs is probably the most dainty and natural of the veritable nature writers, has the love of outdoors soaking him as balsam pines soak the air, has the alert eye and ear, cares for things in the wild. He has caught nature's gait, and swings along the wood path like a good woodsman. He is easily superior to Richard Jefferies, who in turn is easily superior to all English nature writers.' A hearty tribute is paid to the April number of this Review.

V. BELLES LETTRES.

Richard Crashaw: Steps to the Temple, Delights of the Muses, and Other Poems. The Text edited by A. R. Waller. (Cambridge University Press. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

CRASHAW has been described as the most neglected of our greater poets. The best modern edition has been that prepared and published four years ago by Mr. Tutin; but the edition now published at the Cambridge University Press includes the Latin and Greek poems, which are faithfully reproduced from the original issues printed at Cambridge in 1634 and 1670. No attempt has been made to 'improve' the poet's spelling or punctuation, and Mr. Waller has spared no pains to give an exact text. The pictorial designs given as headpieces to the poems are reproduced with the title-pages of his volumes. The edition is indispensable for every one who wishes to study one of the great religious poets of the early part of the seventeenth century. A few facts of Crashaw's life might have been added as a guide to young students.

Noctes Ambrosianae. By John Wilson (Christopher North). Abridged by Joanna Scott Moncrieff, with an Introduction by J. H. Millar. (Isbister & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Messrs. Isbister have done wisely to add these famous papers to their 'Standard Abridgements.' Here, at least, the part is more than the whole. Many will be tempted by a single volume who would fear to venture on the *Noctes* unabridged. The reader of this selection will be well repaid. The Scotch dialect may frighten some, and the padding is not always helpful, but there are gems of expression and beauties of thought which are a rich reward. We have noted with special pleasure the description of hope as 'a shower o' sunbeams'; the touch about the sight of a primrose being like the sound of a prayer; the little piece about resignation: 'A Christian can bear onything; for ae moment's thocht, during his repining, tells him whence the affliction comes—and then sorrow saftens awa' into resignation, and delight steals into the heart o' the maist desolate.' The Introduction, Glossary, and Notes are of real value.

Mr. Dent has added *The Resolves of Owen Feltham* (1*s.* 6*d.* net) to his 'Temple Classics.' It is a reprint of the edition of 1628, edited, with notes and index, by Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, M.A. All that we miss is a little biographical sketch. The *Resolves* themselves are full of insight, and are expressed in clear, short sentences, which make us forget that the writing is nearly three centuries old. Many readers will feel that they have discovered a new mine of pure gold. 'It cannot be safe to insult over any. As there is no creature so little but may do us mischief; so is no man so low but may occasion our smart. The spider can impoison; the ant can sting; even the fly can trouble our patience.'

The Astolat Press publish a dainty edition of Keble's *Christian Year* (3*s.* net) in white art linen covers. The type is very clear, and the rough paper and broad margins add much to the beauty of a singularly attractive volume.

Mr. Newnes's 'Thin Paper Classics' are always eagerly welcomed by lovers of a beautiful edition, and *The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (two vols., 7*s.* net) deserve the honour put on them by insertion in this series. Mr. E. J. Sullivan's photogravures of the poetess are really exquisite, and the limp lambskin covers are very dainty. It is a perfect edition, which cannot fail to have large popularity.

The Poems of George Wither have been added to Newnes's 'Pocket Classics' (2*s.* 6*d.* net). The volume appeals to all who love true poetry, and, though it is sometimes harsh and obscure, it has a sense of beauty and a felicity of expression which will always secure it eager readers. This is a beautiful little book.

Mr. Newnes has added Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* to his 'Pocket Classics' (2*s.* 6*d.* net). It makes a most tempting volume with its limp lambskin covers, and it has a fine photogravure portrait. The work itself is one of Defoe's triumphs. The horrors of 1665 have never been portrayed with such a master hand, and many will be thankful to have an opportunity of securing such an edition as this. It leaves nothing to be desired.

