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FAITH: A BIBLE STUDY

THERE are certain great ruling words of Scripture in which its truths and teachings are focussed, such as God, the Soul, Sin, Holiness, Atonement, Faith. The student who understands these words and has worked out for himself their history and implications, has grasped the plan and progress of revelation in the Bible; he has become a theologian. Each of these terms has a being and a story of its own. One feels in handling them, with Luther, that 'words are living things, and have hands and feet'; that, as the Supreme Word said of His own utterances, 'they are spirit, and they are life.'

In our own tongue Faith has a pedigree which deserves a moment's notice, before we examine its biblical origins. Its source was the Latin *fides*, that has given us more directly the terms *fidelity*, *confide*, *perfidious*, and their kindred; and its channel was the Norman-French, which came over with the Conqueror. The invader *faith* wedded itself to the native English verb *believe*, ousting the old noun *belief*, which modern English has retained for a secondary use, employing it, curiously, to denote an intellectual assent or speculative opinion, in distinction from the active ethical conviction for which *faith* stands. This present-day usage is con-

trary to etymology; for *belief* and *believe* come from the root contained in *lief* and *love*, and are both, therefore, by their derivation words of the heart. The noun 'belief' is found only in one passage of the Authorised Version, another being added by the Revisers, where the sentence turns upon the correspondence of noun and verb, and for this reason 'faith' is set aside, viz. in Rom. x. 16, 17 ('Isaiah saith, Lord, who hath believed our report? So belief cometh of hearing'), and 2 Thess. ii. 13 ('God chose you from the beginning unto salvation, in sanctification of spirit[1] and belief of the truth'). English shares with Latin (*fides—credere*) and French (*foi—croire*) the disadvantage of having its noun and verb—*faith* and *believe*—etymologically severed, while in Greek and German they are one—*pistis—pisteuō, Glaube—glauben*. But there is compensation for this severance in the noble ancestry of Faith; the new term has brought over with it associations of personal honour, and of the mutual loyalty attaching to the pledged word, that distinctly enrich its significance for English religious life.

I. Coming now to the Old Testament, we are confronted with the fact that the word *faith*, which in the New Testament is the normal expression for the religious bond, according to the English Concordance, figures there but twice—in Deut. xxxii. 20, and Hab. ii. 4; and both these instances are ambiguous. This rarity of occurrence is discounted by the poverty of Hebrew in abstract nouns; one must judge by the verb, not the noun, of the place which the idea held in the religious speech of Israel. Now 'believe' occurs forty-four times in the Old Testament books, in two-thirds of these instances

[1] R.V., after A.V., 'sanctification of the Spirit,' although the article is wanting before *pneuma* in the Greek. This omission might be accounted for; but the parallelism of the two adverbial clauses, and the analogy of 1 Thess. v. 23, point to the rendering given above, which makes the human 'spirit' the object of the 'sanctification,' wherein God's election manifests itself. This was the interpretation followed by the late Dr. W. F. Moulton, commending itself to his fine grammatical sense.

bearing reference to God and His word or action. Even so, it is manifest that faith had not under the Old Covenant acquired the commanding and central place it holds in Christianity; we are here, as St. Paul expressed it, in the times 'before faith came' (Gal. iii. 23), before faith came to its rights and exhibited its full scope and power in human nature.

The basis of the Hebrew verb rendered 'believe' is preserved by the Church unchanged in the word *Amen; firmness, fixedness, reliableness* is its radical notion, and 'to believe' signified in the Old Testament 'to hold fast' to anything or anybody, 'to count for certain' upon that to which one gives credence. Like most Old Testament terms of religious experience, this word is thoroughly objective. Careless of his own frames and feelings, the Israelite throws himself on the grand reality of God; when he says 'I believe,' he means, 'I hold to it that things are so,' 'I grasp the fact and my soul affirms it'; his verb for 'believing' has its counterpart in God's great title of 'the Rock of Israel.' The abstract noun derived from the root *amen* signifies commonly, not *faith*, but *faithfulness, steadfastness, truth* of character; with this sense it is ascribed to Jehovah Himself, as parallel to *righteousness* and associated with *promise* and covenant. It is significant that more than half the Old Testament examples of the verb—in Exodus, Deuteronomy, and the Psalms—refer to faith or unbelief in the mission of Moses and in Jehovah's redemptive acts at the foundation of the national Covenant.

Distinct from these references, and of peculiar interest in themselves, are the three faith-passages which St. Paul has cited in vindication of his doctrine of salvation, viz. Gen. xv. 6, Isa. xxviii. 16, and Hab. ii. 4. Of this trio of texts the first is discussed also by St. James, in his peculiar fashion; the second, the Isaianic oracle, St. Peter uses in his First Epistle; and the Habakkuk watchword is taken up by the great thinker who wrote the Letter to the Hebrews. It was with a sound instinct

that the New Testament teachers seized on these three sayings, which mark the cardinal significance of faith, as this came out at salient points in the history of Israel.

(1) At the head of the above axioms stands Gen. xv. 6, the text upon which, in Rom. iv. and Gal. iii., the Apostle Paul suspends his doctrine of a universal justification by faith: 'And Abraham believed Jehovah, and He counted it to him for righteousness,'—a crucial passage in Jewish controversies of the time. St. Paul recognized in Abraham the exemplar of personal religion—'the first true type of the religious man' (A. P. Stanley)—antedating the legal system; what he finds in the father of the faithful is not the legalism of the Jew, but *the faith of the man*, who puts himself in vital relations with God by simply 'believing' Him, by taking Him at His word. That saying supplies the key to the patriarch's character and historical position; his hearty, trustful response to the Almighty's word of promise made Abraham the man he was, made him all that he has become to Israel and humanity; 'the men of faith,' of whatever race, are his 'sons' (see Gal. iii. 6–9). St. James seizes on Abraham's faith at a more developed stage, when it proved its inner life and power by the sacrifice of Isaac; the 'works' which, according to James's theology, 'justified our father Abraham,' are the demonstration of faith; the 'works of law' that, according to Paul's theology, bring a curse on their doer, are the antithesis to faith.

(2) The second of St. Paul's Old Testament proof-texts is quoted from Isa. xxviii. 16, being adduced in Rom. ix. 33 to explain the failure of contemporary Israel to attain God's righteousness: 'because,' says he, 'they sought it not by faith, but as though it could be won by works. They stumbled at *the stone of stumbling*, even as it is written, Behold, I lay in Zion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence; and he that believeth on Him shall not be put to shame.'[1] Two passages of

[1] St. Paul, at the end of the verse, adopts the Septuagint phrasing, where the English Version of Isa. xxviii. 16 reads, 'shall not make haste'

the prophet are blended here, as they are again in 1 Pet. ii. 6–8; for the 'stone of foundation' on which the promise to 'believing' Israel is grounded in chapter xxviii. of the prophet, the apostle substitutes the 'stone of stumbling and rock of offence' of Isa. viii. 14, 15—the stone which the same prophet at this earlier time had seen lying in the way of 'both the houses of Israel.' The identity of the two stones was, unquestionably, in Isaiah's mind; at the back of both his oracles, of chapter viii. and xxviii., lies the warning addressed to the sceptical King Ahaz in Isa. vii. 9: 'If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established'—an untranslatable epigram in the original, *'im lo' tha'aminu, ki lo' the'āmēnu:* 'If you will not hold fast, you shall have no hold-fast!' in other words, 'No fealty, no safety!' 'No faith, no future!' For the prophets of the Old and New Testament in turn, the word of Jehovah, i.e. the revealed character and being of God, is the rock on which the nation, or the individual man, age after age, must found—or founder! At the rock of Israel (to vary Isaiah's figure) the ship of human life will have to anchor—or split! Such was the law of faith long ago proclaimed by Isaiah. The national Israel, alas! was blindly shattering itself, as it had done seven centuries before, upon 'the rock' athwart its path, which was set there to be its shelter and the foundation of its better life. The apostles Peter and Paul see the tragedy of Isaiah's day repeated even more disastrously in their own.

(3) On none of his Old Testament quotations does St. Paul lay so much stress as on the sentence of Hab. ii. 4 (see Rom. i. 17, and Gal. iii. 11): 'Behold, his soul [that of the Chaldæan tyrant] is puffed up' [or as some render it, 'is perverse'] 'in him; but the just (the righteous Israel) shall live by his faith.' The apostle's argument on the text is, no doubt, open to verbal

(scil. *in flight*), according to the Received Hebrew text. The Greek translators, seemingly, had followed a variant Hebrew reading. But this point is not material to the apostle's application of the passage.

objection; the Hebrew *'amundh* presumably means *faithfulness, constancy*, in Habakkuk as elsewhere. But then, in the given situation, *faithfulness* presupposes *faith;* the steadfast adherence throughout the Chaldæan oppression to Jehovah's word begins with a trustful acceptance of that word communicated in this very oracle—the word which the prophet himself as representing the believing Israel, after his struggle with doubt and his challenge to Jehovah (chapter i. 2–ii. 1), receives and communicates in the power of his reanimated faith. It was not from the bare word *'amunah*, with its Septuagint rendering *pistis*, but from the experience of the prophet supplied by the context, and from the whole crisis at which Habakkuk stood, that the apostle drew his profound interpretation. He discovers, by Habakkuk's help, in faith the root of righteousness, in man's trustful acceptance of the Almighty's promise the spring of all regenerating forces; he sees in the sinner's hand that clasps God's outreached hand of grace, the channel along which salvation flows. Here is supplied the chain and grappling-anchor by which the soul, drifting to ruin, lays hold of eternal life. Paul, if he seems to have strained Habakkuk's language in the New Testament adaptation, has plucked out the heart of his thought.

The three texts we have discussed, which bind by their use the Old and New Covenants into one, may be said to set forth faith in its ethical, historical, and soteriological aspects; in its significance for the man, for the nation, and for the world. It is the root of personal character, the basis of stability and progress in the community, and the instrument of salvation for the human race.

The above, with a couple of subsidiary texts from the prophets, along with two or three verses in the Psalter resembling Ps. cxvi. 10 (which is quoted in 2 Cor. iv. 13: 'I believed, and therefore did I speak'), appear to furnish the only Old Testament passages in which the terms 'faith' and 'believe' assume *ipso nomine* the personal value that is of their essence in the New Testament.

The difference of expression covers a deep-lying difference of experience between the men of the old and new times; faith emerges at the summits and in the critical moments of Israel's development, being otherwise latent and beneath the surface. For the redemption of Israel from Egypt lay on the plane of history, and was, therefore, to be 'remembered'; whereas the death and rising of our Lord, though equally historical, lift our thoughts immediately into the region of the spiritual and eternal—they are to be 'believed.' Under the Old Covenant *the people* formed, in all main transactions, the religious unit; the dealings of the individual Israelite with Jehovah were mediated, for the most part, through the sacred institutions. The law laid stress, therefore, on outward and formal *obedience*—described as 'hearing the voice' of Jehovah, 'keeping His statutes,' 'walking in His ways,' rather than upon the inward communion of faith; yet, in requiring that the law shall be fulfilled in *love* to Jehovah, it does implicitly build upon faith. A spiritual religion was in process of formation, operative in the germ and embryo, beneath the protecting husk of the national and legal constitution. This double nature of the Mosaic economy—the heart-religion of faith and love struggling with the formalism of 'the law'—gives much of its deeper interest and pathos to the history of Israel, and accounts for the seeming contradictions in St. Paul's interpretation of the Old Testament: 'the law made nothing perfect' (Heb. vii. 19).

Conscious of its defective and preparatory nature, the pre-Christian revelation staked everything upon the future; it lived and had its being in *hope*. When St. Paul would express to his fellow countrymen, in a word, that which was most precious to himself and to them, he speaks not of 'the faith' but 'the hope of Israel' (Acts xxviii. 20, &c.).[1] Accordingly, Hebrew terms

[1] It is interesting to observe that Philo Judaeus, St. Paul's great contemporary, who is fond of *triads*, names 'hope, repentance, righteousness,' as the three fundamental religious attainments; after these, 'faith, joy, the vision of God,' which constitute, according to Philo's doctrine, the

giving to faith the form of expectancy—*trusting, waiting, looking for* Jehovah—are much commoner than those containing the word 'believe.' Again, the fact that oppression and suffering entered so largely into the life of Israelite believers has coloured their confessions in psalm and prophecy; instead of simply *believing in* Jehovah, they speak of *cleaving to* Him, *taking refuge* under His wings, making Him *a shield, a tower*, and so on. In all this the liveliness of Eastern sentiment and imagination comes into play; and where faith does not come to express recognition and consciousness of itself, in abstraction from other faculties and experiences, it is latent in many concrete forms and appears veiled in dress of various hue.

II. Passing from the Hebrew of Genesis and Isaiah to the Greek of Paul and John, we find ourselves in a new and powerful current of ideas. The New Testament *pistis* and *pisteuō* were terms of every-day use, with a fixed connotation for the Hellenistic ear; their meaning was determined by the fact of their derivation from a root (*pith-*, forming the Greek *peithō*, *I persuade*) which bore the sense of *persuasion*. From this sprang two principal notions, which met in the New Testament conception: (*a*) the ethical notion of *confidence, trust* in a person, his word, promise, &c., and then *mutual trust* or the expression thereof in *troth* or *pledge*—a usage with only a casual application to religion in non-biblical Greek, for the pagan gods did not invite confidence and were not such as to be *trusted* overmuch!—and (*b*) the intellectual notion of *conviction, belief* (in distinction from positive knowledge), covering all the shades of meaning from practical assurance down to conjecture, but always connoting sincerity, a belief held in good faith.

In sense (*b*) *pistis* came into the language of Greek theology, the gods being referred—e.g. by Plutarch, the religious moralist and biographer of the first century—to

higher grade of experience, the state of religious perfection. To the latter point we shall return in the sequel.

the province of *faith*, since they are beyond the reach of sense-perception and dialectic.

(1) In this way faith came to denote *the religious faculty* in the widest sense—a generalization foreign to the Old Testament. Philo Judaeus, the Alexandrian philosopher of Judaism, building like Paul and James upon Gen. xv. 6, takes Abraham for the typical example of faith thus construed. He views faith as the crown of human character, 'the queen of the virtues,' and 'the prize' of the soul's struggles; in its full activity, faith is with Philo a steady intuition of divine things, transcending sense and logic; it is the knowledge that is above knowledge, the consummation of reason, the soul's open and purged eye fixed on God. The broad Hellenistic meaning of the word is conspicuous in Heb. xi. 1, where the writer combines, one may say, the prophetical Israelite import of faith ('the substantiation of things hoped for'), with its Greek philosophical definition ('the proof—or certification—of things not seen'): in other words, 'Faith grasps the promises of God; faith pierces to the unseen.' Plutarch or Plotinus would have been delighted with the *second* of these definitions, and with its illustration in verse 3; the *first* definition, and most of this chapter of Hebrews, they would have treated as Hebrew superstition. The language of St. Paul when he writes, 'We walk by faith, not by appearance' (2 Cor. iv. 18, v. 7), is in keeping with that of Greek philosophical deism.

There is nothing peculiarly Christian about 'faith' taken in the above sense, in the bare significance of seeing the invisible—'the demons *believe*, and shudder'; a 'belief' containing no more is the 'dead faith' which, according to St. James, condemns instead of justifying its possessor. As St. Paul and St. James both saw, from their different standpoints, Abraham, beyond the 'belief that God is,' recognized *what* God is, and yielded Him a loyal trust which carried the whole man with it and determined character and action. The pattern faith of

Abraham included the two disjunct senses of the Greek *pisteuō*—the intuition of God's being, leading to a hearty confidence in God's character and a practical reliance upon His word; from this point of view the distinction of Heb. xi. 6 becomes important: 'He that cometh to God must believe (*b*) that He is, and (*a*) that He is a rewarder of them that seek after Him.'

In this combination lies the rich and powerful import of New Testament 'believing'; it is a spiritual apprehension joined with personal affiance, *the recognition of truth in and the plighting of troth with the Unseen.* In this twofold sense, 'with the heart (the entire inner self) man believeth unto righteousness' (Rom. x. 10). Those penetrated with the spirit of the Old Testament could not use the word *pistis* in relation to God without attaching to it, beside the rational idea of *supersensible apprehension* current in Greek religious thinking, the warmer consciousness of *moral trust and fealty*, which was native to it already in human relationships, and which was exemplified in the heroic characters and achievements of the sacred history.

(2) Contact with Jesus Christ gave to Faith, so formed and disciplined, a vastly increased potency, and lifted it at once to its sovereign place amongst the powers of the spirit. 'Believing' meant to Christ's disciples immensely more than hitherto, since they had Him to believe in; His coming awakened energies of faith dormant in human nature. The *object* drew out the *faculty*. Now 'faith *came*,' for *He* had come, its 'author and perfecter.'

Hence 'believers,' 'they that had believed,' becomes from the outset the standing designation for Christians, distinguishing them by their characteristic act, their habit and attitude of mind. Faith was our Lord's chief and incessant demand from men; He preaches, He works 'powers,' to elicit and direct it—the 'miracle-faith' attracted by 'signs and wonders' being a stepping-stone to faith in the person and doctrine of God's Messenger. The bodily cures and spiritual blessings Jesus dispenses

are conditioned on this one thing. 'Only believe! all things are possible to him that believeth,' He reiterates. But not every kind of faith satisfied our Lord. There was a faith in Jesus, real so far as it went, yet not sufficient for discipleship, since it attached itself to His power and failed to appreciate His spiritual aims, which Jesus rejected, and sometimes of set purpose affronted; akin to this, in a more active sense, is the faith that calls Him 'Lord' and 'removes mountains' in His name, and sometimes appears to serve His kingdom greatly, but does not in love do the Father's will, which He must in the end disown (see Matt. vii. 21–23, and 1 Cor. xiii. 2).

Following the Baptist, Jesus sets out with the summons, 'Repent, and believe the good news,' viz. that 'the kingdom of God is at hand'; like Moses, He summons Israel to accept His mission as from God, and shows 'signs' to prove this. As His teaching advanced, it appeared that He required an unparalleled faith in *Himself* along with His message, that the kingdom of God He speaks of centres in His person; that, in fact, *He is* 'the word' of God He brings, *He is* the light and life whose coming He announces, 'the bread from heaven' that He has to give to a famished world. For those 'who received Him,' who 'believed on His name,' faith acquired a scope undreamed of before; it signified the unique attachment which gathered round the person of Jesus—a human trust, in its purity and intensity such as no other man ever awakened, which grew into and identified itself with its possessor's belief in God, transforming the latter in doing so, and which drew the whole being of the believer into the life and will of his Master. When Thomas hails Jesus as 'My Lord, and my God!' he '*has believed*'! This process is complete in the mind of the slowest disciple. The two faiths, in God and in Jesus, are now welded inseparably; the Son is known through the Father, and the Father through the Son; and Thomas gives affiance to both in one! As Jesus was step by step exalted towards the Divine, in the same degree God came

nearer to these men, and their faith in God became richer in contents and firmer in grasp.

So sure and direct was the communion with the Father opened up by Jesus to His brethren, that the word faith, as commonly used, fell short of expressing it: 'Henceforth ye *know* and *have seen* Him,' said Jesus—the Father imaged in the Son; and St. John, using the verb 'believe' more than any one, employs the noun 'faith' but once in Gospel and Epistles—'knowing God,' 'knowing the Father,' is, for him, the Christian distinction (1 John ii. 3, 4, 13, 14, &c.).

Their Lord's departure, and the shock and trial of His death, wrought to perfect the disciples' faith, thus built upon Him, by removing its earthly props and breaking its last links with the materialistic Messianism. As Jesus 'goes to the Father,' they realize that He and the Father 'are one'; their faith rests no longer, in any sense, on 'a Christ after the flesh'; they are ready to receive, and to work in, the power of the Spirit whom He 'sends' to them 'from the Father,' His *alter ego*. Jesus is henceforth identified with the spiritual and eternal order; to the faith which thus acknowledges Him, He gives the benediction, 'Blessed are they which have not *seen*, and yet have *believed*!' To denote this specific faith a new grammatical construction appears in Greek: one does not simply *believe* Christ, or *believe on* Him, one *believes into* or *unto* Him, or His name (which contains the import of His person and offices)—so in Matt. xviii. 6, and continually in John, also in Paul—which means so believing on Him as to 'come to Him' and give oneself up to Him, realizing who and what He is. By a variety of combinations the Greek tongue, imperfectly followed in such refinements by our own, strove to represent the variety of attitude and bearing in which faith stands to its great Object. That the mission of Jesus Christ was an appeal for faith in the Father-God, with His own person for its chief ground and matter, is strikingly affirmed in St. John's statement of the purpose of his

Gospel: 'These things are written,' says he, 'that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in His name.' Christian faith is the decisive action of the whole inner man—understanding, feeling, will—opening itself to the light of God shining in Jesus, and in doing so opening the channels by which life flows into it from the Unseen; it is the trustful and self-surrendering, and thereby self-discovering, acknowledgement of God in Christ.

(3) But Jesus called on the world to 'believe the good news' of His coming for *redemption*. This task, marked out by Old Testament prophecy and laid upon Him at His birth and baptism, from an early period of His ministry our Lord connected with His *death*. The words of Matt. xxvi. 28 pronounced at the table of the Last Supper (which must be vindicated in their integrity as original), make it clear that Jesus regarded His death as the culmination of His service to mankind, and in a very specific sense; He is ready to offer His 'blood' to seal 'the covenant,' under which 'forgiveness of sins' will be universally guaranteed. Thus our Lord, having concentrated upon *Himself* the faith of men, giving to faith thereby a new heart and a boundless energy, finally fastens that faith upon *His death*; He marks this event for the future as the object of the *saving* faith, the faith that brings 'remission of sins' and covenant-fellowship with God. Whatever else one believes about Jesus Christ —His nature, character, powers, merits, His relations to God and to the world—goes to enhance the significance of His death, goes to deepen its tragic mystery and the criminality of its infliction by the sin of the race, goes to magnify the love that submitted to the sacrifice and the love that ordained it, and goes to certify its efficacy for the end designed and declared. It is the 'Lamb without spot and blemish,' the 'Christ foreknown before the foundation of the world' (1 Pet. i. 19, 20), it is God's 'own Son,' who 'gives Himself a ransom for all' (Rom. viii. 32, &c.)—'crowned with glory and honour' before

His sufferings, to all discerning eyes, 'in order that by God's grace He might taste death for every man' (Heb. ii. 9). Men believed in the dying Saviour, who had first believed in the living Lord, and who saw all the majesty of His person and the energies of His soul thrown into this crowning deed of redemption and concentred, as upon the goal of their existence, on the single purpose of 'giving' Himself 'a ransom' for His brethren and 'taking away the sin of the world.' Take four interpreters, who knew, if any man did, the mind of Christ and what He intended by His death: let Peter speak, 'Who His own self bare our sins in His body upon the tree, that we, having died unto sins, should live unto righteousness' (1 Pet. ii. 24); let John speak, 'The blood of Jesus, God's Son, cleanseth us from all sin'—'*He* is the propitiation for our sins, and for the whole world' (1 John i. 7, ii. 2); let Paul speak, 'God set Him forth a propitiation in His blood, through faith' (Rom. iii. 22–25); let the writer to the Hebrews speak, 'He hath been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself' (Heb. ix. 26). The Apostles were warranted, first by their Lord's explicit words, and then by the witness of His Spirit and by the actual and immediate effects of His death upon the cross, in asserting their Master's sacrifice to be the hinge of the relations between God and mankind. Believing in Him meant, for them, believing in *that*; it meant their finding here the means of deliverance from sin and the revelation of God's hidden designs of mercy toward our race. The 'scandal' and 'foolishness' of the cross proves to be 'the wisdom' and 'the power of God unto salvation'; 'the cross' which covered their Master's name with ignominy and convicted Him of impotence, is the thing in which alone His apostles 'glory,' and they have planted it above the world's proudest fabrics and blazoned it on the world's conquering banners!

Faith in the *resurrection* of Jesus was logically antecedent to faith in His death; for His rising from the dead

set the dying of Jesus in its true light, exhibiting the shameful crucifixion of Israel's Messiah as a glorious expiation for the guilt of mankind. The radiant sun of the Easter morning rises on the eclipse of Calvary; it lights up the sorrowful pathway that led to the cross, and illumines the entire past course of revelation; it gives a new aspect to death itself, and to the long agony of human life on earth: 'Through Him,' writes St. Peter to Gentile Christians, 'you are believers in God'—faith in the living, redeeming God was practically recreated for mankind by the resurrection of Jesus—'in God who raised Him from the dead and gave Him glory, so that your faith and hope might be in God' (1 Pet. i. 21). To 'confess with the mouth Jesus as Lord, and to believe in the heart that God raised Him from the dead,' is therefore to meet the essential conditions of the Christian salvation, since the Lord's resurrection (of which His ascension is the final stage) gives assurance of the peace with God won by His accepted sacrifice; it vindicates His divine sonship, and verifies His claims to lordship; it guarantees the redemption of the body and the natural world, and the attainment, both for the individual and for the Church (i.e. for redeemed society), of the glory of God's heavenly kingdom; it secures the total 'salvation that is in Christ Jesus.' In two words, the Christian faith is to 'believe that Jesus died and rose again'—that in dying He atoned for sin, and in rising He abolished death.

St. Paul was the chief exponent of this 'word of the cross,' which was at the same time 'the word of faith'; but St. Peter in his First Epistle, St. John in his First Epistle and Apocalypse—or the Elder John, as some say, of the Apocalypse—and the writer to the Hebrews, each in his own fashion, combine with St. Paul to focus the redeeming work of Jesus in the cross. According to the whole New Testament, the forgiving grace of God there confronts sinful man as nowhere else; the two come to an understanding through the mediation of Jesus Christ,

—and 'in His blood'! The faith of the gospel is just the hand reached out to accept God's gifts of mercy proffered from the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The faculty of faith, which we understood in its fundamental meaning as the spiritual sense, the consciousness of God, is in no way narrowed or diverted when it fixes itself on 'Jesus Christ and Him crucified'; for, as St. Paul puts it, '*God* was there'—is found and met just there—'in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself'; 'all things,' in the manifestation and action of Jesus Christ, 'are *of God*'; 'God commendeth *His own love* toward us, in that Christ died for us' (2 Cor. v. 18, 19, Rom. v. 8). He who knows God by this manifestation, as St. John puts it, 'knows the Father' in very deed—'the only true God'; he 'is begotten of God,' by 'knowing and having believed the love that God hath toward us' as this is seen in the mission of His Son, and knowing in the same light of Calvary the love due from each redeemed man to his fellow men (1 John iv. 7–16).

Here we must pause, though by no means at an end. A proper handling of the subject would require an examination, in its various elements, of the life of faith as this is exhibited in Scripture, of the relations of faith to the communion of the Holy Spirit, to holiness, to prayer, to knowledge, to outward work, to suffering, to the sacraments and means of grace; these and other topics would suggest themselves as entering into a complete and rightly proportioned biblical exposition of faith. A still wider treatment would embrace the psychology and philosophy of faith—its place and office in man's universe of thought, its operation in moulding his conceptions of being and of truth; and the history of faith—its developments in theology and the creeds, in church fellowship and discipline, in philanthropy and social advancement, and its struggles with paganism, heresy, and secularism, leading up to its present perils and enterprises. It is something to survey a great landscape, even if one may not enter into it.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

MEMOIRS OF PRINCE HOHENLOHE[1]

THESE two substantial volumes were fortunate in appearing at what is known in current slang as the 'psychological moment.' For various reasons the attention of Englishmen has recently been directed, as never heretofore, to the condition of life and politics in Germany. With that great Empire, throughout the many centuries of our national history, England has had less intimate relations than with any other nation. One great event certainly occurred in the past, which, however, was so absolutely forgotten, or rather distorted in popular imaginings, as to be wrongly attributed to the dukes of Austria. On the return from his crusade in Palestine Richard Cœur de Lion was seized by the Kaiser, Henry VI, and brought before the Diet of the Empire at Speyer (Spires). He was only released on payment of a ransom of 100,000 marks. But of this our histories tell us nothing, nor do they inform us that Richard himself became a prince of the Empire, and received the ancient crown of the Arelate. The one Englishman who through his money-bags became a Kaiser—a phantom Kaiser it is true; in fact he was never crowned—is still known to us by no other name than that of Richard Earl of Cornwall. To the Englishman the Kaiser was almost as remote a being as the Tsar of Muscovy or the Soldan himself. Only once did a Kaiser visit London, the restless Sigismund, the betrayer of Hus (May 1416). One experience was perhaps enough, for Sigismund, who was never out of debt, was only able to pay for his journey back from London to Constance by

[1] London, Heinemann, 1906. 2 vols., 24s. net. It is of importance to note that this translation is made from the first (unexpurgated) German edition.

sending his servant to Bruges to pawn for 18,000 ducats the presents he had just received from the victor of Agincourt. Once again England and Germany were brought into the closest union during the great campaigns of Marlborough; but here also our attention is fixed on the France we fought rather than on our ally. From the days of Charles the Great until recent times Germany and England have had few points of either contact or conflict.

But all this has recently been altered for the worse. In trade and politics alike Germany has crossed our path. The absolute ignorance of Englishmen in the past as to the very existence of an Empire that lasted through a thousand years of marvellous life and history, has given place to a suspicious jingoism, that magnifies every rumour, and distorts every act. No Englishman to-day, much less any foreigner, excites in our country anything like the same interest in his doings as the restless Kaiser, William II. 'Made in Germany' has become the battle-cry of a large English political party; German invasions have been worked up by an hysterical yellow press into the bogey that shall terrify Englishmen into national conscription, or into building right off, at incredible expense, a whole fleet of *Dreadnoughts*. One unfortunate Minister of War in his alarm even tried to copy in England the German army corps, and succeeded in bringing out a new Salvation Army cap. Our manufacturers and merchants have been lectured, not without some show of reason, on the greater superiority of German organization and method. Certain newspapers of the baser sort have written long articles on the decay of Parliaments and the greater advantages, from the Imperial standpoint, of German executive centralization. Vivid pictures have been drawn of the abounding prosperity of German workmen, all owing to the assistance an Emperor gives to capitalists of the Krupp order in crushing out unseemly trades unions. Germany, we were informed, was the Paradise of Europe; there every-

thing was the best in all possible empires. And suddenly there came in England, as often happens, the reaction. The papers began to report at length the doings of the Reichstag. The veil was stripped away, and the worse than mismanagement exposed in the treatment of Germany's huge but valueless colonial empire. Light is shed upon the excessive house-rents of the working man, upon the dearness of food and necessaries, owing in part to the kartel system, in part to the utter selfishness of the Prussian junkers. A few cases leaked out of common soldiers deliberately hunted to death by brutal officers, of privates shot down in broad daylight by men who escaped all punishment because they wore the Kaiser's uniform. The doings and sayings of social democracy were more clearly analysed, and discovered to be after all only a mild form of radicalism, that Mr. Keir Hardie would regard as utterly effete. Then we were treated to the great comedy of the Captain of Koepenick, which added so much to the gaiety of nations. Almost simultaneous with this screaming farce was the publication of the *Memoirs of Prince Hohenlohe*, long columns of which were telegraphed over to our newspapers. The dissolution of the Reichstag and a confused election followed, the attempt to understand the intricate issues of which the average Englishman gave up in despair, in spite of all the efforts of gallant though bewildered correspondents. Germany certainly cannot complain that it has not received adequate attention in England during the last two or three years. Never in all our history have we displayed such interest in her doings and intentions.

The general reader may probably be somewhat disappointed with Prince Hohenlohe's *Memoirs*. There are here few indiscretions, and no scandals. The choice plums were snatched out on first publication by the Jack Horners of the press, and turn out to be few and far between. It is in fact rather difficult for the English reader to understand the excitement produced especially in court circles. Compared with Dr. Busch's revelations concern-

ing Bismarck the volume is discretion itself. It is true that in one place (ii. 391) we are told that the Prince of Wales (Edward VII) would have liked to have thrown Herbert Bismarck out of the room, but then all the world knew long ago the brutal character of the great Chancellor's eldest son. As a matter of fact the book is as much remarkable for the careful editing it has evidently received, as for the few places where it lets in light upon the sordid intrigues of the German courts. Most of the deplorable incidents which turned the death-bed of the Emperor Frederick into a hell have been excised, so completely so in fact that the editor has not pointed out as he should have done that we have now a new Emperor (William II) and not the dying emperor of the previous pages (ii. 389). Hohenlohe does, however, confirm the well-known 'deep aversion' of Bismarck for the Emperor Frederick (ii. 409); 'an emperor who could not talk,' said Herbert Bismarck, 'is not fit to reign' (ii. 391); and unfortunately at that time the Crown Prince (William II) was 'under the influence of Herbert Bismarck,' in itself 'a misfortune for the Empire' (ii. 388). There are other gaps, notably the origin of the Franco-Prussian war, the incident of Fashoda, and *l'affaire Dreyfus*, in which the book bears evidence on the surface that the time has not yet come for the publication of the whole truth, so far at any rate as Germany is concerned.

But the volume is not the less valuable because of its absence of sensationalism. For the student of the history of Germany, to some extent of Europe itself, during the last fifty years the work is indispensable. We see here not only Germany in the making, but also the forces of intrigue and personal government and the new restless spirit, partly commercial, partly jingoistic, which have made Germany, and not as hitherto France, the storm-centre of modern Europe. One thing, we think, will stand out clear and distinct; the high character and statesmanship of Prince Hohenlohe himself. It is impossible to read these volumes without gaining a deep respect for

the writer, whose quiet self-revelation is not the least valuable part of the whole.

For English readers the first volume is not the most interesting. But for the historian we are inclined to think that it is the more valuable, if only because of its greater completeness. The volume deals almost wholly, local politics apart, with the steps that led up to the formation of the new German Empire in 1870. Its value is largely due to the fact that Prince Hohenlohe was a Bavarian, intensely national as all Bavarians are, who was yet, unlike most of his countrymen, earnestly desirous of securing the formation of an effective federation to take the place of the old Holy Roman Empire to which Napoleon had given the *coup de grace* in 1806. But when the prince was born (1819), and for many long years afterwards, such a federation seemed about as far off from realization as it well could be. The antagonisms of Austria and Prussia blocked the way.

> Bismarck spoke of his stay in Frankfort, and gave a very amusing account of the methods employed by the Austrian government to gain a hold over the federal representatives. He himself had been offered an annuity of 30,000 thalers. (ii. 64.)

To Austria Bismarck would have been cheap at ten times the price. Not until the decisive defeat of Austria in 1866 was the way open for the hegemony of Prussia, unfettered now by her great rival.

The triumph of Protestant Prussia was by no means popular in Catholic Bavaria. Yet the part that Bavaria played in that great crisis was contemptible and halting in the extreme. 'We allow ourselves to be hustled, now by Prussia, now by Austria, and have no definite plans of any kind.' Even when forced to espouse the cause of Austria Bavaria did nothing, but allowed the Hanoverians to be crushed by the 'self-satisfaction and dilatoriness of our old bureaucratic red-tape lines' (i. 155). How completely Bavaria was out in its reckonings is shown by

Hohenlohe's statement (June 1866) that 'the war will be very long and very sanguinary.' Within a few weeks Sadowa was fought, and the connexion of Austria with Germany severed—he would be a bold man who should write for ever. There were all sorts of vague rumours of Napoleon's intervention:

> Bismarck wishes to give way to the Emperor Napoleon, and give him Saarbrücken, Luxemburg, and part of the Bavarian Palatinate. The King (of Prussia) is resolutely opposed to this. If the King does not give way there will be war between Prussia and France. Then we shall have to side with Austria and France against Prussia. The dispossessed German sovereigns are intriguing at all the courts of Europe for intervention. The German people are making speeches and railing, and in the meantime the events with which they will be faced are preparing without their intervention, and then they will have to hold their peace and pay. It has always been the same, and it will be for some time longer. (i. 159.)

Hohenlohe's last sentences proved correct. Napoleon was no match for Bismarck, against whose inflexible will and clear foresight all intrigue proved unavailing. Nevertheless the very dread of Napoleon's intervention seems to have led Bismarck to conclude a hasty peace (ii. 107).

It was at this juncture that Hohenlohe (who during the previous twenty years had spent a long apprenticeship to politics by successive embassies and missions to Athens, Rome, Florence, St. Petersburg, and the two centres of intrigue in German politics, Vienna and Frankfort), now joined the Bavarian ministry as President of the Council and Foreign Secretary. The remainder of the first volume is occupied for the most part with the legacy left by the events of 1866, the difficulties, diverse plans, and intrigues that paved the way for the proclamation in 1870 of the new Empire. That those difficulties were successfully overcome is due in no small degree to the fact that in Bavaria, the chief centre of opposition, Prince Hohenlohe—whom the old emperor once called 'the only grand seigneur in

Bavaria who is faithful to the Empire' (ii. 88)—exercised a steady though judicious influence towards national federation.

But it was not only in political matters that Hohenlohe's career at this time failed to run smooth. Some of the most interesting sections of this volume detail the struggle in Bavaria, led by Döllinger, against the Ultramontanes and their proposed doctrine of papal infallibility. The Hohenlohes, though good Roman Catholics, strongly resented the new papal pretensions. We see this very clearly in the many letters to the prince, written from Rome by Cardinal Hohenlohe. In these we have some very plain speaking on the influence and tactics of the Jesuits.

> 'The Jesuit order,' adds Hohenlohe at a later date, 'cannot do otherwise than fight against an Empire whose basis is religious toleration; a basis which the order has never acknowledged and never will acknowledge. I am therefore always of opinion that the German people must expel the Jesuits in self-defence.' (ii. 82, 84.)

On the whole, in our judgement, the whole incident seems to have made for the unification of Germany. The strong but fruitless opposition in Bavaria to the Vatican Council and its decrees undoubtedly lessened the power of the Jesuits and Ultramontanes to prevent the union of the Catholic South with the Protestant North. Skilful intrigue could have flung Bavaria into the arms of Austria or France, but Pius IX preferred rather to split his forces at a critical juncture for the sake of a dogma. As in 1866, so in the years that immediately followed, all things seemed to work together towards securing the Prussian hegemony.

For English readers the second volume is undoubtedly the more interesting. It deals with matters of more common knowledge, the French war and its sequences, the Berlin Conference, and the period in which Hohenlohe was Imperial Chancellor. As regards the first there are here no new revelations. The whole account of the origin

of the war has been cut out, and is only incidentally revealed to us in detached scraps of a later date. We note, however, the remarkable disinclination of the Emperor William to the imperial idea, and the difficulties with which the Iron Chancellor had to contend up to the end to bring the King of Prussia to consent to merge his crown in that of the Empire. Hohenlohe also tells us (ii. 27) that after the occupation of Rome by the Italians the Pope requested a refuge in the Prussian dominions.

