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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

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PRAYER AND ITS IMPORTUNITY

I.

THE work of the ministry labours under one heavy disadvantage when we regard it as a profession, and compare it with other professions. In these, experience brings facility, a sense of mastery in the subject, self-satisfaction, self-confidence; but in our subject the more we pursue it, the more we enter into it, so much the more are we cast down with the overwhelming sense, not only of our insufficiency, but of our unworthiness. Of course, in the technique of our work we acquire a certain ease. We learn to speak more or less freely and aptly. We learn the knack of handling a text, of conducting church work, or dealing with men, and the like. If it were only texts or men we had to handle! But we have to handle the gospel. We have to lift up Christ—a Christ who is the death of natural self-confidence—a humiliating, even a crushing Christ. We have to handle a gospel that is a new rebuke to us every step we gain in intimacy with it. There is no real intimacy with the gospel which does not mean a new sense of God's holiness. There is no new insight into the Cross which does not bring, whatever else come with it, a deeper sense of the solemn holiness of the love that meets us there. And there is no new sense of the holy God that does not arrest His name upon our unclean lips. If our

very repentance is to be repented of, how shall we be proud, or even pleased, with what we may think a success in our preaching? So that we are not surprised that some preachers, after what the public calls a most brilliant and impressive discourse, retire to humble themselves before God, to ask forgiveness for the poor message, and to call themselves most unprofitable servants—yea, even when they knew themselves that they had 'done well.' The more we grasp our gospel the more it abashes us.

Moreover, as we learn more of the seriousness of the gospel for human fate, we feel the more that every time we present it we are adding to the judgement of some as well as to the salvation of others. We are not like speakers who present a matter that men can freely take or leave, and agree or differ without moral result. The deeper and surer our gospel the more is our work a judgement on those to whom it is not a grace. This was what bore upon the Saviour's own soul, and darkened His very agony into eclipse. That He, who knew Himself to be the salvation of His own beloved people, should, by His very love, become their doom! And here we watch and suffer with Him, however sleepily. There is put into our charge our dear people's life or death. For to those to whom we are not life we are death, in proportion as we truly preach, not ourselves, but the real Christ.

How solemn our place is! It is a sacramental place. We have not simply to state our case, we have to *convey* our Christ, and to convey Him effectually. We are sacramental elements, broken often, in the Lord's hands, as He dispenses His grace through us. We do not, of course, believe that orders are an ecclesiastical sacrament, as Rome does. But we are forced to realize the idea underlying that dogma—the sacramental nature of our person, work, and vocation for the gospel. We are not saviours. There is only one Saviour. But we are His sacraments. We do not believe in an ecclesiastical priesthood; but we are made to feel how we stand between God and the people as none of our flock do. We bring Christ to them, and them

to Christ, in sacrificial action, in a way far more moral, inward, and taxing than official priesthood can do. As ministers we lead the sacerdotal function of the whole Church in the world—its holy confession and sacrifice for the world in Christ.

We ought, indeed, to feel the dignity of the ministry; we must present some protest against the mere fraternal conception which so easily sinks into an unspiritual familiarity. But still more than the dignity of the ministry do its elect feel its solemnity. How can it be otherwise? We have to dwell much with the everlasting burnings. We have to tend a consuming fire. We have to feed our life where all the tragedy of life is gathered to an infinite crisis in Christ. We are not the fire, but we live where it burns. The matter we handle in our theological thought we can only handle with some due protection for our face. It is one of the dangerous industries. It is continually acting on us, continually searching our inner selves. We cannot hold it and examine it at arm's length. It enters into us. It evokes the perpetual comment of our souls, and puts us continually on self-judgement. Our critic, our judge, is at the door. Self-condemnation arrests denunciation. And the true apostle can never condemn but in the spirit of self-condemnation.

But after all, our doom is our blessing. Our Judge is on our side. For if humiliation be wrung from us, still more is faith, hope, and prayer. Everything that rebukes our self-satisfaction does still more to draw out our faith. He also hath given us the reconciliation. The more judgement we see in the holy cross the more we see it is judgement unto salvation. The more we are humbled the more we 'roll our souls upon Christ.' And we recover our self-possession only by giving our soul again and again to Christ to keep. We win a confidence in self-despair. Prayer is given us as wings wherewith to mount, but also to shield our face when they have carried us before the great white throne. It is in prayer that the holiness comes home as love, and the love is transfigured to holiness. At every

step our thought is transformed to prayer, and our prayer opens new ranges of thought. His great revelation is His holiness, always out-going in atoning love. We receive the reconciliation. We take it home. Then the very wrath of God becomes a glory. The red in the sky is the new dawn. Our self-accusation becomes a new mode of praise. Our loaded hearts spring light again. Our heavy conscience turns to grave moral power. A new love is born for our kind. A new and tender patience steals upon us. We see new ways of helping, serving, and saving. We issue into a new world. We are one with the Christ not only on His cross, but in His resurrection. Think of the resurrection power and calm, of that awful final peace, that infinite satisfaction in the eternal thing eternally achieved, which filled His soul when He had emerged from death, when man's worst had been done, and God's best had been won, for ever and for all. We have our times of entrance into that Christ. As we were one with Him in the likeness of His death, so we are in the likeness of His resurrection. And the same Eternal Spirit which puts the preacher's soul much upon the cross also raises it continually from the dead. We overcome our mistakes, negligences, sins; nay, we rise above the sin of the whole world, which will not let our souls be as good as they are. We overcome the world, and take courage, and are of new cheer. We are in the Spirit. And then we can preach, pray, teach, heal. And even the unclean lips then put a new thrill into our sympathy and a new tremor into our praise.

If it be not so, how shall our dangerous work not demoralize us, and we perish from our too much contact with holy things!

The minister's holiest prayer is hardly lawful to utter. Few of his public would comprehend it. Some would dismiss it with their most opprobrious word. They would call it theological. When he calls to God in his incomprehensible extremity they would translate it into an appeal to Elijah (Matt. xxvii. 47). For to them theology is largely mythology.

We are called at the present day to a reconstruction of the old theology, a restatement of the old gospel. We have to reappropriate and remint the truth of our experienced Christianity. But what a hardship it is that this call should search us at a time when the experimental power of our Christianity has abated, and the evangelical experience is so low and so confused as it often is! It must be the minister's work to recover and deepen this experience for the Churches, in the interest of faith, and of the truth in which faith renders account of itself. For the reformation of belief we must have a restoration of faith. And the engine for such recovery of faith is for us what it was for Luther and his like—prayer; and it is that prayer which is the wrestling of the conscience and not merely the cry of the heart, the prayer for reconciliation and redemption and not merely for guidance and comfort, the prayer of faith and not merely of love.

I saw in a friend's house a photograph from (I think) Dürer—just two tense hands, palms together, and lifted in prayer. It was most eloquent, most subduing. I wish I could stamp the picture on the page here and fit to it Milton's line:

> The great two-handed engine at *our* door.

II.

Public prayer is, on the whole, the most difficult part of the work of the minister. To help the difficulty I have always claimed that pulpit notes of prayer may be used. 'The Lord's Prayer' itself is of this nature. It is not a prayer, but a scheme of prayer, heads of prayer, or buoys in the channel. But even with the use of all helps there are perils enough. There are prayers that, in the effort to become real, are much too familiar in their fashion of speech. A young man began his prayer, in my own hearing, with the words, 'O God, we have come to have a chat with Thee.' It was gruesome. Think of it as a sample

of modern piety for the young! No prayers, certainly no public prayers, should be 'chats with God.' Again, other prayers are sentimental prayers. George Dawson's volume has this fault. The prayers of the Church should not be exposures of the affectional man. The public prayer of the Church, as the company of grace, is the soul returning to God that gave it; it is the sinner coming to the Saviour, or the ransomed of the Lord returning to Zion; it is the sanctified with the Sanctifier; it is not primarily the child talking to the Father—though that note may prevail in more private prayers. We are more than stray sheep reclaimed. We are those whose iniquity has lain upon Christ for us all.