The Queen's Quair; or, The Six Years' Tragedy, by Maurice Hewlett (Macmillan & Co., 6*s.*), is a story of those first years after her return from France, by which Mary Queen of Scots outraged her people and prepared her own way to the scaffold. The murders of David Rizzio and of Lord Darnley are the pivots round

which the tale revolves, and Mary has found a painter who knows how to bring out the light and shade of her character. The grossness manifest in not a few passages of the tale is perhaps true to life in this instance, but it does not allow one to commend the book for family reading. There is undoubted power and much beautiful writing, but every friend of Mary's will feel that the description of her mad behaviour with Bothwell is something like an outrage. The book is well described as 'The Six Years' Tragedy.' If Mr. Hewlett is a true painter, the Queen richly deserved her fate.

The Last Hope. By Henry Seton Merriman. (Smith, Elder, & Co. 6*s*.)

Mr. Merriman's reputation had been steadily rising during the last few years, and his early death has been a sensible loss to English fiction. *The Last Hope* deals with a plot of the French Royalists, who profess to find Marie Antoinette's grandson in an East Anglian fishing village. Loo Barebone is a manly fellow, and the story of his adventures is told with Mr. Merriman's accustomed vigour, and with that conscientious study of local conditions which has won his work such favour with intelligent readers. There is some unreality about the history of such a Royalist plot, and even Mr. Merriman cannot escape this disadvantage; but his story will be read with real pleasure and with unfeigned regret for the loss of a great literary craftsman.

The Life and Adventures of Rupert Calderford. By Mardale. (Walter Scott Publishing Co. 6*s*.)

Rupert Calderford is a viscount's grandson, brought up in expectation of a peerage and £20,000 a year. When the will is read he finds that Lord Stinnington has left all his fortune to the eldest of his three grandchildren. The old peer had quarrelled with his children, and exerted his ingenuity in contriving a will that would make his descendants squander all their fortune on litigation. How they suffer, and how the knot is untied, is the burden of this book. Rupert marries his cousin, and all ends happily. The story is well told, despite some incongruities, and the two cousins deserve the good fortune which comes to them so richly at last. Some of the minor characters are also very well drawn, especially Mr. Rupert's friend; the lawyer, Mr. Gascoigne; and Bessie, the milliner. Bessie's Australian lover and his proposal add a welcome gleam to the last pages.

The Ragged Messenger. By W. B. Maxwell. (Grant Richards. 6*s.*)

This is a wild and strange book. Its hero, the Rev. John Morton, is known as 'the mad parson,' and, though he has much of the old prophet in him, he is evidently an epileptic of the most dangerous kind. He becomes master of ten millions sterling by the death of a relative, and uses it to build a refuge for fallen women and a hospital; but his marriage and the tragedy of his death, the description of his dreams and doings as a youth, are odd stuff for a story like this. It is one of the strangest and most improbable tales we have ever read.

Peaceable Fruit. By Cranstoun Metcalfe. (Melrose. 6*s.*)

Two brothers love the same girl. Hugh Larkom finds that Charles has won Nellie Miller's heart, and he sacrifices himself to secure her happiness in a way that is more than heroic. Charles is saved, though Hugh goes to prison for his brother's crime, and loses his eyesight in rescuing his little niece from the fire caused by his drunken brother. The story is a picture of village life, pathetic and tender, full of quiet strength. Hugh is a noble-hearted man with a poet's soul. He wins the love and honour of all his neighbours, and he richly deserves them.

The Crossing. By Winston Churchill. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s.*)

This description of the conquest of Kentucky and Tennessee by the American pioneers is almost worthy to rank as history. The little drummer-boy, who plays so prominent a part in Colonel Clark's campaign which gave Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to the Republic, is a delightful creation. He wins a noble wife in Madame la Vicomtesse, though we hear rather too little about his marriage and the marriage of his cousin, Nick Temple. Life on the Mississippi and in New Orleans, the terrors of the long warfare with the Indians, and the hardships of the pioneers, are described in a way that makes this book a living picture of a great epoch in American history. It will sustain and increase Mr. Churchill's reputation.