> The King was unfavourable, Bismarck favourable. Bismarck only looked at the political advantages. He underestimates the influence which the presence of the Pope would have on the preservation of religious freedom, and considers he can use the Pope for his own ends. The King fears the complications which might come, I think rightly. (ii. 26.)

Later on, in his struggle with the Pope over the Falk Laws, Bismarck found that 'to use the Pope for his own ends' was not possible even for the Imperial Chancellor. For ourselves we do not believe for one moment in these offers of the Papacy at intervals to leave Rome for Prussia, or Malta, or America. The Popes have not such slow memories of the disaster of Avignon. When Sigismund in 1415 pressed Martin V to take refuge in Mainz the Pope wisely refused. So we believe it will always be.

There is nothing new to the student of recent foreign biography in the following paragraph:

> Bismarck seems really to have had the idea for some considerable time of reinstating Napoleon. Moltke was against this. In this way I explain Bazaine's attitude, who doubtless corresponded with Bismarck till it was too late for him to break away. (ii. 27.)

Bazaine in fact was playing politics with Bismarck on behalf of the fallen Napoleon, instead of making war, a dangerous and traitorous game, which MacMahon (though far from feeling sympathy with the Republic, as his Presidency showed), could not bring himself to forgive:

> Thiers told me that after Bazaine's condemnation it had taken Broglie till midnight to prevail on MacMahon *not* to sign the death warrant. (ii. 178.)

Soldier and politician looked at matters from different standpoints; in fact Thiers the republican leader 'had always been against bringing Bazaine to trial.'

The reader will be interested in the many glimpses the volumes afford us of the master-player himself. They show us that the portrait in Busch's *Memoirs* is altogether correct. Here are a few details with respect to his constitution:

> Bismarck slept ten or twelve hours and yet did not get rest enough. He said his nerves were only calmed by drinking several bottles of beer, so that to get a thirst he ate large quantities of caviare. (ii. 56.)

At another time he took to 'drinking too much water,' which seems to have been as bad as too much beer (ii. 156). Bismarck's digestion was extraordinary, as we see from the following anecdote of the Berlin Congress:

> The Chancellor invited me to dine with him, which I did. We ate soup, then eel, then cold fish, then prawns, after that lobster, smoked meat, then once more raw ham, finally roast meat and pudding. (ii. 224.)

The following is interesting in view of recent events:

> Bismarck will not hear of colonies. He says we have not an adequate fleet to protect them, and our bureaucracy is not skilful enough to direct the management of them. (ii. 259.)

As regards this last opinion we believe that Bismarck was correct. German red-tape will strangle any colony in its infancy. Germany still seems far off from that 'imitation of the English' (ii. 473), which Hohenlohe declares is the true road to colonial success.

But Bismarck's moral constitution was on a par with his physical:

> At eleven o'clock Bismarck arrived. We smoked and drank. By and by Bismarck reached the stage of anecdotes. He treats every one with a certain arrogance. This gives him a great ascendancy over the timid exponents of the old European diplomacy. Now his great successes stand him in good stead, so that he is the terror of all diplomatists. (ii. 52.)

Or take the following light reference to the origin of the Franco-Prussian war:

> Bismarck related how he had dispatched the telegram which had forced the French into war. If this had not succeeded we should have had to put up with the humiliation on our side, and stagnation would have been the result. (ii. 242.)

When an unfortunate minister tried to draft a letter which would have made for peace, the Chancellor at once suspended him from his duties.

The use Bismarck made of the 'reptile press' is well known. The following extract will suffice as illustration:

> The article in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* which speaks of the aggressive attitude of Russia and France has made a great sensation, and is commented on with alarm. Afterwards I learned at the Chancellor's that he had only written the article to produce an effect on the Deputies, so that they might vote for the Army Bill. He laughed when I told him of the result. (Feb. 1880, ii. 258.)

Here is one of Bismarck's growls, very familiar to readers of Busch:

> The Chancellor complained to-day about the German reigning princes, and thought these gentlemen might think themselves lucky to be provided with a sheltering roof under which to live. If they went on in this way he would retire, and then centralization would break in violently and sweep them away. (May, 1880, ii. 263.)

His cynical indifference to all sentiment appears more than once:

> A European interest is, to his mind, a fiction useful to all who want to use others, and can find persons who believe in the phrase. (ii. 268.)

As to *Judenhetze* and Jew-baiting in general, 'he considers the noise is of use in making the Jews rather more modest' (ii. 273). Bismarck's views on the Greeks reminds us of a famous *mot* of Porson: 'In Greece,' he said, 'there is only one honest man, that is the king, for he is not a Greek.' Talking of the Reichstag, Bismarck said:

> The Germans did not know how to deal with the Nuremberg toy that he had given them, ... they were spoiling it. If this went on the allied governments would return to the old Diet, and give up the Reichstag. (ii. 283.)

The 'Nuremberg toy' will not, we think, be so easily destroyed.

The following hits off Bismarck's policy exactly:

> In the evening a long discussion with Bismarck over our pipes. He says we must look on quietly should the French and English locomotives happen to collide. . . . So long as they keep away from the Rhine they can do what they like in the rest of the world. (Nov. 1882, ii. 291.)

Of Bismarck's many enemies, especially in the army, we read:

> Moltke and his subordinates are always carping at Bismarck, and finding fault with whatever he does. It is difficult to reconcile these two great men. (May, 1871, ii. 51.)

So far was this jealousy pushed that the German staff history of the great war omits the whole story of Napoleon's surrender at Sedan 'because Napoleon sent for Bismarck instead of a general!' (ii. 181.)

From 1874 to 1885 Hohenlohe held the position of German ambassador at Paris. He gives us some interesting thumb-nails of familiar persons.

> Visited (President) Grévy to-day. He must have just finished luncheon, for he cleaned his back teeth with his first finger, which made him put half his hand into his mouth. He then stuck his fingers into his nostrils, and rubbed various parts of his face with his fingers. (ii. 243.)

For Thiers both Hohenlohe and Bismarck entertained a great respect in spite of a tale which Bismarck loved to tell that Thiers knew so little of the geography of his own country that Bismarck had to send for a map to show him that Rouen was on the left not the right bank of the Seine (ii. 52), an anecdote which reminds us of the English Home Secretary who told a deputation that he had never heard of Darwen. Thiers and Hohenlohe hobnobbed together a great deal, and many of Thiers' conversations and prophecies here recorded have given us a higher opinion of his political insight than we had hitherto formed. But up to the very end Thiers deluded himself with the belief that France could not do without him, and that his turn would come again:

> Thiers has no doubt about the result of the election. . . . He asked how his return to power would be received in Germany, and was very pleased when I told him that it would be greeted with joy in Berlin. (July, 1877, ii. 196.)

Two months later he was dead:

> At table we talked of French affairs. Bismarck regretted Thiers' death. He called on us to drink in silence to his memory. (ii. 197.)

In February 1878 Hohenlohe had a long talk with Gambetta:

> He held the opinion that England was no longer a formidable power, since every man-of-war could be destroyed by torpedoes. (ii. 204.)

But Hohenlohe soon summed up Gambetta as 'inordinately vain' (ii. 235).

Another personage of whom Hohenlohe saw a great deal, and formed a high opinion, was Blowitz. The calls

and conversations of the famous correspondent are duly recorded, and we have the curtain raised on some of the methods by which he accomplished his great journalistic *coups*. But Hohenlohe has no belief whatever in the rumour, spread by Blowitz in 1875, that Germany was meditating an attack on France. This report led, as all the world knows, to the personal intervention of Queen Victoria. If the prince is to be believed the whole story was 'tactlessness on the part of Blowitz in the interests of France' (ii. 144). We believe that Hohenlohe was right, and that the old Emperor William would never have consented to war.

In 1878 Hohenlohe was one of the German representatives at the Congress of Berlin, and the full account he gives of that gathering is one of the most interesting portions of the volume. Bismarck entered the Congress

> generally suspicious of the English, and declared them shameless and clumsy. . . . He was always afraid that 'Dizzy' would stifle them with some unsuspected *coup* (ii. 211)—

suspicions, we find, which Blowitz shared, and arranged with Hohenlohe to frustrate by telegrams to the *Times* (ii. 209). In return Hohenlohe was to try to 'procure him the German order' and to arrange for him to dine with the all-powerful Bismarck (ii. 218–19). When the Greeks were introduced to the Congress to plead their cause; 'During their speeches Salisbury, Beaconsfield, and Waddington slept the sleep of the just' (ii. 218). Imagine Gladstone thus stone-deaf to the cry of the Greek nation! As for Bismarck, Hohenlohe confesses 'he was quite indifferent to the fate of the peoples of the Balkan peninsula' (ii. 215). When the Armenians came Bismarck cried out in the Congress: 'What, still another' (ii. 220). The following incident is interesting: 'Schuwaloff made a proposal about a (Russian) burial-place at Schipka' —our readers will remember the famous struggle. He was so moved by his speech that he wept, and the Congress

itself was touched, until the Turkish ambassador explained that the whole proposal was only a device 'to hinder the Turks from constructing fortifications there' (ii. 225).

From 1885 to 1894 Prince Hohenlohe served as statthalter or governor of Elsass-Lothringen. One of the most awkward matters with which he had to deal was the question in 1888 of compulsory passports for travellers from France. Hohenlohe lets the cat out of the bag:

> Bismarck informed me that our ambassador at Paris would not be allowed to visa any pass without previously asking permission, so that infinite delays would arise in consequence. . . . It seems that Berlin desires to introduce these irritating measures with the object of reducing the inhabitants of Elsass-Lothringen to despair, and driving them to revolt, when it will be possible to say that the civil government is useless, and that martial law must be proclaimed. (ii. 384.)

To his honour Hohenlohe protested against the iniquitous device, but was over-ruled and forced to fall in. His uneasiness as to the result leads him to chronicle on the next page some astonishing statements by the Grand Duke of Baden which may or may not have been true:

> A Franco-Russian intrigue has been set on foot by which Spezia is to be seized by France. This would lead to a war with Italy, and in the meantime we should be busied with Russia. This war between France and Italy would be extended so as to give back to the Pope a part of his temporal power. Austria then would be unwilling to enter the field for Italy and against the Pope, and the German Catholics would also take part in the war with enthusiasm. England is said to have ordered the Duke of Edinburgh to bombard Toulon in case France took Spezia. On this the scheme seems to have gone to pieces. (ii. 386.)

From 1894 to 1901 Hohenlohe was Imperial Chancellor, but the diary was either not kept up in its former detail, or else the time has not yet come for its publication. Only here and there do we get a few glimpses of what went on below the surface:

> My relations with William II are peculiar. Sometimes owing to his little acts of thoughtlessness and want of consideration I come to the conclusion that he purposely avoids me, and that it cannot go on. (Oct. 1896, ii. 470.)

Or again the following a year later:

> It is not to be denied that the Emperor disturbs things by his impulsive nature. It is to be wished that he were more phlegmatic. (ii. 473.)

But where another country is concerned there is not the same need of reticence, as we see in the report of the Emperor Nicholas' conversation and schemes:

> Japan was busily arming. But the Japanese had no money, although for the present the Chinese war indemnity furnished them with resources. When these were exhausted he did not know how they were going to complete their armaments. Besides it would take them years to do so, and in the meantime the Siberian railway would be ready, and then Russia would be in a position to face all that came. (Sept. 1896, ii. 469.)

As to Kiao-Chao and its seizure by Germany, we learn (ii. 463) that this was all arranged between the two emperors some months before it took place.

That Prince Hohenlohe saw with clear eyes is perhaps sufficiently demonstrated by his cynical answer to the idealism of the Crown Princess Frederick.

> She said: 'I count upon the intelligence of the people; that is a great power.' I answered thereupon: 'A much greater power is human stupidity, of which we must take account in our calculations before everything.' (ii. 85.)

We fear that Hohenlohe is right, as we see from the success of the gutter-press both in Germany, America, and—alas! that we should be forced to add—in England herself! France is not now the only country in which 'we live under the dominion of lies' (ii. 174). Works such as this of Prince Hohenlohe's serve a useful purpose in showing up the hollow intrigue and self-seeking which too often pass for government, not least, perhaps, in Germany.

H. B. WORKMAN.

SOUTH AFRICA'S GREATEST PROBLEM

Report of South African Native Affairs Commission. (Cape Town.)

The Zulu in Three Tenses. By R. PLANT. (Pietermaritzburg.)

WHAT is concisely and conveniently described as the Native Question is the great outstanding problem in South Africa. It meets us everywhere, and is always under discussion. It is the test of all programmes, the touchstone of all policies, the stumbling-block in the path of every new reformer. The phrase is both compendious and useful, but it may be seriously misunderstood without ample definition and somewhat detailed exposition. In reality the phrase stands for a series of political, religious, racial, agrarian and sociological problems such as can hardly be matched in any other part of the world. In their various relations, and under their different aspects, these questions confront and frequently baffle the administrator, the missionary, and the statesman. The Sphinx devoured those who failed to solve her riddle, and many have suffered a like fate before this South African monster.

The problems that present themselves to a missionary in India are sufficiently perplexing. They go down to the very bases of all human thought and touch the elemental facts of all human experience. The difficulties that face one in South Africa do not strike so deep, but they are more complex; from the religious and purely intellectual side they may appear less formidable, but when we pass from metaphysics and philosophies to the issues of practical life these difficulties, in their manifold ramifications, seem more completely bewildering. Their roots go right down into the national history, but any attempt to trace the historical development of our chief problems would

tax far too severely both the limits of our space and the patience of our readers. We can only try to indicate some of the main historical conditions which have so largely contributed to bring about the present peculiar and dangerous situation.

It must always be remembered that the first European settlers found a large native population in possession of South Africa, if indeed the loose attachment of nomadic tribes to the soil can be described by the use of such a term as possession. The movements of large native tribes can be traced along their different lines of progression; though many parts of the history are somewhat obscure. There is here a fine field for the comparative philologist, to whom we must eventually look to verify tribal traditions and to fill up the gaps in tribal history. The complexities of the situation are increased by the fact that in many cases the title of these tribes was not only doubtful in its localization, but was of quite recent origin; and in some instances it was entirely based on mere conquest, planned and carried out in the most barbarous way. Added to all this is the fact that the two races did not meet, and in the nature of the case could not meet, on anything like equal terms. The one was civilized and the other primitive. The civilization of the first settlers may not have been very complete; but the most advanced aborigines were still in the early fighting and hunting stage of a people's development. So that we may say the two races were separated by a thousand years in ideal, in modes of thought, in immediate aim and purpose. Hence there inevitably sprang up a diversity of outlook, antagonistic claims, conflicting interests, differences of sentiment, which taken together make up the great problem that has now to be faced.

In some countries a similar problem has settled itself in a very sad and terrible way, viz. by the utter disappearance of the uncivilized and weaker race. The Australian native and the red man of the west are both going the same way. But happily no such settlement will take place

in South Africa. The native tribes are both virile and extremely prolific, and even now they outnumber the whites as six to one. For many years it has been clearly and widely recognized that the old policy of dealing with symptoms, of meeting and removing local difficulties, of muddling through by amateur diplomacy or the exercise of brute force, would break down at last and have to be for ever discarded. That time has come, and the fact cannot be any longer ignored. Mere local and temporary treatment avails no more, a system of compromise and postponement has become a positive danger. A solution of the difficulty must be sought and found that will be just in its character and general in its application. It must be decided whether the native has a place in the body politic and what that place actually is. If he is unfit to step at once into the niche that rightfully belongs to him, the State must see that he has the fullest opportunity for securing that fitness.

The discussion of these questions may involve long and heated controversies. Many wild and wicked things will probably be spoken and written. No doubt some will strenuously contend to the last that the native was meant to be nothing more than a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the white man; but we believe that a wiser and juster opinion will express itself more and more strongly, and sometimes in quarters where it is least expected. There is much foam on the surface, but we think there is an undercurrent of sane and Christian feeling which grows stronger every day.

The bitterest critics of Lord Milner's native policy will probably agree that the action which led up to the appointment of the Commission on Native Affairs was a happy inspiration that may well mark the beginning of a new era for the native races. The *personnel* of the Commission was sufficiently notable, and gave ample guarantees of thoroughness in investigation and fairness in conclusion; but the best friends of the natives hardly dared to expect a Report that marked such a great advance upon

large sections of current opinion. The Commissioners represented the best Colonial ability, and the ripest and most varied Colonial experience. It was impossible for the opponents of native rights to make any attempt to discredit the findings of the Commission on the ground that the Commissioners were not fully acquainted with the conditions and history of the problems they were asked to solve. The Report has not by any means satisfied the aspirations of the most advanced natives; but it will be quoted as an epoch-making document, and may come to be regarded as the Great Charter of the native peoples. The Report is both a goal and a starting-point. It is the crystallization of much vague inquiry, the repository of much hitherto unrecorded information, and it clears the ground for valuable constructive work of a legislative and educational character. It is freely stated in well-informed circles that more than one Commissioner went through a process of conversion during the course of the prolonged inquiry. Beginning with a prejudice against the native and grave doubts as to the justice of his claims, these gentlemen came to the end of their arduous task as confirmed and unashamed champions of the native cause. Their Report has exerted upon others the influence which the examination of the evidence seems to have exercised upon themselves.

The Commissioners perambulated the whole country and held sittings at the following places: Cape Town, King William's Town, East London, Queen's Town, Frere, Butterworth, Umtata, Kokstad, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Salisbury, Bulawayo, Mafeking, Maseru, Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Johannesburg. Hundreds of witnesses were examined, and the results fill several bulky volumes. These witnesses included Government officials, politicians, ministers of religion, missionaries of large and varied experience, educationists, landowners, farmers, traders, representatives of municipalities and other public bodies, captains of industry and natives of all classes and tribes. In addition to a mass of oral evidence, written documents

of great value were obtained from remote parts of the country. The Commissioners also visited missionary and educational institutions, locations, native reserves, labour compounds, land settlements and hospitals.

Let us now turn to the Report itself. The introduction brings out very forcibly the magnitude of the work to which the Commissioners set their hands. Their inquiries covered an area of nearly 1,000,000 square miles, with a population of over six millions. This area comprises no fewer than seven colonies, each of which has its own administration, conducting its affairs without any necessary reference to its neighbours. To state this fact is to state the urgent case for federation and co-ordination. The native mind is much bewildered by these arbitrary divisions, and cannot understand why laws should depend upon geographical considerations.

On the threshold of their inquiry the Commissioners came face to face with the difficulty of defining the word native. They give no fewer than thirteen specimen definitions, taken from parliamentary and other documents in the various colonies. These definitions differ essentially, and it is almost impossible to frame a definition within reasonable compass that will cover all the facts of the case. In this connexion one point needs careful explanation, as it often gives rise to serious misunderstanding. In South Africa the term 'coloured' denotes, not a native, but a member of that mixed race, partly African and partly European, which so strongly objects to lose its identity or to allow men to forget the strain of European blood that flows in its veins. The Commission recommends that the word native be taken to mean an aboriginal inhabitant of South Africa, south of the equator, and for practical purposes this definition may be accepted, though it is obviously open to criticism.

The first item mentioned in the terms of reference, and one of the most complicated subjects for consideration, was the important and fundamental question of Land Tenure. Alike from the native and from the European

side this question stands out above all others, and its effectual settlement would automatically close many other inquiries. It has been the practice in all South African colonies to set aside large and valuable tracts of land for native communal occupation. Such a system had undoubted advantages, and such a form of tenure was admirably suited to the needs and habits of an earlier time. It is abundantly clear that the native population, as a whole, by the force of long tradition and habit, clings tenaciously to the old method; but under new conditions an ever growing number begin to chafe under its restraints, and are feeling after that independence which can best be secured and most effectively maintained through individual holding of real property. Whatever may be the case with the older communities, with their well-established habits of industry, there is no doubt the time has come to the South African native when his communism in land is beginning to operate as a check upon that thrift, production, enterprise, which ought to mark his present stage of development. It would also appear to hinder the growth of that sense of personal worth and individual responsibility which are so greatly needed. The Commission would deal carefully and gradually with the new and delicate situation that is arising; and it strongly recommends that while there must be no violent disruption of the present system, at the same time wherever the native exhibits a desire and a capacity for holding individual rights in land, provision shall be made to gratify that desire under suitable and well-defined conditions. For our part we should like to see a large increase in individual proprietorship. It would surely tend to break down the influence of the chief, in directions where that influence is mischievous; it would mean emancipation from tribal tyranny; and it would rapidly increase the number of those whose material and social interests would coincide with the interests of stable government, of peace, and of ordered progress.

On the question of the liquor traffic, the Commissioners

are unanimous in their recommendations, which, briefly summarized, are as follows: the supply and sale of liquor to natives should be wholly prohibited; the penalties for illegally supplying strong drink should be uniformly severe, so severe that the offender may have no doubt as to the seriousness of the offence. They go so far as to recommend that no licence for the sale of liquor even to Europeans should be granted in any native reserves or in proximity thereto. That recommendation is amply justified by what we know of the disastrous results of the illicit liquor traffic under such conditions. They do not go so far as an ardent temperance advocate would wish in condemning the manufacture and sale of Kafir beer. But it is only right to add that they regard Kafir beer as an anti-scorbutic, necessary in the absence of a vegetable diet. We have no doubt the vegetable diet would be more effective for the purpose indicated. It certainly never leads to those grave moral disorders which are too commonly and closely associated with the use of Kafir beer.

One interesting and valuable section of the Report deals with the much discussed and vexed question of native labour. The theory that the South African native is hopelessly and irremediably lazy is repudiated as being contrary to the known facts. The representation, so often given, of the native living an indolent and useless life in his kraal, supported by his numerous wives, is also dismissed as being altogether exaggerated and misleading. The view is confidently expressed that polygamy does not influence the labour market to the extent that is commonly supposed. The number of polygamous men is a small percentage of the whole; and in many instances these men do not belong to a class that would be available for supplying labour to industrial centres. In reference to the labour problem in all its varied aspects, the facts of the case need to be kept well in view. For untold generations the native has been a fighter and a hunter. While he was following the game, or defending his kraal, his wife naturally took up the necessary tasks of hoeing the ground,

sowing the seed, and reaping the crops in their season. Even in more settled times such a man would only slowly pass through the pastoral to the agricultural stage. The matter for surprise is not that so many find it difficult to adjust themselves to the demands of regular and persistent work in a shop, a dockyard, or a mine; but that such an enormous amount of steady and hard work is already being accomplished. The very idea of forced labour under any form is absolutely repugnant to the standards by which a civilized community is governed; but if such were not the case, any system of forced labour would fail to reach the end proposed. The development of the industrial instinct must come in another and more natural way. The growing cost of living, the gradual rise in the level of material comfort, the multiplication of physical needs, the desire for education, the normal increase of the population, will all tend to foster those habits of stated and continuous work which in old-established industrial communities are so general that they have come to seem more natural than they really are.

It was only to be expected that the question of education would occupy much attention and evoke a great variety of opinion. It is evident that the country is more divided on this matter than on any other subject that was raised. Those who are in close touch with Colonial thought in its various phases are not at all surprised by the evidence given. Some of the witnesses seemed almost hostile to the most elementary forms of literary education, and expressed the strongest opposition to the expenditure of any considerable sum of public money on native schools. The arguments used appear strangely familiar to those who have read the records of the controversies that raged round the different Elementary Education Acts in England less than fifty years ago. It must be noted, however, that nearly all were in favour of manual and industrial training. Fortunately the aspirations of the human mind after knowledge cannot be permanently kept down, and it would be as easy to stop the incoming tide as to hinder a whole

people from acquiring some amount of education, when once the desire for knowledge has sprung into conscious life. The Commission gives generous recognition to the fact that in the matter of education the native peoples owe practically all they have to the labours and sacrifices of the great missionary societies. It is recommended that a central college for natives be established and maintained by the co-operation of the Governments of the different colonies. The fact that such a proposal has been made, and that it has received a large measure of sympathetic support from the public and the press, is full of hope for those who have been working in the interests of native education through a long period of opposition and inappreciation.

Perhaps the most remarkable section of the Report is that which deals with Christianity and Morals. It is a great thing to read, in a Government Blue Book, such a full and emphatic statement of the responsibilities of the dominant race. While frankly pointing out that the conduct of many converts to Christianity has not been everything that could be desired, the Commissioners declare that the weight of evidence is all in favour of the higher morality of the Christian section of the native community. They are not able to propose 'any measure of material support for the purely spiritual side of missionary enterprise,' but they recommend a full recognition of the utility of the work done by the churches which have undertaken the heavy task of evangelizing the heathen. The missionary asks for no material support for the purely spiritual side of his work, and would be compelled to decline such support even if the State offered it; but he is glad to have his own testimony so completely confirmed by such a competent and thoroughly unbiassed authority. The wild and foolish talk of the ordinary critic of South African missions may well be ignored while this deliberate, responsible, and weighty judgement remains on record.

We can only make a passing reference to Mr. Plant's admirable volume. It is a book of fascinating interest and

of great value. Dealing less fully with the economic and political issues involved, he gives a strangely interesting account of the native character and life. Mr. Plant has had a long experience of native affairs, and his position in the Government Education Department has afforded him unusual facilities for getting hold of first hand and reliable information. We may quote one sentence from his emphatic and well-informed testimony to the good results of missionary labour:

> . . . to the calumnious charges against the missionary of spoiling the natives, and the idiotic drivel that says the native is only a beast and can never be made anything better, that religion and education spoil instead of improving him, one reply is enough—go and see Driefontein.

Driefontein is a native settlement in connexion with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Natal.

The way yet to be travelled is long and difficult; many selfish interests lie across the path of progress; long-lived prejudices will only die slowly; mistakes on the part of the native people themselves may injure their own cause and bring about temporary reactions: but the publication of the Report which we have reviewed, and its favourable reception by the best thought of the country, and the influence it has already exerted on many minds, are circumstances which mightily encourage the true friends of the South African native.

We are not foolish enough to claim for the whole body of natives political and social privileges for which the majority at present have neither title nor preparation; but if necessary we shall fight to the last for those inalienable rights which belong to every man just because he is a man. We shall not make the tactical mistake of rejecting every instalment of reform because some rights, long overdue, are withheld; but having made up our minds fully and clearly as to the things to be sought for the native, we shall steadily and persistently aim at that goal which every passing year must surely bring nearer.

AMOS BURNET.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF MATERIALISM

AMONG the outstanding features of the nineteenth century were the victories won by the men of science. New discoveries of far-reaching importance were made, and before long became the common property of all thinking men. This could not be without its effect on religious thought. Men who held to Christianity found themselves closed in on every hand with discoveries of science which seemed fatally to threaten their position. A vehement denial of these scientific discoveries proved unavailing, as they were gradually established as truths and not mere conjectures. Defiance was followed by defence. Apologists instead of scouting the scientific arguments met them. The scientific temper was not decried, it was adopted. The new ideas were not denounced, the old ideas were reconstructed. And with this demolition of impossible outworks the citadel was not abandoned, it was rendered capable of defence. This was no retreat, but a recognition of the true ground to be held. And the ground was held. All this was much to our advantage. Truth after all is our aim: we cannot shut our eyes to it save at our peril. We must not live in a world of our own making, and discredit whatever finds no place there. The world of our thoughts must be made to square with the world we live in. It is all to our disadvantage if the men of science can claim to uphold truth while we are deemed to be upholding our religion. We must uphold our religion because we have proved it true and thereby shown our right to uphold it; it is not enough that we should count it true because it is our religion. Accordingly, while one does not rejoice at the impetus which science as interpreted by some of its exponents gave to materialism, yet in so far as this led

to a reconsideration and strengthening of the Christian position, science rendered an undoubted service to religion.

But before noticing another way in which science is partly answerable for the spread of materialism, it would be well to point out that there is another cause not to be overlooked. The centre of materialist thinking has been Germany, and the reaction there against the idealist philosophers in general, and Hegel more particularly, accounted for much of the truculent materialism that came into vogue when Hegel's influence was waning. This swing of the pendulum is as noticeable in the philosophical as in the political world, and at this time there was abroad a feeling that men had been almost duped by Hegel. A similar reaction on a much smaller scale is to be seen in Oxford to-day, where on all sides are to be heard the critics of the man who dominated Oxford philosophy twenty-five years ago—T. H. Green. But in this German reaction men swung right from one extreme to the other, and much of our materialism in England has sprung from this German stock. For among Hegel's successors was Haeckel.

The other way in which science has helped materialism is this. It has contributed to an age of prosperity. Material prosperity has meant materialist thinking. Absorption in things material naturally induces blindness to all else. Much of the apathy that we have been inclined to put down to atheistic thinking has been the result of machinery. Men are caught up in the whirl of the machinery, and though the engine rests at the end of the day's work, their minds, restless, still throb on with the same quick pulse. It is not without its lesson for us that to-day the revival of materialism has been largely in the north of England and the manufacturing towns. For it is there most of all that commerce claims its victims. The smoke of our factories has a way of shutting out the heavens, and God along with them. It is the same at both ends of the social scale. The self-made man is apt to count himself what he is called, and yields to no impulse to look above and question whence he is come, and feels no temptation to look

below in search for tertiary ancestors. His is unconscious materialism. And what we cannot but view with some disdain in those who have prospered seems more excusable in those who have failed: there may be no justification, there is some excuse. We have to bear in mind our crowded cities, with their thousands upon thousands striving, it often seems, each against the other, and think of the numbers who have to fall out because the fight is too fierce. What is it but this that has stirred up Robert Blatchford to his campaign? He has been overwhelmed by the social conditions of our time, and there are few men who have tried to do more for their fellows, or have more right to speak. He has said many things that are indefensible, but a strong man in his pain often will. We on this side can find comfort in the thought that Blatchford would be able to say all that could be said from his standpoint, and certainly no one could say it better. But it does seem strange that, modern of moderns though he be, he has attacked an antiquated theology, and much that no Christian would defend; and it has been seen, too, that it is one thing to strike a blow and quite another to drive it home, and that the Church has been able to count on many a strong ally outside her own borders to join in resisting this last attack upon all that she stands for in the world.

In view of the importance of Haeckel and his claims—Haeckel being a great man of science—it is necessary to say a word on the place and authority of science. The question is not a difficult one to decide. Science is supreme in its own field, its sober findings are indisputable. Where it can speak at all, it can speak with authority. But science must show the same respect as it claims. Science has its own field, it does not follow that it is the whole field. Pre-eminence in science does not imply pre-eminence in every field of thought: that is, the right to speak as a chemist or biologist does not involve the right to speak as a philosopher. When a man of science, say a chemist, turns philosopher, he must be treated with the respect due to him, not as a chemist but as a philosopher. This fact,

simple though it be, is often lost sight of, and in consequence a fictitious importance has been attached to such deliverances. For just as a magnificent general may make an indifferent Secretary for War, so a great chemist may make an indifferent philosopher. For the sciences are a series of compartments. They are abstract. For the purposes of investigation the rest of the world is shut out and a fraction thoroughly examined. Back of all the sciences is a wide field purposely left unexplored, the great Reality that lies behind them all. It is only by ignoring this that the man of science can do his work at all; he only comes back to it in the end when his work is done. Hence it is that for the geologist, for instance, to understand the earth is a far different thing from understanding the world. So philosophy claims its place as well as science, catholic where science is separatist, ranging over the whole of existence where each science is content with its own fraction. We may go a step farther. Not only is pre-eminence in science not the qualification for pronouncing on the great ultimate problems, it may be a disqualification. Atrophy may have supervened: such atrophy as Darwin confessed to in an oft-quoted passage. Science can dispense with God, not denying Him, but not reckoning Him, just as it does not reckon whatever else does not serve its immediate purpose; but it does not follow that philosophy can dispense with God, for philosophy claims to survey the totality of existence and to press on to first beginnings, investigating the hypotheses of the sciences. Hence, though one may not blame a man of science for assuming *qua* man of science that there is nothing but matter, it does not follow that he has a right to be a materialist *qua* philosopher. It may seem futile to labour this point, but it is a fatal mistake to suppose that there is no gulf between a science and philosophy, no metaphysics as well as physics. A science is not a philosophy in microcosm: truths on being multiplied do not become Truth. There are many men of science who have fully recognized this, men who make no arrogant claims for their sciences, and are willing to show

in philosophical discussions the deference that they would expect from others in the discussion of a scientific matter. But all scientific men are not of this kind, for experience has proved—to quote a leader in the scientific world—'that men of science who have once transcended or transgressed the boundary [between science and philosophy] are apt to lose all sense of reasonable constraint, and to disport themselves as if they had at length escaped into a region free from scientific trammels—a region where confident assertions might be freely made, where speculative hypothesis might rank as theory, and where verification was both unnecessary and impossible' (Sir Oliver Lodge).

Haeckel is a case in point. It is not merely Christian apologists who make complaint of his dogmatism and self-assurance where both are out of place. Thus according to the writer of the article 'Haeckel,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 'he displays the courage of his convictions to an extent which the reader may feel ceases to be meritorious in the absence of adequate argument.' And we who cannot follow him in the scientific portions of his *Riddle of the Universe* are indebted to men of science like Sir Oliver Lodge for their searching criticisms. It was natural to imagine that the scientific portions were a solid foundation for the alarming superstructure that was raised. It was certainly that belief which won for his philosophy such widespread attention in the north of England recently. But in fact, conjectural science with unwarranted hypotheses forms the basis of his speculative philosophy. He 'takes a narrow and limited view of the totality of experience,' he is among those biologists who 'build a universal philosophy on a few experiments,' so that instead of being the new prophet of the twentieth century he takes rank among the superseded philosophers of the nineteenth century: as he himself says, he is 'wholly a child of the nineteenth century.' What is meant by this criticism of 'narrowness' of view? Simply this: that he has jettisoned all that does not square with his theories—as he was forced to if bent on arriving prematurely at final unification—and that

'he has stretched scientific theory into regions of guess-work and hypothesis, where it loses touch with real science altogether' (Sir Oliver Lodge). Then in the sacred name of Science, which he has outraged, he asks us to abandon religion, or at any rate the Christianity which he has vehemently attacked.

In considering the present position of materialism we may take Haeckel as the chief exponent of the system. It is true that he follows Büchner in his dislike for the name 'materialist.' Büchner proposed to abandon the word materialism because, as he says, 'a certain scientific odium' attaches to it. If proof were needed of the waning influence of materialism, it may be found in this attempt to take refuge in a new name. We seem in fact to be living at a time when men in many fields of thought think that old heresies may be cloaked under a revised terminology. But it is not enough to change the name if the system is retained. The scientific odium attaching to materialism will attach to Haeckel's monism: for the difference is not so great as the verbal distinction would imply. He can certainly claim that this system is monistic, for he reduces substance to one kind, but, as Professor Case points out (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Article: 'Metaphysics') it is also materialistic because it identifies that one kind of substance with matter, and makes mind an attribute of matter; and it signifies nothing in this connexion that he attributes mind to all matter so long as he makes mind to exist solely as an attribute of matter. Haeckel, then, is a materialistic monist, but if he prefers a single term, then he is more fittingly described as a materialist than as a monist.

We may take it then that materialism has not changed at all vitally of recent years; Haeckel's views have long been known, and his position itself is no new one. The distinction made by Flint between the 'spread' and the 'progress' of materialism still holds good: it is its spread that we deplore. Accordingly it would be possible to marshal again the arguments which are put forward in *Anti-theistic*

Theories against it: but such recapitulation would serve no useful purpose here. It will suffice to call attention to Haeckel's failure to account for consciousness. The problem of consciousness is one much debated to-day among philosophers. But whatever be the true solution, it is certain that materialism does not afford it. What does Haeckel say? He has few doubts on the subject. 'Physiological observation . . . has determined that the organ of consciousness is a part of the cerebrum.' But the problem cannot thus be solved. The very term 'organ' does not help his case. For what is an 'organ' but an instrument, and the existence of an instrument cannot settle what it is that uses the instrument. It surely was likely enough *a priori* that there should be some instrument, and it is a matter primarily of physiological rather than philosophical interest what that instrument is. A piano may be the instrument from which we get certain music, and that music may only be possible by the co-ordinate or consequent employment of certain chords of that piano, but the music does not begin and end with the piano. And so even though we have located the organ of consciousness, there is much to seek. The words of Tyndall, quoted by Flint, summarize our objection to the materialist position—'The passage from the physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is unthinkable. Granted that a definite thought and a definite molecular action in the brain occur simultaneously; we do not possess the intellectual organ, nor apparently any rudiment of the organ which would enable us to pass, by a process of reasoning, from the one phenomenon to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why.' In order to account for mind Haeckel makes sensation an inherent property of all substance. 'It appears to his imagination,' Professor Case remarks, 'that the affinity of two atoms of hydrogen to one of oxygen . . . and the elective affinity of two lovers are alike due to sensation and will . . . when he assigns sensation and will to nature, and through plants to the lowest animals, he considers their thought to

be rudimentary and unconscious. Consciousness, according to his own admission, is not found even in all animals. . . . He holds indeed that, in accordance with the law of substance, consciousness must be evolved from unconsciousness with the development of sense organs and a central nervous organ. At the same time he admits (1) that to mark the barrier between unconscious and conscious is difficult; (2) that it is impossible to trace the first beginning of consciousness in the lower animals; and (3) that 'however certain we are of the fact of this natural evolution of consciousness, we are unfortunately not yet in a position to enter more deeply into the question' (*Riddle of Universe*, p. 66, popular edition). 'Thus,' Professor Case sums up, 'in presence of the question which is the crux of materialism, the origin of consciousness, Haeckel first propounds a gratuitous hypothesis that everything has mind, and then gives up the origin of conscious mind after all.' We are accordingly justified in concluding that so far as the materialists' efforts are concerned, the problem of consciousness remains unsolved.