But the root of the difficulty of public prayer lies farther back than in the matter of style. It lies in the difficulty of private prayer, in its spiritual poverty, its inertia, its anaemia. What culture can deal with the rooted difficulty that resides there, out of sight, in the inner man of the heart, for lack of the courage of faith, for sheer spiritual fecklessness? Yet the preparation for prayer is to pray. The culture needed is the practice of prayer. It is only prayer that teaches to pray. The minister ought never to speak before men in God's name without himself first speaking to God in man's name, and making intercession as for himself so for his people.

Intercession! We are properly vigilant that the minister do not sever himself from his people in any sacerdotal way. But for all that, is the minister's personal and private prayer on exactly the same footing as a layman's? It is a question that leads to the distinction between intercessory and vicarious prayer. The personal religion of the minister is vicarious even when it is not intercessory. Great indeed is the spiritual value of private intercession. The *intercessory* private prayer of the minister is the best corrective of the *critical* spirit which so easily besets and withers us to-day. That reconciliation, that pacification of heart, which comes by prayer opens in us a fountain of private intercession, especially for our antagonists. Only

of course it must be private. But the minister is also praying to his people's good even when he is not interceding on their behalf, or leading them in prayer. What he is for his Church he is with his whole personality. And so his private and personal prayers are vicarious for his people even when he does not know it. No Christian man lives for himself, nor believes for himself. Ten faithful men would have saved Sodom. And if the private Christian in his private prayers does not pray, any more than he lives, unto himself alone, much more is this true for the minister. His private prayers make a great difference to his people. They may not know what makes his spell and blessing: even he may not. But it is his most private prayers; which, thus, are vicarious even where not intercessory.

What he is for his Church, I have said, he is with his whole personality. And nothing gives us personality like true prayer. Nothing makes a man so original. We cannot be true Christians without being original. Living faith destroys the commonplaceness, the monotony of life. Are not all men original in death? *Je mourrai seul.* Much more are they original and their true selves in Christ's death and their living relation to that. For true originality we must be one, and closely one, with God. The most original spirit in history was the man who said, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' What a reflection on our faith that so much piety should be humdrum and deadly dull! Private prayer, when it is real action, is the greatest forge of personality. It places a man in direct and effective contact with God the Creator, the source of originality, and especially with God the Redeemer as the source of our new creation. For the minister personality is everything—not geniality, as it is the day's fashion to say, but personality; and prayer is the spring of personality. This impressive personality, due to prayer, you may often have in 'the peasant saint.' And in some cases its absence is as palpable. Hence comes vulgarity in prayer, essential vulgarity underlying much

possible fineness of phrase or manner. Vulgarity in prayer lies not so much in its offences to good taste in style as in its indications of the absence of spiritual *habit* and reality. If the theology of rhetoric ousts the theology of reality in the sermon, how much more in prayer?

Prayer is for the religious life what original research is for science—by it we get direct contact with reality. The soul is brought into union with its own vaster nature—God. Therefore, also, we must use the Bible as an original; for indeed the Bible is the most copious spring of prayer, and of power, and of range. If we learn to pray from the Bible, and avoid a mere *cento* of its phrases, we shall cultivate, in our prayer, the large humane note of a universal gospel. Let us nurse our prayer on our *study* of our Bible; and let us therefore not be too afraid of *theological* prayer. True Christian prayer must have theology in it; no less than true theology must have prayer in it and must be capable of being prayed. 'Your theology is too difficult,' said Charles V to the Reformers, 'it cannot be understood without much prayer.' Yes, that is our arduous puritan way. Prayer and theology must interpenetrate to keep each other great, and wide, and mighty. The failure of the habit of prayer is at the root of much of our light distaste for theology. There is a conspiracy of influences round us whose effect is to belittle our great work. Earnest ministers suffer more from the smallness of their people than from their sins, and far more than from their unkindness. Our public may kill by its triviality a soul which could easily resist the assaults of wickedness. And our newspaper will greatly aid their work. Now, to resist this it is not enough to have recourse to prayer, and to cultivate devotion. Unfortunately there are signs in the religious world to show that prayer and piety alone do not save men from pettiness of interest, thinness of soul, spiritual volatility, the note of insincerity, or foolishness of judgement. The remedy is not prayer alone, but prayer on the scale of the whole gospel and on the range of searching faith. It is prayer which rises above

the childish petitions that disfigure much of our public pietism, prayer which issues from the central affairs of the kingdom of God. It is prayer with the profound Bible as its book of devotion, and a true theology of faith for half of its power. It is the prayer of a mind that moves in Bible passion, and ranges with Bible scope, even when it eschews Bible speech and 'the language of Canaan.'

And yet, with all its range, it is prayer with *concentration*. It has not only thought, but will in it. The great reason why so many will not decide for Christ is that Christ requires from the world concentration; not seclusion and not renunciation merely, but concentration. And we ministers have our special form of that need. I am speaking not of our share in the common troubles of life, but of those specially that arise from the ministerial office and care. No minister can live up to his work on the casual or interjectional kind of prayer that might be sufficient for many of his flock. He must think, of course, in his prayers—in his private prayers—and he must pray his faith's thought. But, still more, in his praying he must act. Prayer is not a frame of mind, but a great energy. He must rise to conceive his work as an active function of the work of Christ; and he must link his faith, therefore, with the intercession which is the energy of Christ in heaven. In this, as in many ways, he must remember, to his great relief and comfort, that it is not he who is the real pastor of his Church, but Christ, and that he is but Christ's curate. The final responsibility is not his, but Christ's, who bears the responsibility of all the sins and frets, both of the world and, especially, of the Church.

The concentration, moreover, should correspond to the positivity of the gospel and the Bible. Prayer should rise more out of God's Word and concern for His Kingdom than even out of our personal needs, trials, or desires. That is implied in prayer in Christ's name or for Christ's sake, prayer from His place in the midst of the Kingdom. *Our*

Prayer-book does not prescribe prayer, but it does more—it inspires it. And prayer in Christ's name is prayer inspired by His first interest—the gospel. Do not use Christ simply to countersign your petition by a closing formula, but to create, inspire, and shape it. Prayer in Christ's name is prayer for Christ's object—for His Kingdom and His promise of the Holy Ghost.

If we really pray for that and yet do not feel we receive it, probably enough we have it; and we are looking for some special form of it not ours, or not ours yet. We may be mistaking the fruits of the Spirit for His presence. Fruits come late. They are different from signs. Buds are signs, and so are other things hard to see. It is the Spirit that keeps us praying for the Spirit, as it is grace that keeps us in grace. Remember the patience of the missionaries who waited in the Spirit fifteen years for their first convert. If God gave His Son *unasked*, how much more will He give His Holy Spirit to them that *ask* it! But let us not prescribe the form in which He comes.

The true close of prayer is when the utterance expires in its own spiritual fullness. That is the true Amen. Such times there are. We feel we are at last laid open to God. We feel as though we 'did see heaven opened, and the holy angels, and the great God Himself.' The prayer ends itself; *we* do not end it. It mounts to its heaven and renders its spirit up to God, saying, 'It is finished.' It has its perfect consummation and bliss, its spiritually natural close and fruition, whether it has answer or not.

III.

In all I have said I have implied that prayer should be strenuously *importunate*. Observe, not petitionary merely, nor concentrated, nor active alone, but importunate. For prayer is not only meditation or communion. Nor ought it to be merely submissive in tone, as the 'quietist' ideal is. We need not begin with 'Thy will be done' if

we but end with it. Remember the stress that Christ laid on importunity. Strenuous prayer will help us to recover the masculine type of religion—and then our opponents will at least respect us.