Stella's Pathway, by E. L. Davies (R.T.S.), is the first in a series of handsome half-crown volumes, entitled 'The Girl's Library.' It

is not high art, but it is a pleasant tale, bright and helpful. Stella wins wide popularity as an evangelist and temperance worker; but her chief blessing comes when she wins the heart of Hugh Latimer, the brilliant young doctor. Girls will relish this story.

John Strong the Boaster, and other pithy papers, by Old Humphrey (R.T.S., 2*s*.). These papers well deserve republication. They have a delicious spice of humour, and good lessons are aptly taught in these homely tales. Every cottage will welcome such a teacher as Old Humphrey.

Mr. T. F. Unwin is publishing a new popular edition of the works of Mark Rutherford at the very low price of 1*s*. net per volume. They are crown 8vo, neatly bound in cloth gilt. The four famous stories, *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford; Mark Rutherford's Deliverance; The Revolution in Tanner's Lane;* and *Catharine Furze*, with *Miriam's Schooling*, are now ready. Much light is thrown by these books on the position of Dissent a century ago, and on the political plotting of the time. The struggles of an inquiring mind after truth are also forcibly brought out. Many will be glad to get an opportunity of re-reading stories which have enjoyed such popularity and are recognized masterpieces of literary art.

Messrs. Collins's '"Handy" Illustrated Pocket Novels' should not be overlooked by those who want cheap and attractive pocket editions. The volumes are 6¼ by 4 inches, the type is bold and well leaded, the illustrations are excellent. The price is astonishingly low. For 1*s*. net the books can be had in maroon silk cloth, with round corners; for another shilling they can be bound in long grain roan, limp, red under gilt edges; and for 3*s*. in half-crushed Levant morocco, art linen sides. The *David Copperfield*, *Great Expectations*, *Mill on the Floss*, and *Kenilworth* are editions which it is a pleasure to read and to handle.

Messrs. Nelson & Sons have added *Great Expectations* (2*s*. net) to their 'New Century Library.' It is an attractive edition, in neat embossed covers. The India paper enables the publishers to use a bold type, which it is a pleasure to read. The volume can easily be slipped in the pocket. The 'New Century Library' is a great boon.

Mr. Kelly publishes new editions of *Methodist Idylls* and *More Methodist Idylls* (3*s*. 6*d*. each), by Harry Lindsay, which ought to have a large sale. They are really first-rate stories, true to life, with

many a touch of pathos and of humour. Such tales are likely to make every reader more charitable and more tender-hearted.

Messrs. Bell have added Coleridge's *Friend* to their 'York Library' (*2s.* net). The weekly essays were intended to aid in the formation of fixed principles in politics, morals, and religion, 'with literary amusements interspersed.' Coleridge drew on his reading and observation for these essays, and they give a wonderful view of his philosophy of life. Such an edition will be a great boon to many.

The S.P.C.K. publish two new penny monthlies, which ought to be in great demand. *The Dawn of Day* is well edited, and its contents are varied and very attractive. It is issued in two sizes. The octavo edition has specially clear type. *Golden Sunbeams* will delight small children.

'The Florin Series,' published by the Oxford University Press (*2s.*), will be much appreciated by those who want cheap and neat editions. The *Longfellow* has 878 double-column pages, with a good portrait. The type is bold and clear, and the binding is strong and tasteful, suitable for the library, for presentation, or for school use. The books can be had in more expensive bindings or on India paper. It is a series that is bound to be popular.

Messrs. Newnes's sixpenny edition of *Helbeck of Bannisdale* is a marvel of cheapness, with its 206 double-column pages, and eight full-page illustrations by A. Sharpick. The story ought to gain a new circle of readers, and it will not fail to secure their eager interest.