In considering materialism in relation to Christianity, the question of its effects upon ethics is far from unimportant, and such a question may well be considered here. Caution is certainly necessary. It is hardly worthy of Christian apologists to fasten on the moral shortcomings of their immediate opponents. When this weapon has been turned against ourselves we have always deprecated its use, and asked for a discussion of principles, not persons. And abuse does not always effect its end. It is an advocate fighting a hopeless battle who displays irrelevant malignity. And we have known men—hard-working artisans—somewhat bitten with materialism whose distrust of things Christian has been much deepened because of such attacks on the part of defenders of the faith. The columns of newspapers, more especially local newspapers, give endless examples of such injudiciousness. Surely tendencies and even logical conclusions must not be set forth in lurid detail as though they were immediate consequences of the

adoption of the materialist position. To speak as though they were is not only inexpedient but untrue: even what must happen does not always happen at once. Christian character is not built up in a day, nor will the materialistic be. And it is only fair to acknowledge what may be generous and altruistic in our opponents. The self-sacrificing zeal of some of them on behalf of the causes they have embraced is beyond all praise. But once distinguish a man and his creed—pointing out that they may be as different as Epicurus and an Epicurean—and then with far more forcefulness the ultimate results of materialistic thinking may be enlarged on. Now the materialist holds that man is not to be counted responsible for his actions. Freedom and responsibility are out of the question when a man is what he is simply because of the working out of natural forces. He acts because he must, because he can do no otherwise. Physical law is supreme, and obedience is mechanically rendered. It is contended that this law obviously could not be overridden, because of its very nature, and thought and will are resolved into mere natural functions. Is there anything to be said in reply to this? We turn to the physicist to find whether he supports this view of the supremacy of the physical law. Sir Oliver Lodge will be recognized as speaking with authority as a physicist, and he is directly opposed to such a theory. He reiterates the point on which we have laid much stress above, that such theories are due to an *unawareness* of the difference between the exclusiveness of the laboratory and its theories and the all-inclusiveness of life and its theories: abstractions of that kind are out of place in a philosophy. He goes on to say, 'My contention then is—and in this connexion I am practically speaking for my brother physicists—that whereas life or mind can neither generate energy nor directly exert force, yet it can cause matter to exert force on matter, and so can exercise guidance or control'; and further he says, 'Guidance and control are not forms of energy, nor need they be themselves phantom modes of force: their superposition upon

the scheme of physics need disturb physical and mechanical laws no whit, and yet it may profoundly affect the consequences resulting from those same laws. The whole effort of civilization would be futile if we could not guide the powers of nature. The powers are there, else we should be helpless; but life and mind are outside those powers, and by prearranging their field of action can direct them along an organized course.' His verdict is, then, that the physical universe, as we know it, is amenable to truly spiritual contact. We are the masters, not the slaves of nature, and all possibility of self-determined action is not negatived by the existence of natural law.

But it would be well to go further and attempt to show that moral freedom is justifiable from a philosophical standpoint as well as being possible from the point of view of a physicist—if one may be excused for dealing in so fragmentary a way with so vast a subject. We may take a stand between the two extreme positions, agreeing neither with the Determinists, who insist upon the existence of law to the exclusion of all freedom, nor with the Indeterminists, who insist upon freedom to the exclusion of all law. 'The idea of self-determination combines the truth of both sides' (Mackenzie: *Manual of Ethics*). Thus it must be borne in mind that 'it is not necessary to moral freedom that on the part of the person to whom it belongs there should be an indeterminate possibility of becoming and doing anything and everything.' Man is conditioned as a plant is; but, though each is conditioned, the conditions are different. 'The conditions that determine what a plant shall be or become are not objects that it presents to itself, not objects in which it seeks its self-satisfaction. But whatever conditions man's possibilities, does so through his self-consciousness'—this self-consciousness of which, as we have already seen, materialism can give no adequate explanation. A man does not make his circumstances, but he decides what they will make of him. And it is only when a man has the power of dealing thus with his circumstances that we reckon it a moral act at all. The

reply, of course, is open to the Determinist that it is not merely his circumstances, but his character also that determine a man's choice, and, granted a man's character and his circumstances, his action is necessarily determined. But the force of this argument is largely due to a misuse of the word 'character.' A man's character cannot be regarded in this way as something outside and quite other than himself: it is unjustifiable to count it 'an alien force which joins with circumstances in moving in a direction which is simply a resultant of the two forces combined, and in which he cannot help being carried.' The difficulty disappears when we see what character means, and its true relation to the self, and that its history is a history of moral action, action in which man has counted his self-satisfaction to be found. If the contrary were true, we should at least expect that where a man was most certain that his action was 'in character,' there he would most of all exonerate himself from all possible blame for the action: whereas we find that the case is quite otherwise, for it is just in such a case that a man will most condemn himself—which brings us to the point that all the approbation and condemnation which we attach to our actions are due to the consciousness that they represent our characters, our selves, and are not an 'arbitrary freak of some unaccountable power of unmotived willing.' It is hard to exaggerate the importance of the fact that the sense of freedom in action is practically universal, and here surely the verdict of consciousness should have weight. The evidence consists in our consciousness of the moment, confirmed by our subsequent approval or disapproval of the choice. It is to be noted that the moment when we make our choice is the one when we are most conscious that it lies with ourselves what the choice will be. And this sense of freedom is one that men would at times give much to be without; for to men that have done great wrongs free-will means remorse, and that men with remorse staring them in the face should yet have retained their conviction that they were free agents is surely proof sufficient of the validity of the

conviction. Illusions are not so universal or so long-lived.

Accordingly we hold that man's action is motived, but self-determined. Various motives suggest themselves, desires arise, but it is not merely a trial of strength between them, the strongest prevailing. What is undoubtedly the strongest desire is often resisted: we have there a case of temptation overcome. And the man chooses that motive with which he can identify himself, and it is only as a result of that choice that the motive becomes the 'strongest.' It may well be a choice in accordance with the man's character, or else in revulsion from that character on the ground that he does not find in those characteristic actions the self-satisfaction that was sought through them. An illustration is afforded in the case of a man who is hungry, and has a choice, say, of unwholesome food immediately, or of good food in an hour's time, or of abstinence because the food was not his own property: choice follows upon a presentation to himself of the satisfaction to be found in each of the several cases, and an identification of himself with one of them; previous choices are neither powerless in affecting him nor all-powerful. So there is moral freedom, and moral action can be expected of men: moreover, moral reformation is possible, because in such an account of man's choice there is always a possibility of his questioning whether he has attained the satisfaction he desired, and had not better change his previous conception of the good, or at least his means of achieving it. Upon such a basis there is a possibility of building a rational superstructure. We now have to prove that a rational morality is not possible on a materialistic basis. And this attempt to establish the doctrine of Free-will, the Christian basis, was made in order to avoid a *tu quoque* from the lips of the materialist. If we can establish our basis and show our right to build on it, we shall be more justified in condemning the materialist for foundations so unstable and stultifying that it is practically impossible to build on them at all.

Let us see, then, what is the ethical outcome if we are

under the rule of law as the materialist supposes. Then we are the outcome of the working out of natural laws, products of nature. We are what we must be. Hence there is no room for praise or blame where men are not responsible for their actions. The public benefactor and the murderer—each alike is in the grip of inexorable law. This does not conduce to the highest ethics. Thus Hume, speaking of suicide: 'It were no crime to divert the Nile from its course, then may not human prudence do the same with a man? Where is the crime of turning a few ounces of blood from their natural channel?' Helvetius, again, remarked that 'Egypt owed much to the mud of the Nile, and might not France be similarly served by its libertinage?' But the materialist may not welcome admissions that were made by previous generations of materialists who were not over-anxious to hide the logical outcome of their theories. Evolution has now been accepted, but to what does evolution bring Haeckel and his English disciple, Blatchford? According to their view, man is still controlled by forces which drive him on. If he is not responsible for his present position, then, what can he do? we must ask. He can do nothing surely save drift. It may be said that he is developing. In that case we must let him develop. But what of that if we can neither help nor bar this development? and we cannot if we are not free to act. Blatchford says men ought to be trained. From which it would follow that some one ought to train them, which means responsibility, and that is *ex hypothesi* impossible. Accordingly we cannot, even on this showing, say that men ought to be trained. With training (and punishment) out of the question there does not seem to be great hope for any betterment. Forces must work themselves out. The strongest will survive, the weak perish. Modern political proposals, which have even advocated in extreme cases extermination of certain irreclaimables, are a case in point—proposals not publicly made, perhaps, but discussed in wide circles. And the materialist will naturally extol what most immediately subserves social interests rather than the personal virtues.

What clothes the body is counted better than what adorns the heart. Regard for the soul is reckoned the very abyss of egoism, an uncitizen-like concern. But this care for your fellows has a way of becoming devotion to a class rather than society, selfishness on a big scale. Not that these social virtues are to be condemned, but they need more depth of earth than the materialist will give them; this is most certainly true if the gospel discourses are to be counted as marred by a 'morbid, eternally-revolving-in-upon-itself, transcendent morality,' as one materialist has phrased it. Against these social obligations Christian defenders to-day have nothing to say: there have been apologists since Paley: and the 'socialism' of the New Testament is one of our modern commonplaces, and perhaps those outside the Churches have had more to do with leading us to see the wider truth than we have imagined. But the materialist is forced to begin in the wrong place, and not work outward from the centre. And to quote a writer of light literature, 'He who is going to reform the world must begin by reforming himself.' The culture of the inner life is the truest public spirit. Christ cared for society as none other has ever done, and He was most of all anxious that they who were going to remake society should be themselves 'new men.' Materialism does not believe in 'new men.'

The materialist further insists upon the importance of environment. Here again we have learnt something. Still, though environment means much, it does not mean everything. It is true that by acting upon environment man's character is fashioned. And environment either stimulates man's powers or leaves them atrophied. So it is well that the social reformer should do his work: such questions as that of the Housing of the People are of vast importance. Insanitation breeds disease, bad social conditions breed moral disease. But cannot this be carried too far? Would not it be the logical conclusion to say that a palace was heaven, and a slum was hell? that the rich added virtue to their other monopolies, while the 'poor in

a lump are bad'? But there is practically always a power to choose or change our environment, or to modify its nature at least. Commodus will seek his profligate friends, the slum-child will find a companion and play the old games of childhood; and if everything is to depend on environment we must simply confess ourselves powerless again, and await the development of better things, for we are once more in a vicious circle. For environment means men and women, as well as houses, and parks, and streets; and how are we to reform others when they, like ourselves, are but spectators of the drama that necessity is working out in our lives? There can indeed be no other conclusion. Materialism will not retrieve as a system of morals the losses it sustained as a system of philosophy, for morality is impossible without freedom of action. But the materialist is the less dangerous—and the more ridiculous—in society, because, though firmly believing there is no such thing as free-will, he is ready to acquiesce in our affairs being carried on as though there were. And on the whole we are justified in saying, that the case for materialism was never more hopeless than it is to-day.

ALFRED J. COSTAIN.

LAMENNAIS: A TORMENTED SOUL

Oeuvres de F. Lamennais. 10 vols. Paris.

La Philosophie de Lamennais. Paul Janet.

M. de Lamennais. Renan.

M. de Lamennais en 1841. Vinet.

Lamennais Intime. Roussel.

Lamennais d'après sa correspondance, &c., &c. Rev. Père Mercier, S.J.

THE present religious crisis in France has its roots in the past; to-day is the child of yesterday. Students of these movements in France and elsewhere have called attention to the fact that all these evolutions in national and religious life point to, and radiate from, a great personality. Luther, Wesley, Napoleon I, Bismarck, are luminous centres in history. Is there a man in France who can be regarded as a type of the oscillations of French thought and action in matters religious during the nineteenth century? Amidst the galaxy of stars whose names crowd the pages of the history of France during this period, none is so variable, so puzzling, and therefore so representative as Hugues-Félicité-Robert de la Mennais.

In him all extremes meet. He was not only a great actor, but also a leader in those wars of ideas which are still going on for the education of the world. At one moment he was the pride, the hope, and the champion of the papacy, and all the papacy stands for. He died refusing the last sacraments of the church, *un révolté*—an apostate. M. Paul Janet, a master of such studies, writes that no man ever presented under a form so acute and dramatic as did Lamennais the strange spectacle of a complete revolution of ideas from absolutism in religion to free thought, and it is this which makes him a unique personage in his times.

Renan, who knew his century well, and was also familiar with ecclesiastical history, says in his magisterial essay on Lamennais, that 'he knows not if since Tertullian the world has seen so striking a contrast in one man as that which Lamennais reserved for our age. Never did greater passions excite in a greater soul more violent storms.'

Talleyrand boasted that he was a great poet, for he had made a trilogy in three dynasties; 1st act, the Empire of Bonaparte; 2nd act, the House of Bourbon; 3rd act, the House of Orléans. Lamennais has led three great movements in France. He was the founder and apostle of Ultramontanism in that country in the nineteenth century. He was the father of that *enfant terrible* of the Church of Rome, Liberal Catholicism, and he was the protagonist of the democracy on its way to revolution. Renan writes that 'what Socrates had been for the philosophic movement in ancient Greece, Lamennais was for the movement in contemporary Catholicism; everything proceeds from him.'

This great man was born at St. Malo on June 19, 1782. The teachers of the influence of heredity and environment on life and character find in Lamennais very much to justify their theories. He was a pure Celt. His mother had much Irish blood in her veins. *Bretons et Catholiques toujours* is almost the battle cry of the (*têtu*) stubborn Bretons to-day, and Lamennais was a Breton of the Bretons. From his mother he inherited that melancholy discontent with the present order of things and that love of fierce and passionate conflict which is generally supposed to be a characteristic trait of the Irish people.

Brittany is the motherland of many great men; Pelagius, Abelard, La Metterie, Descartes, Le Sage, Chateaubriand, Renan; and all these have in their writings something of the last home of the Druids. Lamennais was a case of atavism. He was a bard who sang Christian lays with the traditional druidic fervour.

His native town, proudly seated on her granite foundations and strangled by her high mediaeval ramparts, was an excellent school for a man of his temperament. The

sea is a great educator. The coasts round St Malo are amongst the most dangerous in the world. The sight of that coast during a low spring tide fills the spectator with terror, and during great storms the spectacle of the conflict between waves and rocks is appalling in its sublimity. The first years of Lamennais' life were spent along those rugged shores and barren sands within hearing of the eternal moan of the sea, and the impression then made upon his soul by the terrible in nature was never effaced.

He was born in troublous times; indeed, his whole life was spent in a whirlwind. He saw three great revolutions —1789, 1830, 1848. He saw the fall of Napoleon I; the fall of the Bourbons; the fall of the Orléanist Louis Philippe; he passed through the Reign of Terror; saw the fall of two republics and the rise of Napoleon III; but, most terrible thing of all for a religious soul, he had seen his Church almost destroyed, and the Goddess of Reason seated upon the high altar of Notre Dame.

Such events are great teachers; they develop in some natures great characters. Lamennais always did his own thinking. He began early. When quite a child he was watching with many people the storm-tossed sea and he said: 'They are looking at what I am looking, but they do not see what I see.' The child painted the man to the life. Lamennais was a visionary. He saw in life and circumstance what none of his fellows saw.

His first memories were associated with 'The Terror.' His father was a ship owner and a prosperous merchant. The family name was Robert, but one of the last patents of nobility given by Louis XVI was bestowed upon M. Robert for acts of patriotism and for civic virtues; the Robert family took its title from their landed estate—La Mennais. During a part of the revolutionary period, priests could not officiate in public, but mass was said in the house of M. de la Mennais, and young 'Féli'—as he was called in the family circle and by all his intimates in after life—either served mass or mounted guard in

order to give the first warning of danger. During his ecclesiastical career he was styled M. l'Abbé de la Mennais, and when he became a democrat, Lamennais.

The boy lost his guardian angel—his mother—when he was five years old. Never did child more need a patient, intelligent mother than this turbulent young soul. When irritated he would give way to paroxysms of anger which often ended in a fainting fit. These disappeared in the course of time, but the paroxysms, more or less violent, endured throughout life. He moved from crisis to crisis. This lover of *peace* was always at war. This recluse was a stormy petrel, always on the wing. This man who says that writing was the most irksome task of his life was one of the most voluminous and perfect writers of his day.

The boy was unmanageable to all but his good nurse. Arguments were weighted with a heavy pebble tied to his waist as he sat strapped to a chair! At the age of twelve he was sent to the house of his maternal uncle for change of air and discipline, but the good man soon found that the only way in which he could secure his own peace was to lock up the rampageous youth in the library. It was a goodly room, full of excellent books, but there was a closed cupboard in it which was called *Hell*, because the books which a good Catholic must not read were kept there. With the instinct of an alert mind, 'Féli' flew to the cupboard, and a strange stillness was known in the house while he devoured Rabelais, Diderot, Voltaire and our delightful Goldsmith, whom we are grieved to find in such a place. The writer who most profoundly affected him was Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose influence is still felt in the world. De la Mennais never went to school, nor to a university, and only for a short time to a seminary for priests. He was a self-taught man, and this explains his mighty strength, his originality, and all his imperfections as a thinker and writer. The untrained mind is always the victim of its want of form.

When fourteen years of age 'Féli' accompanied his father to Paris; the city was then in a ferment. All

parties were attacking the Directoire. The boy joined in the fray, and wrote articles which appeared in a royalist sheet. A precocious youth surely! Returning home he found his work in his father's counting-house most uncongenial, and the home life drew from him the bitter words that 'Ennui was born one winter evening in the family circle.'

Jean Marie, an elder brother of 'Féli,' was studying for the priesthood, and became in after life a man of sterling worth. 'Féli' joined his brother, and devoted himself with the whole energy of his passionate nature to study—especially matters connected with the Church. During Napoleon's exile in Elba Lamennais published a book which made it, he thought, unsafe for him to stay in France after the return of 'the terrible Corsican.' Lamennais fled to London, where he was in great straits. A curious picture of his appearance at this time is given in a contemporary record. Having received a letter of introduction to a titled lady, he called upon her to offer his services as tutor to her children. But when her ladyship saw him she did not even ask him to sit down, and after a few cold words dismissed him summarily. She declared that the young man *looked so stupid* that she could not think of having him under her roof. There was much to justify such a superficial examination. De la Mennais was short, even for a Breton, he had a most awkward mien, and did not know how to wear his clothes, to which he never gave much attention. He was thin, looked poor, ungainly, and sallow, his face was ravaged by fierce passions, even his grey eyes were wanting in distinction, says Cardinal Wiseman. But no one who ever met Lamennais in a duel of thought or words ever regarded him as dull or stupid. He was a 'live wire.'

His visit to London, however, bore much fruit, for here he met an excellent priest, M. l'Abbé Carron, who, for better or for worse, determined his vocation. Illness, disgust of business life and of the little world he knew, and the influence of his priest brother, brought about his

conversion. Like a good Catholic he ought to have made his first communion at twelve years of age, but then he was so full of J. J. Rousseau and the *Hell* cupboard that the good priest who heard his confession was so aghast at his principles that he dismissed the would-be communicant with horror. Lamennais made his first communion when he was twenty-two years old. He received minor orders in 1809, was ordained sub-deacon in 1816 and priest when he was thirty-four years old.

Some months after his ordination he wrote a letter to his brother which even to-day sends a shudder through many readers. He asks that he may be allowed to die in peace at the foot of the gibbet to which he has been attached. What a tragedy there is in this life that had not been without its longings for the completing of its nature!

No scandal, however, rests upon the memory of Lamennais. He lived a good life and gave himself wholly to study and devotion. La Chesnaie is to-day a place of pilgrimage for his admirers. In that home near Dinan he lived at irregular intervals but sometimes for years, and wrote and won disciples whose names are written in the history of France. Gerbert, Maurice de Guérin, Lacordaire, Montalembert and many others often stayed there. 'Plain living and high thinking' were ever the order of the day.

But La Chesnaie is famous as an intellectual workshop. It was here that Lamennais' most noted work *De l'Indifférence en Matière de Religion* was written. The work is a pamphlet in four volumes, and gives Lamennais' rank as the king of pamphleteers. Herein he revealed himself as one of the great writers of his century. It is not a treatise against lukewarmness, as some have supposed, but it is the greatest and fullest argument put forth for absolutism in matters religious. Lamennais thought he knew France as she emerged from the Napoleonic era. France was in a state of chaos, the White Terror had followed her restoration of Louis XVIII. Lamennais saw society rush-

ing to destruction. France needed a guide who would speak to her with more authority than the Revolution or Napoleon had done. That guide was the Church, that authority was the Pope. He wrote, 'There can be no religion without authority; only the Roman Catholic religion has authority; therefore the Roman Catholic Church is the only true Church.' To be indifferent in this matter; to tolerate in any way the ascendancy of the State in religious affairs, such as the appointing of bishops; to tolerate protestants, deists, atheists, who all claim reason as their authority,—is to be guilty of the greatest of all crimes in spiritual things—indifference.

Lamennais is a name of horror to the devout Romanist, but his book is one of the great arsenals from whence the defenders of the authority of the Church get their weapons. It would be very interesting to know how far this work of Lamennais influenced John Henry Newman when searching for that authority which finally led him to Rome. To 'understand' this book one must be born and bred a Roman Catholic. The formula of the Ultramontane is: No pope no church, no church no Christianity, no Christianity no religion, no religion no society, no order, but only anarchy. The Church must rule society. The Pope is the authority and the only authority in all matters of faith and morals—that is, in all life. Lamennais was a theocrat and preached a theocracy.

The logic of the Ultramontanes is pulverized by the logic of facts. The world does not rest upon the Pope. Even the Church lived the three hundred years of her most progressive life without a general council, and when one was held an unbaptized layman, an Emperor, summoned it. The Bishop of Rome was not present at any of its meetings.

The book was received with sevenfold hallelujahs by the Church. Lamennais became at once a doctor in Israel, a defender of the faith, a father of the Church, a second Bossuet. He became the lion of the Salons, the commensal of the literary men who then filled Paris and the

world with their fame. The book appeared at a very opportune moment. The Church had not heard for a long time a great voice. Bossuet, Fénelon, and Massillon, the last of her great orators, had long been silent in their graves; but now in the hour of her resurrection there had come this Breton priest, who, as with a trumpet blast was summoning to her aid the reason and the heart of France.

Soon after the appearance of the book he went to Rome, where he was received by the clerical society as a young David who had slain his tens of thousands. Pope Leo XII embraced him, and, rumour hath it, would have conferred a cardinal's hat upon his visitor but for the opposition of the French Government. The only decorations Lamennais saw in the private apartments of the Roman Pontiff were a crucifix, a portrait of the Madonna, and a lithographed picture of himself!

The book has been refuted many times. Sir James Mackintosh shatters in a sentence Lamennais' 'well varied assertions and well disguised assumptions' by saying that 'to build religion upon scepticism is the most extravagant of all attempts; for it destroys the proofs of a divine mission, and secures no natural means of distinguishing between revelation and imposture.' But the greatest refutation of the book has been given by Lamennais himself. The philosophy of this cold doctrinaire broke down in the testing-time of change. The great wave of life and hope which was then sweeping over France was, all unknown to himself, carrying him along the way of progress. France was more impatient of Charles X and his government than it had been of Napoleon.

Lamennais left La Chesnaie and came to Paris, the storm centre of revolution, and with Lacordaire and Montalembert and other enthusiastic reformers, started a newspaper—*L'Avenir*—in order to defend Catholicism against a bourgeois monarchy guilty of political atheism, but also to reconcile Catholicism with modern France and to advocate all the reforms he thought necessary for the well-being of France and of Humanity. The motto of the

paper was 'God and Liberty,' a red sign in that evening sky! Prelates were exhorted to abandon the patronage of the State and to embrace voluntary poverty and suffering; to have no other support than the divine word. They were urged to go forth like the fishermen of old into the midst of the peoples and to begin once more the conquest of the world. Seeing what is taking place in France to-day, may we not say, with that master mind Vinet, that Lamennais came into the world sixty years too soon? We call him a prophet to-day who to his generation was only a wild dreamer of dreams. Lamennais brought to his new crusade all the vehemence and all the venom, all the skill and all the passion that had hitherto characterized his work. All his opponents were enemies and were treated as such. He attacked the Government, the Church, the magistracy, law, order, property. The paper demanded universal suffrage, liberty of conscience, liberty of worship, liberty of the press, all liberties. Lamennais appealed to the people. Revolutionary ideas could no further go; such proceedings were rank blasphemy. The men who had called Lamennais a Father of the Church now looked upon him as an incarnation of Satan. Interdicts, censures, organized calumny did their worst, and the *Avenir* was done to death.

Lamennais appealed to Rome. He and his two great friends started to lay their case before the 'Holy Father,' whom they in their dreams had seen only as a spiritual ruler. They had overlooked the fact that when they were thundering against kings and despots they were smiting the Pope himself, whose government was the most despotic, the most arbitrary, and the most miserable in the whole Christian world. Never was a man more befooled by a Pope than was Lamennais by Gregory XVI. The volume of *Les affaires de Rome* is very interesting reading, 'significant of much,' and for those who can read between the lines tragically-comical. Lamennais saw the Pope, but was not given time to say a word. His elaborately planned defence remained in his keeping. He waited in vain for

another audience, then his grief and indignation burst forth in a letter which is read to-day with pain, but an extract from which is given in order to paint his sentiments and to give an idea of what his style of writing could be at times. 'Lamennais wrote that Rome then was the foulest cesspool that had ever sullied the eyes of man. There is no God there but interest. There they would sell the people, sell the human race, sell the three persons of the Holy Trinity separately or in a lot for a piece of land or for a few piastres!' He returned to France via Germany. While being entertained at a banquet in Munich, he was called out of the room, and returned suffocating with rage and despair because it had been told him that the doctrines of the *Avenir* had been condemned in a papal encyclical. This was a crushing blow for Lamennais, but the Church of Rome then cursed all modern ideas.

When Lamennais returned to Paris he made his submission to the Pope in a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, but in his mind he kept his politics free from ecclesiastical control. This attitude is grotesque for those who know the rôle of the Church in political affairs. However, the ecclesiastical authorities professed to be satisfied with this recantation and thought that Lamennais was silenced for ever.

Never was security more rudely and terribly shaken. Soon from La Chesnaie came another pamphlet which startled the world. *Les Paroles d'un Croyant* was only a few pages, but it was such a cry of anguish, of despair, and yet of hope that men were thrilled with horror and with desire for better things. The style of this vaticination is biblical and dithyrambic. Some of the readers of this REVIEW may not have read the *Words of a Believer*. They may therefore be interested in a translation of what may be called Chapter XXXVI. This is divided into something like verses. Each verse begins with the question: 'Young soldier, whither goest thou?' Then follows the soldier's answer, which is crowned with the same benediction: 'May thy arms be blessed, young soldier.'

'I go a warring for God and the altars of the Fatherland: I go a warring for righteousness, for the holy cause of the peoples, for the sacred rights of humanity; to deliver my brethren from oppression, to break their chains and the chains of the world; to fight iniquitous men for those whom they overthrow and tread under their feet; for slaves against their masters and for liberty against tyrants, so that we may no longer be the prey of the few; to raise the heads which are bowed down and to strengthen the feeble knees.

'I go a warring so that fathers shall no longer curse the day when it was told them "a son is born unto you," nor mothers curse the day when they first pressed their babe to their bosom; in order that the brother shall no more be sad when he sees his sister fade as the grass which the earth refuses to nourish; so that the sister shall no longer look with weeping eyes on her brother who is going away never more to return.

'I go a warring so that every one may enjoy in peace the fruit of his labour, to dry the tears of little children who are crying for bread and to whom it is said there is no more bread, what remained has been taken from us.

'I go a warring for the poor man so that he may not be for ever dispossessed of his share in the common heritage, in order to banish hunger from the cottages, to bring back plenty in every household and also security and joy; in order to restore to those whom oppressors have cast in deep dungeons the air which their lungs are crying for and the light for which their eyes are straining; to overthrow the barriers which separate nations and which prevent them from embracing one another as the children of the same Father and destined to live united in a common love; to affranchise from the tyranny of man thought, speech, conscience.

'I go a warring for the eternal laws descended from on high, for the justice which protects rights and for the love which sweetens the evils which are inevitable; so that all may have a God in heaven and a Fatherland on earth.'

'May thy arms be blessed—seven times blessed, young soldier.'

These burning, inflamed words fell like a lighted torch in a stack of dried faggots. The excitement produced by this 'tract for the times' was immense. It was a French rendering of the song 'God save the people.' Sainte-Beuve, to whom the MS. had been confided so that he might see it through the press, tells us how when he went to the printing-office he found that all the men had left off their work, and were grouped around one of their mates who was declaiming passages from this prose poem. Clericalism reeled under the stroke of this 'Apocalyptic Satan.' The book was placed on the Index; the author was condemned by the Pope; but there was then no power to stem the tide which rose to the height of the revolution of 1848.

Lamennais never turned back from the course on which he had entered. The Church looked upon him as a renegade, an outlaw, an apostate. Friend after friend left him. Lacordaire, Montalembert, and many others made their submission to Rome and social order, and left their old master and leader severely alone. His sky became greyer and greyer. He became more and more morose, passionate, bitter in his denunciations, and more and more wild in his dreams of social regeneration. He wanted Dives to have his hell on this earth, and Lazarus to have his 'good things' here and now. Lamartine says that he became a ruthless demagogue. It is certain that he was a very curious one. The vine of humanity can produce rich grapes, but it was not from these that Lamennais would produce the wine of the kingdom, but out of those fermented lees of the winepress which can only yield an inferior wine. All virtue, all authority, is with the democracy. Yet every member of this democracy must be virtuous and love his fellows like a brother. Lamennais had banished reason from his reasoning.

He was often in abject misery, suffering from cold and hunger; he endured long imprisonments and heavy fines, but he retained his fierce independence. He never sold

his pen, his power, his talents. He remained ever the haughty priest of the new order he sought to found.

His literary activity continued unabated. Thousands of his letters are in existence, and leading experts say that he is the greatest writer of letters France has ever known. Every year saw a volume from his pen in which he pleaded the cause which just at that time awakened his sympathies. He published, with notes all impregnated with the social teaching of Jesus, a translation of the Gospels, which book was condemned by Rome. His last years were spent in writing *Une Esquisse de Philosophie* in four volumes, which that great authority in matters philosophical, M. Paul Janet, praises highly.

It was while finishing a translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* that death brought him rest, and opened to him the realm where no social disorders vex the soul.

He died impenitent. To those who know the importance the Roman Catholic Church attaches to confession and extreme unction in the hour of death, the attitude of this dying priest is marvellous. The little frail body enshrined a dauntless soul. In early youth he had fought a duel, on his death-bed he fought another with powers and principalities. These tried hard to get his soul. Lacordaire, Montalembert, the Archbishop of Paris, even the Pope would have befriended him in his dying hour, but he most stubbornly refused all ghostly service. The frantic appeals of members of his family were of no avail. A few friends who were faithful unto death watched over him and received his last will and testament. Suffering, he said, had been his life-long couch, but on February 27, 1854, the great rest came. A few hours before his death a message sent by the Archbishop of Paris moved him deeply. A large solitary tear slowly trickled down his furrowed, storm-beaten face, but he said, very firmly, *No*, No, NO; and turning to the wall muttered, 'Let me die in peace.'

He was buried without the rites of the Church. To have demanded a civil funeral in 1854 in the heyday of the Empire and the triumph of the Church was an act

of great courage. The funeral took place on March 1, 1854. The Government, fearing an *émeute*, lined with soldiers the streets through which the funeral cortège passed.

In accordance with his expressed wish the body of Lamennais was carried to the grave in the hearse of the poorest of the poor; not a word was spoken at the grave-side. His coffin was lowered into the paupers' grave; so that no one knows to-day where rests the body of this great worker, this tribune, prose poet, dreamer, artist, agitator, social reformer, priest indeed of a humanity he loved with the tenderness and fury of an illuminated fanatical idealist. His books are like the armour of the knights of old, beautiful curiosities in the history of the world. But his work survives: he belongs to that order of chivalry of which those are members who have not held their lives dear, but have made them a living sacrifice for suffering humanity.

Lamennais made great and numerous mistakes. He thought the Pope was Jesus Christ and the reign of the Church the kingdom of God. He thought laws made by men could save mankind. But he was right in believing in, and working for, aye, and dying for, a new earth in which righteousness would dwell for ever, and for the time when 'God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain.'

And in the light of that day, when the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, and the Lord shall heal the breach of His people; in the dawn of that morning when the earth shall be glad with a joy eternal, when the martyrs of thought and the martyrs of faith, when the soldiers of righteousness and the apostles of truth, when those who have loved with the love of the soul shall meet at the feet of the Christ, the Saviour of the world, not the least in that noble host shall be seen, Hugues-Félicité-Robert de la Mennais.

D. A. DE MOUILPIED.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN CHINA

PROTESTANT Missions have undoubtedly become an important factor in Chinese affairs, from whatever standpoint those affairs be considered, and the present time seems appropriate for some reference to their past and present relations to the Chinese people, and to the empire at large.

This spring completes the century since Robert Morrison arrived in Chinese regions, if not on the mainland, to commence his initial task of learning the language, making a Chinese-English dictionary, and translating the Scriptures. Missions on the mainland may be said to have commenced at Canton in 1832, at Amoy in 1844, and at Shanghai soon after. With the opening of more treaty ports, missionaries of the main denominations of Protestantism made them their bases, erected halls for preaching to outsiders, received inquirers in their native guest-rooms, and circulated booklets among the masses around. To these methods followed amateur dispensing and professional medical work, the founding of elementary schools for children of their adherents and others, and eventually the erection of colleges for the training of the more advanced pupils. Around each missionary there soon gathered a band of native helpers, mostly men of the poorer middle class at first, but with some evangelists of undoubted ability among them.

The problems confronting Protestant missionaries in China have been numerous. The first and most obvious one has been the general prevalence of the epithet 'Foreign devil,' and corresponding feelings behind it. This term is literally 'ocean demon,' and seems to have arisen long ago, from the piracies of the two Portuguese adventurers, Simon Andrada and Fernando Mendez Pinto. These

men, as related in Sir Rutherford Alcock's Parliamentary Papers (1857, pp. 55–61), 'made many piratical expeditions along the China coast, plundering the tombs of ancient kings, and drew down upon them the vengeance of the surrounding population, about the year 1545, thus terminating all relations of trade and amity at the northern ports until 1843.' And these being followed by a succession of adventurers from other nationalities, the new term for foreign pirate, 'ocean demon,' seems to have become current along the coast, and to have penetrated into the interior for the use of after generations. It thus met the missionary everywhere, hampering his progress, and delaying the establishment of friendly relations with the people.

More serious than this was the official suspicion that every missionary-foreigner, who travelled inland from the treaty ports, was an accredited agent of his particular Government, engaged in establishing an *imperium in imperio* in China, on behalf of that Government. This suspicion was of long standing, and found expression in the year 1723, when the newly enthroned Emperor, Yung Chêng, set himself to check the growing influence of the Jesuit Fathers who had been in favour with his predecessor, the Emperor Kang Hsi. He called three of these Fathers to an audience in the palace, and read before them a carefully prepared speech (translated in Boulger's *Short History of China*, pp. 156–7, and quoted from that translation in a bi-lingual native paper, March 6, 1906). In the course of that speech the Emperor said: 'Ricci came to China in the first year of Wan Li (1573). I will not touch upon what the Chinese did at that time. But then you were few in numbers, and you had not your people and churches in every province. You wish all the Chinese to become church members, and indeed your creed demands it; but in that event what would become of us? Should we not soon be merely the subjects of your kings? The converts you have made already recognize nobody but you, and in time of trouble they would listen to no

other voice than yours. I permit you to reside here and at Canton, so long as you give no cause for complaint' [referring to 'some Europeans of Fukien province having shown a wish to destroy the laws of China'], 'but if any should arise I will not allow you to remain either here or at Canton.' This was followed, in after years, by a wholesale massacre of priests and converts; but in process of time the Fathers regained their footing in the interior, and on the advent of Protestant missionaries the latter were also deemed to be aiming at temporal power in China.

The suspicions of the officials being thus aroused, and the ignorance of the populace being extreme, the people in various parts only needed an anti-foreign mandarin over them to give the signal for local risings for the plunder and destruction of mission property and the murder of those missionaries who were found in residence. Hence the long series of riots, anti-foreign rather than anti-Christian, which have been a feature of past decades. It must be admitted, however, that, considering the huge proportions of the country and the ever-increasing number of missionaries, riots have been the exception and not the rule. Even including the Protestant missionaries and their children who fell in the Boxer outbreak (190 during the years 1898–1900), when the total number of adult missionaries in China was over 2,500, the numbers killed in organized outbreaks during the century (215 up to October 1906) have formed but a small percentage of the whole body resident in China.

But, on any compensation being demanded of China by the nation to which the murdered missionary belonged, especially in connexion with the earlier riots, the theory of the missionary's close connexion with some foreign Power seemed to be more than justified by facts, notably in such cases where reparation for riots took the form of a demand for the opening of new treaty ports, which the Chinese construed as so many fresh centres being handed over to foreign aggression.

In such parts as the missionaries were allowed to reside

in peace, two further problems confronted them, one arising from the extreme poverty of the masses, and the other from the Oriental methods in vogue in the local law-courts.

Poverty, in a land where millions consider themselves happy if they gain a fraction over a penny a day to support life, must be to the masses a nearer fact than that of nationality. So that the missionary would be likely to have many would-be adherents. But as the prevailing poverty would also be a nearer fact than any spiritual needs proclaimed in his preaching, he would have to be more than wary as to what manner of men he admitted into church membership. And he would also have to place a check on his own charitable instincts.

With opportunities for relieving much real distress around him by a very small outlay, he dare not merge his mission into that of a mere reliever of those whose conceptions of Christian blessedness were summed up in a hoped-for daily wage and sustenance. In every centre a certain number had necessarily to be taken into employment, and the tendency was for all and sundry to approach the missionary with expectations of employment. Thus he had often to do violence to his humane instincts, and almost to his Christian principles, by hardening his heart at the cry of the needy, if he would build up anything more than a church of paupers.

The benevolent instincts of the various missionary societies, however, found some vent in the establishment of Medical Missions, and in the founding of Free Schools, in accord with Chinese ideas of good deeds. These, instead of pauperizing and demoralizing, would produce a healthy moral effect upon the neighbourhood, and raise the standard of Church membership for the next generation. By such means a grasp on the more respectable middle classes was gradually gained.

But the condition of the Chinese law-courts has affected missionary enterprise considerably. It is a fact, acknowledged everywhere by the Chinese themselves, that the administration of the law-courts, especially the county-

courts, with which the populace have most to do, is apt to follow the lines of policy rather than of principle: giving the case to the side which possessed the larger amount of revenue, or the higher amount of power. And however much a missionary might wish to dissociate himself from any political relations with his own Government, he could hardly help being connected, in the mandarin's mind, with a Western consul who possessed the power of appeal to Peking. For missionaries have had the right, acknowledged by treaty, of remonstrating when any of their members have suffered persecution for their Christianity, the right to claim for them equal privileges with the rest of the populace. This, in the chaotic condition of county-court justice, has meant that the mere presentation of the missionary's red visiting-card, or a visit paid to the mandarin, and especially an appeal to the consul, would always serve to decide any law-case against a church-member, in that member's favour. Hence the missionary has had to be on his guard. To gain a case at law on behalf of a member who had actually been persecuted for his Christianity (say in the matter of nonconformity to idolatrous rites), might give the populace such an exalted idea of his power with officials that a crowd of self-styled inquirers would use every possible artifice to gain the immunities of church membership. And, should he have been deceived in the man he championed, and have gained the case against the innocent, the sinister impression left upon the neighbourhood would effectually check the ingathering of sincerer inquirers.