I would speak a little more fully on this matter of importunity. It is very closely bound up with the reality both of prayer and of religion. Prayer is not really a power till it is importunate. And it cannot be importunate unless it is felt to have a real effect on the Will of God. I may slip in here my conviction that far less of the disbelief in prayer is due to a scientific view of nature's uniformity than to the kind of prayer that men hear from us in public worship. And I would further say that by importunity something else is meant than passionate dictation and stormy pertinacity—imposing our egoist will on God, and treating Him as a mysterious but manageable power that we may coerce and exploit.

The deepening of the spiritual life is a subject that frequently occupies the attention of religious conferences, and of the soul bent on self-improvement. But it is not certain that the great saints would always recognize the ideal of some who are addicted to the use of the phrase. The 'deepening of the spiritual life' they would find associated with two unhappy things.

1. They would recoil from a use of Scripture prevalent in those circles, which is atomistic, individualist, subjective, and fantastic.

2. And what they would feel most foreign to their own objective and penetrating minds might be the air of introspection and self-measurement too often associated with the spiritual thus 'deepened'—a spiritual egoism.

We should distinguish at the outset *the deepening of spiritual life* from the *quickening of spiritual sensibility*. Christ on the Cross was surely deepened in spiritual experience, but was not the essence of that dereliction, and the concomitant of that deepening, the dulling of spiritual sensibility?

There are many plain obstacles to the deepening of

spiritual life, amid which I desire to name here only, prayer conceived merely, or chiefly, as *submission*, resignation, quietism. We say too soon, 'Thy will be done'; and too ready acceptance of a situation as His will often means feebleness or sloth. It may be His will that we surmount His will. It may be His higher will that we resist His lower. Prayer is an act of will much more than of sentiment, and its triumph is more than acquiescence. Let us submit when we *must*, but let us keep the submission in reserve rather than in action, as a ground tone rather than the sole effort. Prayer with us has largely ceased to be *wrestling*. But is that not the dominant scriptural idea? It is not the sole idea, but is it not the dominant?

I venture to enlarge on this last head by way of meeting some who hesitate to speak of the power of prayer to alter God's will. I offer two points—

I. Prayer may really change the will of God, or, if not His will, His intention.

II. It may, like other human energies of godly sort, take the form of resisting the will of God. Resisting His will may be doing His will.

I. As to the first point. If this is not believed the earnestness goes out of prayer. It becomes either a ritual, or a soliloquy only overheard by God; just as thought with the will out of it degenerates into dreaming or brooding, where we are more passive than active. Prayer is not merely the meeting of two moods or two affections, the laying of the head on a divine bosom in trust and surrender. That may have its place in religion, but it is not the nerve and soul of prayer. Nor is it religious reverie. Prayer is an encounter of *wills*—till one will or the other give way. It is not a spiritual exercise merely, but in its maturity it is a cause acting on the course of God's world.[1] It is, indeed, by God's grace that prayer is a real cause, but such it is. And of course there must be in us a faith

[1] This position is excluded by Schleiermacher's view of religion as absolute dependence, because that leaves room for no action of man on God. And it is one of the defects of so great a saint as Robertson.

corresponding to His grace. Of course also there is always, behind all, the readiness to accept God's will without a murmur when it is perfectly evident and final. 'My grace is sufficient for thee.' Yes, but there is also the effort to alter its form according to our sanctified needs and desires. You will notice that in Paul's case the power to accept the sufficiency of God's grace only came in the course of an importunate prayer aiming to turn God's hand. Paul ended, rather than began, with 'Thy will be done.'

'Thy will be done' was no utterance of mere resignation, though it has mostly come to mean this in a Christianity which tends to canonize the weak instead of strengthening them. As prayer it was a piece of active co-operation with God's will. It was a positive part of it. It is one thing to submit to a stronger will, it is another to be one with it. We submit because we cannot resist it; but when we are one with it we cannot succumb. It is not *a* power, but *our* power. But the natural will is not one with God's; and so we come to use these words in a mere negative way, meaning that we cease to resist. We give in and lie down. But is that the sense of the words in the Lord's Prayer? Do they mean that we have no objection to God's will being done? or that we do not withstand any more? or even that we accept it gladly? Do they not mean something far more positive—that we actively will God's will and aid it, that it is the whole content of our own, that we put into it all the will that there can be in prayer, which is the great will-power of the race? It is our heart's passion that God's will be done and His kingdom come. And can His kingdom come otherwise than as it is a passion with us? Can His will be done? God's will was not Christ's will merely, but His meat and drink, the source of His energy and the substance of His task.

Observe, nothing can alter God's grace, His *will* in that sense, His large will and final purpose—our racial blessing, our salvation, our redemption in Jesus Christ. But He is an infinite opportunist. His ways are flexible. His

intentions are amenable to us if His *will* is changeless. The steps of His process are variable according to our freedom and His.

We are living, let us say, in a careless way; and God proposes a certain treatment of us according to our carelessness. But in the exercise of our spiritual freedom we are by some means brought to pray. We cease to be careless. We pray God to visit us as those who hear. Then He does another thing. He acts differently, with a change caused by our freedom and our change. The treatment for deafness is altered. God adopts another treatment—perhaps for weakness. We have by prayer changed His action, and so far His will (at any rate His intention) concerning us. As we pray, the discipline for the prayerless is altered to that for the prayerful. We attain the thing God did not mean to give us unless He had been affected by our prayer. We change the conduct, if not the will, of God to us, the *Verhalten* if not the *Verhältniss*.

Again, we pray and pray, and no answer comes. The boon does not arrive. Why? Perhaps we are not spiritually ready for it. It would not be a real blessing. But the persistence, the importunity of faith, is having a great effect on our spiritual nature. It ripens. A time comes when we are ready for answer. We then present ourselves to God in a spiritual condition which reasonably causes Him to yield. The new spiritual state is not the answer to our prayer, but it is its effect; and it is the condition which makes the answer possible. It makes the prayer effectual. The gift can be a blessing now. So God resists us no more. Importunity prevails, not as mere importunity (for God is not bored into answer), but as the importunity of God's elect, i.e. as a force of the Kingdom, as increased spiritual power, as real moral action, bringing corresponding strength and fitness to receive. I have often found that what I sought most I did not get at the right time, not till it was too late, not till I had learned to do without it, till I had renounced it in principle (though not in desire). That was God's right time—when I could

have it as though I had it not. If it came, it came not to gratify me, but to glorify Him and be a means of serving Him.

One recalls here that most pregnant saying of Schopenhauer: 'All is illusion—the hope or the thing hoped.' If it is not true for all it is true for very many. Either the hope is never fulfilled or else its fulfilment disappoints. God gives the hoped-for thing, but sends leanness into the soul. The mother prays for a son—and he breaks her heart, and were better dead. Hope may lie to us, or the thing hoped may dash us. But though He slay me I will trust. God does not fail. Amid the wreck of my little world He is firm, and I in Him. I justify God in the ruins; in His good time I shall arrive. More even than my hopes may go wrong. I may go wrong. But my Redeemer liveth; and, great though God is as my Fulfiller, He is greater as my Redeemer. He is great as my hope, but He is greater as my power. What is the failure of my hope from Him compared with the failure of His hope in me? If He continue to believe in me I may well believe in Him.