Messrs. Chatto & Windus publish a three and sixpenny edition of *The Alabaster Box*, one of Sir Walter Besant's East-End Settlement stories. The money-lender's son has a rough time when he learns how his father has amassed his wealth, but he bears the shock like a man, and good comes to many, and not least to himself, through his sorrow. It is a wholesome story, with a high purpose, and a big heart seems to be beating behind it.

A Garden of Spinsters. By Anne E. Holdsworth (*6s.*). A touch of tender plaintiveness rests on these stories. They are a chronicle of disappointments—

> The little less and how much away;

but the tales are so graceful, so human, so full of insight, that one

lingers over them with delight. Here is a true picture of life from one side, and Mrs. Lee-Hamilton knows how to paint it.

Messrs. Bell & Sons publish a neat edition of *Cecilia*, by Fanny Burney (two vols., 2*s.* net each), in their 'York Library.' It is the 'Memoirs of an Heiress,' and no better picture could be found of the manners of the time. The story is well worth reading, and it never fails to hold attention, though the Delville family and their prejudices get on our nerves. It is a distinct advance on *Evelina*, more skilfully constructed and more natural.

John Dicks's 'Threepenny Standard Library' provides complete works of fiction by such authors as Fenimore Cooper, Captain Marryat, Victor Hugo, and Douglas Jerrold. The publisher's aim is to put within reach of those who cannot afford expensive books, healthy stories full of incident, pathos, or humour, and he has certainly made a promising beginning.

Latour's New Course of French (3 Coates Crescent, Edinburgh, 2*s.* net) is based on Gouin's Method made etymological and grammatical. It is likely to be of real service to students who have not the advantage of a teacher, and its guide to pronunciation is specially helpful.

The Eighty Club Year-Book, 1904 (A. & C. Black, 2*s.* 6*d.* net), gives a list of social functions organized by the Club, with election returns since 1895, lists of members, presidents of Liberal associations, and some important political speeches of the year. It is a very neat volume, and excellently adapted to the needs of its constituents.

Faraday's *Chemical History of a Candle* has been added to the 'Unit Library' (6*d.* net). It is a delightful bit of science for children, delivered at the Royal Institution in 1861, and it has not lost any of its charm.

VI. ART AND TRAVEL.

The Gems of the East: Sixteen Thousand Miles of Research-Travel among Wild and Tame Tribes of Enchanting Islands. By A. Henry Savage Landor. With numerous Illustrations, Diagrams, &c., by the Author. In Two Volumes. (London: Macmillan & Co. 30*s.* net.)

THESE volumes of travel in the Philippine and Sulu archipelagoes greatly enlarge our knowledge of these interesting islands, which have now become the property of the United States. Mr. Savage Landor travelled through the length and breadth of them, visiting many of the more important groups, studying the ways of the people, who are of various races, civilized and savage, their languages, and their systems of tribal rule and religion. He gives us graphic pictures of the exquisite scenery amidst which he moved. These islands are a paradise of natural beauty and fertility. Under Spanish control little was done to develop material resources; and less to improve the condition of the natives, who were left to superstition and to ignorance. We may hope that the more enlightened rule of our Protestant kinsmen across the Atlantic will stimulate progress in all directions—in the cultivation of the land, in the education of the people, in the suppression of the tyranny of petty chieftains, and of piracy in the tortuous channels that run between the islands, and in the general uplifting of the inhabitants. It will be a worthy task for a great nation to give to these races—some of which, Mr. Savage Landor tells us, are characterized by noble traits of kindliness and good sense and courage; others of which are steeped in all that is debasing, and are as low in intelligence and morality as men could well be—the priceless blessings of equitable and stable government, of industry, and of liberty and religion.

We do not like the title, *The Gems of the East*, because of its vagueness; but the book itself is a mine of information concerning these archipelagoes. It displays minute observation and careful tabulation. Nothing appears to escape the genial traveller.