These difficulties have not been so notable in city missions; but in many country parts, which are often riddled with long-continued clan-feuds, the problem has often been a very pressing one. And the case has been further complicated by the fact that the native priests among the Roman Catholics have often tacitly promised 'consular protection' to as many as will join the ranks of their inquirers; while many of the Western priests have declared it to be their policy to gain as many adherents

as may apply to them, setting little store by the first generation of the heterogeneous crowd, but hoping to gain sincere members among their growing children. Hence in many places large portions of certain clans have joined the Roman Catholics, and have not only gained a victory in the law-courts over clans at rivalry with themselves, but also the power to become oppressors of their less-protected neighbours. These neighbours therefore, having no hope of redress from Chinese official sources, have been compelled to try and gain the good graces of some Protestant missionary, in order to obtain the protection of his consul. And only by absolutely refusing to have anything to do with such applicants for redress of grievances has any Protestant mission been able to preserve its good name among the Chinese for righteous dealing, as opposed to mere convert-accumulating.

A few years ago the relation of missionaries to native litigants had become a point of extremest importance, especially as bogus churches were being started by adventurous natives, wholly unconnected with any Missionary Society, with protection against local oppression guaranteed upon enrolment, and the payment of an equivalent of three or four shillings annually. So that various Protestant Missionary Societies, in January 1902, passed a definite resolution: 'That in all lawsuits arising purely from civil causes the missionary shall abstain both directly and indirectly from interference on behalf of native Christians or others, and that this policy shall be made plain to our native Christians and inquirers.' This was followed by a resolution passed by native preachers themselves, declaring that if one of their number should in any way undertake such business as championship in law-cases, he ought to be immediately dismissed from mission employ. Declarations of this sort were printed in Chinese, published in the native newspapers, and in other ways brought before the officials themselves. Also, by the request of the American missionaries, the new American treaty with China, signed October 8, 1903, stated that: 'Missionaries

shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects; nor shall the native authorities make any distinction between converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality, so that both classes can live together in peace.'

The strict observance of the former half of this regulation, to which the whole body of Protestant missionaries have pledged themselves, has availed much to remove the old stigma from their evangelistic efforts, that church-members were 'subjects of foreign kings.' And it will be seen that, from the moment that local Chinese officials begin to actually 'administer the laws without partiality,' all 'church cases' will begin to disappear from among the national problems of China. They have entirely disappeared in Formosa, since its occupation by the Japanese.

From the commencement of Protestant missions in China, the officials and *literati* in general had figured as opponents of mission work, and until twenty years ago no organized effort had been made to win them over. Apart from a few colleges in the incipient stage, open to the sons of officials and gentry, very little direct influence had been exerted upon that highly important class. But this has since been remedied by the formation of a Christian Literature Society, whose authors, translators, and editors have been picked men from among the various missions.

The conception of such a society dates back to the end of the terrible Shantung-Shansi famine of 1877 to 1879, in which (as stated in *The Times* early in 1878) 'seventy millions of human beings were starving in the famine-stricken provinces of North China.' Three missionaries in particular, the Revs. Timothy Richard, David Hill, and Arnold Foster, determined to cope with this wide-spread distress, the last missionary leaving for England to raise funds for his two friends and others to distribute. About £20,000 was turned into food for the famine-stricken, a Christian undertaking, as all would admit. But the conviction forced itself upon the minds of the famine-

relievers that the education of officials in improved methods of transit, by which such calamities might be minimized, and indeed instruction in all the principles and methods of national upraising, was not beyond the true scope of Christian missions. Prizes were accordingly offered, immediately after the famine, for scholarly essays upon various moral and social problems, in order to help the officials in dealing with the crying needs of the nation. The booklets thus obtained were supplemented by original works and translations from the best Western literature, until in 1887, a reformed tract society, for the scholars of China, was definitely formed; Dr. Y. J. Allen, who had been engaged in Chinese journalism since 1868, and other veterans, joining in the enterprise. While the personal religious element was prominent in the literature thus obtained, a large proportion of the works dealt with the salvation of the nation as such.

The efforts of this society, backed by the personal influence of its inaugurators, soon told upon the cultured officials and scholars in general. An initial impulse was given to that movement which has produced the beginnings of a New China, and much has been done since for the pacific development of the country, in its legislation and resources. The leading spirit of the society, Dr. Timothy Richard, has received Imperial recognition in the form of the 'First Button' rank of Chinese nobility,[1] and many of the highest officials regard him as a personal friend. Over fifty of the chief provincial officials have been receiving a weekly magazine-newspaper of the society for more than two years, and amidst the native publications of New China, the literature of the society continues to

[1] Other Protestant missionaries who have received Imperial recognition have been: Dr. John Kenneth, 'Star of the Order of the Double Dragon'; Dr. A. W. Douthwaite, and ten other medical missionaries, 'Imperial Order of the Double Dragon'; Dr. Moir Duncan, 'Second Button rank'; Drs. E. H. Edwards and I. L. Atwood, 'Third Button'; Dr. Y. J. Allen and Rev. J. W. Lowrie, 'Blue Button'; Dr. N. S. Hopkins and Rev. J. H. Pyke, 'Imperial Order of the Star'; and one or two other decorations have been offered and declined.

hold an honoured place. Western officials and merchants have regarded it as a valuable ally, and the general mission work has found in it a welcome interpreter.

The Educational Department of Protestant Missions is vigorously worked. The numbers of schools and colleges and their pupils is as follows: elementary day schools, 1,350; with a total of 16,000 male scholars and 7,000 female scholars. Colleges and boarding-schools for males, 185; for females, 93; with resident students, males 8,000, females 4,000; and day students, males 1,000, females 600. The pupils in these colleges include sons of officials and gentry, although the great system of new Government colleges at present seeks to monopolize the path of promotion to official posts.

Protestant missionaries in China have thus been, as a whole, alive to the special characteristics of their environment, and are meeting for a general conference this April, to consider how their methods may be brought up to date, in view of the changing conditions of modern developments. They are aware that much opposition yet remains to be overcome, and that some adaptation of methods and policy may have to be determined upon. But in all places where they have settled there have sprung up well-organized churches which, while requiring the aid of Western oversight for some time to come, would still remain as permanent facts were all the missionaries to be withdrawn from the land.

The membership of these churches has been:

1853 . . .	350
1865 . . .	2,000
1876 . . .	13,035
1889 . . .	37,287
1893 . . .	55,093
1900 . . .	100,000

and the present membership, reckoned up to the end of 1906, is about 150,000. In most of the missions this number might have been vastly increased had the missionaries been content to waive the stricter principles of right-

dealing with officials and people. And what has been lost in immediate membership has been gained in moral prestige, which will tell on future years.

As regards the influence of missions upon public opinion, while 'the Church' cannot be said to be a popular term among native journalists, owing to its sinister associations in the past, there is always respect and often reverence in every mention of the name of Jesus, and Christianity itself has often been quoted as an uplifting national force. The study of the New Testament has been publicly advocated by various officials, over 1,500 of whom have accepted that volume from the British and Foreign Bible Society, with graceful acknowledgements. And at the corner-stone laying of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. and Martyr Memorial Hall in Shanghai this year, a Christian *taotai* (H. E. Wong Kok-shan) spoke of the international outlook of Protestant missions as 'the drawing together of East and West, whose union can rest on no surer foundation than on Christian love.'

W. Arthur Cornaby.

PRESUPPOSITIONS

Reason and Revelation: An Essay in Christian Apology. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A., D.D. (London: Macmillan. 1902.)

The Use of the Scriptures in Theology. By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1905.)

The Churches and Modern Thought: An Inquiry into the Grounds of Unbelief and an Appeal for Candour. By PHILIP VIVIAN. (London: Watts & Co. 1906.)

THERE are probably but few students who are not able to recall the sensations of surprise and incredulity with which they made their earliest acquaintance with the Kantian philosophy. That the appearance of things should be no reliable indication of what they really are, and indeed no incontrovertible proof that the things really exist at all, strikes one at first as a wild absurdity. Surely seeing is believing. If we may not trust our eyes and our ears and our sense of touch, what hope is there that knowledge can ever be attained? But the early stage, in which Kant produces a confused sense of incomprehension, soon passes away, and distrust of the senses becomes a most useful acquisition. If the use of coloured spectacles or variable lenses conveys to the mind a variable intimation of the appearance of things, if we can at will alter for ourselves the aspect which things present to us, it ceases to be difficult to imagine that the eye also is but a sort of coloured and variable lens, and that the mind itself is by no means passive and neutral, but, like the eye, contributes actively to the formation of every impression it receives. When a child first looks along a stretch of railway without a curve, its eyes tell it that the lines are not parallel

but convergent. The mind, however, tells a different story. But can the mind be trusted any more confidently than the eyes? What if eyes and mind are alike producing an illusion? Our sense of touch tells us that granite is hard; but if our strength were greater than it is, so that granite would yield to the touch like dough, then we should say that granite was soft; and if our strength were still greater, so that we could pass our hand through it as we do through the intangible air, then we might almost conclude that granite was non-existent. Whether we are to regard granite as hard or soft or non-existent is a matter to be determined by our own sensations and not by the thing itself. The nature of the thing eludes us. A primrose by the river's brim was merely a yellow primrose to Peter Bell, but to Wordsworth it was immeasurably more. The variability was not in the primrose but in the observer. The poetry is not in the flower but in ourselves. Things are shaped and toned and coloured by our own mind. We can know nothing except as it is qualified and conditioned by an unconscious mental preoccupation. Time, space, causality are but the lenses which the mind is obliged to use. We can only know things as they appear to us, but the things themselves may be quite different from what they appear to us to be. To learn that the senses and the mind do not necessarily reveal reality is a most useful discipline which we owe to the philosophy of Kant. To distrust our own sensations, even when they agree with the sensations of other people, and most of all when they are peculiar to ourselves, is not, after all, the negation of knowledge but the only sure way to its attainment. To distrust even our convictions, to recognize at least that our convictions may not have the same binding force for other people as for ourselves, is the only sure way to the establishment of a stable and universal faith.

Without some such discipline as we have now indicated the way is open for endless debate and confusion. When each one imagines his own instinctive conceptions to be normal and incontrovertible, when each is convinced that

what he holds to be true must needs recommend itself as true for everybody else, and when each is ready to impute insincerity to another who does not see eye to eye with himself and does not acknowledge the force of the reasoning which to himself appears indisputable, then there inevitably arise those disagreements and misunderstandings and even estrangements which have wrought untold havoc among individuals and Churches. Intolerance is inevitable when a man believes not only that his own opinions are well founded but also that they must needs present themselves with equal cogency to every other candid person to whom they may be expounded. Moreover, the progress of knowledge is impossible for any man who believes his own opinions to be unalterable and synonymous with absolute truth and reality. What is the use of having a mind if you may not change it?

It is true that religious belief seeks ever for some stable basis of authority. That is inevitable. But mischief is wrought when we allow ourselves to imagine that the first shifting sand-bank we happen to be placed upon is a bed-rock of truth. Authority which is fictitious is no authority at all. Every candid and earnest believer has passed through some phase of agnosticism, and will so pass repeatedly. The passage is often painful and perplexing, but it is not to be avoided. To discover that seeing ought not to be believing, that the convergence of parallel lines is apparent merely and by no means actual, that subjective conceptions and even experiences of religion are not necessarily authoritative, is to encounter a period of unrest which is distressing. In their distress, some men—Newman is the typical instance—have too hastily welcomed an external and objective authority which has promised to relieve them of their perplexity. But the price to be paid for relief of that sort is too ruinously dear, for it is nothing less than the abandonment of the individual judgement and the unquestioning acquiescence in the judgement of other people. Even when the price has been paid the boon is soon found to be as far off as ever. The resolve to

acquiesce in external authority is itself a personal judgement and decision of the most momentous character. Moreover, the edicts of an infallible Church are subject to variable interpretation, and impose some responsibility upon the individual who interprets them. If it be said that not the Church but Scripture is the infallible authority in matters of belief, we are still not much nearer to the goal; for not only is Scripture subject to each man's own candid interpretation, but also the question whether this and that book or this and that passage is or is not Scripture has been or is to be determined not by direct intervention of God but by the devout intuition of men. Thus, in whatever direction men seek for relief from personal responsibility for their beliefs, and from the perplexity arising from unsound preoccupations of the mind, they are continually being thrown back upon just those subjective judgements and convictions which they learn to distrust and from which they desire to escape.

It appears, then, to be inevitable that we must be content to rest our beliefs ultimately upon subjective convictions, which are at the same time necessary and by possibility fallible. Happily for us our convictions are only by possibility fallible. They may be, and no doubt often are, quite in agreement with reality. Even Kant teaches that God and the soul are existences which must be postulated, existences which are necessitated by our rational analysis of what is involved in the moral law within the mind. Hegel goes still further. He holds that reality is not impossible to discover. The object of rational knowledge is, he teaches, not merely appearance but reality. The *noumena*, which Kant says we cannot know, Hegel holds to be merely the things we do not know yet. But both Kant and Hegel agree that the mind is never a mere passive mirror of impressions.

Religious beliefs, however, are not based only or mainly upon mental processes and prepossessions. If the mind is not a passive mirror but a refracting lens, must the same be said about the emotions, the conscience, the tempera-

ment? It is to these we owe our personal beliefs as much as to the mind. Moreover, education and experience and environment count for much in the determination of beliefs. Are these also untrustworthy like the mind? For the discussion of these questions we can wish for no better guide than Illingworth in his admirably lucid work cited at the head of this article. But our unaided reflection will suffice to show us how true it is, as Illingworth says, that 'the very fact that opinions seem obviously more true to one man than to another is largely due to his education and character, in which feeling and will have played an important part.' The man with a mind naturally disposed to Christianity and with a soul athirst for God will find little or no difficulty in accepting the doctrine of the Incarnation and will believe in miracles more easily than not; but he will be wrong if he supposes that all unbelief on the part of other people is, as it would be in his own case, wilful and unnatural hardening of the heart. On the other hand, a man prepossessed by an analytical and judicial habit of mind will find miracles incredible, in that they conflict with natural order; but he will be wrong if he imagines that the faith of another is only possible by uncandid ignoring of evidence. To allow spiritual experiences on the one hand, or concentration of the mind upon the material order on the other hand, to become a dominant factor in the determination of belief, is to allow more weight to a preconception than it is legitimately entitled to carry. Gladstone and Huxley could never come to an agreement, because each was occupied by an *a priori* preconception antagonistic to that of the other. Darwin, in his later life, recognized this disability in his own case and acknowledged (the letter is printed in the *Life* by his son) that if he had his time over again he would correct his scientific habit of mind by cultivation of the imagination. Even conscience itself is by no means the infallible guide it is popularly supposed to be. 'Follow your conscience by all means, but first make sure that it is not the conscience of an ass,' was an epigram perhaps too vividly

picturesque, but there can be no doubt that conscience is much too variable to be regarded as absolutely trustworthy. In Germany it is a point of honour and conscience to fight a duel upon occasion; in England both honour and conscience are held to be violated when a duel is fought. Among individuals it frequently happens that one man's conscience approves a line of conduct the direct opposite of that approved by the conscience of another. Nor is there stability or universality in the dictates of experience. The range of experience is limited for every man, no matter how wide and varied it may have been. Moreover, its range is to a large extent determined and conditioned by the man himself in accordance with his personal predispositions; and, still further, it is interpreted by each in his own way. An imperfect interpretation of an imperfect experience is of little value in matters of belief. Experience can only be trustworthy when it is universal, and even then it is liable to be wrongly interpreted. So we are led to the conclusion that subjective experiences are no more to be regarded as an infallible authority than are the edicts of an objective and external Church. Valuable as experience is, it must be classed with the sentiments, the conscience, the emotions, the environment, and be regarded as an inconstant and variable mentor, with little authority and no finality.

Nevertheless it is a distinct gain to have this instability recognized. It is a mark of advance when a man comes to recognize that he may by possibility be wrong even in the convictions which he most sincerely cherishes. The present-day unsettlement of convictions long and strenuously held has its wholesome aspect. If some of our beliefs are losing for the moment the unquestioning confidence we have hitherto accorded to them, the loss is by no means unmitigated. We may have to leave behind some minor articles of our creed to perish by the wayside, but the beliefs we shall still be able to carry with us will have become the more real and helpful a possession for being intelligently and securely held. Moreover, we become less

alarmed and disturbed by hostile arguments when we recognize that they too find their main support in disputable preconceptions. If our beliefs are in any sense and to any extent dominated by unreliable prepossessions, it is most certain that hostile beliefs are vitiated by the same disability and are made impotent by the same defect. In the examination of the foundations, faith will lose a little, but unbelief will lose much more.

We have been led into this line of argument by the reading of several books recently published, some more weighty than others, and all dominated by some presupposition of which the writers appear to be unconscious, but which more or less effectually mars their reasoning. Of course it is not recent books alone which are subject to this disability. Ever since disagreements about modern questions in religious belief became acute, the same fallacy may be found to underlie arguments by men whose names have become famous. Take, for instance, Strauss, whose *Leben Jesu*, issued in 1835, was one of the earliest modern criticisms of the historical value of the Gospels. Strauss appears to have become possessed by a certain theory concerning the historical methods of the evangelists. We hesitate to describe it as a merely subjective and *a priori* theory, for it is very possible that it occurred to him in the course of his examination of the documents and not prior to that examination. Nevertheless, having once conceived his theory, he must needs make the whole presentation of Jesus by the evangelists conform to it! The theory simply imputes a prepossession to the evangelists themselves. It assumes that they thought themselves obliged at all costs to represent Jesus as superior at all points to the Old Testament prophets. If Elisha made iron to swim, or was currently thought to have done so, then Jesus must be represented as Himself walking upon water. And so on. It only needed cleverness of the sort that Strauss possessed to enable him to state the gospel narrative in terms of his theory. What was needed to make his work a success was not so much that readers should recognize the excel-

lence of his argument as that they should share his preconception. If men had been able to accept the theory at the back of his argument, we should all have been disciples of Strauss by this time; but because men were unable to accept it, or to regard it as anything else than incredible and ridiculous, the very subtle argument has utterly failed to convince. Indeed Strauss himself, thirty years later, abandoned the attempt to combine an historical investigation with a particular philosophic and dogmatic preconception, and issued a *New Life of Jesus*, in which the method of presentment was considerably altered.

Nor was the case widely different with Renan. Mr. Estlin Carpenter remarked, in a recent book of his, that Renan's work has made Jesus conceivable by thousands who cared nothing for Him before. Whether that be the result or no, it is probable that that was the intention of the *Vie de Jésus*. Nothing that the world would regard as crude or gross could be tolerated in the presentment of Jesus. 'Be it far from Thee, Lord,' is as much the misguided instinct of Renan as of Simon Peter. Jesus must be presented to us with something of Parisian refinement. Hence the delicate sentimentality, the languid grace, the glowing apostrophe, of Renan's work. But again it was found that the people sharing Renan's prepossession were comparatively few. Blood-shedding had so long been regarded as essentially connected with religion that people generally were not horrified by the cross nor are likely to be. Even the welter of blood in Old Testament sacrifices does not shock the ordinary reader. French people themselves apparently did not share Renan's sensitiveness, and so did not find themselves convinced by his setting of the story. Within a year Renan had discovered that fact and had issued a new *Jésus*, which he had attempted to write 'like a cool historian.' '*Mon Dieu! peut-être est-il ainsi plus vrai*,' he adds with engaging candour. For he was not lacking in candour, and his preconception of a sentimental Jesus had no doubt been quite sincerely held, and believed to be indisputably true.

Coming to more recent books, a very fruitful field for question-begging preconceptions is found in works which deal with theories of inspiration. The old custom was to start to read the Bible with the preconceived idea that every word in it was inspired by God. To fit the facts into that theory was no easy matter, but the devout belief in the theory made the judgement mute. Now, however, we are entertaining a more wholesome and workable conception of inspiration, but even this is liable to misuse. The great problem at present seems to be whether St. Paul may or may not be regarded merely as one of the early Christian Fathers. Bacon and Weinel and some others already assume quite frankly that he may be so regarded, and do not take the trouble to discuss the matter. They approach the Pauline epistles as they would approach any other patristic writings. Dr. W. N. Clarke goes still further. For him there is no objective canon of Scripture at all. He will no more have an inspired book than he will have an infallible Church. The use and value of the Scriptures in theology is to be determined, he says, by the reader's own judgement. He has no doubt that the judgement is quite equal to the task. The judgement as a test of Christian ethics is the preconception which is the basis of his recent book. 'Nothing that is not Christian in its genuine quality has any place in our Christian theology, even though we may have read it on the pages of the Bible. . . . It remains for us theologians to separate the Bible into its diverse elements in order that the Christian element in its full glory may be received alone to influence theology. This is that rule of simplicity and certainty which theology has been seeking but has never fully found.' Here is simplicity, perhaps, but certainty will hardly be reached on these lines. When each man is left to make a Christianity for himself the result will be as many creeds and as many sects as there are Christians. It is vain for Dr. Clarke to argue, as he does, that because we owe to human judgement the Scriptures themselves, in respect to the determination of the canon, therefore to

human judgement may be left the determination of endless canons within the canon. The whole gist of Dr. Clarke's argument is that human judgement in the determination of the canon was anything but reliable. And, further, the canon was the result of the collective judgement of the Church at large and not of individuals. Once admit the presupposition of the reliability of the individual judgement and all the rest of Dr. Clarke's alluring argument becomes convincing enough; but the trouble is that it would be much more practicable to revert to the old conception of the infallible Church and the infallible book than to make reason the critic and judge of revelation.

Of the fallacious presuppositions which, more unconsciously than in Dr. Clarke's case, underlie quite a crop of recent books on belief, we will take only one more as an example, Mr. Vivian's *Churches and Modern Thought.* Mr. Vivian is a candid and conscientious unbeliever. Apparently it is with sorrow that he finds himself unable to accept the Bible as a trustworthy guide. He is in search for truth, and cannot imagine how bishops and others can go on teaching as truth the early chapters in Genesis or some stories in the New Testament. His conception of truth appears to be that it is just historical veracity, neither more nor less nor other than that. We wonder what his reply would be if a little child asked him whether the *Pilgrim's Progress* was a true story. Of course it is not true in the limited sense in which Mr. Vivian appears to conceive truth, but it is more true than most histories nevertheless. Why should it not be the same with many Bible stories and parables and poems? Mr. Vivian is not able to see even that the old device of writing in another's name was not falsehood and forgery but rather the opposite. Such is the position which it is possible for honest men to take when they start from a questionable or false preconception which to themselves appears as self-evident as an axiom of Euclid.

At their best, our Western habits of mind seem to be in need of some modification and enlargement. Christianity

has hitherto thriven most in the West, and has only touched the East as a Western religion. For centuries Western modes of thought have not only determined dogmatic theology but have also become the rigid environment of personal faith and of the interpretation of the Scriptures. What would Christianity have become by this time if she had originally turned Eastward instead of Westward? What forms will Christianity take when she does at last lay hold of the Eastern peoples and set them to think upon her problems and to interpret her Scriptures? What unfamiliar preconceptions will Japan and India, in the perhaps near future, introduce into our Christian beliefs? Already a Hindu Christian, of high birth and great learning, has been preaching among high-caste Hindus his own views of Christianity after seventeen years of study. Swami Dharmananda has made a first-hand examination of Christianity from his own point of view and in the light of Eastern preconceptions. The picture which he draws of our Lord he believes himself to have taken straight from the New Testament. Some account of it was given in *The Times* and *The Spectator* in the latter part of 1904. It is a picture unlike that known in any Western Church. He dwells on many points which we slur over and slurs over some points on which we dwell. He finds no difficulty in believing the miracles; supernaturalism presents no obstacle to the faith of an Oriental. Our Western scientific habit of mind is as foreign to him as it was to the earliest believers. Other predispositions of ours are equally startling to him. Our meat-eating and sport-loving tendencies seem to him to be out of harmony with Christ's teaching. Our love of money shocks him with his New Testament before him. If only Hindus would read the sacred books of Christianity, and not regard the example of Christians, he is sure they would be convinced. He prays his hearers not to judge a great and ancient religion by the prejudices and superstitions of ages in the West; and he holds that the best hope of the ultimate conversion of India lies in the rise of an inde-

pendent Indian Church. How much more that would mean besides the conversion of India he does not inquire, nor can we easily guess. But one thing is quite certain; if Christianity has been enriched by nineteen centuries of Western thought, she still awaits a further, and as yet undreamt-of, enrichment from the thought of the Eastern races.

Meanwhile a perplexing question thrusts itself upon us. Are we never to reach finality in matters of faith? Are we never to be sure that we have arrived at ultimate reality? Must it ever be that, as in nature 'the eye half sees and half creates,' so in religion the personal temperament and experience will always half determine the creed? Whatever may be the final answer to this question we must for the present be content to believe with Hegel that reality is even now to some extent intelligible and attainable. Doubtless experience is not trustworthy when it is that of one individual and is unconfirmed by the experience of others, but we may nevertheless place some confidence in the general experience. It may be true that a rose is only apparently red and sweet, that its colour and its fragrance are merely phenomena, and that the reality, if reality there be, is not necessarily accordant with our perceptions. Nevertheless, for all practical purposes, we may well be content with the agreement of testimony in the matter, an agreement amounting almost to unanimity. And we may be equally sure that God exists and reveals Himself; for the persuasion in this matter too is almost, if not quite, universal. The day is far distant when in some matters of religious persuasion we shall have a blending of universal experience and perception; but to this consummation each individual and each race is entitled to contribute. Religious faith is by no means fostered when each hath a vision of his own and each an interpretation apart from the rest. Not the least powerful argument for missions is the one most seldom urged, namely, that the propagation of New Testament teaching among other than Western nations will not only enrich those nations but will also enlarge and deepen our Christian conceptions.

HENRY T. HOOPER.

CULTURE IN THE CRUCIBLE

An Epoch in Irish History. By J. P. MAHAFFY. (T. Fisher Unwin. 1906.)

Pen, Patron, and Public. (Greening. 1907.) *Latest Report of the British School at Athens.*

Tragic Drama. By LEWIS CAMPBELL. (Smith, Elder & Co. 1904.)

THE foundation of the British School of studies at Athens, rather more than twenty years ago, concentrated and organized the energies expended on the Hellenic Renaissance of our own day. The true author of the scheme, the great Cambridge Hellenist, accepted the present writer as his colleague. The idea indeed had long been a fixed ambition with the late Sir R. C. Jebb, professor of Greek at Cambridge and member of Parliament for his University. It was my privilege, when conducting *The Fortnightly Review*, to provide him with the opportunity of putting his views on the subject before the world. It had already been satisfactorily ascertained that, once the programme had been explained in the periodical, there existed a reasonable prospect of giving it practical effect. Sir Richard Jebb possessed many valuable friends and accomplished sympathizers in his project, among and outside his brother scholars on the Cam. Conspicuous in this number was the present treasurer of the Athens School fund—a director also of the London and Westminster Bank, and one who, to a greater extent than has been witnessed since the historian of Greece, George Grote, combines a genius for commerce and finance with a rare insight into the temper of Greek literature and thought of all ages—Mr. Walter Leaf. His translation of the *Iliad*

marked the same kind of epoch for English Grecophilism as had been done somewhat earlier by Philip Worsley's version of the *Odyssey* and J. A. Symonds' illuminating and picturesque writing about lyric and elegiac poets. To these should be added the names of Sidney Colvin and Charles Thomas Newton. At a later period the undertaking gained fresh usefulness and wider educational value by the association with it of Mr. Oscar Browning and Professor J. P. Mahaffy. None of Dr. Mahaffy's contemporaries has done more than he to prepare the popular mind to profit by Oxford and Cambridge extension lectures, or by other agencies for diffusing an intelligent interest in the wit, wisdom, and learning of old Greece. That there exists to-day a distinct revival of Greek art and letters as not only a recognized but an effective instrument of culture, is due to the industry and research and to the attractive literary exposition of Dr. Mahaffy as much as to any individual agency connected with any seat of learning in the Empire. However, as Dr. Mahaffy now shows, the famous foundation of which he is so bright an ornament has in the past shown more activity than some of us always remember in encouraging and systematizing the cultivation in these islands of the earliest linguistic medium common to philosophy and religion. What in relation to the Greek language Erasmus had been to Oxford in the sixteenth century, Cudworth, Henry More, Whichcote, and the other Platonists were to Cambridge a hundred years later. Long before that, the Greek curriculum of Trinity College, Dublin, had, as in a very interesting chapter Dr. Mahaffy makes clear, equipped itself with a thoroughly effective apparatus for regular teaching in the older of the two classical tongues.

Our nineteenth-century Hellenism was appreciably aided by a social function at Marlborough House which, in 1883, preceded the establishment in the Greek capital of the institution that now helps, enlightens, and guides those whom the genius of the city animates with a desire to make their sojourn under the shadow of the Acropolis instructive as well as agreeable. In the summer of 1883

the then Prince of Wales had acquainted himself with the acceptability of Sir Richard Jebb's project to his relative, the King of the Hellenes. Before the arrival of the day on which the meeting was to be held beneath his own roof, the Heir Apparent had given another proof of his remarkable aptitude for accurately and quickly mastering unfamiliar details, with such available facts as help to illustrate or explain them. The gathering itself was memorably representative of English distinction in every walk of life. Mr. Gladstone, then Prime Minister, his successor, at that time his chief opponent, Lord Salisbury, the head masters of the great public schools, the heads of the most famous colleges at the Universities, the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Frederick Leighton, the most discriminating and generous intellectual patron of his day, Lord Houghton and the Marquis of Dufferin, had all, with many others, responded to the summons. The Marlborough House meeting was not only a practical success; it elicited, thanks largely to the generous initiative of Mr. Pandeli Ralli, immediate pecuniary support; it was marked at its close by an occurrence which does not yet seem to have found its way into print, showing a famous man, now no more, in a characteristically humorous light. While the vote of thanks to the Prince of Wales was being proposed, there began to be put in circulation a sheet of foolscap at the top of which the Royal chairman had signed his name. It was taken for granted that the then master of Marlborough House desired a complete list of the company over which he had presided. Every one, therefore, hastened to sign his name. At last the paper reached Lord Dufferin; he, instead of adding his signature, put the paper in his pocket and, the proceedings being now quite over, with the courtliest of bows, left the room. 'The truth is,' he smilingly remarked to a friend who went with him, 'one of my daughters collects autographs, and I thought the opportunity too good to be lost.'

The phil-Hellenism of an earlier period was helped forward by even more fashionable assemblages in Lady

Blessington's drawing-room at Gore House, Kensington. That house has not received from posterity due credit for the part played by it in promoting some of the best and most beneficent movements of the time. When the devout and austere Edmund Burke wished to devise a scheme for providing homeless and impoverished foreigners with surroundings conducive to their moral and physical health, he consulted Lady Blessington, who at once gave orders to Count D'Orsay for immediate action. At a drawing-room meeting at Gore House the earliest association for relieving necessitous aliens was suggested and provided with a liberal endowment. Beneath Lady Blessington's roof, also during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the cult of Hellenism as it then existed was first organized into that Greek Society to which Byron and Bentham both belonged. The earliest and the most inspiring of its promoters was a man named Blaquière, noticeable in the present context because the features of his literary style in several books of foreign travel were reproduced by George Borrow some years later; they thus became models of composition for the later writers of a generation whose earlier masters of prose and guides to culture had been Edmund Gibbon and Samuel Johnson.

Greater, however, and more essential than can be measured by years is the difference between the early Greek renaissance of the nineteenth century and that of our own day. The former originated in the traditional English sympathy with the natives of an illustrious and oppressed land struggling to be free; that feeling, of course, reinforced itself with intellectual alliance furnished by letters and art. In due time the country whose classical sons, by repelling the Persian invader, prevented Asiatic influences from overrunning, from dominating, or even colouring European thought, shook off the foreign yoke. The cult of Hellenism had performed its social and political work; its occupation was gone; it bequeathed to future generations no specific agency of mental discipline. In a word, it passed without making itself felt by the

thought and scholarship of its own age or of posterity. Nearly a century before the friends of Greece federated themselves in a South Kensington drawing-room, John Wesley had been elected fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford (1726); the same year he became College lecturer in Greek. During the short time of his holding this office Wesley did more than any of his contemporaries towards improving the standard of Greek scholarship and extending the area of Greek studies for his University at large; his Lincoln classes for studying some points in the smaller Platonic dialogues constituted the same kind of landmark in Oxford Hellenism as was done almost a hundred years afterwards by John Henry Newman's Aristotle lectures to the Oriel undergraduates.

Among the earliest promoters of the Hellenistic cult in its first development, Jeremy Bentham alone foresaw the date when Greek art and antiquities as topics of polite conversation would rank with the 'pictures, taste, Shakespeare and the musical glasses' enumerated by the Vicar of Wakefield. All this has now come to pass; an annual increase is reported in the numbers of non-academic visitors to the city of the Violet Crown who make the British School the centre of operations during their stay. For those who stay at home, Oxford and Cambridge extension lectures or the teachers provided by London University at provincial centres and the contents of Hellenic art galleries, gazed on by fashionable London to-day, by East-end sight-seers to-morrow, anon displayed to Bank-holiday crowds in the great local capitals, may be almost described as making the twentieth-century Briton, on whatever social level, the contemporary fellow countryman of Phidias, Praxiteles, and Zeuxis. For more select companies the art or letters of the Attic prime is served up in Mayfair by Herr Emil Reich in his oral discourses, or by Mr. W. L. Courtney in his original and ingenious writings on the modern and ancient stage. The former of these masters has seemed to favour the opinion that if Plato had only lived in our own days he might have rivalled George Eliot as a novelist

of sex. Blessed with a modern environment, with the perusal of newspaper law reports, and some knowledge of society behind the scenes, Euripides or Sophocles, as a writer of problem plays, might have rivalled Ibsen in the particular walk of that dramatist's genius. 'When,' recently said a large employer of Lancashire labour who also in his day distinguished himself in the Cambridge classical tripos, 'I go home to lunch, my daughter poses me with hard questions about the Eleatic philosophy; I return to my office to be asked to adjudicate in a discussion between my workmen on the movements of the Pyrrhic dance or the formation of the Macedonian phalanx. With these experiences part of one's daily life, one almost fancies that unconsciously his works have transported themselves from the Irwell to the Ilissus.'

The Greek renaissance of our time has tended to enlarge the area, to enrich the learning, to correct the mistakes and to dispel the misconceptions of professional scholars. Here the revived influence of John Wesley's Greek lectures at Lincoln has been at work. As Wesley insisted ought to be done, Polybius has been added to the teaching libraries in colleges of all denominations. Hellenism having become at once fashionable and popular, it remains for the leading spirits of the English School at Athens to rediscover the mediaeval monuments of the classical city, and by the light of material evidence, disinterred from the rubbish-heap of ages, to reconstruct its interesting and important story from the point at which Justinian's decree closed the doors of its university.

One might as soon underestimate the importance of the invention of printing as undervalue the Greek element in English letters and education. The sixteenth-century Renaissance, however, would have had for England much less important results, but for the fact that the revival of classical learning was contemporary with spiritual and intellectual emancipation from the levelling obscurantism of Rome. The dynamic force at work upon the creative minds of English letters, and so the vitalizing power of

English culture, has always been the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue. In the space still at our disposal a few instances may be mentioned. Chaucer may have found the plots for his *Canterbury Tales* in Boccaccio and other Italian authors. When the Father of Poetry essays the part of moral teacher, as, unostentatiously indeed, throughout his writings he does, he invariably adapts Hebrew principles and ideas to English conditions. Take the most famous lines in the Canon Yeoman's Tale:

> . . . Whoso maketh God his adversary,
> As for to work anything in contrary,
> Unto His will certes ne'er shall he thrive
> Though that he multiply through all his live.

Dr. Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews, in a volume too familiar to be quoted here, has accurately gauged the dimensions of Shakespeare's debt to the Bible in respect both of diction and idea; incidentally he has also shown that in the use of certain words and grammatical idioms Chaucer took for his model, particularly in the use of the definite, the indefinite article, and the word 'death,' an earlier version of those Scriptures from which in a later translation Shakespeare drew alike more of his phraseology and diction than from any other single source. As has been justly said by Professor Lewis Campbell in his work on the Tragic Drama, Mr. Churton Collins is unrivalled for his acute perception of similarities in literature; he has thus easily shown that the 'small Latin and less Greek' for which the national poet takes credit included a considerable acquaintance with the masterpieces of the Greek stage. Even thus, however, the views of life, of character, of man's position in the universe, of his relations to destiny on the one hand and free-will on the other, to be found in Shakespeare, are in striking contrast to the ideas illustrated in every play of Aeschylus, of Euripides, of Sophocles. Whatever the foe he may find in circumstance, man is after all at some time or other the controller of fate; he has

but to take at the flood the tide in human affairs to be the sure architect of his own good.'

The surest materials for an analogy between the Greek dramatic writers in the period of Pericles and the dramatists of our own Elizabethan epoch are supplied by the conditions under which the Athenian and the Briton wrote. In both cases it was an era of national expansion, exaltation, of freedom from great perils, gained at the price of much blood and treasure. In Greece the Persian had been beaten back to his own side of the Aegean Sea. In England the sailors and soldiers of the Virgin Queen had first withstood and then scattered the power of Spain. There exists also some likeness between the incidents in their national history whence the English and the Attic playwrights drew their characters and plots. What the period and the dramatis personae of the earliest struggles of Greece against Asia were to Aeschylus, that the Wars of the Roses were to Shakespeare. The chief actors both in the classical and the mediaeval struggles were a few members of the great families. The campaign in Asia Minor against the house of Priam affected the national life of the two parties to the struggle scarcely less than the York and Lancaster contest brought within its vortex the humbler English masses. The tragic woes of the house of Pelops and Atreus had their parallels in the series of horrors, the massacres, the burnings and the mutilations which began with St. Albans and only ended with Bosworth Field. As with the creator of *Hamlet*, so with the author of the *Faerie Queene*. Spenser was primarily a court poet. To a task suitable for him as the great Queen's laureate, he adapted the mass of mediaeval superstition which he found ready to hand. Even thus, however, the didactic, which is in its origin the Hebraic, impulse of the English temper, caused him in his great poem to aim at drawing, in his own words to Philip Sidney, 'a faithful picture of a Christian gentleman.' To come down to our own day, Browning is Italian and Tennyson Greek; Matthew Arnold had steeped himself more deeply even than Tennyson in intellectual Hellenism.