God's object with us is not to give just so many things and withhold so many; it is to place us in the tissue of His kingdom. His best answer to us is to raise us to the power of answering Him. The reason why He does not answer our prayer is because we do not answer Him and His. And His prayer was, as though Christ did beseech us, 'Be ye reconciled.' He would lift us to the exercise of confident business with Him, to commerce of loving wills. The painter wrestles with the sitter till he gives him back himself, and there is a speaking likeness. So man with God, till God surrender His secret. He gives or refuses things, therefore, with a view to that communion alone, and on the whole. It is that spiritual, personal end, and not an iron necessity, that rules His course. Is there not a constant spiritual interaction between God and man as free spiritual beings? *How* that can be is one of the great philosophic problems. But the fact that it is, is of

the essence of faith. It is the unity of our universe. Many systems try to explain *how* human freedom and human action are consistent with God's omnipotence and omniscience. None succeed. *How* secondary causes like man are compatible with God as the Universal and Ultimate Cause is not at once rationally plain. But there is no practical doubt that they are. And so it is with the action of man on God in prayer. We may perhaps, for the present, put it thus, that we cannot change the will of God, which is grace, and which even Christ never changed but only revealed; but we can change the intention of God, which is a manner of treatment, in the interest of grace, according to the situation of the hour.

If we are guided by the Bible we have much ground for this view of prayer. *Does not Christ set more value upon importunity than on submission?* 'Knock, and it shall be opened.' I would refer also not only to the parable of the unjust judge, but to the incident of the Syrophenician woman, where her wit, faith, and importunity together did actually change our Lord's intention and break His custom. Then there is Paul beseeching the Lord thrice for a boon; and urging us to be instant, insistent, continual in prayer. We have Jacob wrestling. We have Abraham pleading, yea haggling, with God for Sodom. We have Moses interceding for Israel and asking God to blot his name out of the book of life, if that were needful to save Israel. We have Job facing God, withstanding Him, almost bearding Him, and extracting revelation. And we have Christ's own struggle with the Father in Gethsemane.

It is a wrestle on the greatest scale—all manhood taxed as in some great war, or some great negotiation of State. And the effect is exhaustion often. No, the result of true prayer is not always peace.

II. As to the second point. This wrestle is in a certain sense a resisting of God. You cannot have wrestling otherwise; but you may have Christian fatalism. It is not mere wrestling with ourselves, our ignorance, our self-will. That is not prayer, but self-torment. It is wrestling

with God. And it is better to fall thus into the hands of God than of man—even your own. It is a resistance that God loves. It is quite foreign to a godless, self-willed, defiant resistance. In love there is a kind of resistance that enhances it. The resistance of love is a quite different thing from the resistance of hostility. The yielding to one you love is very different from capitulating to an enemy.

> Two constant lovers, being joined in one,
> Yielding unto each other yield to none—

i.e. to no foreign force, no force foreign to the love which makes them one.

So when God yields to prayer in the name of Christ, to the prayer of faith and love, He yields to Himself who inspired it. Christian prayer is the Spirit praying in us. It is prayer in the solidarity of the Kingdom. It is a continuation of Christ's prayer, which in Gethsemane was a wrestle, an ἀγωνία with the Father. But if so, it is God pleading with God, God dealing with God—as the true atonement must be. And when God yields it is not to an outside influence He yields, but to Himself.

Let me make it still more plain. When we resist the will of God we may be resisting what God wills to be temporary and to be resisted, what He wills to be intermediary and transcended. We resist because God wills we should. We are not limiting God's will, any more than our moral freedom limits it. That freedom is the image of His, and, in a sense, part of His. We should defraud Him and His freedom if we did not exercise ours. So the prayer which resists His dealing may be part of His will and its fulfilment.

Does God not will the existence of things for us to resist, to grapple with? Do we ourselves not appoint problems and make difficulties for those we teach, for the very purpose of their overcoming them? We set questions to children of which we know the answer quite well. The real answer to our will and purpose is not the solution but the grappling, the wrestling. And we may properly give

a reward not for the correct answer but for the hard and honest effort. That work is the prayer; and it has its reward apart from the solution.

That is a principle of education with us. So it may be with God. But I mean a good deal more by this than what is called the reflex action of prayer. If that were all it would introduce an unreality into prayer. We should be praying for exercise, not for action. It would be prayer with a theological form, which yet expects no more than a psychological effect. It would be prayer which is not sure that God is really more interested in us than we are in Him. But I mean that God's education has a lower stage for us and a higher, He has a lower will and a higher, a prior and a posterior. And the purpose of the lower will is that it be resisted and struggled through to the higher. By God's will (let us say) you are born in a home where your father's earnings are a few shillings a week, like many an English labourer. Is it God's will that you acquiesce in that, and never strive out of it? It is God's will that you are there. Is it God's will that you should not resist being there? Nay, it may be His will that you should wisely resist it, and surmount His lower, His initial will. It is there for the purpose. That is to say, it is His will that you resist, antagonize, His will. And so it is with the state of childhood altogether.

Again: Is disease God's will? We all believe it often is—even if man is to blame for it. It may be, by God's will, the penalty on human ignorance, negligence, or sin. But let us suppose there were only a few cases where disease is God's will. It was so in the lower creatures, before man lived, blundered, or sinned. Take only one such case. Is it God's will that we should lie down and let the disease have its way? Why, a whole profession exists to say no. Medicine exists as an antagonism to disease, even when you can say that disease is God's will and His punishment of sin. A doctor will tell you that resignation is one of his foes. He begins to grow hopeless if the patient is so resigned from the outset as to make no effort,

if there be no will to live. Resistance to this ordinance of God is the doctor's business, and the doctor's ally. And why? Because God ordained disease for the purpose of being resisted; He ordained the resistance, that from the conflict man might come out the stronger, and more full of resource and dominion over nature.

Again, take death. It is God's will. It is in the very structure of man, in the divine economy. Is it to be accepted without demur? Are doctors impious who resist it? Are we sinning when we shrink from it? Does not the life of most people consist in the effort to escape it, in the struggle for a living? So also when we pray and wrestle for another's life, for our dear one's life. 'Sir, come down ere my child die.' The man was impatient. How familiar we are with him! 'Do, please, leave your religious talk, which I don't understand, and cure my child.' But was that an impious prayer? It was ignorant, practical, British, but not quite faithless. And it was answered as many a similar prayer has been. But, then, if death be God's will, to resist it is to resist God's will. Well, it is His will that we should. Christ, who always did God's will, resisted His own death, slipped away from it often, till the hour came; and even *then* He prayed with all His might against it when it seemed inevitable. 'If it be possible release Me.' He was ready to accept it, but only in the last resort, only if there was no other way, only after every other means had been exhausted. To the end He cherished the fading hope that there might be some other way. He went to death voluntarily, freely but—shall we say reluctantly? *ἐκὼν, ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ*—resisting the most blessed act of God's will that ever was performed in heaven or on earth, resisting, yet sure to acquiesce when that was God's clear will.

The whole of nature indeed is the will of God, and the whole of grace is striving with nature. It is our nature to have certain passions. That is God's will. But it is our calling of God to resist them as much as to gratify them. They are there as God's will to be resisted as much as

indulged. The redemption from the natural man includes the resistance to it, and the release of the soul from what God Himself appointed as its lower stages—never its dwelling-place, and never its tomb. So far prayer is on the lines of evolution.

Obedience is the chief end. But obedience is not mere submission, mere resignation. It is not always acquiescence, even in prayer. We obey God as much when we urge our suit, and make a *real* petition of it, as when we accept His decision; as much when we try to change His will as when we bow to it. The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence. There is a very fine passage in Dante, Parad. XX. 94 (Longf.).

> *Regnum coelorum* suffereth violence
> From fervent love, and from that living hope
> That overcometh the divine volition.
> Not in the way that man o'ercometh man;
> We conquer it because it will be conquered,
> And, conquered, conquers by benignity.