Everything interests him; and his gracious, optimistic way of looking at men and things, and his homely unstilted style of writing, make his pages pleasant reading. Perhaps compression here and there would have leaned to virtue's side and to mercy's, considering that few of us, in these busy days, have leisure enough to read nearly 800 pages even of a fresh book of travel. The illustrations, mainly reproductions of photographs, are of real value in throwing light upon the text, as well as because of intrinsic excellence.

R. C. C.

A Norwegian Ramble (Putnam's Sons, 3*s.* 6*d.* net) is intended to show the many attractions Norway offers to those who appreciate natural scenery and wish to get real rest in their summer holiday. The writer and his companion travelled across the south-western part of the country, finding splendid fare in the restful inns, and charmed with the lovely waterfalls, the inland seas, and the wild fields. The wealth of brilliant colour can scarcely be matched anywhere else. The description of the hay-making shows with what minute care every scrap of grass is cut. The cows are sent to higher latitudes in summer, as the grass is too valuable to be used for pasture. In September the cows come back to their farms by steamer. The description of the little steamer collecting a Sunday congregation and towing the boats of farmers to church is very interesting. The book is brightly written, and will be read with real pleasure. Its pictures are just what one needs to understand the delights of such a tour.

Near Oxford, by the Rev. H. T. Inman, M.A. (Oxford: Alden & Co., 1*s.* net; library edition, 2*s.* 6*d.* net), is a guide to the history and architecture of more than a hundred places within fifteen miles of Oxford. It is a companion to Alden's famous *Oxford Guide*, and has a map and numerous illustrations, many of which have been taken specially for this work. The appendix with its notes on domestic architecture, coloured glass, armour, and brasses; the table to show the chief features of the various architectural periods; and the glossary of architectural terms, will be of great service to the tourist. The descriptive notes on each place are very well done. The account of South Leigh Church, where John Wesley preached his first sermon, is excellent, and it will astonish many readers of these notes to see what a wealth of interest there is all round Oxford. The book is sure to be popular.

The Cathedral Church of Bayeux and other Historical Relics in its Neighbourhood. By the Rev. R. S. Mylne. (London: George Bell & Sons. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

There are more magnificent churches in France than Bayeux Cathedral, but there is none in which the two great styles of French architecture are more gracefully blended. In the nave the Gothic clerestory is fitted on to the bold Norman arcading below with exquisite skill. 'Each is kept distinct, for the lines of the piers do not run through from the vault to the floor, yet there is no incongruous contrast—on the contrary, the later Gothic work, in itself supremely elegant, seems to grow quite naturally out of the rude Norman work that lies underneath.' The position and surroundings of the cathedral are delightful. There are no small and unworthy buildings to destroy the effect. The view from the south-east is superb. The carving of the foliage and the figures on the arch of the south transept doorway is one of the most charming features of the cathedral. The *Lanterne des Morts* had a light placed in it on the death of any worthy citizen. Mr. Mylne has given us a little book of great interest.

A Westmoreland Village, by S. H. Scott (Constable & Co., 3*s.* 6*d.*), is a study of Troutbeck by Windermere, centring round the statesman family of Browne, who have been settled at Townend from the fifteenth century or even earlier. Mr. Scott does not favour the derivation of 'statesman' from 'estatesman,' but is inclined to connect it with 'stead' or place. The home of the Brownes is 'a veritable delight for the antiquary—old furniture, old books, old household utensils are here; and, above all, the collection of manuscripts dating from the early years of the sixteenth century onwards, from which we have quoted extracts. The charm of these things is that they are all in the place to which they belong, with their proper surroundings.' Mr. Scott has much to tell of the sports of the district, of the old people and their ways, of the hardy Herdwick sheep which can thrive where even the blackfaced sheep of the Highlands would starve. 'No stone will keep it within bounds, for it can jump an extraordinary height, but it clings to its own "heaf" or tract of pasture on the unenclosed fells.' The life of farm servants in the early years of Queen Elizabeth is seen from a list of wages and a detailed account of the hours of work. The book is a really good and useful study of local conditions in one of the most interesting corners of the North Country.