Yet the note sounded most deeply and most frequently by the author of 'Merope' is as didactic as any sermon or lecture of his father, the great Rugby head-master. So too with Wordsworth, the classical form is reproduced in such compositions as the 'Ode to Duty.' The lessons inculcated are those which could have been set forth only by an imagination charged with scriptural devotion. A recent volume, *Pen, Patron, and Public*, shows how much more equally than at any earlier time the highest culture is distributed throughout the whole middle-class area. Poetry has been called by Matthew Arnold a criticism of Life; Arnold, too, has described conduct as one half of life. Thus in the chosen representative of modern culture, in the very hierophant of that discipline, does the Hebrew temper, as distinct from the Hellenistic, find its expression. A nation's literature, the very sublimation of a nation's intellectual training, is the mirror of its life and character. The reflexion dominating that mirror in the case of England is nearest of kin in its origin, not to the Aryan, but to the Semitic *principle*.

T. H. S. Escott.

THE MODERN ATTITUDE TOWARDS BELIEF IN A FUTURE LIFE

Science and Immortality. By WILLIAM OSLER, M.D., F.R.S. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1905.)

The Eternal Life. By HUGO MUNSTERBERG. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1905.)

In Quest of Light. By GOLDWIN SMITH. (The Macmillan Co. 1906.)

Future Life in the Light of Ancient Wisdom and Modern Science. By LOUIS ELBE. English Translation of *La Vie Future devant la Sagesse Antique et La Science Moderne*. (Chicago: McClure & Co. 1906.)

Individuality and Immortality. By WILLIAM OSTWALD. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

The Nature of Man. Studies in Optimistic Philosophy. By ELIE METCHNIKOFF. (E. P. Putnam's Sons. 1903.)

Meditations on Death and Immortality. By the EARL OF MANCHESTER. A Reprint. (Methuen & Co. 1906.)

ONE of the most serious consequences of the present unsettlement in religious thought is the sad eclipse that has befallen the great consolation of humanity, the hope

> That those we call the dead
> Are breathers of an ampler day,
> For ever nobler ends.

Turn in whatever direction we may, the forces of modern thought and civilization are engaged, it would seem, in sapping the foundations of belief in man's immortal destiny. The very complexity of the life of to-day, the multiplicity of its interests, intellectual and social, so overwhelm the individual mind, so bury it in finite things,

that it cannot get face to face with that question of questions: What am I? and so sees no reason to ask: Whither do I go? And if through some painful experience, some sudden stroke piercing to the soul's inmost depths, one awakes to the need of some answer to these problems—with what a depressing consensus of doubt or dogmatic denial is he confronted! Science which undertakes to play the rôle formerly assumed by theology, that of being the guide and ruler of civilization, accepts as ultimate points behind which we cannot go, such things as matter and motion or mass and energy, proposes to show how, these being given, the world has come to be, and frowns on any attempt to raise the question of origin and destiny. But this agnostic attitude which science *as science* ought to maintain is often violated by scientific men. Prof. Haeckel, for example, brands the three fundamental truths of religion, God, Freedom, and Immortality as the 'three buttresses of superstition' which it is his business as a scientist utterly to demolish. He assures us that all the proofs usually put forward in defence of belief in a future existence have been shown to be inconsistent with the facts established by physiological psychology and the doctrine of descent. The theological idea that God made man in His own image and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life is 'a pure myth.' The 'moral proof,' Kant's famous argument that the highest good being possible only under the presupposition of the immortality of the soul, a future life, as inseparably bound up with the moral law, is a postulate of the pure practical reason—this is 'nothing more than a pious wish.' The 'teleological proof,' that man is equipped with powers and capacities for which earth and time afford no adequate scope, 'rests,' we are informed, 'on a false anthropism.' All these and similar ideas have been completely overthrown by the advance of scientific criticism.[1]

And as the arguments of religion and philosophy have

[1] *The Riddle of the Universe*, pp. 203, 204.

been undermined and no longer convince educated men, modern knowledge has brought forward proofs, physiological, histological, experimental, and pathological which, it is alleged, demonstrate this treasured faith to be a mere superstition. Anthropology shows how the dream of a future life has visited, in very different forms, the minds of all peoples. The Indian dreamed of his hunting-fields, the Mohammedan of dark-eyed houris and flower-decked gardens, the Norseman of banquets with haunches of venison and goblets of wine; the imagination projected into the future the desires of sense. What greater warrant has the Christian hope than these earthly wishes of the non-Christian mind? 'The belief in immortality,' says Spencer, 'may be traced to the baseless dream of a rude savage.' Biology since Darwin has been accumulating the proofs of our kinship with the brute creation, and man appears to be a kind of zoological monstrosity, compact of myriad disharmonies, a paradoxical absurdity. Physiological psychology teaches as a commonplace that our mental life is a function of the 'grey matter' of the brain, and the inference is easy that the function vanishes with the dissipation of its organ. To suppose that thought can survive the brain would be tantamount to supposing that the steam in a tea-kettle could survive the destruction of the tea-kettle. Physical chemistry discloses the universe as a congeries of elements in motion, but the indestructibility of matter and energy is now in grave question, as it is indeed a mere inference from experience. In a universe where nothing *persists*, how can man claim immortality, consisting as he does of a few pounds of carbon and lime, a few ounces of phosphorus, sodium, potassium and so forth, and so many cubic feet of hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen? And when we turn to philosophy, which at one time was supposed, in spite of its inability to bake bread, to be able to give us God, Freedom, and Immortality, we find it put to the greatest straits in establishing the reality of the individual against the all-engulfing monism of absolute idealism on the one hand, and the equally

voracious monism of non-atheistic evolutionism on the other. Mr. F. H. Bradley, the acutest metaphysical mind of this generation, is of opinion that 'a future life must be taken as decidedly improbable,' and his ultimate reason for so thinking is simply that man is an unreal aspect of the Absolute without any independent worth of his own.[1] Prof. Paulsen, of Berlin University, holds that ethics must stand henceforth on a basis quite independent of belief in a future life, since this belief itself is in a very parlous state at present, nor is there much hope of strengthening it.[2]

The effect of this modern way of thinking is too obvious to be questioned. Within the Church as without it there are many who are conscious at times of grave and wistful uncertainty, and there are some who think that even should the belief that death ends all become predominant, religion might still live on and gain fresh conquests. Some there are who resign themselves to the inevitable with bitter scorn and savage contempt for the universe and all its ways. Their spirit is that of the French writer who sees in man only 'the hero of a lamentable drama, played in an obscure corner of the universe, in virtue of blind laws, before an indifferent Nature and with annihilation as its *dénouement*.'[3] There are others who are anxious to believe, yet feel the various religious and metaphysical arguments to be little better than broken reeds, and can but trust there may be something behind the veil. Few, if any, can rise to the lofty heroism of Auguste Comte, who rejoiced in the sacrifice of the individual to the race, and asserted that death would seem to him a poor affair if it did not involve his own extinction. Speaking generally, men shrink from annihilation, and in spite of the substitutes for personal continuance after death offered by Positivism and Absolute Idealism, the sting of death,

[1] *Appearance and Reality*, p. 505.
[2] *A System of Ethics*, p. 440.
[3] L. Ackermann: *Ma Vie*, p. 111.

the fear that in dying man perishes like the brute, remains unextracted.

Prof. Osler thinks that the modern man is utterly indifferent to the whole matter. This finite world is enough for him and he recks not of any other. 'Where,' asks the professor, 'among the educated and the refined, much less among the masses, do we find any ardent desire for a future life? It is not a subject of drawing-room conversation; and the man whose habit it is to buttonhole his acquaintances and inquire earnestly after their souls, is shunned like the Ancient Mariner. Among the clergy it is not thought polite to refer to so delicate a topic except officially from the pulpit. Most ominous of all, as indicating the utter absence of interest on the part of the public, is the silence of the press, in the columns of which are manifest daily the works of the flesh.'[1] Did men really entertain such a wonderful thought as survival after death, would they not make of it a subject of daily intercourse, and vie with one another in expressions of astonishment and joy at such a glorious prospect? So indeed it would seem. And yet the idea is based on a very superficial conception of human nature. Men are dimly conscious that they live in a world full of mysteries, of the strangest contradictions and the most perplexing riddles, such as life and birth, and love and death; yet in the small talk of the drawing-room and the newspaper these great realities occupy a small place as compared with bridge and whist and football, and the latest scandal in 'the smart set.' The trivialities of the moment may well form the light froth that dances on the surface of human intercourse; but to suppose that this is all, that there are no depths beneath where the things that lie nearest our souls lie hid, is to commit the common fallacy of taking a part for the whole. To see that this is so we have but to imagine what would result if science succeeded in proving what Prof. Haeckel in his dogmatic way says it has proved, namely, that for

[1] *Science and Immortality*, pp. 11, 12.

man death is the end. Does any one really think that in such an eventuality the majority of the race, and they not the least thoughtful and spiritual, would not be conscious of an irreparable loss, of a dreadful dislocation of the whole inner world, would not feel a horror as if, when gazing at a star-strewn sky, a giant hand were seen putting out the ancient lights of Heaven?

But, we are told, it is the part of wise men not to ask whether this or that doctrine agrees with one's dearest wishes, but to accept facts, and with Stoic resignation bow to their sternest implications. And the advice is sound; only the interests involved are so momentous—such interests as the significance of life, whether there is any possibility of realizing the Good, if not here, then hereafter, the dignity and worth of human effort and aspiration—that it is our bounden duty to scan the alleged facts with the most critical care before we resign ourselves to a doctrine of despair. We have to ask not only: What are the alleged facts? but also: Do they not merely invite but compel us to a negative conclusion?

To begin with the more obvious: Dr. Osler, speaking as a medical expert, tells us that the majority of the dying express no fears or hopes about the other world; that, as a rule, man dies as he has lived, practically uninfluenced by the thought of a future life. 'I have,' he says, 'careful records of about five hundred death-beds studied particularly with reference to the modes of death and the sensations of the dying. The great majority gave no sign one way or the other; like their birth, their death was a sleep and a forgetting.'[1] Surely this distinguished writer is wrong in supposing that a true criterion for judging whether faith in a future life has any place in the thoughts of men, is to be found in the feelings of the soul as it approaches the 'low, dark verge of life.' Not to man weakened by disease, his moral and spiritual energies dulled through the collapse of the body, but to man in the fullness of his

[1] *Science and Immortality*, p. 19.

powers, amid the activities of his daily calling, amid the thoughts that surge through his brain, the hopes that inspire his heart, the ideals that inform his conscience, should appeal be made. Victor Hugo, standing beside the open grave of Balzac, uttered these memorable words: 'No, it is not the Unknown to him. No, I have said it before, and I shall never weary of saying it, no, it is not darkness to him, it is Light! It is not the end but the beginning; not nothingness but eternity. Such coffins proclaim immortality. Do we not say to ourselves here, to-day, that it is impossible that a great genius in this life can be other than a great spirit after death?' Now it was the vision not of the dying but of the living Balzac that forced from Hugo this confession of faith.

Moreover, Dr. Osler forgets to take into account a phenomenon well known to those who minister to the dying, and that is, their curious reserve about their deepest feelings, as though the soul, preparatory to her strange, lone journey, withdrew into herself, absorbed in her own affairs. And this self-absorption may well be mistaken for blank indifference. The medical argument, then, does not appear to be serious.

Much more important and perplexing are the facts of physiological psychology. Those facts may be summed up in the familiar formulae: 'No psychosis without neurosis.' Modern investigation has shown the unspeakably close relation that subsists between mind and brain. Both grow and decline together. Stop the flow of arterial blood to the brain, and profound disturbance of consciousness ensues. Arrest the development of the brain, and an idiot is the result. Administer cocaine or alcohol, and you change the moral and intellectual character. These commonplaces have received a new and sinister significance by the observations made in our hospitals and psychological laboratories. For it is now established that not only is there a general correlation between the activities of the cerebral cortex as a whole, but also that various mental functions are localized in given cerebral areas.

Up to the present it has been found by positive experiment that the division of functions in different portions of the cortex is connected with the organs of sensation and movement. But experimental psychologists maintain that fuller knowledge will show the various regions with which complex mental phenomena are correlated, nay that we may even hope some day to be able to acquire the exact physical equivalents to mental phenomena. One of the greatest of living psychiatrists asserts that there is, so to say, a 'character centre,' 'a chief organ of character' in the brain. This organ he locates in a certain part of the cortex of the brain which he calls the 'sphere of bodily feeling,' because on that part almost every portion of the body has an influence. It is this centre which is especially susceptible to narcotics, such as alcohol and morphine, and under their influence disintegrates and degrades moral character. On its state, whether dull or keen, depend those impulses which make a man a cruel murderer or a tender-hearted philanthropist.[1] Thought, then, is a function of the brain, and involves, doubtless, in every one of its conscious and unconscious operations, the consumption of the brain-substance. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the interpenetration of mind and body. Must it not follow, as the night the day, that the dissolution of the brain carries with it the dissolution of the mental function? Such is the inference implicitly drawn by many investigators, and it has found explicit expression in the writings of such men as Duhring and Haeckel. 'Not only consciousness, but every stirring of life, depends on functions that go out like a flame when nourishment is cut off. . . . The phenomena of consciousness correspond, element for element, to the operations of special parts of the brain. . . . The destruction of any piece of the apparatus involves the loss of some one or other of the vital operations; and the consequence is that so far as life extends, we have

[1] Prof. P. Flechsig: *Die Grenzen geistiger Gesundheit und Krankheit*, pp. 35, 36.

before us only an organic function, not a *Ding-an-sich*, or an expression of an imaginary entity, the soul. This fundamental proposition . . . carries with it the denial of the immortality of the soul, since when no soul exists, its mortality or immortality cannot be raised as a question.'[1] There is no doubt that the facts on which this argument rests appeal very strongly to the sensuous imagination, as there is also no doubt that the theory here asserted or implied—that nervous changes are the causes of mental changes—is for experimental purposes an excellent working hypothesis. But if we wish to obtain an insight into the real, as apart from the mere empirically observed relation of brain and mind, physiological psychology is quite helpless. All that this science can give us is two parallel series of occurrences, a series of molecular changes in the brain, and a series of psychical states, but the relation between these two series is beyond the utmost scientific scrutiny.

Between the material and the psychical events there is an unbridgeable chasm. To say that thought is a 'function' of brain, except for certain specific purposes, is to say something that is not strictly true. If the word 'function' be used in the physiological sense, then thought or consciousness does not come into view at all; the function or specific work of the brain in that sense is to control the body. If it is insisted that mind is simply a name for the sum-total of cerebral activities, we must ask the meaning of such a statement. A cerebral activity is a form of motion, and we know motion simply as a mental state. In other words mind is first, motion is an inference from the mind. To say then, that mind is a function of or is produced by motion is to reverse the order of nature and make the effect precede the cause. The truth is, for the physical psychologist feeling and consciousness on the one hand, neural changes on the other, are ultimate facts be-

[1] E. Duhring: *Der Werth des Lebens*, p. 48. Translated and quoted by James: *Human Immortality*, p. 50.

hind which he cannot go. The problem of the fundamental, and not merely empirical relation, must be handed over to the metaphysician for solution. And his solution will depend upon his general world-view. The danger which besets the physical psychologist is that of turning the empirical into a metaphysical necessity. When we argue that because on this planet within our experience thought is never known to exist apart from a brain, therefore, throughout the entire cosmos thought can exist only in connexion with 'grey matter,' it is evident that we are occupying very shaky ground. 'We must beware,' says John Stuart Mill, 'of giving *a priori* validity to the conclusions of an *a posteriori* philosophy. . . . There are thinkers who regard it as a truth of reason that miracles are impossible, and in like manner there are others who, because the phenomena of life and consciousness are associated in their minds by undeviating experience with the action of material organs, think it an absurdity *per se* to imagine it possible that those phenomena can exist under other conditions. But they should remember that the uniform coexistence of one fact with another does not make the one fact part of the other, or the same with it. The relation of thought to a material brain is no metaphysical necessity, but simply a constant coexistence within the limits of observation.'[1] Now so long as the correlation of mind and brain cannot be shown to be metaphysical, that is, grounded in the very nature of things, it is open to us to believe, if there are reasons for the belief, that the fall of the brain does not necessarily mean the fall of the soul. It is true, as has been already said, that on many of the facts of psycho-physics, the imagination fastens with great avidity; but after all, it is reason, not imagination that is the final judge, and in the interests of fact it may be necessary to resist the impression which external phenomena make upon the mind. If from one point of view science has made it harder to believe in life after

[1] *Essays on Religion: Immortality.*

death, from another she has made it easier, for she discloses the universe as a storehouse of forces and elements more subtle and complex by far than the dreams of the old world physicists had ever conceived, and the Pauline notion of a 'spiritual body,' however unthinkable, cannot be deemed impossible. Nor must we forget in this connexion that the Psychical Research movement, in spite of its vagaries and its willingness in the person of some of its representatives to accept as proven on slight evidence the most stupendous doctrines, has nevertheless made a significant contribution to our subject. There is no denying that it is creating for many minds an atmosphere favourable to belief in human immortality. It is doing this, not because it has proved the spiritualistic hypothesis, far from it; but because it has revealed the extraordinary resources, the marvellous possibilities of our inner world, possibilities which in ordinary life scarce reveal a trace of their presence. For example, telepathy or communication from mind to mind otherwise than through the known channels of sense, may now be regarded as exceedingly probable. The long arm of coincidence cannot account for the connexion which has been found to exist between death and apparitions of the dying to persons at a distance. It is true that the nature of the connexion, whether physical or psychological, and the conditions under which it appears, have not been made out; nevertheless the fact of the connexion is scarcely open to doubt. The phenomena of mediumship, when clarified of the deception, conscious and unconscious, to which they seem peculiarly liable, appear to indicate that the existence of mind is not absolutely dependent on the brain and nerve-systems. There are persons of a peculiar organization whose bodily organisms can be controlled by foreign personalities, and all unknown to themselves, communicate knowledge which could not have been obtained by any normal means.

In a word there are grounds for believing that our ordinary or waking self is only a segment or section of a

larger reality, the greater portion of which is 'transliminal' or 'subliminal.' And everybody knows that there is an influential school of therapeutics which seeks to get into touch with this subconscious region, to set free, so to say, its healing and regenerating powers on behalf of the infirmities of the ordinary everyday personality. The facts here referred to and others of a similar nature have not yet gained admission to the text-books of orthodox psychology; but that is because they raise so many profound and perplexing problems, and are themselves surrounded by circumstances which lay them open to a variety of interpretations. To sum up this part of our discussion: physiological psychology can neither harm nor help faith in a future life. If it is impossible to conceive how the mind can think without a brain, it is equally impossible to conceive how the mind can think with a brain. Death does not even raise a presumption that spiritual life ends in the dust. And the reason lies here: psychological science knows only mental products and the laws that govern their appearance: *qua* science it has no concern with the agency behind these, the principle of mind itself.

There is another science, however, which has made immense strides in our time, and which, it is confidently alleged, has given the death-blow to the hope of a life beyond. Biology knows no immortality except in the case of certain unicellular organisms which can renew their life indefinitely by division. It recognizes, too, the immortality of what Prof. Haeckel calls 'cellular souls,' the souls that inhabit the reproductive cells of plants and animals. But our conscious souls are mortal, and die with the physical organisms of which they are functions. If it be asked on what biological grounds are we forced to this despairing conclusion, M. Metchnikoff in his work on *The Nature of Man* leaves us in no uncertainty. For, to put his thesis briefly, man is not, as religion supposes, a being unlike other beings, made in the image of God, animated with the divine breath and immortal, but a kind of miscarriage of an ape, endowed with profound intelligence

and capable of great progress. The first man was a zoological monstrosity, appearing suddenly with qualities denied to his parents, much as the famous calculating boy, Jacques Inaudi, burst upon an astonished Europe a few years ago without any premonition of his extraordinary gifts in his ancestry. The capacity for progress, resulting from the possession of a spacious cranium with a brain of abnormal size, was transmitted from the lucky anthropoid ape to his descendants, and enabled them to propagate and eventually outstrip their kinsmen and gain dominion over them. Man, then, is a kind of 'sport,' an accidental variation from the monkey tribe, arriving we know not how, but in *essence* the same as the stock from which he sprang. Hence to the question: Is there a future life? Metchnikoff replies unhesitatingly: 'No; as the progeny of the anthropoid apes man shares their fate—worms and dust are the end of him.' All the arguments of a Plato or a Cicero, all the consolations of religion, all the divinations of the world's poets and seers are worthless, and do not raise even a presumption in favour of the mighty hopes that have till now sustained humanity against all its standing discouragements. 'A future life,' he says, 'has no single argument to support it, and the non-existence of life after death is in consonance with the whole range of human knowledge.'

Now that we are allied by a thousand links to the lower creatures has become, since Darwin, a commonplace of cultivated thought. *How* man sprang from his subhuman progenitor, we do not know; for, of course, Metchnikoff's theory is a mere guess, and is tantamount to a surrender of the problem as insoluble. But that he has risen from the non-human to the human, from barbarism to civilization, may be taken as proved. It is not necessary, as Huxley said, to base man's dignity upon his great toe, or to assume that he is lost if an ape has a hippo-campus minor. For man is what he is, and cannot be identified with that from which he emerged. 'The true nature of a cause only becomes apparent in the effect.' The germ

from which a dog develops is indistinguishable from the germ which produces a philosopher, yet the philosopher is not a dog. And this means that the beginning must be interpreted in the light of the end, not the end in the light of the beginning. The germ-plasm in itself as a collection of chemical particles cannot account for consciousness, mind, soul; whatever man may have been in the past, we know in a measure what he is in the present; and it is his nature as actually disclosed in history that we must scrutinize when we raise the question of his spiritual permanence. The great problem then, is: What *is* man? If in essence he is one with the brute creation, a superior species of ape, then it would be absurd to attribute to him moral freedom, or the power of realizing the immanent possibilities of his nature, and an immortal future would, as a consequence, be meaningless. As a 'mass of inherited tendency' he would be a mere link in the chain of being, a means to an end, not an end in himself. Or again, if his personality is the product or effect of a collocation of particles of highly organized chemical constitution wrought up into the elaborate mechanism of the brain, it follows, of course, that the dissipation of these particles is *ipso facto* the dissipation of the man himself.

But the truth is, the biologists and the psycho-physicists are concerned not with essential man, only with aspects of him, abstractions from the concrete reality—Man. To pierce to the core of human nature we must listen to the views of philosophy and religion. 'What, then, is man?' asks Carlyle. 'He endures but for an hour and is crushed before the moth. Yet in the being and in the working of a faithful man is there already (as all faith from the beginning gives assurance) a something that pertains not to this wild, death-element of time, that triumphs over time, and is, and will be, when time shall be no more.' 'O rich and various man,' cried Emerson, 'thou palace of sight and sound, carrying in thy senses the morning and the night and the unfathomable galaxy, in thy brain the geometry of the City of God, in thy heart the power of

love and the realms of right and wrong!' Nor are these the overstrained utterances of poetic and imaginative minds. Reflection assures us that all the sciences, physical, chemical, biological, psychological, are themselves products not of unconscious unreason but of conscious rational life. Blot out from the universe self-conscious mind, and these sciences disappear; and while doubtless some entity would remain, we may be sure it would be no entity of which we can form the slightest conception. What is this mysterious principle which antedates everything and which seems to be the only kind of being that is its own *raison d'être* and exists in its own right? The more it is studied the more irrelevant physical death as its master appears. Of all the wonders in the universe, it is the most wonderful. It is conscious of successive experiences, is able to grasp them as an intelligible unity which yet it transcends. Nay more, it grasps not only things that are, but also things that might be; distinguishes between the possible and the impossible, yet knows itself not identical with any of its states. It is by his power of thought that man wrestles with the complexity and subtility of natural phenomena, and wrings out of them order, beauty, a cosmos in which he is at home everywhere. The astronomer's physical frame is confined by the walls of his observatory, but his mind sweeps the orbit of the earth, tracks the solar system as it sounds its way through boundless space. Nor does the Milky Way, the confines of the stellar universe, avail to stay the flight of his speculative imagination; he can pierce through it, though his telescope may not, and wonder what lies beyond. And if space is powerless to limit intelligence, so also is time. Appearing for a brief and hurried moment, man is 'a being of large discourse, looking before and after,' able to reconstruct the vanished past and make men and empires live again, or press forward into the unknown and behold visions of worlds not yet realized. A creature, like the lowest organisms, of birth, growth, decay, and death; product of forces that are beyond his control, he yet feels

himself independent of nature and all her laws with a reason that reflects as a mirror the infinite Thought that besets him on every side. We call man a creature of time, and in a sense so he is. But historic philosophy assures us that in another and deeper sense he is its creator. The consciousness of Time is not derived from something outside us and independent of us as uncritical reflection supposes; it is the product of our conscious souls, the principle by which the soul organizes its experiences into intelligible relations. And that means that man is not lost amid the endless experiences of sense; he is their master and lord, himself the citizen of an eternal world. But wonderful as is man's power of thought, his consciousness of subjection to a transcendental law of duty is still more wonderful. If conscience can make of him at times a coward, at other times it makes him a hero. Had it power as it has right, says Bishop Butler, it would govern the world. That the content of moral obligations has changed from age to age, and is the subject of evolutional development, we may not question; but every attempt to explain the principle of conscience by that which is non-moral has broken down. Try as we may, we cannot but see in it a reflection of the objective moral order of life. As Huxley argued in his Romanes lecture, there is in man a principle which, so far from being explained by the evolutional process, stands in irreconcilable antagonism to it, and is a distinctively human quality. Now this inner voice assures us that in the sum of things, every man will receive according to his work. In so speaking, is it deluding us? If man with all his faculties is rooted in the All-Holy and the absolute Reality, can we suppose that the organ of Right within him mocks him? If, on the other hand, it is the voice of God, as reverence has always believed, then its premonitions of another and a more august Tribunal than any here, before which all men and causes must be tried, cannot be ignored as a superstitious survival. To suppose that death levels all men at last, the just and the unjust, the tyrant and his victim, a Nero and a St. Paul, a Judas and

a St. John, and mingles the dust of the noblest and the vilest of humanity in the same forgotten grave, is to suppose something that nauseates our moral sense and makes human history a riddle without a meaning. It is thoughts like these which, in our age, distinguished as it is for moral sensitiveness, give pause to many who on other grounds are inclined to let go the hope of a life beyond the grave. 'Conscience appears,' says Mr. Goldwin Smith, 'in all in whom it has not been seared and silenced, to speak of a supreme justice, the awards of which are not limited to this world, and which is not to be baffled, as in numberless cases earthly justice is, by the power or arts of the evil doer. That this idea is not constantly and distinctly present to the minds of men is no conclusive proof of its falsehood. If it is not consciously and distinctly present as the expectation of another life, it is present as the voice of morality in conflict with temptation.'[1]

But man's essence is not only thought and righteousness, it is also love. And this it is unversally confessed, is divine, if there is anything divine in the universe. There is an infinitude in love which demands infinite scope for its exercise. We begin by loving parent and friend, we go on to love wife and home, but the more we love the more our capacity for love grows, and if it is not to die must reach out and embrace humanity and God. Can we believe that such an energy as this must at last lie beaten in the dust? Can death conquer at last the power that more than once in history has trampled it underfoot? It is conceivable that love should accept annihilation for itself, if the order of the world so demands, accept it with firm submission, however hard such a fate might seem; but there is one thing it could not and would not tolerate, and that is the annihilation of the being loved. Who that has watched by the death-bed of one whom he has loved, and marked the fading away of all that made the loved one dear, has not felt a wrath against death as against a supreme in-

[1] *The Quest of Light*, p. 171.

justice? And what is this feeling but the testimony of our nature to the indestructible worth of personality?

> If Death were seen
> At first as Death, Love had not been,
> Or been in narrowest working shut,—
> Mere fellowship of sluggish moods.[1]

There is only one assumption that can annul the force of these arguments, and that is, that the universe at heart is neither rational nor ethical, or in other words, that there is no eternal and universal Mind and Heart capable of sustaining relations with other hearts and minds, and of acknowledging responsibilities towards them. A denial of immortality can be logically based only on a non-theistic conception of the world. But if God is real and rational and man is real and rational, the way is open to vindicate for man in union with God the life that alone befits and is worthy of his nature.

SAMUEL M'COMB.

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[1] *In Memoriam*, stanza xxxv.

A LITERARY RESURRECTION

The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne, B.D., 1636?–1674. Now first published from the original Manuscripts. Edited by BERTRAM DOBELL. Published by the Editor.

A POET suggesting the quaintness of Herbert, the mystical charm of Vaughan, the epigrammatic felicity of Crashaw, the vision of Blake, the nature-sympathy of Wordsworth, the largeness of Whitman, and, with all this, a subtle individuality of his own; a poet not merely forgotten but never known for more than two centuries after his death; his poems and meditations in three anonymous manuscripts picked up for an old song at a second-hand shop, and their authorship determined by circumstances almost purely accidental; such, and no less, is Thomas Traherne.

The story of this literary resurrection is one of the strangest romances of the book-world, and it is told at length by Mr. Bertram Dobell in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne, B.D.*, a parchment-bound volume which gives choice setting to the recently discovered treasure.

In the early months of 1897 two time-stained manuscripts were exposed for sale among the miscellaneous contents of a stall in a city street, one of those quiet creeks by the literary stream where things of price may drift in and be seized by the watchful. These old writings were bought for a few coppers by Mr. W. T. Brooke, a book-lover in search of rarities, who recognized at once the touch of genius in the poems which one manuscript contained. But no single word or hint disclosed the secret of their authorship. The discoverer possessed a wide acquaintance with the poetry of devotion, but the contents of both

manuscripts were unfamiliar and anonymous. The first conjecture, suggested by a hasty study of sentiment and style, was that they were poems, hitherto unknown, from the pen of Henry Vaughan. This theory, after a little wavering, was adopted by Dr. Grosart, who purchased the manuscripts, and proposed to include them in a new and complete edition of Henry Vaughan's works; a purpose interrupted by his death. The mysterious poems then passed, with Dr. Grosart's valuable library, into the hands of Mr. Charles Higham of Farringdon Street.

They now entered upon the second phase of their curious history. They were purchased by Mr. Dobell, who also became the possessor of a third manuscript in the same handwriting, likewise obtained from the Grosart collection, though Dr. Grosart does not appear to have connected it with the other two, nor are we told how it came into his hands.

A patient study of the three volumes and a careful comparison with other poets led Mr. Dobell to the conclusion that the author was not Vaughan, but some hitherto undiscovered genius of the seventeenth century, whose very name had passed into forgetfulness. The identification of this literary unknown is a triumph of persistent research.

In the first place Mr. Dobell's attention was called to a little poem of seventeenth-century date called 'The Ways of Wisdom,' and unmistakably by the same hand. It, too, was anonymous, but it was traced to a curious old volume with a long title in the British Museum.[1] Here again the search was baffled by the same provoking secrecy as to authorship, though the identity of the writer of the 'Devout Thanksgivings' with the poet of the manuscripts was scarcely open to doubt. But in an 'Address to the Reader' the author was described as Private Chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper of the Seals after the

[1] *A Serious and Pathetical Contemplation of the Mercies of God, in several most Devout and Sublime Thanksgivings for the same.*

Restoration. Following this new clue, the mysterious writer was discovered to be one Thomas Traherne, who was also author of two almost forgotten books: *Roman Forgeries* and *Christian Ethicks*. A comparison with these resulted in many confirmations of the conclusion already arrived at, and the evidence was complete.

The three manuscripts are: (1) a folio volume of Poems, containing also some prose essays by another hand with brief annotations by Traherne; (2) Centuries of Meditations, an octavo; and (3) Private Religious Meditations, also octavo, containing among other things a poem on 'St. Bartholomew's Day,' which bears a strong family likeness to the rest.

Of Traherne's outer life very little is known. He was one of those quiet meditative spirits of whom the world takes little account. The very date of his birth is uncertain. His childhood was spent in Hereford, where the family appears to have been very well known. There was a Philip Traherne, a loyalist, twice mayor of the city, who died in 1648. John Traherne, the father of the poet, was a shoemaker, evidently in poorer circumstances. 'Sitting in a little obscure room in my father's poor house,' writes Thomas in one of his Meditations, and the picture suggests a home-life of the humblest type.

For the study of the inner life few writers have left a greater wealth of material. The story of Traherne's infancy in the first Century of Meditations is an amazing document if only for the light it throws on the possibilities of child-thought. As a tiny boy his reflections displayed a depth and originality surprising in one so young. The dawn of consciousness was to him a revelation of wonder and delight. 'Certainly Adam in Paradise had not more sweet and curious apprehensions of the world than I when I was a child.' 'I was a little stranger which at my entrance into the world was saluted and surrounded by innumerable joys.' His poor home was as nothing, for all things were his own, rich in splendour and mystery.

> The corn was orient and immortal wheat, which never should be reaped nor was ever sown. I thought it had stood from everlasting to everlasting. The dust and stones of the street were as precious as gold: the gates were at first the end of the world. The green trees when I saw them first through one of the gates transported and ravished me; their sweetness and unusual beauty made my heart to leap and almost mad with ecstasy; they were such strange and wonderful things. The Men! O what venerable and reverend creatures did the aged seem! Immortal cherubim! And young men glittering and sparkling angels, and maids strange seraphic pieces of life and beauty! Boys and girls tumbling in the street were moving jewels: I knew not that they were born or should die. But all things abided eternally as they were in their proper places. Eternity was manifest in the Light of the Day, and something infinite behind everything appeared, which talked with my expectation and moved my desire. The City seemed to stand in Eden or to be built in heaven. The streets were mine, the temple was mine, the people were mine, their clothes and gold and silver were mine, as much as their sparkling eyes, fair skins, and ruddy faces. The skies were mine, and so were the sun, and moon, and stars, and all the world was mine; and I the only spectator and enjoyer of it.

One can imagine that the only parallel to such glowing fantasies of thought would be in the childhood of William Blake.

Little by little 'the shades of the prison-house' began 'to close upon the growing boy.' He was drawn against his will from the lovely realm of imagination into a society governed by selfishness and worldly wisdom. But though *in* it he was not *of* it. 'Being swallowed up therefore in this miserable gulf of idle talk and worthless vanities, henceforth I lived among shadows, like a prodigal son feeding upon husks with swine.' Outwardly Traherne's life seems to have been blameless; but, for a time, the innocent dreams of childhood were shadowed and eclipsed.

Means were found to send him to Oxford, and he was entered at Brasenose as a commoner in 1652. Of his life

at the university only the barest facts are known. He took respectable degrees, studied for the Church, and, on leaving his college, became rector of Credenhill, in his native county, at the early age of twenty-two or twenty-three.

During his Oxford days he passed through the conflict which every well-endowed soul must face sooner or later. Was he to surrender to the great world, with all its fascinations, and use his powers for self-advancement, or be loyal to that communion with God and Nature of which he had already tasted the sweetness? Back once more among his loved woods and streams he chose the life of thought and contemplation, and his decision is recorded in a passage of singular beauty:

> When I came into the country, and being seated among silent trees and woods and hills, had all my time in my own hands, I resolved to spend it all, whatever it cost me, in the search of happiness, and to satiate the burning thirst which Nature had enkindled in me from my youth. In which I was so resolute that I chose rather to live upon ten pounds a year, and to go in leather clothes and to feed upon bread and water, so that I might have all my time clearly to myself, than to keep many thousands per annum in an estate of life where my time would be devoured in care and labour. And God was so pleased to accept of that desire that from that time to this I have had all things plentifully provided for me without any care at all, my very study of felicity making me more to prosper than all the care in the whole world. So that through His blessing I live a free and a kingly life, as if the world were turned again into Eden, or, much more, as it is at this day.

It was a consecration to the service of Nature, and the mind instinctively recalls the striking parallel in Wordsworth's early life. So for him, at the sister university of Cambridge,

> The months passed on, remissly, not given up
> To wilful alienation from the right,
> Or walks of open scandal, but in vague
> And loose indifference, easy likings, aims
> Of a low pitch—duty and zeal dismissed. . . .

Knowledge of Traherne was, of course, impossible to Wordsworth, but, though severed by more than a century, they are twin souls in their love of Nature.

At Credenhill nine years were spent, and Traherne was then appointed private chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgman, who, about that time, was created Lord Keeper of the Seals. After his retirement from that office Traherne accompanied him to his house at Teddington, where they died within three months of each other in 1678.

Traherne's two published volumes, *Roman Forgeries* and *Christian Ethicks*, have already been named. Twenty-five years after his death the *Serious and Pathetical Meditations*, through which his authorship of the poems was made clear, was published by a Doctor Hickes. But the majority of the poems lay buried in manuscript, and it has been reserved for our own time to make them known.

Enough has been said to awaken interest in a singularly interesting personality, but Traherne, above all, is a poet. How does he rank among 'God's prophets of the Beautiful'? It would be, in the first place, difficult to find in any period a more devout lover of Nature.

'Natural things are glorious, and to know them glorious.' 'You will never enjoy the world aright until the sea itself floweth in your veins, till you are clothed with the heavens and crowned with the stars.'

Sentences like these stimulate expectation. No man could write them who was not a poet. And they express the enthusiastic optimism so characteristic of Traherne. The universe to him was a crystal shot through and through with the rosy light of the beautiful, and with him the beautiful was synonymous with the divine. After all the world is weary of the pessimists, and it is good to listen to this voice from two hundred years ago resolutely refusing to mutter over the dustmotes of our lower atmosphere when there are stars and suns to celebrate in song. Such a singer has a mission. To quote a fine thought from Mr. Dobell: 'It has been said of the author of "The City of Dreadful Night," that he was born that we might

have things stated at their worst, once for all; may we not likewise say of Traherne that he was born that things might be stated, once for all, at their best'?