It is His will—His will of grace—that prayer should prevail with Him and *extract* blessings. And how we love the grace that so concedes them! The answer to prayer is not the complaisance of a playful power lightly yielding to the playful egoism of His favourites. 'Our antagonist is our helper.' To struggle with Him is one way of doing His will. To resist is one way of saying 'Thy will be done.' It was God's will that Christ should deprecate the death God required. It pleased God as much as His submission to death. But could it have been pleasing to Him that Christ should pray so, if no prayer could ever possibly change God's will? Could Christ have prayed so in that belief? Would faith ever inspire us to pray if the God of our faith must be unmoved by prayer? The prayer that goes to an inflexible God, however good He is, is prayer that rises more from human need than (where Christian prayer should rise) from God's own revelation, or from Christian faith. It is His will, then, that we should pray

against what seems His will, and what, for the lower stage of our growth, *is* His will. And all this without any unreality whatever.

Let us beware of a pietist fatalism which thins the spiritual life, saps the vigour of character, makes humility mere acquiescence, and piety only feminine, by banishing the will from prayer as much as thought has been banished from it. 'The curse of so much religion,' says Mr. Meredith, 'is that men cling to God with their weakness rather than with their strength.'

The popularity of much acquiescence is not because it is holier but because it is easier. And an easy gospel is the consumption that attacks Christianity. It is the phthisis of faith.

Once come to think that we best say 'Thy will be done' when we acquiesce, when we resign, and not also when we struggle and wrestle, and in time all effort will seem less pious than submission. And so we fall into the ecclesiastical type of religion, drawn from an age whose first virtue was submission to outward superiors. We shall come to canonize decorum and subduedness in life and worship (as the Episcopal Church with its monarchical ideas of religion has done). We shall think more of order than of effort, more of law than of life, more of fashion than of faith, of form than of power. But was subduedness *the* mark of the New Testament men? Our religion may gain some beauty in this way, but it loses vigour. It may gain style, but it loses power. It is good form, but mere aesthetic piety. It may consecrate manners, but it impoverishes mind. It may regulate prayer by the precepts of intelligence instead of the needs and faith of the soul. It may feed certain pensive emotions, but it may emasculate will, secularize energy, and empty character. And so we decline to a state of things in which we have no shocking sins—yes, and no splendid souls; when all souls are dully correct, as like as shillings, but as thin, and as cheap.

All our forms and views of religion have their test in

prayer. Lose the importunity of prayer, reduce it to soliloquy, or even to colloquy with God, lose the real conflict of will and will, lose the habit of wrestling, and the hope of prevailing, with God, make it mere walking with God in friendly talk; and, precious as that is, yet you tend to lose the reality of prayer at last. In principle you make it mere conversation instead of the soul's great action. You lose the food of character, the renewal of will. You may have beautiful prayers—but as ineffectual as beauty so often is, and as fleeting. And so in the end you lose the reality of religion. Redemption turns down into mere revelation, faith to assent, and devotion to a phase of culture. For you lose the *power* of the Cross and so of the soul.

Resist God, in the sense of rejecting God, and you will not be able to resist any evil. But resist God in the sense of closing with God, cling to Him with your strength, not your weakness only, with your active, and not only your passive faith, and He will give you strength. Cast yourself into His arms not to be caressed but to wrestle with Him. He loves that holy war. He may be too many for you, and lift you from your feet. But it will be to lift you from earth, and set you in the heavenly places which are theirs who fight the good fight and lay hold of God as their eternal life.

P. T. FORSYTH.

ENGLAND'S WORK IN EGYPT

Modern Egypt. By the EARL OF CROMER. Two Vols. (London: Macmillan & Co.)

LORD CROMER wrote these historic and monumental volumes at the suggestion of his wife, to whose 'gentle yet commanding influence' he chiefly ascribes the success he gained in social life during his protracted term of service in Egypt. The record covers thirty of the most eventful years in the history of that country, and shows the beneficent results which have followed from the British occupation in 1882. Lord Milner and Sir Auckland Colvin have told part of the story, but no one is entitled to speak on the whole question with such authority as Lord Cromer. He was behind the scenes from 1877 to 1880, and from 1883 to 1907 was the virtual ruler and maker of Egypt. He has had access to the Foreign Office archives both in London and Cairo, and has been in close communication with almost every one who has taken a leading part in the affairs of Egypt during the last quarter of a century.

The difficulty of his task would have daunted a man of less heroic resolution and patience. 'One alien race, the English, have had to control and guide a second alien race, the Turks, by whom they are disliked, in the government of a third race, the Egyptians.' The administration of the country had to be reformed without organic change in the Government. A variety of ingenious and elaborate checks had been invented to prevent corruption and tyranny; but these, under the influence of international jealousy, were often found to hamper attempts at reform. Lord Cromer never lost his temper or his courage. He was some time in Egypt before he realized how little he understood the complexities of the situation with which he

had to deal, and up to the close of his residence in Cairo every day had a new lesson.

Finance opened to England her door of usefulness in Egypt. When Ismail Pasha became Khedive in 1863 the Public Debt of the country was £3,293,000. In thirteen years this had swelled to £68,110,000, besides a floating debt of about £26,000,000. The whole of this borrowed money was squandered except £16,000,000 spent on the Suez Canal. One Egyptian princess owed £150,000 to her French dressmaker. In 1876 the Khedive had to suspend payment of his Treasury bills. The liabilities, when consolidated, amounted to £91,000,000, and a Commission of the Public Debt was instituted to represent the bond-holders. France, Austria, and Italy appointed commissioners, but the British Government declined to do so. The English bond-holders were naturally dissatisfied, and Lord Goschen undertook a mission to Egypt in their behalf. He and his French colleague made certain financial arrangements, and two controllers-general were appointed, one of whom was to supervise the revenue, and the other to watch over the expenditure. The railways and the port of Alexandria were to be administered by a Board composed of two Englishmen, a Frenchman and two Egyptians. The Khedive now asked Lord Goschen to nominate a commissioner of the Debt. He recommended Major Baring, who had been acting as private secretary to the Viceroy of India, Lord Northbrook. Lord Cromer was thus introduced to his great task. He arrived in Egypt on March 2, 1877.

Ismail Pasha had attempted to introduce European civilization, but he had fallen into the hands of unscrupulous financiers whose sole object was to enrich themselves at the expense of his country. It is not surprising that he had become a cynic, who regarded no man as honest. He and his people had contracted a wholesome dread of foreigners. As the result of Lord Goschen's mission the Khedive now had to deal with a small body of honourable officials, who possessed ampler powers than any similar functionaries had

exercised. Unfortunately Ismail Pasha failed to gain the confidence of these advisers, and in the end this led to his downfall.

The first business of the new officials was to ascertain the real revenue of Egypt. Sir Gerald Fitzgerald gradually brought order into the jungle of the Accounts Department. Meanwhile the state of the country was deplorable. One-fifth of the arable land had passed into the hands of the Khedive, who cultivated it by forced labour. The existing régime was almost as intolerable to the Egyptians as to the foreign creditors. The pay of Government servants was months in arrears, and the taxes were collected with merciless severity. The depths of debt and misery were reached in 1878, when, after great pressure, the Khedive consented to appoint a Commission of Inquiry with the most extended powers. Chérif Pasha, then the leading public man in Egypt, was summoned to give evidence, but refused to appear. His refusal was natural, but the commissioners felt that if they gave way their inquiry would be shipwrecked at the outset. They therefore insisted that Chérif Pasha should appear before them in person. Rather than submit he resigned office.