Belgian Life in Town and Country, by Demetrius C. Boulger (Newnes, 3*s.* 6*d.* net), gives in brief compass a full account of Belgian life not only in Brussels, but in Antwerp and in the country. The most painful part of the book is the description of the coal-miners in the Borinage. Immorality is general and widespread; the only amusement of the people is to drink and get drunk. It is a terrible picture. The Belgians have a bracing climate, and the activity with which the young women hasten through the streets on their errands is very striking. The men saunter over their outdoor duties. Work begins early, and in Brussels the electric trams make it easy for those who live in the suburbs to get to business. The ambition of every Belgian is to possess his own house, and great pride is taken in furnishing the best rooms. Mr. Boulger gives an excellent account of social and political life in this bright and instructive volume.

Raphael. (London: George Newnes. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The introductory sketch to this Raphael Gallery is written by Mr. Edgcumbe Staley, who gives the facts of the painter's birth and early training and of four fruitful years in Florence spent in 'the midst of a strenuous city full of giants in mind and body.' Thence he passed to Rome, where he began to work in the Vatican at the end of 1508. He had now found his great opportunity. 'Brain and hand were set hard at work. Advice and counsel were sought from old Urbino friends settled at Rome.' His popularity rapidly increased, and commissions were thrust upon him from all quarters. Mr. Staley gives an admirable summary of the painter's work, with a list of the chief paintings and their present custodians. The sixty-five full-page illustrations in monochrome have been carefully selected and well reproduced. The size of the volumes is well adapted for such an art gallery, and the quarter vellum binding, with artistic paper sides, is just what one likes best.

Leonardo da Vinci. By Edward M'Curdy, M.A. (London: Bell & Sons. 5*s.* net.)

Vasari predicted that 'by his many surpassing gifts, even though he said much more than he did,' Leonardo's 'name and fame will never be extinguished.' He left much of his best work unfinished. Mr. M'Curdy says he was 'impatient of painting. He never shared the artist's complete absorption. He had always, in thought at any rate, wandered between the two worlds.' He was

not only an artist, but a scientist, a theorist, a constructor. The ambitions of courts, the strife for place and power passed him by; he lived with the visions of his brain, 'ever the artist striving to create, the student striving to know.' Mr. M'Curdy shows what infinite pains this most versatile genius of the Renaissance took in working out his ideas. He 'never reached the perilous height of satisfaction with his work. It was always unfinished.' The head of Christ in his fresco of the Last Supper was left unfinished because he could not rise to his conception of the greatness of his theme. This careful study will be much appreciated by every lover of art.

Messrs. Dulau publish Baedeker's *Italy from the Alps to Naples* (8*s.*), with twenty-six maps and forty-four plans. It is the most compact of guide-books, and a wonderful amount of matter is compressed into its 420 pages. Particulars are given as to trams and their distinguishing marks; buyers and readers will find lists of shops at which they can make their purchases. Bicyclists will be pleased to see that they are not forgotten. A scheme for a fortnight's visit is given, which will be found very helpful. The sketch of Roman history is exactly what a tourist needs to have in his guide-book. It has a glossary of art terms, a list of artists, and, not less useful, the names of dishes at the restaurants. Nothing could be clearer and more satisfactory than the plans and maps. The handbook has been compiled from the three more detailed volumes for Northern, Central, and Southern Italy, and is intended especially for those who can only stay four or five weeks in Italy. Such tourists can find no better handbook.

The *Thorough Guide to the Isle of Wight* (Dulau & Co., 2*s.* 6*d.*) is a very light and handy volume, with a splendid set of maps and every fact of interest about the island. Walks and excursions are planned out, and hints given as to the best way of reaching points of interest.