None of his poems have greater charm than those which describe the Visions of Childhood, and in these he exhibits a curious kinship with Henry Vaughan, who was a few years his senior, and with Wordsworth, the similarity of whose vocation has been already noted. Poems like 'The Rapture,' 'The Approach,' and 'Wonder' have both theme and spirit in common with Vaughan's 'Retreat,' and Wordsworth's 'Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood.' These two last-named poems answer one another across the centuries like sweet-voiced choristers in antiphonal choirs:

> Happy those early days when I
> Shined in my angel infancy,

sings the mystic of the seventeenth century, and

> Heaven lies about us in our infancy,

is Wordsworth's brief but pregnant response.

Vaughan speaks of earth as the 'place appointed for my second race,' and Wordsworth assents in more stately phase:

> The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath elsewhere had its setting,
> And cometh from afar.

Vaughan's thoughts travel back to the early time:

> When on some gilded cloud or flower
> My gazing soul would dwell an hour,
> And in those weaker glories spy
> Some shadows of eternity.

And Wordsworth asks:

> Whither is fled the visionary gleam?
> Where is it now the glory and the dream?

The earlier poet recognizes in these visions of infancy 'bright shoots of everlastingness,' and the later answers,

'trailing clouds of glory do we come from God who is our home.'

Follow out the parallel more closely, as it may be followed, and then listen to Traherne as he sings:

> From God above
> Being sent, the heavens me enflame.

Or again, from the same poem:

> Sweet infancy,
> O fire of heaven! O sacred light!
> How fair and bright,
> How great am I
> Whom all the world doth magnify.

And once more, from a poem called 'Wonder,' crowded with reminiscences of childhood, and from which it is difficult to omit a single verse:

> How like an angel came I down!
> How bright are all things here!
> When first among His works I did appear
> O how their glory did me crown!
> The world resembled His eternity,
> In which my soul did walk;
> And everything that I did see
> Did with me talk.
>
> The skies in their magnificence
> The lively, lovely air,
> O how divine, how soft, how sweet, how fair!
> The stars did entertain my sense,
> And all the works of God, so bright and pure,
> So rich and great did seem,
> As if they ever must endure
> In my esteem.
>
> The streets were paved with golden stones,
> The boys and girls were mine,
> O how did all their lovely faces shine!
> The sons of men were holy ones,
> My joy and beauty they appeared to me,
> And everything which here I found.
> While like an angel I did see,
> Adorned the ground.

The last stanzas must not be omitted, for they have a touch of quaint originality all their own, and make us feel once more that Traherne must have been no ordinary child:

> Cursed and devised proprieties,
> With envy, avarice,
> And fraud, those fiends that spoil even paradise,
> Flew from the splendour of mine eyes.
> And so did hedges, ditches, limits, bounds,
> I dreamed not aught of those,
> But wandered over all men's grounds,
> And found repose.
>
> Proprieties themselves were mine,
> And hedges ornaments;
> Walls, boxes, coffers, and their rich contents
> Did not divide my joys, but all combine.
> Clothes, ribbons, jewels, laces, I esteemed
> My joys by others worn:
> For me they all to wear them seemed
> When I was born.

Not only has this glowing poem an affinity to those quoted from Vaughan and Wordsworth, but its outlook is even larger; and if in this and other of Traherne's poems the fanciful idea of this life as an after-glow from a previous existence is scarcely traceable, there is compensation in the radiant sense of God *in* nature and in human life, a glory which Traherne believed might grow upon the soul and not merely die away like a beautiful dream.

Another interesting kinship pointed out by Mr. Dobell is the singular likeness betwen some of Traherne's verses and Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass.' The two poets unquestionably have many thoughts in common. In their admiration for the marvellous structure of the human body, their exuberant love for men and women and all living creatures, their interest in the universe and all it contains, and their largeness of conception, they are wonderfully alike, and even in the form of their poems there are striking points of resemblance. There are differences equally marked, of course. Whitman freely touches subjects to which Traherne

with more delicate feeling never alludes. Take for example the 'Thanksgiving for the Body':

O Lord!
Thou hast given me a body,
Wherein the glory of Thy power shineth,
Wonderfully composed above the beasts,
Within distinguished into useful parts,
Beautified withal with many ornaments.
Limbs rarely poised,
And made for heaven:
Arteries filled
With celestial spirits:
Veins wherein blood floweth,
Refreshing all my flesh,
Like rivers:
Sinews fraught with the mystery
Of wonderful strength,
Stability,
Feeling.
O blessed be Thy Glorious Name!
That Thou hast made it
A Treasury of Wonders,
Fit for its several ages;
For Dissections,
For Sculptures in Brass,
For Draughts in Anatomy,
For the contemplation of the Sages.

The sympathy of idea is remarkable, but there is a reverence in the poem just quoted which hardly finds a parallel in the American poet.

The illustrations already cited are enough to show that, if a poet may take rank by his highest creations, Traherne may worthily stand among our choicest devotional singers. Curiously aloof from the life of his own day, he strikes a note which is true for all time, and without which the song of any period will be lacking in depth and resonance. He 'at least believes in soul,' is 'very sure of God.'

But how did it come to pass that these poems, so full

of undoubted genius, remained unknown? A new star in the literary heavens, he shines from a part of the firmament where comparatively few have been noted before, and of those, only two or three, of steely hue, are stars of the first magnitude. Why did Traherne suffer eclipse in a period by no means rich in the highest poetic genius?

Browning has told the story of the painter of the Renaissance who felt within him the glowing life of the time, conscious of new powers seeking for expression, but who shrank from publicity, dreaded the criticism of the men who

> buy and sell our pictures, take and give,
> Count them for garniture and household stuff,

and so continued on old conventional lines,

> With the same series, virgin, babe, and saint,
> With the same cold, calm, beautiful regard.

In the shadow of the cloister he chose to work under God's eye, safe from the atmosphere of noisy competition.

> At least no merchant traffics in my heart.

But here is a poet-artist of exceptional capability. His imagination takes flight in song loftier than that of most of his contemporaries. He *does* great work, not merely dreams of how it might be done. And yet, like *Pictor Ignotus*, he seems to shrink from baring his inmost soul to a world which might prove unsympathetic. So he remains unknown, his poems unpublished, lost to sight for centuries, and only now brought out into the light of day.

Possibly, if they had been printed, they would have found very few to praise in the days of the Restoration. Their form was unfashionable. Traherne loved the fanciful metres of lyrists like Vaughan and Crashaw. He did not play with his verse and jest with his rhyme with the licence of George Herbert, but the stream of his thought is too vigorous for even flow. And evenness and regularity were the mode.

Waller, whose life overlapped Traherne's at both ends, was mainly responsible for the adoption of the neatly balanced five-bar couplet with its steady beat and level movement, which was the popular form of verse among Traherne's contemporaries. No doubt it had its uses. It was Chaucer's favourite metre, and well it suited the slowly modulated music of his thought. But in the hands of many a minor poet of the seventeenth century it was dreary enough. Denham, in his 'Cooper's Hill,' takes the Thames as the ideal of how poetry ought to move.

> O could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
> My great example, as it is my theme;
> Though deep, yet clear: though gentle, yet not dull:
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

And so the 'chill stream' flowed on with aggravating monotony.

Of course, in the hands of a master, the couplet had capabilities; with Dryden it became a stiletto, fine-pointed and delicate of temper. Pope cut it into exquisite cameos and intaglios which are among our literary treasures. But its coming did not usher in an age of great poetry.

It was the rage, however, and it is probable that Traherne's musical and irregular lines would have failed to please the popular taste. These considerations may at least explain in part this singular obscuration of genius, but, in our more eclectic age, all who read him will be heartily glad that he has come to his own at last. He has many limitations. His range of subject is not wide, though his thoughts are winged. He is mystical at times even to obscurity. He sees so little of the darker side of life that his poems occasionally cloy by their very sweetness. But he is strong and original, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the patient research that identified the long-lost poet and restored him to his place among his peers.

W. B. FitzGerald.

Notes and Discussions

SIR OLIVER LODGE'S CATECHISM

THEOLOGIANS should not allow themselves to become impatient with Sir Oliver Lodge's various incursions into their field on the ground that he is imperfectly acquainted with it and does not use its characteristic language. In that very fact lies their importance. It is invaluable to have on record the impressions of a religiously-minded man who is at the same time steeped in scientific knowledge and jealous of the adoption of any but scientific methods. What such a man has to say on theology is always instructive, and when he undertakes that most difficult of tasks, the preparation of an elementary primer of knowledge on the highest subjects, such as may be put into the hands of children, all students of theology and the Bible must rejoice. His little volume, entitled *The Substance of Faith Allied with Science: A Catechism for Parents and Teachers*, is for some purposes worth its weight in gold.

That it is not suitable for children, and that it contains much which many scientific men would not accept, and some things which no Christian theologian could accept, does not matter. He believes in the ascent of man, yet does not discard the idea of a Fall—'The consciousness of degradation marking a rise in the scale of existence.' His teaching on conscience, character, and responsibility is excellent. He holds that evil is not absolute but relative, and that the Word 'has reference to a standard of attainment.' He distinguishes sin as 'the deliberate and wilful act of a free agent who sees the better and chooses the worse,' hardly giving sufficient prominence to its character as an offence against God. In another place, however, he admits that it may be said to be against God because it is opposed to the purpose which by divine arrangement is open to us. Without actually stating that evil is essential to the development of good, Sir Oliver Lodge comes very near to that dangerous position. All will follow him, how-

ever, when he speaks of the root sin as selfishness, which, 'when fully developed, involves moral suicide.'

Many in opening the Catechism will turn first to what is said concerning Divine Immanence. It is clearly stated—and the admission is valuable, coming from such an authority—that 'there must be some Intelligence immanent in all the processes of nature,' that Fénelon is quoted with approval when he says, 'All that exists, exists only by the communication of God's Infinite Being. It is He who does all in all.' Sir Oliver Lodge regards the intelligence which guides things as not something external to the scheme, but 'all the multifarious processes in nature must be guided and controlled by some Thought and Purpose, immanent in everything, but revealed only to those with sufficiently awakened perceptions.'

The brief creed given as an answer to Question 15 deserves special attention, though it is noticeable for its omissions as well as for its contents. 'I believe in one Infinite and Eternal Being, a guiding and loving Father, in whom all things consist. I believe that the Divine Nature is specially revealed to man through Jesus Christ our Lord, who lived and taught and suffered in Palestine 1900 years ago, and has since been worshipped by the Christian Church as the immortal Son of God, the Saviour of the world.' That these definitions stop short of orthodox Christianity is as clear as that they harmonize with a neo-Christianity which is being much discussed just now. Sir Oliver Lodge believes in Incarnation, but it applies to all humanity. 'Every son of man is potentially also a Son of God, but the union was deepest and completest in the Galilean.' Such statements as the following leave much to be desired; from a theological point of view they are crude indeed. 'The Christian God is revealed as the incarnate Spirit of humanity; or rather, the incarnate spirit of humanity is recognized as a real intrinsic part of God.' The writer of those words might be a Pantheist, or a Unitarian, or more probably a man who does not fully know his own mind on the relation between God and the universe.

But we close the volume, after reading it through more than once, with gratitude that the way is thus being more fully opened for a full mutual understanding between science and religion. The spirit in which the Principal of the Birmingham University has approached the subject deserves to be widely imitated. The representatives of religious thought are trying

their best to understand the teaching of science in its bearing on religion; if the representatives of science will approach religion in the reverent and candid spirit of Sir Oliver Lodge, the twentieth century will see a development in the direction of the unification of all knowledge, such as for the last fifty years has seemed wellnigh impossible. On the vital subjects of Prayer and the Kingdom of Heaven many good Christians might with advantage go to school to this new teacher and make his catechism thoroughly their own.

THE RELIGIOUS CRISIS IN RUSSIA

The crisis through which Russia is passing is generally regarded as political and social. This is manifest on the surface, and manifold are the attempts to explain its significance and to forecast its issues. Occasional glimpses are afforded of its ecclesiastical and religious aspects by writers who do not study it from these points of view. Nor are many competent to disentangle its perplexities and to estimate its trend. On this account special interest attaches to an article contributed to the first number of the new Quarterly—*Religion und Geisteskultur*—by Prof. Masaryk of Prague, entitled 'The Newest Russian Philosophy of Religion.'

The history of Russian literature from Puschkin to Dostojevski and Tolstoi is said to yield abundant proof that whatever is original in philosophic thought is found in dissertations on the Philosophy of Religion. These discussions have prepared the way for the present social revolution, as was the case also in France and Germany. Striking evidence of the truth of this contention is furnished by a report of a public discussion held in St. Petersburg in 1902 and 1903. Only last year, however, did the press censor give permission for the publication of this detailed and instructive account of the proceedings.

Theology and literature were both well represented. Bishop Sergius presided, and was supported by priests and professors of divinity. Amongst the authors, who took a leading part, the best-known names are Mereschkovski and Wolkonski, who are described as belonging to the school of Symbolists or Neo-

Idealists. Their defence of religion is, for the most part, a defence of Mysticism. Laying stress on the 'inwardness' of religion, they maintained that their faith contrasted favourably with orthodox belief. The substance of the official answer, according to Prof. Masaryk, was that 'inwardness,' with its subjective arguments, does not furnish sufficiently concrete material for the repairing of the breaches which battering-rams of all kinds have made in the walls. Had the reference been to the need for defending Christianity as an historic faith by the evidence of history as well as by the testimony of experience, the illustration would have been forceful and suggestive; but this, it appears, was not the purpose of its employment.

The priest Potjechin frankly acknowledged that, in the last resort, Russian ecclesiastics looked to the State to use its power in the enforcing of dogmas. He defended the solemn pronouncing of 'blessings' on the representatives of the State —from the Czar, the Lord's anointed, to the police—because it is their function to protect the interests of the orthodox Church and to defend it against 'the propagators of freedom of conscience.'

Ternavzev, speaking as a theologian who was not a priest, defended the rights of conscience. 'Without hesitation he affirmed that the Russian State was not religious, not Christian.' The full text of his addresses is not given. He is, however, represented as cherishing Utopian hopes, and such expectations are said to be a distinguishing characteristic of the philosophy of religion in modern Russia. Nevertheless, he appears to see some things clearly. The present Church, he thinks, is unable to meet the necessities of the age. 'The time is coming when the question of Christ will be seen to be the question of life or death.' The church of the future will rest on a Trinitarian theology and on a Christology which recognizes the Saviour as God-man. At the same time, the Church's negative doctrine of man and its one-sided asceticism is condemned; but Protestantism is held to have overstrained its protest against this error.

The church of the future is to be called 'The Church of St. John,' because he is the Apostle of Love. 'The church of true love,' says Mereschkovski, 'will abolish the differences that separate the existing churches and surmount their limitations.' It will not be a development from within the Russian Church, but it will introduce a new Renaissance, of which the

present age of symbolism and decadence is the harbinger. Moreover, there is to be no identifying of religion and morality, as in the teaching of Tolstoi.

Enough has been said to show the significance of the movements of thought which are revealed in this interesting discussion. Doubtless, there is ground for Prof. Masaryk's criticism that on neither side is there evidence of the thorough study of the problems involved in Mysticism and Religion. He seems, however, to be unduly prejudiced against Ternavzev, because this liberal-minded theologian regards mysticism as a disease of the mind (which it may be), and bases religion on revelation. A recommendation and not a condemnation of his teaching is implied in the objection: 'The simple, natural love of humanism does not satisfy him.'

There can be little doubt, however, that Russian theology does suffer, as is here alleged, 'from the absolute claims and the rigidity of the orthodox Church.' Russian theologians are also said to be too comfortably content to exploit the theological literature of Europe, 'to use the Protestant arguments against the Roman Catholics and *vice versâ*, also to derive material from both for apologetics' directed against naturalistic science and philosophy.

Prof. Masaryk traces, with much ability, the influence upon Russian writers, as e. g. Bjelinski, of Feuerbach's materialistic philosophy. 'Now it is the basal problems of Materialism and Atheism that are agitating the mind of Russia.' The question at issue is not formulated in abstract, but in concrete terms: Is Bjelinski right who declares that the Russians are a nation of atheists? or is Dostojevski right who looks to the Russian mind to refute atheism and materialism? 'Between these two opinions those who took part in the St. Petersburg discussion were called upon to decide, and the great majority decided for Dostojevski.' May the future history of Russia ratify their decision!

J. G. TASKER.

THE LATE PROFESSOR REISCHLE

PROFESSOR MAX REISCHLE, who died in December 1906 at the early age of forty-eight, deserves commemoration both for his own sake and in his representative character. He was a fine combination of the scholar and the devout, lovable Christian. The brief biography, prefixed to a few of his essays by Profs. Theodor Haering and Fr. Loofs, presents a charming picture of a life devoted to sacred learning and inspired by high motive. He represents the right wing of the Ritschlian school of theology, a wing which, accepting the general position of that school, is more conservative of the old evangelical faith and tone. The distinction between the right and the left is ever becoming more definite. Reischle's attention was early drawn to the new school, and towards the close of his university course he came at Göttingen under Ritschl's personal influence. Still he only accepted the new method with limitations, which he never concealed. His chief sympathy was with the principle that divine revelation is the supreme source of knowledge in Christianity, a position which carries with it the ruling out of all natural theology and theoretic reasoning. It also excludes the old Nicene forms of doctrine as products of Greek philosophy. Whether this implies the exclusion of all metaphysics is less clear, although the general tendency seems to be against reliance on philosophy in religious inquiry. Here Max Reischle called a halt. Tübingen, his alma mater, had always been renowned for its philosophical eminence, and Reischle kept up the tradition. The close alliance of theology and philosophy was always a favourite idea of his. So far he was a mediaevalist in the right sense. He shrank instinctively from any suggestion of a 'double truth,' theological and philosophical. This would make God in one sphere contradict Himself in another sphere. Reischle also retained the religious fervour which has long characterized Würtemberg, his almost life-long home. In correspondence with Ritschl in regard to the latter's depreciatory *History of Pietism* he stood up for the Pietists of his native land. He was also far from subscribing to the violent exegesis by which alone Ritschl is able to support much of his special teaching by Scripture authority. With such qualifications Reischle was an acknowledged leader of the new school, advocating and applying its leading principles.

It is satisfactory to find that he opposed the extreme development of the newest school of our days, represented by Gunkel, Bousset, Krueger, which sweeps Christianity into the general stream of the history of religion and breaks down all distinction between the New Testament and other early Christian literature. Paul is no more than Clement or Justin, a position that would surprise Clement and Justin even more than it would surprise Paul. One of Reischle's last pamphlets was a strong argument against this teaching (*Theologie und Religions-geschichte*, Tübingen). Prof. Kafhan of Berlin, another Ritschlian leader, has just published an able tractate in the same line (*Jesus und Paulus*, Tübingen).

Reischle's father dying in 1865, young Max was left to his mother's care. As the family means were straitened, he was only able to go through his university training by the greatest frugality, with the help of relatives and scholarships. The mother was spared to see her ambition fulfilled and her care rewarded in the high distinction of her favourite son. The mother died only three years before the son. Reischle's long university course at Tübingen was completed by a short course at Göttingen and Berlin; and this again by five years' labour as Repetent (Assistant Tutor) at Tübingen, a period of the greatest importance in his work both as student and teacher. Teaching and learning were combined in the most thorough way. He struck out in many directions, giving extra courses on 'Questions of Dogmatic Controversy,' 'Schleiermacher and the Theology of the Present,' 'Calvin,' 'The Value of Philosophical Knowledge for Theology,' and other similar subjects. Here also his love of nature, music, poetry, friendship, found ample scope for indulgence. During this time he paid a flying visit to England, going as far north as Iona in the company of Dr. Clifford, and taking great interest in the Barnardo Homes and the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance in the Isle of Wight. He was an extensive contributor to reviews and periodicals. The bibliography of essays and articles, many of them important, from 1885 to 1905, shows incessant industry. A few specimens are reprinted with the biography: 'Do we know the Deep Things of God?' 'Faith in Historical Facts'; 'The Bodily Resurrection of Jesus Christ.'

The eight years he spent in teaching at Stuttgart, Giessen, and Göttingen were a further preparation for the Chair of Systematic Theology and New Testament Exegesis at Halle

as successor to Julius Koestlin (1897). He was now complete master of his work. The amount of his literary work outside his academic lectures in many directions is little less than extraordinary. He also took part in the public life of the town. One cannot help feeling that all this has something to do with the premature termination of his work and life. His long and thorough training never bore its full fruit. We are also told that his eight years' labour at Halle, while bearing ample testimony to his high intellectual and moral qualities, was not as outwardly successful as might have been expected. One cause of this was the temporary decline in the number of theological students at that time in Germany. Another explanation is found in the high reputation of his colleague in the theological faculty, Prof. Kaehler, who had long been teaching in Halle. It is also intimated that Reischle's Ritschlian connexion was prejudicial to him. No wonder that he often suffered from depression of mind. In January 1905 he was suddenly smitten down by a severe paralytic stroke, and lingered in great weakness, but with perfect submission to the divine will, till December of the same year. 'The longer it lasts,' he said in November, 'the surer I am that all is love. It is often wonderful to me how God reveals Himself most in suffering.' Previously he had said in a letter, 'We must never ask, Why? For to such questions we never get a complete answer here. We must have confidence that God will do right with us and others.' He was buried in his own Tübingen on December 14, his two friends and biographers taking part in the last offices of respect and affection.

J. S. Banks.

THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF WILLIAM JAMES

There is one point in Mr. Balch's remarks on my paper to which I feel that a brief reply is needed. I am not concerned here with the relations of Prof. James to the article, which seem to have excited my critic's curiosity, nor do I think myself to be at liberty to publish private letters, in order to clear up a point which, in my judgement, is in no way connected with

the main objection raised—that Prof. James is entitled to regard as a psychologist, but not as a philosopher. The reason for this statement is somewhat naïvely given, 'Prof. James is unsparingly practical. He insists that we must take human life as it is.' One might be pardoned for considering this a qualification rather than a detriment in a philosopher, but it is evident that the overdose of the pretentious profundities of Hegel has not yet lost its effect upon opinion. Mr. Balch would admit that no philosophy has given, possibly also that none can give, a rounded and polished universe, to slip into some mental waistcoat pocket; but yet, so far as I can judge, although perhaps Mr. Balch would be loath to admit it, his strictures must logically lead to the paradoxical result that because Prof. James candidly recognizes this, and refuses to squeeze the facts of experience into the ready-made garments of some *a priori* system, he is no philosopher. If this indeed be philosophy, I admit the objection, and leave Prof. James with Socrates and David Hume, and a long line of thinkers, ancient and modern, who are disinherited by the same statute. But such a paradox should sink under the weight of its own contradictoriness. I heartily agree with my critic, and, as he himself says, with Prof. James in stating that a search for 'unity and order,' and 'a sure foothold of reality,' is inevitable, but believing that such a stormless haven has not yet been reached by man, I prefer to live with Prof. James in a sphere of acknowledged probabilities, and to designate our theorizing as working hypotheses, rather than heaven-sent revelations of philosophic truth.

ERIC S. WATERHOUSE.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology. By E. F. Scott, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 6s. net.)

MR. SCOTT here assumes what he calls 'the results of the critical investigation' into the date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel. Taking it for granted that it was written by an unknown person called 'John' about A.D. 110 or 120, he investigates the contents of the book and gives his own account of them. It runs somewhat as follows: John not only selects his material, but adapts and modifies it to make it serve his theological purpose. Writing in a new age, amidst a new culture, he modifies the history so as to make it adequate to meet new objections and support faith under new conditions. John cannot be an eyewitness, living more than a hundred years after Christ was born; but he 'feels himself at liberty to break through the letter of the tradition, to supply new sayings and symbolic incidents,' in order that he may 'reflect on Jesus in His lifetime the glory with which the faith of the Church had encircled Him.' Beginning with the 'artificial hypothesis' of the Logos, and yet attempting to portray a Saviour full of grace and truth, the writer of this Gospel can never harmonize these two conceptions, but embodies in his work 'an inner contradiction which affects the Johannine teaching at its very centre.' Jesus never raised Lazarus from the dead, but the story is 'to be explained by the working up of different synoptic suggestions into a single narrative.' One important element in the composition of the Gospel is to be found in the fact (?) that the Fourth Evangelist was 'confronted with a Baptist community, who alleged that their Master was the Christ'; hence the writer alters the synoptic tradition concerning John the Baptist so as to confute these adversaries! The characteristic Johannine idea of the Cross is that 'Jesus by His death escaped from the restrictions in which the assumption

of a visibly earthly life had involved Him'; consequently a different account of the effect of the crucifixion is found in this Gospel, and its author, 'with his profound insight into the spiritual meaning of Christianity,' omits all account of the institution of the Lord's Supper because he 'saw a danger in the increasing reverence attached to the outward rite.'

The above notes, taken from different parts of Mr. Scott's work, will give some idea of what he considers the scope and purpose of the Fourth Gospel to be. The account is not complete, of course; and in the bald form in which we have been compelled to give it, justice has not been done to the author's style and mode of presentation of his views. But enough has been said to indicate his point of view, which is this: Granted that a virtually anonymous Christian of the second century wrote the Gospel, what can be made of it? Readers must judge for themselves of the verisimilitude of Mr. Scott's description. To us it appears utterly incredible. That a Christian of A.D. 110 would feel himself at liberty to invent a new history of Christ's life and words and works in order to support Christian faith in his own day, and that such a pious fraud, or fiction founded on fact, would be received by his contemporaries without hesitation and mould the thought of the second and subsequent centuries in the interests of a barren and artificial hypothesis—*credat Judaeus Apella!* The conclusion to which we are brought by reading Mr. Scott's book is that reached at the end of sundry propositions of Euclid—'which is impossible.' If this is the best account that can be given of the origin and contents of the Fourth Gospel on the assumption made by the author, all that he proves is that his original hypothesis was erroneous. The problem of the Fourth Gospel is confessedly difficult and complex, but this ingenious volume does not in our opinion contain its solution.

Naturalism and Religion. By Dr. Rudolf Otto, Professor of Theology in the University of Göttingen. Translated by J. Arthur Thomson and Margaret R. Thomson. (Williams & Norgate. 6*s*.)

Amongst the many recent volumes which deal with the conflict between science and religion this is one of the most instructive and helpful. The distinctive qualities respectively of the religious and the naturalistic outlook upon the world are indicated in the opening chapters. The way in which they

conflict is there clearly shown. Religion demands mystery, dependence, purpose, and must resist any view of the universe which describes it as self-sufficing, purposeless, and so comprehensible by man as to inspire no awe or reverence. But true science, as Dr. Otto goes on to show, does not necessitate any of these conclusions. Physical science cannot prove the mechanical theory of the universe which is too often identified with the scientific method; it cannot entirely exclude a teleological element; and, when rightly understood, it deepens the sense of awe and mystery with which man ought to view the marvellous Order of which he forms a part.

Three chapters are devoted to a description of Darwinian and post-Darwinian theories of descent, and a theologian who desires a full and yet compact account of the present position of the controversies which have arisen on these subjects since 1859 will hardly find a better than is here given. Later chapters deal with mechanical theories of the universe and with the autonomy and freedom of Spirit. Dr. Otto's reasoning is candid, and his tone is moderate and judicial; he is no special pleader, but he finds little difficulty in upholding a spiritual against a mechanical theory of the universe. His criticism of the relation between mind and body known as psycho-physical parallelism is particularly effective.

This volume, which is the latest issue in the 'Crown Theological Library,' is, as readers of that series will understand, modest in its size and aims. But it is anything but superficial. It will repay very careful reading, and its arguments might easily be expanded and used in controversy with materialists. The translation—though we have not compared it with the original—seems to be excellently done, if we may judge from its clear and readily intelligible rendering of a German treatise on a technical subject.

Anecdota Oxoniensia: Semitic Series, part xi. *The Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch.* Edited from twenty-three MSS., together with the fragmentary Greek and Latin versions. By R. H. Charles, M.A., D.D., F.B.A. (Clarendon Press. 17*s.* 6*d.*)

This work is an excellent example of the services which are constantly being rendered to scholarship by the two great University Presses of our country. A large outlay and a limited return must naturally be involved in a critical edition

of the Ethiopic text of *Enoch*, and there will be a small expert audience for this part of the work when all the years of labour are over. The present reviewer is not one of the very select company of scholars competent to criticize Dr. Charles's performance; but the reputation of this accurate and painstaking, as well as brilliant, investigator is sufficient guarantee that his work will not have to be done over again. All of us who are interested in the history of Judaism and the origins of Christianity must, of course, study *Enoch*; and equally of course we must use Dr. Charles's earlier edition in English. But there are new elements in this more technical work of which we must take careful account. Dr. Charles has been led to the conclusion that the book was originally written, like *Daniel*, in two languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, and to a considerable extent in verse. The Greek version, from which the Ethiopic was made about the sixth century A.D., only survives for the first quarter of the book, and that mainly through the papyrus which was published only a year before Dr. Charles issued his standard edition in 1893. The present volume naturally marks a considerable advance in the criticism of the Greek text, and will, therefore, necessarily be consulted by students who have no use for the Ethiopic, until Dr. Charles can give us his promised new edition. The full commentary and *Index Graecitatis* will make the book indispensable for Hellenists as well as Semitic scholars.

One could wish that Dr. Charles had named on p. xvii the 'lady who refuses to lend . . . any . . . MS. in her possession to the Bodleian Library for the use of English editors.' Such people deserve to be pilloried, by way of foil to the generosity of owners like Lord Crawford, who leaves his treasures in the Rylands Library for specialists to study at their leisure. *O si sic omnes!*

A Manual of Theology. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

The first glance at this volume of 568 pages would suggest that Dr. Beet had been content to say what was obvious and to make it plain. He writes with very great simplicity. There is a consistent absence of technical terms. The treatment is purely biblical, and this chiefly after the fashion of the painstaking textual exegete. In the discussion of individual doctrines the contributions that may be called fresh or eminently

suggestive are slight. The sections on Adoption and the Lord's Day approach most nearly to these conditions. Theology that is specifically systematic, historical, philosophical, critical, does not mark Dr. Beet's achievement and is left purposely outside his review. When he has strengthened his careful analysis of proof texts by their frequent synthesis into groups of Pauline, Synoptic, or Johannine testimony his task is completed by the simple process of their adjustment with the claims and testimony of the Moral Sense. On these lines the work is well done. Where the writer is sure—and that is the prevailing mood—he speaks under deep conviction; where he is uncertain he frankly says so. The book is preachable. It is often spiritually stimulating. Some sections, notably those of Pt. vii, are devotional throughout. The reader feels the truth. But of the qualities that reveal the thinker, keenly sensitive to the haunting presence of intellectual problems of the Faith that demand more than textual accuracy and a gracious temper for their solution, the signs are few. The distinctly rational and metaphysical basis of the Faith is left untouched. This is done deliberately. Dr. Beet makes his whole position to rest ultimately upon the basis of the moral sense, illustrated, harmonized, and verified in Scripture. His method is to weave his apologetic entire with his exposition. This is his only attempt at a scientific frontier. His system has no outworks; the citadel has but one defence—that which lies within itself. The Moral Sense is not only the ultimate and supreme credential, but the sole apologetic. The Scriptures are the documentary records of the testimony of this consciousness, historically and in its highest manifestation in the Christian and in Christ, but their claim to be infallible is dispensed with. The only absolute authority for theology is the harmony that may reveal itself as underlying the coincidence or conflict of man's moral judgements with the sacred books. Philosophical arguments to sustain the theistic position, the usual 'Evidences of Revelation'—miracles and prophecy—and the claims of Church authority are left unmarshalled as non-essential apologetics. This may not result in a new theology, but, standing alone, it may fairly be described as a new apologetic. This is the chief interest of Dr. Beet's formulated—and, we suppose, complete—system of theology. It is of first importance to recognize this, whether for criticism or appreciation; for it will probably afford occasion for both these processes—and ought to

do. If it could be maintained as sufficient, it would bring some relief to many disquieting questionings with which thoughtful Christian men are familiar. To find no longer on the threshold of Christian doctrine the clamorous discussion of the problem of miracle, the present value of prophecy, the contentions of the speculative and the practical intellect which gather themselves into any discussion of the philosophy of religion, the endless perplexities entangling the principle and proportion of inspiration and the dogmatic claims of catholicism for primary or infallible authority, would be a respite indeed. Dr. Beet is the first, at least of Methodist theologians, to formally set forth this claim; and this is his distinction. Can the position be maintained? Certainly the appeal to the subjective credentials of faith is popular and is growing in critical favour—probably in power also. But is it sufficient as the foundation of a complete system of theology such as Dr. Beet seeks to repose upon it? Can the Moral Sense stand alone? Is it reliable, ultimate, underived, universal to the degree that is necessary? Is intuitionism an adequate standard for a theological any more than for an ethical system? Has the authority of experience, moral and spiritual, strength sufficient to dispense with the rational and reasoned support of the intellect? How are we to reconcile Dr. Beet's confidence in the Moral Sense of men as the highest authority with the doctrine he still maintains of Fallen Human Nature? These are questions which his courageous venture will awaken in the minds of many readers of his book. By the side of these inquiries, those which relate to the doctrine of The Last Things, which Dr. Beet discusses at great length, and with much the same results as those with which we have recently been made familiar, are of less immediate interest. Indeed his judgement on these matters may, we think, prove ultimately to be only a more remote result of the apologetic position to which we have called attention. Both positions apparently arise from Dr. Beet's natural indifference to the processes and the value in a system of theology of specifically philosophical thinking.

Theomonism True: God and the Universe in Modern Light. By Frank Ballard, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., F.R.M.S., &c. (Charles H. Kelly. 5*s.* net.)

This book is large enough to be called by the Germans a Handbook of Theism; and such, in effect, it is. Its title hardly

indicates its contents; and, indeed, the actual space devoted to 'Theomonism' amounts to scarcely more than one-tenth of the book. The rest is a comprehensive recapitulation of the arguments for and against Theism, as affected by modern knowledge and speculation. No one who knows Mr. Ballard's previous writings will need to be told that such a recapitulation will exhibit wide reading, incisive characterization, and at times a well-deserved caustic humour. In his preface he refers to a criticism of his method as involving a 'mosaic of quotations.' As a matter of fact, that is where his strength lies. He writes, not to show that the case for Theism is triumphant, but to show that all the best lawyers are on its side. The most effective parts of the book are those in which he turns the enemy's guns on his own ranks. Thus, after a long detour through all the scientific researches, philosophic investigations, and anti-theistic oppositions of a century and a half, we come back only more surely to the words of Hume himself: 'The whole frame of nature bespeaks an intelligent author, and no rational inquirer can, after serious reflection, suspend his belief a moment with regard to the primary principles of genuine Theism and religion.' Such quotations will open the eyes of those who fancy that Hume laid an axe at the root of Theistic belief. We could wish that the title of Mr. Ballard's next book might be 'Theism proved from Anti-Theistic writers.'

Still, the materials for such a work are here. The defender of Theism will find a complete armoury for his combat with the self-confident and ignorant credulity that masquerades under the name of science. Mr. Ballard will hardly expect his book to find its way into the hands of many of those who are being misled by this 'science.' Better than that, he has made it possible for others to wield his own trenchant blade.

The final section on Theomonism maintains that the Monism to which all valid thought drives us implies Theism; that Theism must mean, not Polytheism or Pluralism (in spite of Prof. James), but Monotheism, and that Monotheism implies the personality of God and the personalities of men. In the pregnant phrase which he quotes from Caldecott, 'the Fatherhood we revere is to us unthinkable and beyond our power of appreciation, except in relation to us and others as the children.' The material collected in this book should be used on platforms, in the press, and in the pulpit, in every circuit in the country.

Guilty: A Tribute to the Bottom Man. By Frank Ballard, M.A., B.D., &c. (Charles H. Kelly. 6*d.* net.)

This is a vigorous and detailed reply to Mr. R. Blatchford's incoherent outburst under the title of *Not Guilty: A Defence of the Bottom Dog.* It is both courteous and merciless, with all Mr. Ballard's customary fairness to his opponents and relentlessness in the investigation of their phrases. It is well adapted for circulation amongst men who are being affected by the fallacies of determinism, but are wishful to see what can be said upon the other side.

Outlines for the Study of Biblical History and Literature. By F. K. Sanders, D.D., and H. T. Fowler, Ph.D. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 6*s.*)

The design of this book is to furnish a student with guidance as to his reading, and as to the points to be noted as he proceeds. The execution of the design is not entirely satisfactory. Amongst the defects are that the analysis and the classification of details are carried farther than utility would warrant or the actual evidence allow, and that the authors do not always appear to be familiar with all the significant literature on their subjects, or to be equipped with the faculty of fine discrimination. Their book is one of a series of mixed quality, to the other volumes of which constant reference is made. Its treatment of the New Testament is decidedly thin and inferior, as might be expected from the known aptitudes of the writers, to that of the Old. Yet within limits both students and teachers will find the book of much value. Its numerous charts of Western Asia and Palestine at different periods are an aid of the first order, and as correct as they could be made on the scale selected. Many of the authorities commended are such as should not be overlooked, and in several cases directions are given as to where fuller bibliographies may be found. The references are wisely confined with scarcely an exception to books accessible in English. And the authors will not be disappointed in their hope that these Outlines will contribute to the systematic study of the Bible as both history and religious literature.

Personal Idealism and Mysticism. By W. R. Inge, M.A., D.D. (Longmans. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Inge has given us several attractive studies of mediaeval and English mystics; and now in this volume, which contains the Paddock Lectures of last year, he sets forth what he considers to be the philosophy of mysticism. He styles himself a Christian Platonist, and argues against Personal Idealism, as represented by Lotze, Seth, and others. His method is to construct a positive philosophy, in which an attempt is made to relate a theory of non-individual personality to the Christology of St. Paul and St. John. That the argument is an unqualified success, few will be found to acknowledge. It involves a conception of personality which eludes both contact and definition. It invests aesthetics with a rôle favourable to contemplative ecstasy but fatal to any realization of the racial self. Its psychology fails in the final court of appeal, as declining to recognize distinctions that are permanent to consciousness. And it mutilates non-religious man by denying him any such real unity of nature as would make him self-governing and responsible. But, as is always the case with genuine mysticism of any but the most extravagant type, the book is full of good suggestions for readers who are patient and devout. The mystical standpoint supplies a clue to some of the intricacies of the Christological discussions of the early centuries. A real novelty is an investigation of the Pauline theology of the Logos, which is shown to be unexpectedly explicit and full. It is true that St. Paul never uses the exact term in such a connexion, but he comes very near to it in Rom. x. 8, as our author might have noted, if Philo is to be regarded as an authority on words.