The first step which the commissioners took was to provide for the payment of arrears to the servants and pensioners of the Government. They next examined the system of administration. It was rotten to the core. Oppression and waste went hand in hand. When the commissioners began to consider measures of reform they were beset with difficulties. The whole system of collecting the taxes had to be altered. Forced labour had to be restricted to public works of acknowledged utility, the terms of military service had to be defined and limited, and an equitable system adopted for obtaining recruits. How could the new system be inaugurated? That was the question. Ismail Pasha administered every department of the State according to his own will. 'He was the largest landed proprietor in Egypt. He was the only sugar manufacturer. He was a large shipowner. In fact,

he was omnipresent. The task which he had undertaken would have taxed administrative abilities of the highest order. Ismail Pasha was a man of some natural ability, but he possessed neither the knowledge, nor the experience, nor the power of application necessary to govern successfully on his own principles.'

It became clear that the principle of ministerial responsibility must be enforced, and that the Khedive must accept a Civil List in lieu of the properties to be handed over to the State. The Khedive hesitated to accept these conditions, but at last he yielded, and in August 1878 authorized Nubar Pasha to form a Ministry. The transition from the old system of government to the new was full of difficulties, but these were greatly increased by the action of Ismail Pasha, who still retained great influence, and used it to intrigue against his ministers. A mutiny among the officers of the army, who had not received their pay, brought matters to a crisis, and the Khedive stated that he would not be responsible for the public safety unless he or a president whom he selected was allowed to preside at the Council of Ministers. He also insisted that Nubar Pasha, whom he accused of sapping and undermining his authority, should retire.

Nubar Pasha was thus compelled to resign. The army had now learnt its power, and this mutiny was the direct precursor of the Arabi revolt. The Khedive also had asserted his authority, and shown Europe that Egypt could not be governed without him. He might have established his power on a firm basis if he had worked loyally with the European representatives, but his promises could not be trusted. 'Whatever he might say, he was determined to remain the absolute ruler of Egypt. He might appear to yield for the moment, but he trusted to his resource and to his remarkable power of intrigue to nullify any concessions which might be extorted from him, and thus ultimately regain his previous position.'

Meanwhile the Commission of Inquiry had been carrying on its work. The Khedive's Civil List was fixed at

£E300,000[1] a year, a budget was drawn up, the whole financial situation was investigated, and many reforms proposed. The Khedive prepared an alternative scheme, the basis of which was that he should regain his power and the upper classes preserve their privileges intact. He dismissed his European ministers and instructed Chérif Pasha to form a new Ministry. All the old abuses crept back at once, and the commissioners of the Debt began a lawsuit against the Government in the Mixed Tribunals.

Sir Evelyn Baring gave up his post in May 1879, and Sir Auckland Colvin was appointed commissioner in his place. In the following June, under pressure from Britain and France, Ismail Pasha resigned, and his son Tewfik became Khedive. The scene when father and son parted at Cairo 'was so affecting that there were few among the spectators who were able to refrain from tears.' Ismail Pasha had, however, squandered away his golden opportunities, and his departure from Egypt was essential to the return of prosperity. Absolute ruler over a docile people, he had enjoyed large wealth and high honour; but his insolent abuse of power was so outrageous that 'there were not a dozen of his own countrymen, albeit they disliked the interference of the foreigner, who did not think that he had merited his fate.'

He left a bankrupt Treasury, a disloyal army, a discontented people. Trade was depressed, and though European assistance was vital to the well-being of the country, it was regarded by the Egyptians with deep-seated jealousy. The difficulties were increased by international rivalry among the Powers of Europe. Sir Evelyn Baring had left Egypt in May, but a few months later he was appointed English Controller-General, with M. de Blignières as his French colleague. They had no administrative rights, but were invested with ample powers of investigation. The Dual Control worked well, and when

[1] The Egyptian pound is £1 0*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

Sir Evelyn Baring became financial member of the Governor-General's Council in India, Sir Auckland Colvin took his place in Egypt.

On his way to India Sir Evelyn warned Riaz Pasha, then President of the Council of Ministers, that the only serious danger ahead lay in the fact that the discipline of the army had been seriously shaken. Riaz Pasha had not the smallest fear of trouble from this source. A few weeks proved his lack of sagacity. The army twice rose in mutiny, and to satisfy their demands a new Ministry had to be formed. Chérif Pasha became Prime Minister, but Arabi was 'arbiter of the destinies of the country.' When he left Cairo with his regiment he had a kind of royal progress through the streets. It was thought wise to include him in the Government, and in January 1882 he was appointed Under-Secretary of State for War.

A crisis now arose in the history of the country. Gambetta wished to bring Egypt under Anglo-French control, though without an armed occupation if possible. Lord Granville's calmer judgement was opposed to this policy, but he was persuaded to issue a Joint Note promising to support the Khedive's Government, and to protect it against any menace to the established order. The Khedive welcomed the Note, but Sir Edward Malet, then Consul-General, reported that it had had the effect of producing a more complete union of the National Party, the military, and the Chamber of Notables, who felt that this aggression on the part of England and France threatened the liberty of Egypt. Lord Granville had been warned in a memorandum, drawn up by Sir Auckland Colvin, that it would be 'impolitic to thwart' the national movement in Egypt, and events abundantly justified that warning. Earl Cromer says, 'From the moment the Joint Note was issued, foreign intervention became an almost absolute necessity.' Gambetta's resignation in January 1882 led to a change in French policy. He had realized that the military movement was leading Egypt to the brink of an abyss, and had made up his mind that an Anglo-French

armed intervention was essential. Lord Granville had yielded too much to his impetuous colleague, and though he tried to explain his attitude, the mischief was done. 'England and France were alike mistrusted by the Egyptians. The ascendancy of the Military over the National Party was complete. Any hope of controlling the Egyptian movement, save by the exercise of material force, had wellnigh disappeared.' A new Ministry was formed which, as Sir Auckland Colvin wrote, was 'wholly under the influence of a mutinous and successful army.' The provinces were completely disorganized. Armed bands of soldiers attacked and pillaged the villages, and there was unrest everywhere. England and France felt special responsibility for this condition of things. M. de Freycinet proposed to depose the Khedive, but Lord Granville refused to be a party to what would, after the Joint Note, be regarded as a breach of faith. Sir Edward Malet also warmly defended the Khedive. An attempt was made to free him from the dictatorship of the Military Party, and to remove Arabi from his post as Minister of War, but this completely failed. It became more and more evident that Arabi would have to be suppressed by force.

The British residents in Alexandria now called on the Government to protect their lives and property. Sir Charles Cookson, the British Consul, telegraphed, 'Every day's delay increases the dangerous temper of the soldiery, and their growing defiance of discipline.' The panic spread, and business was at a standstill. Turkey had been hoping to regain her hold over Egypt through these internal troubles, but when the Khedive asked for the appointment of a Turkish commissioner the Sultan hesitated, until the Powers proposed that a Conference should meet to consider the situation. This was most distasteful to the Sultan, and led him to comply with the Khedive's wish. He sent two commissioners. Dervish Pasha was to act as a friend of the Khedive and hostile to Arabi, whom he was to arrest if necessary. Essad Effendi was to hold out the hand of fellowship to the mutineers and to oppose

the foreign Powers. Each was to communicate with the Sultan independently of his colleague.

On June 11, 1882, about fifty Europeans were barbarously murdered by the mob of Alexandria. 'The whole framework of society in Egypt was on the point of collapsing. By June 17, 14,000 Christians had left the country, and some 6,000 more were anxiously awaiting the arrival of ships to take them away.' The British Admiralty had been informed that batteries were being raised at Alexandria to attack our fleet. The Sultan ordered that their erection should cease, and for a month the work was abandoned. Then building began again. Lord Alcester, who was in command of our fleet, was instructed to prevent the erection of these batteries. France declined to interfere, and her fleet steamed away a few hours before the bombardment.