Messrs. Ward, Lock, & Co.'s Shilling Guides are the most compact and the cheapest handbooks that a tourist can find. The maps are excellent, and so are the illustrations. Every detail shows with what care the information has been gathered together. The four new editions for Norway, Oban, The English Lake District, and The Isle of Wight, seem to contain everything that a holiday maker wants, and all is put in the most convenient form.

Such guides will add zest and interest to the holiday of every one who uses them.

London of To-day, by C. E. Pascoe (Jarrold & Sons, 1*s.* net), is a brightly written sketch with abundant information as to lodgings, hotels, places of amusement, and the sights of the city. It has a chapter on 'Sights not always seen,' which contains some good hints for the tourist. It is a readable and reliable guide, and its illustrations are just what a tourist will appreciate.

Messrs. Dulau & Co. publish a sixth edition of their *Thorough Guide to North Wales* (Part II., 2*s.* 6*d.* net). It has been prepared by two well-tried experts, Mr. Baddeley and Mr. Ward, and at whatever point it is tested it will be found full and reliable. Everything is put into the best shape for convenience in use, and the sixteen maps and plans are Mr. Bartholomew's work. They leave nothing to be desired. The district described is the southern half of North Wales. The guide is certainly 'thorough' in every respect.

Haddon Hall. By F. H. Cheetham. (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a very full and exact description of Haddon Hall and its successive masters. It is not intended as a technical monograph, but seeks to supply visitors with an accurate and well-illustrated guide-book. The writer has gathered together much information from reliable sources, and has presented it in a pleasant form. The illustrations are really good. It is a first-rate piece of work, which visitors to Haddon Hall will find of great service.

Messrs. Walker & Co. have just issued a thirteenth edition of their *Pocket Atlas of the World*, by J. G. Bartholomew (2*s.* 6*d.* net). Seventy-two new plates have been added without increasing the bulk of the dainty little volume. The text has been rewritten, and the maps thoroughly revised to date. It is a wonder of compactness and of completeness; its maps are works of art, and its statistical tables will be most useful. Altogether it is a geographical treasure.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS.

Traces of Norse Mythology in the Isle of Man. By P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A. (London: Bemrose & Sons. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

In this scholarly treatise—all too brief—Mr. Kermode, who is an expert in Manx antiquarian lore, shows, in the fine illustrations of richly sculptured crosses remaining in the Isle of Man, as well as in his explanatory text, how the later Viking mythology took its final form under the hands of a few gifted poets of mixed Scandinavian and Celtic descent. He also points out how it is only in the Isle of Man, and in the country lying between the Solway Firth and the Ribble, that this later Viking faith is found depicted in Christian sculptured stories of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. We see in these strange figures how, gradually, the Cross dominated and eliminated the Viking religion, notwithstanding that the latter, in its death-grapple, sought to fasten itself on the new rising faith. Commenting on a fragment of a cross, remarkably sculptured with heathen symbols, from Kirkandrews, Mr. Kermode says, 'Not only have we here the end of Odin, but the end of the old gods, of the old beliefs. Turn we now to the other face of the stone, and what do we behold?

> Then there shall come One yet mightier,
> Though Him I dare not name.

So far the sibyl; and our sculptor figures a man, belted, in his right hand a cross, in his left a book. He treads upon adders and knotted worms. The front is a fish, without doubt the Christian symbol—ἰχθύς. Christ has overcome the powers of evil, and He now reigns in Odin's stead.' This delightful study throws fresh light on the early triumphs of our precious faith in these lands.