A Free Catholic Church. By J. M. Lloyd Thomas. (Williams & Norgate. 1*s.* 6*d.*)

An ideal Church which would 'transcend or reconcile the oppositions not merely of Anglicanism and Dissent, but of Romanism and Protestantism' represents indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished. But Mr. Lloyd Thomas is hardly likely to succeed in his laudable aim of comprehending in one communion elements so widely diverse, since his method appears to be that described by Sandy Mackaye half a century ago, of stripping mankind generally and then uniting them 'on the broad fundamental ground of want o' breeks.' Not only is

dogma an abomination to Mr. Thomas, but creeds of every kind. It is true he seems to allow room for 'doctrine,' but it must be such that members of the Free Catholic Church can either accept or reject it at pleasure. He perceives also the value of symbol, of ritual, of ancient and venerable sanctuaries and of united worship; his comprehensive Church does not profess to dispense with these forms of religion. But he seems to permit no bond of union but a certain vague sentiment independent of all authority, and anything like uniformity of outward worship would be as impossible in the proposed Church as community of religious belief. Surely the dreamer of the generous and beautiful dream outlined in this volume does not seriously think that a 'Church' could ever be constituted upon such a basis as he here describes. Mr. Thomas does not agree with Comte's philosophy, but suggests that we might agree, whatever our theology, that it was a sound as well as a fine instinct which led Comte to turn to mankind as 'the supremely worshipful reality.' This only begotten Son, Humanity, ever living in the bosom of the Father, this has revealed 'to us the otherwise unknown God.' If a Church, built on the nebulous foundation of no common beliefs, could hold together for twelve months, what would happen when it began to undertake any kind of missionary or aggressive enterprise? Such a project, if seriously contemplated, is indeed the baseless fabric of a vision. But if Mr. Lloyd Thomas desires to teach existing Churches greater breadth of outlook, a larger and more comprehensive Christian spirit and a truer and deeper Christian charity towards those who differ from them in creed, then indeed he deserves to be listened to. His spirit and aim are as much to be commended as his method of reaching freedom and catholicity is Utopian and impossible.

The Divine Wisdom as revealed by the methods of Christ and of the Spirit. By John Coutts. (National Hygienic Co.)

The author reviews in the compass of one volume the philosophies of Greece and Rome, scholasticism, the whole course of modern philosophy and some of the history of modern science, in order to bring into harmony Nature, Man, and the Bible. His aim is ambitious, his spirit is excellent, his methods are, perhaps necessarily, superficial, and we fear that Mr. Coutts will only succeed in convincing those who

were already of his mind when they began to read his book. But some Christian readers will perhaps find his method of treating a large subject suggestive and helpful.

The Strenuous Gospel. By T. G. Selby. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Mr. Selby's position as a writer of sermons is well established. It is not likely to be lowered by the collection which he names *The Strenuous Gospel.* We have here the same careful incisive writing to which he has accustomed us, and the same extraordinary wealth of illustration; best of all the same evangel of Jesus Christ. We do not come to these sermons for exposition; occasionally the exact meaning of a Greek word is given, but there is no attempt to deal with the special teaching of Apostle or Evangelist as indicated in the passages chosen as texts. Neither is there any special development of thought in any one sermon. The method of sermon construction seems rather to be that of getting a clear view and a strong grasp of the general idea conveyed by the text, and enforcing this by an extraordinary wealth of epigram and illustration.

The system has its merits. The unity of the sermon is fully maintained. But the author runs the risk of wearying his reader by a constant succession of epigrams and illustrations which gather round one idea. The sometimes fatal fascination of a mere phrase is seen where we have given as an alternative for 'He emptied himself' the expression 'A preparatory act of depotentiation.' We much prefer the original. The writer in our opinion is also led astray by his fondness for illustrations. He goes to 'the new psychology,' and as a consequence we are taught that physical processes indicate the subconscious mind, and this illustrates the latent Godhead in Christ. In another passage he speaks of the Cross as a seismograph, and says, 'As the Son of Man hung there He felt within Himself the fierce tumultuous upheavings of the nethermost hell, and He endured the cross.' It may be questioned whether there is not some lack of application in this illustration. We much prefer of all these sermons that entitled 'The Ministry of Vindication' (John xvi. 14). There is a clearer development of thought in it; the unity is not so much pressed to an extreme, and there is more indication of human obligation and effort.

The Temptation of our Lord. By H. J. C. Knight, B.D. (Longmans, Green, & Co. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Knight selected a great subject for his Hulsean Lectures. To his mind our Lord's baptism was the turning-point in his life. It marked 'the point of complete apprehension by the Lord's human mind of the fullness of all that He was, and the function which it was His to fill in the divinely ordered life of the world.' The first temptation turns on the right action of One who is, and is conscious of being perfect God and perfect Man. Christ refuses to make the stones bread because that was in conflict with a law of His being. 'The second temptation and Gethsemane were in essence the same; but on the exceeding high mountain the *end*, the Kingdom, fills the scene, and the means is in the background, while in the Garden it is the terror of the *means*, namely, death, on which all is centred, and the end to which it leads is almost lost sight of.' In the last temptation the Messiah refuses to make Himself known to men by a miracle of ostentation. They must come to know Him by methods that would not stunt their moral capacity. In his third lecture Mr. Knight shows that 'The principles of the Ministry are the issue of the Temptation.' The Church of to-day is called to be loyal to the same rules. This part of the book might have been expanded with great advantage. It is both timely and helpful. The last lecture is, perhaps, the most suggestive. The Primitive Church accepted this record of the temptations as proper to the Person of Jesus Christ, and 'declared by doing so that He had left the impress of one to whom such objects were His proper and fitting concern.' No student can afford to overlook these luminous and stimulating lectures.

A Layman's Mind on Creed and Church. By J. S. Templeton, Carpet Manufacturer. (Macmillan. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a book to be welcomed and weighed. Its author, a thoughtful and reverent layman, is displeased with the Westminster Confession, the standard of his own Church, and considers the position created by the Declaratory Acts neither tenable in theory nor satisfactory in practice. He presents for discussion the draft of a shorter creed, and appends a statement of the opinions on which most of the Articles are based.

There follows a criticism of the High Church theory, with a plea for the division of the General Assembly into two houses of clergy and laity respectively, and an appendix giving the text of the official documents concerned. The proposed Confession is of an evangelical and devout type; obvious objections to its acceptance are the inclusion of phrases that bristle with difficulty, besides a model doctrine of the Trinity. But the writer shows himself well fitted, in spirit and by thought and reading, to express his views on the high matters with which he deals. And if he may be taken as representing others, the appearance of such a book is a symptom of the spread of an enlightened interest in theology into circles whose influence will tend to maintain its vital contact with life and truth.

The Work of Preaching. A Book for the Class-Room and the Study. By Arthur S. Hoyt, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Hoyt's aim is 'to voice the best pulpit-life of to-day; to study and express its ideals and principles of effective speech.' He seeks to interpret 'preaching as a living message.' That purpose lends special interest and value to these lectures. The first lays stress on 'The Importance of Preaching.' Forces distinctly hostile to the influence of the pulpit are at work in our age. The absorbing interest in material things, the social unrest, the critical spirit of the day—these are distinctly unfriendly to the preacher. But such difficulties must be overcome. The preacher must make himself felt by the largeness of his spiritual manhood and the divineness of his message. 'Christianity is a life; it can only be propagated by personal influence. Speech is the chief expression and agency of personality. The pulpit is in accordance with the very nature of man.' The sermon must be direct and personal, it must aim at something and hit it. It is 'the giving of a word of God to men.' Preaching will always have its place 'as the divinely appointed means for the extension of the kingdom of Christ.' Other lectures deal with the preparation of the sermon, its introduction, development, conclusion, the use of argument, illustration, persuasion. Dr. Hoyt quotes freely from other writers on his subject and from the great preachers. He is a wise and clear thinker, whose hints will be found of great service by all preachers, especially young preachers. In extemporaneous preaching a clear and full outline is requisite.

'More material is needed than in written sermons to meet emergencies, and the detailed steps are to be planned that the discourse may not lack in clearness and order.' As to free speaking after writing, Dr. Hoyt says justly, 'It is a costly method in every way, and effective in proportion to the cost.'

Περὶ ἱερωσύνης (De Sacerdotio) of St. John Chrysostom. Edited by J. A. Navin, Litt.D. (Cambridge University Press. 6*s.* net.)

It is two hundred years since a separate edition of Chrysostom's treatise on the priesthood was published in England. The head master of Merchant Taylors' School has prepared this volume for the Cambridge Patristic Texts, intended for the use of theological students. The introduction supplies all the information needed as to the writer and the text, and the notes are very helpful. Immense care and much learning have been lavished on the book, and it will be felt to be a worthy edition of a famous masterpiece which still retains its freshness and interest.

Spiritual Evolution and Related Subjects. By W. J. Michell. (Jersey: J. T. Bigwood.)

This is a collection of ten addresses of a homiletical type, in several of which the preacher endeavours to trace a parallel between the methods of biological evolution and the soul's progress under grace. The points are not in every instance novel, but are attractively stated and illustrated. All the addresses exhibit a thoughtful and earnest spirit, and would be likely to stimulate the hearers. There is no index or analytical table of contents; and more than once Amos is confused with Amoz.

The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon. Edited by A. Lukyn Williams, B.D. (Cambridge University Press. 3*s.*)

The Cambridge Greek Testament for schools and colleges is invaluable, and this volume is worthy of that fine series. Almost everything that a scholar needs is packed into the masterly Introduction and the Notes. Mr. Williams is never obscure, and he arranges his matter in a very helpful way. We have been much impressed by the riches of the book, and at the sound critical judgement and insight which mark it from first to last.

The Expositor. Edited by the Rev. W. R. Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Seventh Series. Vol. ii. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The *Expositor* grows more essential to the biblical and theological student every year, and this volume bears abundant evidence of the skill and discernment of its editor and the learning of his contributors. Dr. George Adam Smith writes on 'Ezra and Nehemiah,' 'Nehemiah's Jerusalem' and 'The Jewish Constitution.' Sir William Ramsay contributes four papers on 'Tarsus,' a fresh and illuminating article on 'The Permanence of Religion at Holy Places in the East,' and a valuable paper on Harnack's recent studies in St. Luke. Dr. Beet and Dr. James H. Moulton represent Methodist scholarship by two contributions which make special appeal to Bible students. It is a volume of the greatest value and interest.

Adventus Regni. By A. L. Lilley. (F. Griffiths. 3*s.* net.)

These sermons were preached at St. Mary's, Paddington Green, and are chiefly based on our Lord's Parables of the Kingdom. They are suggestive and practical, well expressed, and often very timely. The parables are an inexhaustible quarry for the preacher, and Mr. Lilley uses his material to the best effect. It is a thoroughly helpful and useful book.

The World's Desire, by Joseph B. Mayor, M.A., is another volume in the same series. The sermons are worthy of a great scholar like Dr. Mayor, luminous in style and treatment, practical and suggestive. They are excellent specimens of really good Anglican preaching, delightfully free from pretence or affectation.

Village Sermons. By the late Brooke Foss Westcott, Bishop of Durham. (Macmillan. 6*s.*)

Most of these sermons were delivered when Dr. Westcott was at Cambridge and held the Rectory of Somersham in connexion with his Professorship. They are admirably clear and simple, but full of thought and wise counsel. His missionary sermon, with many facts about the Kôls in Bengal, is just what would catch the attention of a village congregation. That on the ministry of angels is very impressive. 'Do they fulfil the will of God faithfully, cheerfully, perfectly; day by day, morning and evening, we pray that we may do that will on earth as they

do it in heaven. Such is angels' work; such is the work of man.' These sermons are suggestive models for village preachers.

Mr. H. R. Allenson has published a neat half-crown (net) edition of Phillips Brooks' *Influence of Jesus*. His four lectures show that the motive of our Lord's life and work was to make men in reality the children of God. He traces the presence of this idea in the moral, social, emotional, and intellectual life of man with singular force and beauty. It is a book with a living message, and a message that becomes more and more sacred and important.

The Book of Esther, by Rev. J. Elder Cumming, D.D., is a welcome addition to the Religious Tract Society's *Devotional Commentary* (2*s*.). It gives much helpful guidance to the problems of the book, and upholds its spiritual teaching in a very suggestive way. Many will be thankful for such help in their Bible studies.

Mr. Frowde has just published *The Palestine Pictorial Bible* with 116 engravings and coloured pictures from drawings made in Bible lands by James Clark, R.I., and the late H. A. Harper. The frontispiece, 'Home to the Fold,' the shepherd carrying a lamb and leading his flock, really satisfies one's ideal, and others are quite as effective. For a cheap illustrated Bible we know nothing so attractive and instructive as this.

We heartily welcome a sixth edition of *The Truth of Christianity*, by Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Turton (Wells Gardner & Co.) It is a thoroughly good and most helpful examination of the arguments on both sides. We are glad to see that the book is having such a large sale.

The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul. The Problem of its Restoration. By Alexander Souter, D.Litt. (Henry Frowde. 1*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Everything connected with the history of 'the earliest British book,' whatever its subject, would be of interest, but when that book is a commentary which has greatly influenced Christian thought, the interest is much enhanced. In this scholarly work, Dr. Souter, of Mansfield College, Oxford, collects references to the *Commentary of Pelagius* from the writings of Augustine and Mercator. He also traces the history of attempts

to recover the original work, and finally describes the results of his own researches. Here it must suffice to say that Dr. Souter has collated a MS. in the Grand-Ducal Library at Karlsruhe, and believes it to be 'a pure Pelagius, perhaps the only copy in existence.' Students will be glad to learn that further details will be given in the edition promised in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies*.

The Zodia, or the Cherubim in the Bible and the Cherubim in the Sky. By E. M. Smith. (Elliot Stock. 6*s*.)

In this elaborate and profusely illustrated book the writer has collected from many sources what are described as 'indisputable and extraordinary coincidences of the Zodiac with Scripture.' Much curious and interesting information is given. But a coincidence is not a type, and we cannot accept 'the theory that the Zodiac is a type of the living stones of the spiritual Temple.' We can, however, say with the author: 'How strange, if it be true, that the whole universe is circling round that star in Taurus, the sacrificial Bull, which is called "The Foundation Stone."'

The Master of the Magicians: The Story of Daniel retold. By Lumen. (Elliot Stock. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This work is described as written 'on conservative lines.' It attempts to correct erroneous interpretations of the 'weeks.' One result is that the author feels assured of the occurrence of something important 'bearing upon the career of the Jews . . . *about* the year 1935.' Lumen's convictions on some other questions are more definite. For example, we are told that 'Russia will never seriously assail India.' This is a book for politicians, if indeed it be true that 'Gog and Russia are synonymous terms.'

Mr. Unwin sends us a shilling (net) edition of *Inspiration and the Bible*, with a new preface in which Dr. Horton says that he has received evidence from time to time of those who had been saved from unbelief and brought to a sure footing by his little book.

God, Man, and the Garden. By R. W. Beachey. (Stock. 5*s*.)

Mr. Beachey draws proofs from his own experience, from creation, and from the Bible to show that man needs a revelation

and that the scriptures supply the need. Gleams of humour and fragments of autobiography brighten the argument. There are some odd things in the book, but its tone and temper are excellent.

The Cryptogram and its Key (Stock, 2*s.* 6*d.* net) is a very ingenious attempt to show that the Letters to the Seven Churches, if taken in the reverse order to that given in the Revelation 'present an exact portrayal of the birth and development of spiritual life in the soul.' It is a strange freak of exposition, though it is devout and evangelical.

Readings from Law's 'Serious Call.' (Longmans. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Bishop of London writes a felicitous Introduction to these readings. He thinks Law's book 'extremely entertaining.' It is 'a mirror in which all may find themselves, if they will look; and not only themselves, which would be sorry work for most of us, but also the men and women we were meant to be.' There are forty-six extracts of one to four pages in length. The editor has done his work with taste and skill, and those who are afraid to attempt the whole book will find these readings both pleasant and helpful.

Canon Rawlinson's Ezra and Nehemiah (Griffiths. 2*s.* 6*d.* net) is in its fourth thousand. It is a little book which Bible students will find of real service.

The Sweet Story of Jesus, by Mrs. J. D. Bate (Stock, 2*s.* 6*d.* net) is intended for children of from five to ten years old. It has been used largely in a Bengali translation and in Arabic. The language is simple, and the book can be recommended with confidence. There are six full-page illustrations.

The Rev. James Moffatt has given us a new volume of his *Literary Illustrations of the Bible* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1*s.* 6*d.* net). *The Epistle of James* is well adapted to such treatment, and this little book will be a great help to teachers and preachers.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

History of English Congregationalism. By R. W. Dale, D.D., LL.D. Completed and Edited by A. W. W. Dale. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s.* net.)

Dr. Dale left this book unfinished. It began as a manual, but gradually grew in size and scope, gathering to itself the fruits of Dr. Dale's study of the theory of the Church on which the Congregational polity is built, and of his researches into the history of Congregationalism, the biographies of the men who made it, and the place it held in the religious life of the nation. When the manuscript came into his son's hands it was mainly unrevised. In many places it was incomplete, and references to sources and authorities were meagre or missing. It has been no light task 'to fill up gaps, to cut out repetitions, to complete the references, to verify statements and conclusions by the help of original authorities,' but this drudgery has been faithfully done, and two chapters have been added which give a very full account of 'Institutions and Enterprises of Modern Congregationalism,' and of 'The International Council, 1891.' Mr. Dale has also supplied a valuable Appendix of Authors. The work is divided into six books. The first deals with 'Church Polity in the Apostolic Age, and after-attempts to recover the lost ideal of the Communion of Saints'; the remaining books describe English Congregationalism under Elizabeth, and in the periods bounded by the Restoration, the Revolution, the death of George III, and the present time. The brief survey of the polity of the Apostolic Churches is followed by an interesting account of mistaken and unsuccessful attempts to assert the principles of that polity. Still more absorbing is the story of the Germans who crossed over to England about 1160 to preach a new faith. They were branded in the forehead and publicly whipped out of Oxford. All died from starvation and cold. One poor woman, who was supposed to be their only convert, 'confessed her error and deserved reconciliation.' Two hundred years later Wyclif and the Lollards made a deep impression on the religious life of the country. This national movement led on towards the Reformation. 'The faith and the patience

of the last of the martyrs that died for the truth they had learned from Wyclif gave courage to the earliest of the martyrs that died for the truth they had learnt from Luther.' The interest of the book deepens when we reach the days of Elizabeth, whose hold on the affection and loyalty of her people never wavered. The popular impression that her 'long reign secured the triumph of Protestantism in England and prevented the destruction of Protestantism in Europe' is described as 'substantially true.' The Queen was exceedingly angry at the disorderly practices of the Puritans, and directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to enforce compliance with the Act of Uniformity. The first regularly constituted English Congregational church of which we have any record was that of which Richard Fitz was pastor in London in 1571. A few years later Robert Browne formed a Congregational church in Norwich, and enforced and expounded his theories at secret meetings in every part of Norfolk and Suffolk. He was a kinsman of Burleigh, who persuaded the Archbishop to deal leniently with him and afterwards made him rector of Achurch in Northampton. Browne's imperious temper bordered on insanity, and in his last days his vision of an ideal Church faded; but 'while he was a Congregationalist he appears to have been an excellent Christian, rough in speech after the manner of those times, but free from all moral reproach, and a man of intense and fervent religious zeal.' From this point the history broadens out. Dr. Dale gives a striking account of John Robinson and the Pilgrim Fathers, and of the memorable struggle between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the middle of the seventeenth century. Progress was slow; in 1640 there were only two Congregational churches in London, meeting in Southwark and in Deadman's Place. Most of the Congregationalists left in England after the sailing of the *Mayflower* were obscure and illiterate. But in the days of the Long Parliament the Independents began to take a new position, and in the quarter of a century that followed the Act of Uniformity ministers continued to preach, and congregations assembled to listen to them,' despite the vigilance of soldiers and magistrates. Happier times came with the Revolution. At the death of Queen Anne there were about three hundred and fifty Independent churches in England. The decay of the 'Dissenting Interest,' however, became marked under Anne and George I. The sons of eminent Nonconformists, who had suffered much

for their faith, became Churchmen; congregations dwindled or wasted away. The great spiritual ideas which had been the inspiration and glory of Puritanism and Nonconformity were largely forgotten. Many pulpits ceased to teach the gospel. Wesley's work was long regarded with deep distrust by a large majority of the Congregationalists. Doddridge suffered serious annoyance and opposition on account of his friendship with Whitefield. 'But the fires of the revival had been kindled from heaven, and before the accession of George III the Congregational churches had caught the flame. Their ministers were beginning to preach with a new fervour, and their preaching was followed with a new success. The religious life of their people was becoming more intense. A passion for evangelistic work was taking possession of church after church, and by the end of the century the old meeting-houses were crowded; many of them had to be enlarged, and new meeting-houses were being erected in town after town and village after village in every part of the country.' That fine passage shows the style and spirit of this noble book, which will be a lasting monument to the insight and catholicity of one of the largest-hearted and most gifted men that Congregationalism has produced.

Early Chinese History. Are the Chinese Classics Forged? By H. J. Allen. (S.P.C.K.)

There is a certain amount of humour in the publication of this work by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Its Literary Committee seem to feel this in their prefatory note, which disclaims responsibility for the opinions, but declares that one who has so long been in China has a right to get his opinions placed before the world. The number of those who can give an intelligent opinion on the subject of the genuineness of the Chinese classics is necessarily very small. Mr. Allen, who was for many years in our consular service in China, represents the analytical and sceptical tendency which is manifest in the present discussion of all the ancient literature of the world. The problem is briefly as follows: The ancient books of poetry, history, and divination of China are generally accepted as coming down from an unknown antiquity, and as being codified and 'transmitted' by Confucius and his school (6th century B.C.). In the year 233 B.C. the monarch who completed the Great Wall, desirous of giving himself a spurious

dignity of origination, gave orders that all ancient books should be destroyed. This 'Burning of the Books' cast a great bonfire gleam over early Chinese history, and literary men suffered martyrdom for the preservation of their classics. When Shih-hwang died his order was reversed, and from old cupboards and walls were produced mutilated copies, while the memories of old men replaced the lacunae. Obviously here are possibilities of great error. Mr. Allen goes further. He declares that the great rewards offered led Ssuma Ch'ien (about 90 B.C.) and others to forge the present texts and get them accepted. This book takes Ssuma Ch'ien's avowed works and compares them with the accepted texts of the Classics in order to prove that they are by the same hand. The writer antedates the advent of Buddhism in China, asserts its influence on both Confucianism and Taoism, and generally reduces all before the first century B.C. to a nebulous haze. There is much ingenuity, a good deal of guesswork, some special pleading. The lay reader puts the book down with a strong sense of the possibility of other explanations, and the Sinologues will no doubt renew vigorous frays on the subject.

The First Age of Christianity and the Church. By Dr. Döllinger. (Gibbings & Co. 6*s.* net.)

This reissue of Oxenham's translation of Dr. Döllinger's great work is in one sense timely. The book has for some years been out of print. But the method of reissue does not commend itself to us. Much has happened since the work was first published, and many of the references, and not a few of the statements, are out of date. Some competent scholar should have been employed to add in square brackets, as in Dr. Bury's great edition of Gibbon, the necessary corrections. This should have been done in fairness to the author himself. To reissue a work by a great scholar forty years after it was written is not always to do justice to his reputation. We have had a recent illustration of this in Hassall's issue of Bishop Stubbs's lectures on Anglo-Saxon history, written over thirty years ago, and now so completely out of date and inaccurate that the good bishop must turn in his grave at the thought of the insult inflicted on him by catch-penny executors. But in this matter there are other offenders than Dr. Hassall.

Sir Fulke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney. (Clarendon Press. 5*s.*)

Fulke Greville was brought up with Sir Philip Sidney, and his book is the best portrait we have of the man who was confessedly the mirror of English chivalry. To these pages we owe the famous story of the 'poor souldier carryed along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, gastly casting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head, before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, Thy necessity is yet greater than mine. And when he had pledged this poor souldier, he was presently carryed to Arnheim.' Mr. Nowell Smith's Introduction and Notes to the present edition add much to its value for scholars, but the *Life* makes its own appeal with its sonorous Elizabethan prose. The writer 'luxuriates in words, phrases, metaphors, allusions, like all the Elizabethans; one picturesque expression trips over another, an epithet suggests a new turn of thought, and the sentence cannot keep up with the sudden shifting of the course.' The death-bed scene, with Sidney's prayer and last counsel to his brother Robert, would itself make the fortune of a book, and this beautiful printed edition with its antique cover is a really worthy presentation of *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney.*

Mr. Murray has published Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church* in three neatly bound volumes (7*s.* 6*d.* net). The dean's object was 'to draw out the inestimable treasures of the Old Testament, both historically, geographically, morally, and spiritually,' and he devoted all his art and skill to his task. His biographer says that Stanley's 'picturesque sensibility quickened into life the long succession of patriarchs, kings, prophets, and national heroes,' and all who study these living portraits will endorse that judgement. Such a work cannot fail to stir the imagination of every reader, and add new delight to the study of the Old Testament. It is a great boon to have this popular edition with maps and portrait for half-a-crown a volume.

Messrs. Longmans have included Sir James Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* in their *Silver Library* (2 vols., 7*s.* net). The Essays made a great impression as they appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, and have continued to sell

ever since they were published in two volumes in 1849. Those on 'The Evangelical Succession,' 'William Wilberforce,' and 'The Clapham Sect' are standard authorities to which all subsequent writers on that period acknowledge their obligation. Sir James Stephen knew how to make a subject attractive, and both these volumes, but especially the second, have abiding value and interest. The publication of so cheap and neat an edition will tempt many to secure these masterpieces and to study them.

The Real Blake. By Edwin J. Ellis. (Chatto & Windus. 12*s.* net.)

This biography was prepared as a companion volume to the complete *Poetical Works of William Blake*, recently issued by Messrs. Chatto & Windus. It is packed with details about Blake's life and work. 'A descriptive catalogue of pictures, poetical and historical inventions, painted by William Blake in water-colours' is given *in extenso*, and a whole chapter is filled with Blake's trenchant notes on Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses*. The wealth of material will appeal strongly to students, and there are some touching descriptions of Blake's marriage and his life-long wrestling with difficulties. Mr. Ellis will certainly help his readers to see the real Blake, and he is worth seeing. Lovers of art and poetry will scan every detail of the portrait with the deepest interest. Blake's father was a Swedenborgian, and Mr. Ellis thinks that this influence largely affected the artist's earlier work. 'He was stimulated to the "creation" of his personages by thoughts of a myth-making, impersonating kind, such as the ancients had when meditating on the moods of human character. Then he mounted the tripod and surrendered himself to oracular impulse.' The book has thirteen illustrations which add much to its value.

Mr. R. L. Nettleship's *Memoir of Thomas Hill Green*, which was only to be had as part of the philosopher's *Works*, has now been issued by Messrs. Longmans as a separate volume (4*s.* 6*d.* net). Many have been anxious to have it in this form, and it will well repay study. Green's real biography is to be found in his *Prolegomena to Ethics* and other philosophical works, but much light is thrown on the development of his intellect by this *Memoir*. The account of his early life at Oxford is of special interest. Few thinkers of the latter half of the last century were more independent or more devoted to the search of truth than Thomas Hill Green.

A Short History of Mediaeval Peoples. By Robinson Souttar, M.A., D.C.L. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s.*)

This is a companion volume to Dr. Souttar's *Short History of Ancient Peoples*. His divisions are: The Roman Empire, The Saracens, The Crusades, The Byzantine Empire. Good maps are given, and the book has no dull pages. It begins with the history of Augustus, and gives a clear description of the character and work of each of his successors. There is a good chapter on the early Christians, and five on the Religious Leaders of the Fourth Century and on St. Augustine. These are of special interest and are freshly put, though we do not altogether agree with the estimate of Ambrose, or of Jerome, as to whom Dr. Souttar says there is 'wonderfully little proof either in his life or writings that he had any experimental knowledge of Christianity. This we may at least affirm of his youth and riper years. Perhaps at eventide, when he had passed through much suffering, and was poor and apparently little esteemed, there may have been light.' Poor Jerome! that is a lash under which the irascible scholar would have smarted severely. The book closes with the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. It will be a great convenience to many to have such a clear outline of the history of the Roman Empire in East and West, and the allied story of the Saracens and the Turks in one readable volume.

The latest *Essays for the Times* (Francis Griffiths, 6*d.* net.) are *The Roman See in the First Centuries*, by the Rev. W. E. Beet, a clear account of the early bishops of Rome, which shows how their power and pretensions grew; though in the fourth century, when this survey closes, 'the imperial Popedom still lay in a far distant future.' It is a first-rate piece of historical work, and the interest is well sustained throughout. *Christianity and Socialism*, by the Rev. S. E. Keeble, is a forcible statement of the case for Collectivism. Mr. Keeble thinks the way in which the masses of the people are rallying to Christ and the gospel, and even to the Churches, is a happy omen, and that the alienated multitudes will return to 'a revived and socially applied Christianity.' There are many dangers ahead, but we are all anxious to do everything that will really uplift the masses. The *Differentia of Christianity*, by the Rev. John Robson, D.D., is a thoughtful discussion of a great subject.

GENERAL

The Bookman Illustrated History of English Literature. By Thomas Seccombe and W. Robertson Nicoll. Two vols. (Houlder & Stoughton. 15*s.* net.)

THIS is a pleasant book to handle. The volumes are large, but they are easy to hold, the bold type in double columns looks effective, and the thirty-two full-page portraits and pictures are well chosen and well reproduced. The scope of the work affords little room for extracts from English literature. It supplies biographical sketches of our chief writers from Chaucer to Swinburne, with an appreciation of each author's work. Dr. Nicoll's judgement and literary skill are manifest in the work, but Mr. Seccombe's has been the labouring oar, and few men have a wider knowledge of the subject. He writes easily, and wherever one opens the book it is pleasant to read. The work is mapped out into seven books—The King's English, Drama and Lyric, The Counter-Renaissance, Satire and Essay, Morals and Memoirs, Romance, The Age of the Novel. Smaller type is used in some sections, so that a very wide area is covered. It is eminently a book to be read. Its critical estimates are very suggestive, and it is astonishing what a world of information is put at the service of the reader. George Meredith is described as the greatest exponent of the 'post-Dickensian novel.' He 'attains to the highest intensity, and his idiosyncrasy as a writer is most felt, in such works as *Feveral*, *The Egoist*, and *Diana;* as master-builder of a modern novel, *totus*, *teres*, *atque rotundus*, he is in our opinion seen to best advantage in *Evan Harrington* and *Beauchamp's Career*, representing successively his early and late styles. His delineation of high-born ladies, the nineteenth-century successors of Olivia, Beatrice, Portia, and Desdemona has often been celebrated. All his women are crucible-women—women by whom men and the world are tested. If men fail under the test, that which should be a lamp becomes a flaming furnace in the hand.' This extract shows that the new work is critical history full of force and insight, a really helpful guide into the great world of books. We are delighted with it, and we are persuaded that that will be the general verdict.

The Tourist's India. By Eustace Reynolds-Ball. (Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

This volume gives a sketch of the great cities and tourist centres of India, with ample information as to their history and chief points of attraction. It has twenty-eight full-page illustrations and a new map, and two of the chapters have been revised by an ex-Viceroy and a Principal of the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The counsels given to tourists will save them from many sorrows and add greatly to the pleasure of a visit to India. For those who must stay at home the book will scarcely be less valuable. It brings out the chief features of interest in the great cities, and describes their public buildings and the daily life of the people in a most instructive way. The first view of Bombay from the sea is fascinating. White palaces set in an amphitheatre of greenery make the stranger feel that this, not Calcutta, is the real City of Palaces. But behind the sea-front, lined with magnificent buildings, are the squalid and filthy native quarters. The city lies on a narrow neck of land, where there is no possibility of expansion. Benares, with its crowds of worshippers, is best seen from a boat on the river. The city is one of the most fascinating in India, and 'a whole winter would not exhaust its innumerable features of interest.' Few great cities of our empire can boast of so grand a river-frontage as Calcutta. The enormous crescent of noble buildings is interspersed with towers and spires. Yet Calcutta is 'unattractive and commonplace compared with the great historic cities of India, such as Delhi, Agra, or Benares.' Those who wish to know about them should read this pleasant book. It makes no pretence to showy writing or beautiful pictures, but it is full of information which every Englishman needs, and is brightened by humour and good sense. The 'Babuisms' of the Appendix furnish some delightfully amusing stories.

Tent and Testament. By Herbert Rix, B.A. (Williams & Norgate. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Rix died last October whilst this book was in the press. It describes his camping tour in Palestine, and sixty-three illustrations are given from the writer's own photographs. Mr. Rix had a laudable scepticism as to the traditional sites, but his book is perhaps the more valuable for that. Those who

never hope to visit Palestine will feel this volume almost takes the place of a personal pilgrimage. We have seen no account of the descent from Jerusalem to Jericho so graphic as that given in these pages, and the present-day aspect of Nazareth, Bethany, and Bethlehem is skilfully set out. The chapters are short and brightly written. Mr. Rix tells us all about his adventures, his guides, his impressions of places, and his contact with the natives. It is a book which Bible students should not overlook. They will not always be able to accept Mr. Rix's views as to Bible history, but they will find it no small advantage to see Palestine through such observant and sympathetic eyes as his.

Sir Edward Burne-Jones. Second Series. (Newnes. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The work of Burne-Jones, as M. Alexandre points out in a suggestive introduction to these pictures, is so abundant as to furnish material for a second volume in this Art Library. The later crop is no whit inferior to the first, though that was so rich and varied. His French critic says, 'To-day his painting stands out clearly among the strongest and the most original work produced by the English school of the last century.' Rossetti praised Burne-Jones for having realized and proved that 'the noblest painting is a painted poem.' M. Alexandre visited 'The Grange' and heard Burne-Jones describe how he dreamed his painted poems and worked at a whole cycle, spending endless pains on securing the right types and accessories for each work. Painting was the one outlet for his genius, and as we turn this portfolio we see how his art gained by such concentration. Every picture given here has its own charm. The figure of 'Faith and Hope,' the exquisite portrait of 'Miss Gaskell,' and the 'Elijah fed by the raven,' are noble specimens of his power, and Mr. Hollyer's reproductions are as fine as photography can make them. The volume will give unmixed delight to all who love the work of this prince of art.

The Pattern Nation. By Sir Henry Wrixon, K.C. (Macmillan & Co. 3*s.* net.)

'What will the poor do with the rich?' That is the problem which is being rapidly developed in our western civilization. The problem is as yet only partially understood in England. 'The vast superstructure of regal, aristocratic, pro-

fessional and social influence has partly delayed, but partly also concealed, its progress.' Under semi-Socialism, as Sir H. Wrixon points out, all difficulties are avoided. 'The pleasant half of the new system is taken, but its disagreeable complement is left. Its leaders seek to combine the comfort of Socialism without its discipline with the freedom of individualism without its spur, competition.' The State employees in the pattern nation would be without the incentive to industry of either the competitive or the complete Socialist system. Sir H. Wrixon holds that though Socialism begins with democracy, its trend is round again to despotism. 'To have a chance of a safe life under the industrial conditions of the new system you would need to have rulers as wise as Solomon and as upright as Washington.' This is a little book that grapples resolutely with a question that lies at the root of England's prosperity. It is distinctly stimulating, and those who are least disposed to accept its conclusions have most to learn from it.

Old-Age Pensions and the Aged Poor (Macmillan & Co., 2*s.* net), by Charles Booth, appeared in 1899 and is now reissued with some additional matter. No one is more entitled to be heard on this great national question than Mr. Booth. The earlier part of his little book describes the condition of the aged poor, the second contains proposals for dealing with the problem. He holds that on attaining the age of seventy every one should be entitled to a pension of seven shillings a week for life. Out-relief under the Poor Law would be at once abolished. In certain cases provision could be made for allowing the pension at an earlier age. Indoor paupers might claim the pension if they left the workhouse. The cost of the scheme is set down at £16,000,000 per annum. The difficulties and objections are met with much candour, and, whatever their judgement on the proposals may be, every student of the subject will be thankful for such a clear and reasoned statement as is given in this little book.

Christianity and our Wages System, by S. E. Keeble, is one of the 'Social Tracts for the Times' (Kelly, 1*d.*). The writer puts his case strongly. The question is one of vital interest, and many will be glad to have such a summary in this cheap form, though they may think that Mr. Keeble does not understand all the practical difficulties of this thorny question.

The House of Quiet (Murray, 8*s*. net), in its tenth edition, bears the name of its author, Mr. A. C. Benson. He explains his reason for publishing it anonymously in an Introduction, which will be read with great interest. Mr. Benson says that he has no 'dramatic or narrative capacity,' or he would have made a novel out of his material. We do not wonder to learn that his 'autobiography' has made for him a good many quiet friends, 'whom unseen I love.' It is a singularly powerful and intensely spiritual book. The mysteries of life, which have been so puzzling when the writer is in health, vanish as he stands on the threshold of the world which death is about to unlock with his golden key. Every stage in the writer's life seems to be sketched—at home, at school, at Cambridge, and in the Civil Service. The touch of incident adds interest to the story of mental and spiritual development, and when life has just been crowned by the greatest happiness, death claims the lover. The popularity of such a book speaks well for English society.

Provincial Letters, and Other Papers. By the Author of *Pages from a Private Diary*. (Smith, Elder & Co. 5*s*. net.)

Canon Beeching's *Letters* arrested attention when they appeared in *Cornhill*, and the selection given in this volume will be much appreciated. We wish it had been possible to print all the Letters, but those chosen have great variety and freshness. There is much to be learnt about English literature and history, and everything is so pleasantly put that we are tempted on from point to point and are sorry when we reach the end. A vein of kindly humour adds much to the charm of his papers. 'The notes by an Examiner in English Literature' often raise a laugh, but they also furnish some wise hints as to the best modes of teaching and examining in such a subject. The papers on 'Shakespeare,' 'Atterbury,' and 'English Patriotic Poetry' will appeal to all lovers of our literature and history.

Letters to Young and Old. By Mrs. C. W. Earle. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Mrs. Earle's *Letters* are a *Pot-Pourri* under another name. There is the same delicious medley of cooking and gardening, of vegetarianism and extracts from favourite books. The material is arranged in sections, and the epistolatory form

really adds to the sparkle and incident of the volume. We have been interested in the admirable little papers on 'How to keep in health,' here reprinted from the parish magazine for which they were written. We find some pleasant details in the first pages of the book as to Lord Leighton's student days at Frankfort, and the tribute to Lady Dilke, whom Mrs. Earle knew before she married Mark Pattison, is graceful and loving. Mrs. Earle quotes John Wesley, and has found help in many trials from some wise counsels by Susannah Wesley. This is a book to read. It is packed with good things, and, for our part, we relish it the more because Mrs. Earle tells us frankly about the help vegetarianism has been to her and others, and allows us to share her recipes, and study the art of gardening as she has practised it. We hope that she will not fail by-and-by to give us another volume of her treasures.