On July 10 Lord Alcester gave notice that he would commence action within twenty-four hours, unless the forts on the isthmus and those commanding the entrance to the harbour were surrendered. At seven o'clock next morning the first shell was fired, and by half-past five that evening the batteries were silenced. The following afternoon the Egyptian garrison retreated after setting fire to the town, which was pillaged by the mob. Unfortunately the British Government had directed that no military force was to be landed, as that might involve an assumption of authority. This unfortunate decision left Alexandria at the mercy of the mob, but after a time effective possession of the town was taken and order restored.

After the bombardment Arabi withdrew to Kafr-Dawar, a few miles from Alexandria. He issued a proclamation in which he stated that irreconcilable war existed between England and Egypt, and traitors would be punished by martial law. Towns in the provinces were plundered and their European inhabitants massacred. Despite the entreaties of Gambetta, France refused to take any part in restoring order, though willing to bear her share in protecting the Suez Canal. Nor would Italy help England.

Lord Granville felt that the military force needed to re-establish order should be provided by the Sultan as Sovereign of Egypt, but, despite Lord Dufferin's efforts, it proved impossible to obtain any satisfactory assurance as to the position which the Sultan would assume towards Arabi and the rebels. Evidence was forthcoming that he contemplated treating with Arabi behind the backs of the British Government and the Khedive. The victory at Tel-el-Kebir happily brought to a close these tortuous negotiations, in which the folly and duplicity of Turkey were almost equally manifest. Lord Wolseley totally routed the Egyptian army on September 13, and a small force of cavalry pushed on to Cairo, which was captured without a blow. Arabi and his associates, 'who throughout the whole affair do not appear to have displayed a single quality worthy of respect or admiration,' were taken prisoners.

Lord Cromer thinks that the Arabi revolt was more than a mere military mutiny. It partook of the nature of a national movement, and an effort should have been made to guide it, though 'the chances of failure predominated over those of success.' The Nationalists wished to get rid of all who were capable of governing the country, and would have been utterly unable to cope with the difficulties caused by an army in a state of mutiny, a bankrupt Treasury, and a disorganized country. 'Egypt for the Egyptians' seemed a good rallying-cry, but as Arabi and his adherents understood it, it 'was, and still is, impossible.' Armed British intervention was the only solution of the problem. Lord Dufferin was sent to Egypt to devise a plan for its efficient administration. He saw that what the country needed was order and good government. To withdraw the European officials who had charge of the finance and public works would leave Egypt 'a prey to dishonest speculators, ruinous contracts, and delusive engineering operations, from which they are now protected by the intelligent and capable men who are at hand to advise them in reference to these subjects.' Lord Dufferin there-

fore concluded that the British occupation must be indefinitely prolonged, and Sir Evelyn Baring was appointed the representative of the British Government. He reached Cairo to take up his new duties on September 11, 1883.

England had thus been compelled to face a great task in Egypt. Lord Granville was deeply concerned lest she should also be involved in the difficulties of the Sudan, where Egypt attempted to rule a territory twice as big as France and Germany together. General Hicks set out on an expedition against the Mahdi three days before Sir Evelyn Baring arrived at Cairo, but on November 5 his force was almost annihilated by the dervish hordes. He and his staff made a brilliant charge and died like men. The question now to be decided was whether the Sudan should be abandoned. The troops left at Khartoum were the refuse of the Egyptian army, and it seemed certain that the place must fall into the hands of the Mahdi as soon as he attacked it. Egypt was unwilling to withdraw; England refused to send a military force. Sir Evelyn Baring had to inform the Egyptian Prime Minister that the English Government recommended the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops from Khartoum, as well as from the interior of the Sudan. Rather than adopt this policy Chérif Pasha resigned his post. Riaz Pasha declined to form a Ministry to work on these lines. Sir Evelyn Baring had decided to take the government temporarily into his own hands, when the Khedive instructed Nubar Pasha to form a Ministry. Nubar cordially approved the policy of abandoning the whole of the Sudan, which he believed to be in the best interest of the country. This was on January 7, 1884. Opinion in England was divided. A vote of censure was moved in the House of Lords condemning the British Government for its vacillating and inconsistent policy, and was strongly supported. Sir Evelyn Baring thinks that England might have used its paramount influence to stop General Hicks's expedition. In that case the Mahdi's advance might perhaps have been checked at Khartoum. 'Putting aside points of

detail, that is the sum total of the charge which can be brought against Mr. Gladstone's Government.' If British troops had been sent to the Sudan in 1883, a strong force would have been obliged to stay there, as the Egyptian Government could not have held the country with its own resources even after the defeat of the Mahdi.

General Gordon was now appointed to carry out the evacuation of the Sudan, and left London with Colonel Stewart on January 18. Sir Evelyn Baring had been much exercised over the appointment, and twice rejected the proposal to send Gordon. But at last he yielded. He sent a private telegram to Lord Granville: 'I would rather have him than any one else, provided there is a perfectly clear understanding with him as to what his position is to be and what line of policy he is to carry out.' That point was guarded with extreme care both by the Government in its interview with Gordon, and by Sir Evelyn Baring when he went through the draft instructions with Gordon before he left Cairo. Lord Cromer is convinced that an Egyptian official should have been sent on this difficult errand. 'If, however, it was a mistake to send any Englishman to Khartoum, it was a still greater mistake to choose General Gordon as the man to send.' But public opinion in England was not to be gainsaid. Gordon was regarded as the one man for the task. Lord Cromer does not fail to recognize that this was a genuine and generous tribute to moral worth, though he thinks that Gordon's 'impulsive flightiness . . . rendered him unfit to carry out a work which pre-eminently required a cool and steady head.'

On January 26, 1884, General Gordon and Colonel Stewart set out from Cairo for Khartoum. They arrived there on February 18, and had a wonderful welcome from the population. Gordon formed an Arab council of twelve Notables to help him; burned all old records of debts which the usurers held against the people, and destroyed the instruments of torture preserved at Government House. Colonel Stewart went to the prison to strike off the fetters

of prisoners of war, debtors and those who had long served out their sentences. Mr. Power, *The Times* correspondent, was confident that there was every prospect of the speedy pacification of the country. Gordon was, in fact, giving the people more than they expected from the Mahdi.

Yet, amid these encouraging signs, the cool-headed and sagacious Colonel Stewart realized that the problem of evacuating the Sudan became more difficult the longer he looked at it. It was found impossible to restore the local sultans to power. At last Gordon proposed that Zobeir Pasha should govern the Sudan as a feudatory of the Egyptian Government. The wealth, courage, ability and force of character of this ex-slave-dealer had given him enormous influence in the Sudan during Gordon's early rule. In 1878 his son, who had revolted against the Egyptian Government, was defeated by Gordon's lieutenant and shot. A letter from his father was found in his possession, and Zobeir Pasha's property was therefore confiscated. He was now living in Cairo. Gordon had an interview with him as he passed through the city. The question was whether Zobeir would forgive Gordon for the death of his son. Gordon now proposed to make Zobeir Governor of the Sudan. Sir Evelyn Baring and Colonel Stewart hesitated, but at last both came round to Gordon's opinion that Zobeir Pasha was indispensable. The British Government naturally felt that such an appointment would outrage public opinion in England, and refused their consent.

Gordon had begun to hate the home authorities for 'leaving the Sudan after having caused all its troubles.' He was full of sympathy for the oppressed people, and was anxious to use every effort to mitigate the effect of the withdrawal; but Colonel Stewart was convinced that nothing would avert the reign of anarchy which must inevitably follow the evacuation. Gordon could not brook the idea of retiring before the Mahdi, or allowing the Sudan to relapse into barbarism. On April 11, 1884, he telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring, 'Having visited

the schools, workshops, &c., it is deplorable to think of their destruction by a feeble lot of stinking dervishes.'