R. C. C.

The Natural History of Some Common Animals. By Oswald H. Latter, M.A., Senior Science Master at Charterhouse, formerly Tutor at Keble College, Oxford. (Cambridge University Press. 5*s.*)

This is a recent volume of the Cambridge Biological Series, and it combines exact knowledge with lucid exposition. It deals

with the natural history of the larger of the animals which, in elementary courses of biology, usually serve as types of animal structure; at the same time extending its scope, and bringing forward the phenomena of metamorphosis, by including the interesting life-histories of creatures like the dragon-fly and the wasp, which, as a rule, do not find a place in such courses. From the dreariness of educational scientific manuals, in which structure is divorced from function, we are delivered by the fact that each animal is presented as a *living* thing, 'a machine of whose wonderful parts and workings we have obtained some little knowledge, but concerning which there is yet much to be ascertained.'

There are valuable appendices, containing lists and diagnoses of related species, to assist the studies of persons who have a desire for further acquaintance with the subjects so ably treated in this volume. While technical knowledge of anatomy would enable the reader the better to appreciate the significance of the conclusions here set forth, yet the exposition is so excellently done that those who have but little scientific training will find Mr. Latter's book at once intelligible and attractive. The illustrations, which are numerous, display accuracy and skill, and are of great service to the reader. The chapters on earthworms and leeches, on the crayfish, on the fresh-water mussel, and especially on the dragon-fly and the wasps, are of fascinating interest. All lovers of nature in quest of tested information should add this delightful volume to their libraries. R. C. C.

The Natural History of Animals. By J. R. Ainsworth Davis, M.A. Half-Volume vii. (London: Gresham Publishing Co. *7s.* net.)

This part of Professor Davis's standard work deals with the nervous system and sense-organs; animal instinct and intelligence; association of organisms and utilitarian zoology. The four coloured plates are finely reproduced, and the list of black-and-white illustrations fills six columns. The chapter on 'Courtship and Mating' brings together a large number of interesting facts about the law of battle and the law of beauty, which play a prominent part in some animal courtships. These laws are traced among birds, fishes, insects, and reptiles. 'During the spawning season a number of male fishes are very pugnacious, fighting one another on the least provocation. At the time when salmon make their annual ascent of rivers the lower jaw of the mature male grows out into a sort

of hook, which is supposed to serve as a protection against the furious charges of his rivals, while at the same time his teeth become long and sharp, being frequently over half an inch in length. Two males have been observed fighting together a whole day, and the mortality is often considerable.' Utilitarian zoology is another good subject, which is treated under the divisions: animal friends, animals as a source of food, domestication, domesticated animals. The book is very pleasant to read, and every lover of natural history will find it a never-failing source of delight and instruction.

Ross's Telescope of Wesleyan Methodism in the Newcastle-on-Tyne District (Kelly, 2*s.* net) is a further development of the *Telescope of England* issued a year ago. It is history that appeals to the eye, and of which the salient features may be caught at a glance. The membership for the century can be traced in its steady ascent from year to year, and the procession of Chairmen of the District seen. The Rev. E. J. Brailsford held that place of honour for six years, a year longer than any Chairman of that District for the century. The income for Home and Foreign Missions is shown in a novel way. The origin of each Circuit in the District is indicated, and portraits of the Presidents of the Newcastle Conference brighten the stretch of figures. It is a wonderful piece of work, and we hope Mr. Ross may be encouraged to do similar service for every other District. It is not easy to do justice to the ingenuity and the industry involved in the preparation of this novel *Telescope*.

Nouveau Dictionnaire. Anglais-Français and Français-Anglais. (Paris: Garnier Frères. 4*s.*)

Professor M'Laughlin of the Paris Commercial Institute and the Collége Sainte-Barbe has based the English part of the work on the *Little Dictionary* of E. Clifton, which has had great success as a pocket dictionary for the last forty years. It has been completely recast and is twice the size of that work; the pronunciation of every word is given, with a table of irregular verbs and lists of moneys, weights, and measures. The French-English Dictionary is based on the work of E. Clifton and Grimaux, which has been a mine for all dictionary makers during the last thirty years. The guide to pronunciation is a great help to an English student. The volume is portable, even when both parts are bound together, and it is full and exact. Students will not find a more workmanlike dictionary than this, and the type is admirably clear.