Prisoners of Hope: An Exposition of Dante's Purgatorio. By J. S. Carroll, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

This is a companion volume to the same author's *Exiles of Eternity*. Its aim is 'to bring out the ethical significance of what many Dante students regard as the most interesting, because the most human, part of the *Commedia*.' The book is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with the Ante-Purgatory, Purgatory Proper, and the Earthly Paradise, and the whole poem is expounded canto by canto. It is difficult to praise the author's work too highly; he has evidently read very widely in Continental and English Dante literature, and, in addition, has made a special study of some of the authors who influenced Dante, and especially Thomas Aquinas. In addition to this, Mr. Carroll has a spiritual enthusiasm for his subject, which enables him to give many illuminating expositions of Dante's allegories. The chapters on the Ante-Purgatory are especially helpful, as that is a part of the poem which presents so many difficulties to the uninitiated. The sinners on the terraces where 'Accidia,' Envy, and Avarice are purged away, are made wonderfully real, and Dante's great sermons are preached anew for our own generation. But there is hardly a dull page in the whole book, and there are many passages of great charm and beauty. It should be an immense stimulus to the study of Dante in this country.

Aeschylus in English Verse. (Part II.) By A. S. Way. (Macmillan. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Way's first volume of translations of Aeschylus' plays has been quickly followed by a second. He now gives us *Prometheus Bound* and the *Supplices;* for the trilogy we must still wait. To many lovers of Aeschylus, the *Prometheus* is the typical Aeschylean drama. It has no plot, and next to no action; the succession of speeches and choral odes has but one theme, the outrageous rule of the new tyrant, Zeus, and Prometheus' determination never to submit nor yield. And yet the interest, either for the spectators in the Dionysiac theatre in Athens some twenty-five centuries ago, or for the modern reader, does not flag for an instant, and it culminates when the two victims of Zeus' 'hybris,' the Titan chained to his rock, and the wandering and tortured Io, talk of the fate that awaits the throne of all injustice in the far-distant future.

To readers of Mr. Way's other translations, it goes without saying that he is often most felicitous and always on a high level of poetry. We do not think that he always gives the effect of Aeschylus' tremendous mouth-filling verses; to do that one must be able to write such lines as—

> The multitudinous seas incarnadine;

but he gains a peculiarly happy and just effect by his echoes of the language of Scripture; and the following lines will give a fair specimen of his art—

> O but 'tis sweet to link day unto day
> With dreadless hopes, to keep a constant May
> Within the heart of sunny-smiling cheer!

Scripture and Truth. Dissertations by the late Benjamin Jowett. With Introduction by Lewis Campbell. (H. Frowde. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These dissertations turn principally on Jowett's method of interpreting Scripture. He held that when interpreted like any other book the Bible 'will make for itself a new kind of authority by the life which is in it.' The essays have lasting interest for students, and the noble sermon on Richard Baxter, given at the end of the volume, is a revelation of the preacher's own mind and heart as well as a glorious tribute to a great Nonconformist. Prof. Campbell's introduction is just what a reader needs.

Cobbett's Advice to Young Men. (H. Frowde. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Strong sense, good temper, and wide knowledge of men and things mark these famous letters. They are racy reading, and throw much light on Cobbett's history and the times in which he lived. He is the apostle of hard work and plain living. Drunkenness and gluttony are 'vices so nasty and bestial that I deem any one capable of indulging in them to be wholly unworthy of my advice.' Gaming is 'always *criminal*, either in itself, or in its tendency.' It is a pungent book, with a message that is as timely for our age as for that in which it was written.

Cobbett's English Grammar (H. Frowde, 2*s.* 6*d.* net) is by no means out of date. Its strong sense, its plea for lucidity, its outspoken criticism of famous authors give it an enduring claim to attention. Every one who wishes to write good English should go to school to Cobbett. This is a very neat edition with a really serviceable Introduction.

Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons are issuing *Boswell's Life of Johnson* in twelve parts. It is a handsome crown 4to, with 1150 pages, 400 illustrations, and 12 photogravure plates. Each part is one shilling net. The first part has a photogravure copy of Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of Johnson as frontispiece, and more than sixty other illustrations. The type and paper are good, and the issue promises to be the most attractive popular edition ever produced.

Under the Shadow of the Temple, by Emilie Posnett and S. A. Harris (Kelly, 1*s.* 6*d.*), is a set of sketches of medical mission work in the Nizam's dominions of great freshness and beauty. The scenes live, and the little child-wife who wins a happy release from her sad marriage is a striking study. India may be seen with one's own eyes in these charming sketches. Every child will relish the book, but it will please older folk quite as well.

Church Music Society Reprints. (H. Frowde.)

This Society has for one of its aims the reprinting of the works of acknowledged merit which at present are either inaccessible, or obtainable only in expensive editions. Their reprints for this month (No. 4) are (1) Dr. Tye's anthem, 'O Lord of Hosts,' and (2) Mendelssohn's 'Lord, remember not,' from the eight-part anthems composed for Berlin Cathedral.

The two famous anthems are included in one issue for threepence, and will be welcome to music lovers. The square breves give a peculiar look to the score, but are much neater than our modern way of putting two scratches on each side of a semibreve. The Church Music Society has some worthy objects in view, and we wish it success.

The Complete Poetical Works of John Keats. Edited, with an Introduction and Textual Notes, by H. Buxton Forman, C.B. (H. Frowde. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Forman's aim has been to supply in handy form an authoritative text of Keats' poetry. The text is illustrated by readings and cancelled passages selected from the great mass of material, there is a list of the principal works consulted, a chronology, facsimile titles of Keats' three books, and much information as to previous texts and publications. It is an edition which every lover of Keats will want to have in constant use, and it is turned out in the neat and workmanlike fashion for which the Clarendon Press is famous.

Prayers from the Poets. Edited by Cecil Headlam, M.A. and Laurie Magnus, M.A. (Routledge. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This new edition of a beautiful anthology deserves a place among one's favourite books. It was first published in 1899, but is now issued in a new form with the pieces arranged under subject-headings. It is full of gems, and is not only a delight for the lover of poetry but a real aid to devotion.

Au Presbytère. Jules Pravieux. (Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 3 fr. 50 c.)

These are really entertaining stories of French clerical life. The young secretary, who makes the tour of the diocese with his bishop, has a nimble wit and a keen sense of humour. Life inside the country vicarages is pleasantly described. The bishop passes a sumptuary law limiting the feasts to be provided for him by his hosts, whose modest salaries are often only a hundred francs a month. But in vain do they hope for plain fare. Bishop and secretary endure the 'chastisement of the turkey' which twice a day graces the board till they sigh for the meals of a Trappist monastery. When they escape the turkey region they are feasted on goose with the same relentless kindness. The most exciting story is that of the marquis who comes to

the rescue when the episcopal chariot has broken down, and whirls the prelate to a confirmation service in his motor-car. The marquis exacts a promise that his obnoxious curé shall be removed. The promise is kept, but the new vicar has the soul of a monk, and the marquis soon finds that he has made a scourge of scorpions for himself by the exchange. The episode ends happily, however, and so does this genial, light-hearted book. Some happy hours may be well spent over its bright pages.

Little Esson. By S. R. Crockett. (Ward, Lock & Co. 6*s.*)

This is an artist story somewhat on the lines of *Trilby*. The Bohemian life is vigorously described, though it is not quite a success. The charm of the book lies in 'Little Esson,' the painter, and the girl who at last discerns his merit. Some of the characters are wildly unnatural, but there is much to love in Mina and in Terry Fairweather. The story has life, and sparkle, with a few glints of humour.

'Twixt Sword and Glove. By A. C. Gunter. (Ward, Lock & Co. 6*s.*)

A story of the time of Louis XIV, of which the young Duchess of Modena is heroine. She reaches her throne by a series of adventures that almost take away one's breath, and the young French noble, to whom she owes life and fortune, has his reward at last. It is a thrilling story. The little French beggar is a wonderful study.

Tales for the Homes. (Chatto & Windus. 5*s.* net.)

This is a set of stories and papers by Silas Hocking, Horace Vachell, Coulson Kernahan, Arthur C. Benson, Miss Braddon, and other popular writers. They are in aid of the Barnardo Homes, and bring out many sides of child life and the story of the poor which are both amusing and pathetic. It was a delightful idea to get such contributions, and the book is a real success.

Towards the Light, by Dorothea Price Hughes (Hodder & Stoughton, 6*s.*), is the story of a young painter who falls in love with an English girl in Rome, and, after a dozen years and a painful marriage, wins his way to the happiness which he had missed long before. The scenes in Rome show real power of description, and artist life in Paris is also vividly painted. Miss Hughes is perhaps at her best when she gets among the poor and tempted in London, and 'Nurse Phoebe' is a character

to be proud of. Gabrielle Merton is a charming heroine, and sorrow and love transform her into a noble woman. There is force and feeling in the story, though it is somewhat discursive.

Andrew Goodfellow, by Helen H. Watson (Macmillan & Co., 6*s*.), is a tale of Trafalgar. 'The little lieutenant' is the hero of the story, and it is a cruel thing to let him get killed when Lady Dorothy Lovel is waiting for him. But it is a beautiful story. Lady Dorothy wins every heart, yet even she is scarcely so popular as the brave little lieutenant who is a friend of Nelson. Every family ought to get this book for summer reading.

The Last Chronicle of Barset, in the York Library edition (Bell & Sons, two vols., 2*s*. net each), is very neat and clearly printed. It is a charming book. To Trollope Barset was a real county and its city a real city. Its spires and towers were before his eyes, its pavements knew his footsteps, and the voices of the goodly company who dwelt here were familiar to his ears. *The Small House at Allington* (two vols.) has long been a favourite, and it is a story that one likes to read a second time. We wish John Eames had won his sweetheart as he deserved to do. This little set of books makes a strong appeal to those who appreciate the quiet mastery of one whose work is becoming more and more appreciated.

Rather a Scapegrace (S.P.C.K., 2*s*. 6*d*.), is a very good boy's story. Ray's holiday adventures and his school life are distinctly entertaining.

Thoughts on Silence. By Jessie Combs. (Stock. 1*s*. 6*d*.)

A suggestive little book, devout and timely, with a touch of fancy and some pleasing glimpses of the writer's own life.

Beside Still Waters. By Arthur C. Benson. (Smith, Elder & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This is a mental and spiritual autobiography. Mr. Benson has struck out a new line in literature, and each succeeding volume adds to the interest surrounding the writer and his opinions. Here we come in closer touch than ever with the man, his family, and his friends. It is easy to understand how Archbishop Benson 'took an intense interest in his son's university career, but interfered with his natural liberty, expecting

him to spend all his vacations at home, and discouragng visits to houses of which he did not approve.' The result was that the son 'simply excluded the father from his confidence.' When his professional life began, their relations completely altered. The son 'found himself met with a deference, a courteous equality which he had never before experienced.' His father sought his advice, and there was 'an extraordinary expansion of affection and admiration' on the son's part, which steadily grew till the archbishop's sudden death. Some tender pages describe the mother's beautiful influence on her children and the sister, 'a strong, central force in the family,' who was suddenly taken from them by death. The way in which the writer learnt 'to commit himself unceasingly, in joy and trouble alike, in the smallest matters, to the Eternal will,' is brought out in a singularly helpful way, and the story of a soul's training closes with the conviction 'that the Father has a place and a work and a joy for the smallest thing that His hands have made.'

Modern London. By James Dunn. (London City Mission.)

Mr. Dunn has been connected with the London City Mission for many years, and gives some startling incidents which show the havoc wrought by gambling and intemperance. His book is full of facts and figures and has many illustrations. Every Christian worker in London ought to read it.

English Lessons. (Murby & Co. 2*s*.)

A useful and ingenious manual for teaching foreigners to write and speak our language.

The Official Year-Book of the Church of England, 1907. (S.P.C.K. 3*s*.)

This Year-Book becomes more complete and reliable with every issue. It is full of facts and figures about each diocese and all the funds of the Church. A useful *résumé* is given in an appendix of the various stages through which the recent Education Bill passed. The statistics show how full of life is the Church of England and how generously its funds are supported. A million and a half was raised by voluntary subscriptions in 1905 for building, restoration, and furnishing of churches, endowment of benefices, building parsonages, &c. The Year-Book is prepared with great care and skill.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH.

TRACING the development of 'The Historical Novel,' Mr. R. Prothero (**Quarterly**, January) describes a perfect novel as 'at once the phoenix of literary zoology and a first-rate test for first-rate talent.' The tendency towards realism and truth of representation is traced through the centuries and in many literatures, until the creation of historical romance by Scott. In course of development, the writer notes, the novel illustrates the growing sense of 'the mystery in us which calls itself I.' The decay of the drama is accounted for by the growing complexity of human life and character. It can only give crude sketches. Something more complete, more discriminating is needed, and this is found in the novel. The article is full of thought and suggestion, and is specially happy in its illustrations. 'The progress of English fiction,' says Mr. Prothero, 'is marked by the same stages which belong to the growth of a human being. It passes from the childish love of incident to the romantic sentiment and passion of youth; it leaves the ideal extravagances for the realities of life, as it gathers the experience and employs the wisdom of active manhood; in the meditative spirit of advancing years, when the fire and passion of youth has died down it exercises its brain on cold psychological analysis; and, to complete the metaphor, it returns in its dotage to the tastes of its childhood, and luxuriates in blood-curdling tales of impossible adventures.'

Perhaps the most important article in **The Edinburgh Review** (January) is the one on *Catholic Authority and Modern Society*, based on Dr. Nielsen's *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century*, Father Tyrrell's *Much Abused Letter*, Abbot Gasquet's *Lord Acton and his Circle*, Fogazzaro's *Saint*, &c. There is a long analysis of the last-named book, and the writer notes the rumour that Fogazzaro's connexion with the publication of Father Tyrrell's letter was the real cause of the censure of *Il Santo*. The article is strongly in favour of the present Liberal-Catholic movement, and combats the saying of Brunetière that 'perhaps the gravest error of the philosophy of the last century was to have substituted the dogma of the natural goodness of man for that of his fundamental perversity.' A passage towards the close might have been penned by the pastor of the City Temple: 'We make no prophecy for the future of authority, but if the mission of the Church is to consecrate souls, if she is to be, as heretofore, the sanctifier of common life,

she must so adapt herself as to include the modern State, which means that she has to reckon with man, made completely conscious by the social cataclysm of the eighteenth century. A conjecture as to the origin of evil and a dogmatic scheme based to a great extent on the belief in man's natural depravity, seem no methods for winning to Christianity a humanity eager with the hope of progress and earnest with the desire of perfection. Christ, as we know, made no hypothesis as to origins, but He believed in man, and it seems as though the Catholicism of the future must make belief in humanity the corner-stone of its building. If the masses of the people are to have their dawning faith in the common soul, their consciousness of their dignity as men and women, made holy, it must be achieved through worship of the great ensample of brotherly love—Jesus—and through the vision of the Christ in man which He announced. Then may the new Church, which is to be a consecration of social evolution, arise from foundations not made in the brains of schoolmen, but laid by God Himself in the invisible depths of human hearts.'

In the **Fortnightly Review** for February Mr. Andrew Lang has not much difficulty in proving by the use of a little common-sense interpretation, that Shelley in his atheistic escapade at Oxford had not the least title to the honoured name of martyr. Sternly he might have been treated, and even harshly, for his youthful pranks, but his expulsion by the dons can hardly be described as 'martyrdom.' The lovers of the poet, and they increase in number year by year, would do well to let the matter sink into oblivion. In the same number Mr. Francis Gribble has a discriminating and appreciative article on Longfellow. It opens with the story of the notice posted in a far-western place of worship: 'Please do not shoot the organist; he is doing his best.' 'Not merely,' says the writer, 'does the reading of Longfellow, like listening to the organ, partake of the nature of a religious observance; Longfellow, like the organist, is protected from the critics by the public.' No doubt the critics are able to make out a case against both, but both were doing their best. Moreover, in spite of his numerous defects, Longfellow, if not to be ranked amongst the greatest, was yet a true poet. He did not stop to sift and to select the images which crowded into his mind; nevertheless his imagery constitutes his characteristic excellence. So, at all events, thinks Mr. Gribble, and sets himself to prove it. His similes are not obvious, and they have the saving merit of really illuminating the picture he is painting. The most perfect example the writer finds in the well-known verse in 'The Wreck of the Hesperus':

> Blue were her eyes as the fairy flax,
> Her cheeks as the dawn of day,
> And her bosom white as the hawthorn buds
> That ope in the month of May.

It is not without significance that the New Theology is cordially welcomed by **The Theosophical Review**, of which Mrs. Besant is one of the editors. In its February issue, we read, 'hundreds of thousands are in this way becoming familiarized with tenets which, though commonplace to ourselves, are a breath of fresh air in the stuffiness of theological traditionalism. Mr. Campbell's general position is in many respects highly to be commended by all students of Theosophy, as may be seen from the following extracts from his own statement.'

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—The Bishop of Ely supports his interpretation of Matt. xxviii. 19, against Dean Armitage Robinson, insisting on the specific meaning of εἰς, 'into the name.' His arguments are weighty, but the proposal to render βαπτίζων 'immerses them into the Name,' instead of using the standard word 'baptize' is bold and unnecessary. That the idea of incorporation is included in the word can hardly be questioned. The other two chief articles are *Israel in Camp: A Study*, by Rev. G. St. Clair, and a reply by Rev. Hugh Pope to Sir H. Howorth on the *Third Book of Esdras and the Tridentine Canon*. Amongst the *Notes* are to be found brief discussions of the Greek Translation of the Books of Kings, by H. St. J. Thackeray, and an examination of a tenth-century fragment of *Tertullian's Apology*, by Dr. Souter of Mansfield College.

Hibbert Journal (January).—Professor Campbell Fraser, in an article entitled *Our Final Venture*, calls attention to the divine implicates of the creed in the natural uniformity and order that is accepted as the foundation of modern science. Dr. Fraser here writes, as always, with ability and candour, and surely there is as much to be said for the 'final venture' of faith by which we pass from the cosmos to religion as for that initial venture of faith by which we believe in the existence of an external physical world. M. Paul Sabatier contributes an interesting article in French on the present religious crisis in France and in Italy. His eulogy of the neo-Catholic school is probably well deserved, but he is more hopeful for its future than many equally well-informed observers dare to be. Rev. R. J. Campbell writes on *The Christian Doctrine of Atonement as influenced by Semitic Religious Ideas*. The warm discussion that has been raised over Mr. Campbell's general theological beliefs lends special interest to this article; else we are bound to say that it is not in itself either original or impressive. Dr. Rashdall sees 'A grave peril to the liberty of Churchmen' in the proposed legislation on Church Ritual, recommended by the recent Royal Commission. Other articles in an attractive number are *The Messianic Idea in Virgil*, by Prof. Conway; *The New Theism*, by Rev. C. S. Patron; and an able philosophical paper on *A Peace Policy for Idealists*, by Prof. Boyce Gibson.

The Discussions and Reviews contain matter of interest enough

to furnish forth a whole number of some periodicals. Dean Fremantle, Sir Oliver Lodge, Prof. Lewis Campbell and others contribute to this section.

The Expositor (January and February).—The enlarged series of this standard periodical enters upon its second year, and the improvement visible last year is fully maintained. The chief articles in the January number are, *Christ the Fulfilment of Prophecy*, by Rev. H. G. Redpath, an attempt to commend the life and work of Jesus of Nazareth to the Hebrew of to-day; *Christ's Preaching of the Kingdom*, by Rev. W. L. Walker, in which the writer shows the close connexion between the Kingdom and the Cross; an appreciative, yet critical review of Dr. Swete's *Apocalypse*, by Rev. C. Anderson Scott, the excellence of whose own work on that difficult book of the Bible is well known; a characteristic article on the *Pisidian Antioch*, by Sir W. Ramsay; and notes on *Recent New Testament Study*, by Dr. Moffatt.

Sir W. Ramsay contributes to the February number a detailed notice of Prof. Harnack's recent work on Luke. When two such high authorities are in almost full accord on the authorship and composition of the Acts, their conclusions may be considered fairly assured. The next paper contains one of the best notices we have seen of the late Principal Rainy, from the pen of one of his old pupils, now Professor Stalker. Dr. Rendel Harris writes a paper to show that the term Boanerges implies the existence of Dioscuric ideas in Palestine in the time of our Lord. The idea appears to have been suggested by Dr. Fraser of *Golden Bough* fame, and it may possibly commend itself to some readers. Profs. Bennett and Garvie continue their studies in *The Life of Christ* in this number, and Prof. Currie Martin, in an article on the Epistle of James, described it as originating in a collection of Christ's sayings, combined with reminiscences of the earliest applications of these sayings to the thought and needs of the first disciples.

The Expository Times (January and February).—Dr. Hastings' monthly notes always constitute a cardinal and welcome feature in the *Expository Times*, and his pen shows no signs of flagging. In addition to these able and vivacious notes, the January number contains an article on the *Ark of Jahweh*, by Prof. Hommel; *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel*, by Father M'Nabb, and an account of the *Liberal Movement in Germany*. In the February number we find a hearty appreciation (with a portrait) of Dr. J. A. Selbie, Dr. Hastings' *collaborateur* in his Dictionary and other work, written by Rev. R. Bruce Taylor. It is exceedingly pleasant to find that the work of modest men is sometimes noticed, as well as that of those who are adepts in keeping themselves before the public eye. Dr. Selbie's work, though done in the background, is of the first quality. Prof. Deissman continues his interesting papers on the *New Testament in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, and Prof.

Sayce writes on the *Archaeological Analysis of the Book of Genesis.* In both numbers we find excellent features in *The Great Text Commentary*, the notices of books, and brief *Contributions and Comments* from a variety of authors, some of them of European distinction.

Review of Theology and Philosophy (January and February).—Dr. Allan Menzies is continuing the work of the *Critical Review* with great ability and success in this periodical, now well advanced in its second year. The chief feature in these two numbers is a *Survey of Recent Literature on the History and Religion of Israel*, by Canon Cheyne. The learned canon's mode of surveying contemporary literature is known to all his readers. Few men are more erudite in his own department of study, and few are more accustomed to view the work of others through carefully constructed spectacles of personal pre-occupation and sometimes of prejudice. In these papers he is chiefly occupied with E. Meyer on *Israelitish Beliefs*, and W. Erbt's *Die Hebräer*. Prof. Souter contributes a heartily appreciative notice of Dr. James Moulton's *New Testament Grammar* (second edition). Dr. James Moffatt reviews Swete on *The Apocalypse*, Westcott's *Ephesians*, and other kindred books. Prof. Addis, of Oxford, discusses a few smaller works on Old Testament theology by Réville, Gunkel, and others. Two of the most interesting articles in February are those by Prof. Mackintosh on *Newman, Pascal, and Loisy*, and by Dr. Garvie on Eucken's *Philosophy of Life*. Mr. Boyce Gibson is the English interpreter of Eucken to whose work attention is called in the article, but Dr. Garvie questions whether Eucken's philosophy is as Christian in its character and essence as his English admirer, if not disciple, describes it in his able and interesting volume.

The Primitive Methodist Review for January contains eleven full articles and a number of brief notices. The first, on *Philosophy and Theology*, by H. W. Clark, is too short to be more than indirectly suggestive of the thesis that 'a restatement and reconstruction of philosophy or of theology or of both' is needed to bring these two important studies into closer alliance. A *Fifteenth-Century Theologian*, by W. T. Waugh, gives an account of Reginald Pecock, Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Chichester. Principal Dennis Hird contributes an interesting description of the aims and methods of Ruskin Hall, Oxford, and the social work that is being done at the first 'Labour' College in England. Prof. Peake's article on *Recent New Testament Literature* deals with the first volume of Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, Swete on *The Apocalypse*, Westcott on *Ephesians*, and other works of importance. Other articles are on *The First Earl of Durham*, by J. Hyslop Bell, *Dr. Johnson's Ancestry*, by F. R. Brunskill, and *The Ministry and Social Reconstruction*, by S. Horton.

AMERICAN.

American Journal of Theology (January).—This number contains several articles which by a coincidence illustrate and supplement one another. The first supplies three answers to the question, 'Has Christianity the moral right to supplant the Ethnic Faiths?' Dr. Mabie, Dr. Paul Carus, and Prof. Christie discuss the subject from different points of view, but all bring the reader substantially to the conclusion that such a right undoubtedly exists, provided the ethnic faiths are dealt with sympathetically by missionaries, with a sincere attempt to find out and appropriate the measure of truth they contain. Prof. Frank C. Porter unfolds from another standpoint the *Sufficiency of the Religion of Jesus*, and Mrs. Forrest explains what in her opinion is meant by the cry 'Back to Christ.' Prof. Giesebrecht, of Königsberg, has furnished a long, valuable, and scholarly article on *The Moral Level of the Old Testament Scriptures*, and Prof. Warfield points out the importance of North Africa in the early development of Christian Latin literature. Dr. Rauschenbusch's article on *The Influence of Historical Studies on Theology* is very timely, and the whole number is full of interest to the student of theology. Amongst the reviews is an able critique of Dr. Abbott's *Johannine Grammar* from the pen of Dr. James Hope Moulton of Didsbury College.

The Review and Expositor (January) is greatly improved in its binding, the volume being much easier to handle and to read than of yore. Three English scholars contribute to this number: Mr. Carnegie Simpson on *The Problem of Pain*, Dr. Iverach on *The Attempts to eliminate the Supernatural from the Gospel History*, and Dr. Dawson Walker on *The Epistles to the Corinthians*. The two former are especially valuable. Other articles are on *The Epistle to the Hebrews* and *The Kingship of Jehovah*, and Prof. Ten Broelle discusses very ably *The Theoretical Value of Moral and Religious Experience*.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—In an article (January) on *The New Oxford Movement* Dr. Herbert A. Stimson luminously expounds the central doctrine of the Christian faith. The following sentence bears upon recent discussions: 'The Incarnation, once accepted, throws a new light upon the entire world. For, on the one hand, against mere Idealism, it emphasizes the value and importance of matter as being the agent through which God's spiritual purpose is effected; and, on the other hand, against mere Materialism, it interprets this value and importance as consisting in the capability to subserve that higher purpose of God.'

Dr. John Bascom writes instructively on *Aesthetics and Ethics*. He thinks that 'while the two temperaments—the artistic and the ethical—mutually sustain each other, they also readily fall into temporary and disturbing conflict.' His conclusion is that 'Art is

of no great moment till it interprets to us the spiritual vitality of the world.' He would have artists and novelists remember that love, in its higher forms, 'enters the spiritual consciousness as pure affection,' notwithstanding the fact that 'its earlier instinctive quality gives the impression of blind inevitable force.'

Methodist Review (November—December, 1906).—There are no articles of outstanding interest in this number. Prof. Trever, under the heading *Some Principles of Scientific Biblical Criticism*, points out very temperately and very wisely the need of caution in the application of current criticism to the sacred Books. *The Present Theological Situation regarding the Atonement* is discussed by L. H. Hough, and Mrs. Charlotte Wilder contributes an interesting account of *Tolstoi as Man, Reformer, and Author*. Under 'Notes and Discussions' the speech is reported of the Fraternal Delegate of the M. E. Church to the Canadian Methodist General Conference. The Review also contains brief articles under the headings: *Foreign Outlook, The Arena, Glimpses of Magazines*, and *Reviews of Books*.

January—February. The following are the chief articles in this number: *Bishop J. W. Joyce*, by C. B. Mitchell; *The Integrity of Nature as a Basis of Faith*, by W. L. Watkinson, D.D., LL.D.; *The Chief Work of the Minister*, by Dr. Tipple of Drew Seminary; *Longfellow's Service to American Culture*, by Prof. Lockwood; and *The Invincibility of Truth*, by Dr. G. P. Mains. Dr. Watkinson's article brings out the evidence of the truthfulness of nature in its bearing on man's conception of God, on the authority of the higher law, and on our hope of immortality. It is hardly necessary to say that the subject is marked by the acuteness, force, and distinction of style characteristic of the writer.

The reviews and book notices are slight and sometimes superficial. For example, a very inadequate account appears of the fine new Hebrew lexicon edited by Profs. Brown, Driver, and Briggs. Perhaps in a later number fuller justice may be done to a monumental work of American scholarship than the brief undiscriminating eulogy which is all that the editor here accords to it.

It is quite clear from the evidence adduced in the **North American Review** for December that the effect of the enfranchisement of women in both America and Australia has been to raise the tone of public morals. 'Since the extension of the franchise to women,' says the writer, Miss Alice Henry, 'political parties have learned the inadvisability of nominating to public offices in Colorado' (and the same is shown to be true of the other states and countries named) 'drunkards, notorious libertines, gamblers, liquor-dealers and men who engage in similar discredited occupations, because the women almost always vote them down.' The percentage of women's votes is shown to be large, their behaviour at elections exemplary, and their influence on legislation humane and salutary.

FOREIGN.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In his *History of Pietism*, Ritschl complains that the biographies of Spangenberg and Johann von Watteville cast no light upon the characters of two of the most influential of Zinzendorf's fellow-workers. So far as Spangenberg is concerned the gap is filled up by a recently published *Life*, written by Gerhard Reichel, and reviewed in No. 3 of this journal by Boffert. It appears that Risler, the original biographer of Spangenberg, was chosen by lot, and Reichel seems to have proved that he allowed himself to be too greatly swayed by apologetic considerations. Material for the new biography has been found in Weringerode and the Halle Orphanage, but great regret is expressed that under Spangenberg's direction, valuable correspondence and the diaries of Zinzendorf and Nitschmann were burnt.

Boffert gives special praise to the section in which Reichel estimates Spangenberg's influence on the Moravian Society. In his judgement Zinzendorf was too easily moved to distrust one whose moderation had a beneficial effect in checking certain tendencies to extravagance in language amongst the Brethren. The reference is to overstrained statements of substitutionary aspects of the atoning work of Christ. Full justice is done to Spangenberg, and to his wife (who had 'a talent for ruling'), in the chapter which describes the organization, under their direction, of the Moravian colony in North America. The tendency to 'mystic quietism' was overcome by Spangenberg's energetic insistence upon the dignity of labour and his wholesome teaching concerning the Christian duty of 'being faithful in that which is least.' He had learnt wisdom by experience; in his early life mysticism had plunged him for a while into spiritual gloom. His biographer quotes also expressions of his annoyance at the trouble caused him by 'pious women, who even raged against St. Paul.'

As a contribution to the History of Protestantism in the eighteenth century, Reichel's work is said to be of great merit. It is frankly acknowledged that the Church may learn many useful lessons from this Separatist movement. 'What letters these humble peasants and labourers write from Herrnhut to students at the University of Jena! The Roman Catholic Church can produce nothing like them from the same strata of society.' It is noted with satisfaction that Spangenberg was able to publish a complete *Peasants' Hymn Book* (*Bauerngesangbuch*), consisting of spiritual songs composed by the American colonists. On the whole, Reichel is said to present an attractive picture of genuine evangelical piety.

Pfarrer Richter, the editor of a German missionary journal (*Die evangelische Missionen*), has made a special study of the literature relating to missions in India; he has also visited India for the purpose of collecting first-hand information. The results of his investigations are given in a *History of Indian Missions*, which is described by Pfarrer Wurm of Calw, as 'scientific and impartial,'

and as surpassing 'anything that has appeared in the English language.' A sufficient outline of the work is given to indicate that an estimate of it from the pen of an Indian missionary would be of service. As Pfarrer Wurm is an expert on missions, some of his comments on Richter's *History* shall be briefly summarized. Agreement is expressed with the author's sceptical conclusions in regard to the existence of traces of Christian influence in the *Bhag-avad Gita*. The reviewer is disappointed that the problem of 'loss of caste' owing to the profession of Christianity is not more fully discussed. He disapproves of the formation of labour colonies, and thinks that the purchase of land may lead to difficulties with the English Government owing to uncertainties in the regulations which affect land-tenure. Exception is taken to the statement that the non-cultured races, 'adherents of an animistic religion,' have 'gained little and lost much both religiously and socially by their entry into Hindu society.' It is more correct to speak of them as 'living alongside Hindus,' and by their acknowledgement of Siva as the supreme Lord over their deities or demons, 'socially they have neither gained nor lost.' The Dschainas are referred to as 'a sect influenced by Buddhism'; but recent investigations are said to prove that they are older than Buddhism. The last chapters appear to contain some caustic criticisms of Hindu reform movements, 'supported by English and American swindlers and swindleresses.'

Theologische Rundschau.—In the January number recent works on the *History of Dogma* are reviewed by Prof. O. Scheel. A Roman Catholic writer (Struckmann) is shown to have attempted in vain to find support for the doctrine of Transubstantiation in the *Didaché*. It is rightly pointed out that, in this interesting early document, mention is made only of spiritual food; also that the expression 'the holy Vine of David' is wrongly quoted in support of the writer's contention. 'The *Didaché* never speaks of the body and blood of Christ. The ideas of a Real Presence and of Transubstantiation are remote from it.' The reference to 'the holy Vine of David,' as in Clement (*Quis dives salv.* 29), and in Origen (*Hom.* vi, *in Jud.* 2), is a reference to 'the sacrificial death of Christ of which there is thankful remembrance in the Eucharist.'

To the February number Dr. Kattenbusch contributes an able criticism of Prof. Troeltsch's essay on *Modern Protestantism* which appears in the encyclopaedic work, entitled *Modern Culture* (*Die Kultur der Gegenwart*). The doctrine of God is said to be 'not intentionally Pantheistic,' though it needs to be more clearly defined, if it is not to be interpreted as tending in that direction. God is, indeed, conceived of as a Person, but with such 'pre-suppositions concerning His Immanence in the universe' as are incompatible with Luther's doctrine of Revelation. The rest of the article, which is not complete, is occupied with an examination of Troeltsch's reasons for affirming that the Reformation did not outgrow Mediaevalism, except in one particular, viz. that it abandoned Sacra-

mentalism. The pith of the criticism is that the characteristics of Protestantism are arbitrarily chosen, and do scant justice to Luther. In particular, there is not sufficient recognition of the fact that the Reformation filled mediaeval forms of expression with new contents. If, as Troeltsch concedes, the terminology was differently understood, its use cannot be held to support his argument. For example, that Luther has much to say concerning 'grace' is quite consistent with the fact that his doctrine of grace differs in essentials from the Catholic doctrine of the Middle Ages.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—This new Quarterly begins with a strong number which promises well for its future. In theology its editor is a moderate Liberal; but Conservatives and Liberals are included in the list of contributors. The one thing which is not to be tolerated is dilettantism. Theological questions are to be treated from the point of view of modern science and philosophy, but there is to be no distrust of theology. It is a journal which may be heartily commended to students for whom the monthly *Theologische Rundschau* and the fortnightly *Theologische Literaturzeitung* are both too technical and too costly. The annual subscription is 6*s*.

Prof. Rudolf Eucken of Jena, in an interesting study of *Religion and Culture*, points out the reasons for their mutual attraction and for their mutual repulsion. Neither attains perfection in complete isolation from the other. Apart from religion the ideal of culture rapidly deteriorates; but when culture stagnates, religion does not really flourish, however correctly its forms may be observed. Dr. E. W. Mayer writes lucidly on a difficult subject: *Religion and the Theory of Knowledge*. Dr. Harald Höffding, in replying to critics of his *Philosophy of Religion*, gives many autobiographical details, which may explain the genesis of his theory, but are insufficient as a guarantee of its truth. *Reflections of a Philosophical Tourist* is delightful reading, and conveys much information concerning Athens and Rome, and the great names that adorn their history. A special feature of this number is the exposition from various points of view of what may be called an Anti-Haeckelian philosophy. Dr. Magnus writes on *Faith in God and the Mechanical Conception of Nature*. Science, with its 'rigidly causal mechanics' cannot give an exhaustive explanation of 'Nature'; it cannot therefore pronounce judgement either on the relations between man and the world, or on the relations between man and God. 'There is room in the universe for faith in God.'

One of the best articles in recent numbers of the **Revue de Deux Mondes** is the study of Fogazzaro's philosophy as embodied in his novels. According to the writer, Mr. Robert Leger, who unhappily died soon after the article was finished, the great Italian novelist is a spiritual evolutionist of the finest order. 'All his philosophy, all his ethics, all his religion,' he says, 'are summed up in this saying: *Disposuit ascensiones in corde suo*.' From this point of view,

Fogazzaro's imaginative work is analysed, and it is shown that the novelist's philosophy is not only exemplified in his principal characters, but illustrated in his own work. 'Study his thought chronologically, from the restless incertitudes of *Malombra* to the serene and luminous summits of *Il Santo*, and you see it rise progressively and purify itself in the living flame of love.'

The **Mercure de France** maintains its freshness, versatility, and enterprise. Its fortnightly reviews fill nearly half the number, and give a really wonderful survey of every department of current European literature. Books on religious and moral questions are entrusted to M. Louis Le Cardonnel, who treats them with a sound and enlightened judgement from a Liberal-Catholic point of view. In the number for February 1, he notices a French book on *Origen*, that 'together with his audacities, or, if you prefer, his temerities, will enable present-day readers to appreciate the profound and original genius of the disciple, as unhappy as he was illustrious, of Ammonius Saccas.' 'Origen's peculiar ideas,' says the reviewer, 'which precluded the Church from putting him into the rank of its doctors, did not prevent his being admired, cited as an authority of the first order, imitated even, at certain moments by St. Athanasius, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Gregory of Nyssa. Among the Latin Fathers, Hilary often inspired himself by his writings, and St. Ambrose read him much. Jerome was often accused of being Origenist, and, nearer our time, Bossuet, though so disciplined, so little in love with novelty, always manifested for him a singular tenderness.' In the previous number, there was a long string of unpublished sayings by Renan, many of which were worth preserving, e.g. 'The man who believes in the immortality of the soul is superior to the man who does not believe in it. It is, in sum, faith in the absolute.' 'Man had rather calumniate himself than acknowledge that God is unjust.' 'Religion is always the work of a minority. The flock follows.' 'The more literary one is, the more needful is it for one to be natural.' 'I have none but abstract thoughts.' 'History is a dark room with streaks of light in it.' '*Nunc dimittis in pace:* Charming!'