General Gordon's position in Khartoum had now become critical. The tribes had risen between that city and Berber. Sir Evelyn Baring began to think about an expedition for the relief of Gordon. He hoped that Gordon might perhaps extricate himself, but there seemed grave doubt whether that was possible. He held, indeed, that honour forbade him to leave the place to the Mahdi. 'I was named for evacuation of Sudan (against which I have nothing to say), not to run away from Khartoum and leave the garrisons elsewhere to their fate.' On November 19 he wrote that he would not leave the Sudan till every one who wanted to go down had the chance to do so, and if he received any order to come down himself, 'I will not obey it, but will stay here and fall with the town, and run all risks.' It would have required 'a man with the heart of an iceberg' to take any other course.

Lord Wolseley had been appointed to command the relief expedition on August 26, and on October 5 reached Wadi Halfa. The expedition was a race against time. The energy and perseverance of our troops overcame a thousand difficulties of supply and transport. Gordon's defence of Khartoum was superb. He did not know what fear meant. Earl Cromer says, 'No soldier about to lead a forlorn hope, no Christian martyr tied to the stake or thrown to the wild beasts of ancient Rome, ever faced death with more unconcern than General Gordon. His faith was sublime. Strong in that faith, he could meet the savage who plunged a spear into his breast with a "gesture of scorn," and with the sure and certain hope of immortality which had been promised to him by the Master in whose footsteps he had endeavoured to follow.'

The expedition had started too late. When it arrived within sight of Government House on January 28, 1885, Khartoum was in the hands of the enemy. Two days earlier Gordon had fallen 'in the plenitude of his reputation, and left a name which will be revered so long as the

qualities of steadfast faith and indomitable courage have any hold on the feelings of mankind.' That is Earl Cromer's tribute. He thinks that the main responsibility for the long delay in sending the expedition was due to Mr. Gladstone, and has 'left a stain on the reputation of England which it will be beyond the power of either the impartial historian or the partial apologist to efface.'

Lord Wolseley was eager to destroy the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum, and for some time the Government wavered as to its policy, but at last orders were given that the troops should retire to Wadi Halfa. The Sudan was abandoned to the Mahdi and his successor. This course was painful and humiliating, but Lord Cromer has no doubt of its wisdom. 'If a regenerated Egypt is now springing up, its existence is in a great measure due to the fact that, through good and evil report, the policy of withdrawing from the Sudan and adhering to a strictly defensive attitude on the Egyptian frontier was steadily maintained for some years.' The reconquest, however, was only a question of time. The Egyptian army was carefully trained, and on September 2, 1898, Sir Herbert Kitchener broke up the power of the Khalifa by his decisive victory over the dervishes at Omdurman. The army was the largest, best and bravest that ever fought for Mahdiism. The courage of the dervishes was superb, but they could not stand against our terrible weapons of destruction. The Khalifa escaped, but a year later his camp was surprised and he and his principal emirs slain. His whole force surrendered. The news of these victories was received with great elation in England. The national honour had been clouded by the events of 1885; now the flags of England and Egypt floated side by side at Khartoum, and the Sudan for which Gordon died was governed by the Queen of England and the Khedive of Egypt.

Lord Cromer gives a striking description of the 'Land of Paradox,' of which he was the real master for a quarter of a century. The streets of Cairo are filled by a motley assemblage of all nations. The Egyptian fellah, the Turco-

Egyptian pasha, the Syrian money-lender, the pious sheik on his way to the University of El-Azhar, the Jew and the Levantine, all are here. 'Armenians, Tunisians, Algerians, Sudanese, Maltese, half-breeds of every description, and pure-blooded Europeans pass by in procession, and all go to swell the mass, if not of Egyptians, at all events of dwellers in Egypt.' England's representatives in Egypt had to labour for the elevation of the 'nine or ten million native Egyptians at the bottom of the social ladder, a poor, ignorant, credulous, but withal not unkindly race, being such as sixty centuries of misgovernment and oppression by various rulers, from Pharaohs to Pashas, have made them.' The Egyptian Moslem accepts the supplies of water for his fields and the roads and railways for the conveyance of his produce which our engineers provide; he welcomes the financial relief and justice of our rule, yet he never forgets that the hand which confers them is not that of a co-religionist. Nor is religion the only barrier between the two races. 'Consider the mental and moral attributes, the customs, art, architecture, language, dress and tastes of the dark-skinned Eastern as compared with the fair-skinned Western. It will be found that on every point they are the poles asunder.'

When England undertook the regeneration of Egypt in 1882, the Government had for at least a century exhibited the extremes of savage cruelty and barbarism; the Treasury was almost bankrupt, there were no law-courts worthy of the name. Lord Cromer gives a most interesting account of the Mohammedans and the Christians of Egypt, and describes the machinery of government and the tasks set to the British officials with a wealth of detail which makes his book unique. But Englishmen will be proudest when they trace the reforms brought about by our rule. The courbash, a strip of hippopotamus hide tapering at the end, was the chosen instrument of torture for the collection of taxes or for extracting confessions from those accused of crime. Lord Dufferin forbade its use. He thus brought to an end the system of govern-

ment by flogging. The corvée, by which forced labour was secured to remove the mud at the bottom of the Nile canals, was also abolished, though this entailed heavy expense on the Government. Corruption, which was almost universal in all branches of the Administration, has been greatly diminished. The struggle with the finances was long and arduous, but by 1888 the battle had been virtually won. Direct taxation has been reduced by nearly two millions a year. The revenue has almost doubled in twenty-six years. From 1889 to 1906 the aggregate surplus of the Egyptian Treasury amounted to more than 27½ millions sterling. £E19,303,000 was expended on railways, canals, and public buildings. Of this, £E3,610,000 was borrowed, the rest was provided out of revenue. The Public Debt has been reduced by £9,041,000, and the annual charges for interest, &c., by £900,000. The triumphs won by the English engineers in irrigation are as beneficent as those in the departments of finance and justice, in education, and in training a native army. Earl Cromer thinks that one or two generations must pass before the question whether Egypt may be left to govern itself can be even usefully discussed. There may well be a gradual movement in the direction of autonomy. No effort should be spared to fit the Egyptians for taking their share in the government. Englishmen must set themselves to govern the country in the interests of its people with a reasonable and disciplined sympathy. They can have no more illustrious example and guide along their toilsome path than a study of these noble volumes, which will be an enduring monument of Lord Cromer's gracious and wise administration of one of those responsible and onerous posts that England keeps for her worthiest and most gifted sons.

JOHN TELFORD.

MODERNISM AND METHODISM

TWO events have recently served to bring into public prominence the new trend of theological thought. The first of these is the appearance of the now famous Papal Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis*. This epoch-making document is a detailed examination of the views held by liberal thinkers within and without the pale of Rome. Upon 'modernism' in each and all of its phases it utters an unsparing condemnation, while it re-affirms the old scholastic theology, repudiating all concession to modern science and criticism. With remarkable courage it places side by side with the condemned opinions those dogmas which Catholicism has ever upheld and declines in any sense to modify. It is not for us to criticize the methods of the Pope or his advisers, who have rarely failed in astuteness; but it would appear as if in this case vaulting hostility had o'erleaped itself. For the method of parallelism adopted by the Encyclical tends to invest with extraordinary charm and attractiveness the errors upon which the Papal veto is pronounced; while the non-Catholic mind is left cold by the concluding aspiration that the hierarchy of the Roman Church may be upheld in the endeavour to repel the doctrines of the modernists, not only by the virtue of Christ, the author and finisher of our faith, but also by the prayer and help of the Immaculate Virgin, who is described as 'the destroyer of all heresies.'[1]

The second event is the publication of Mr. Campbell's *New Theology*, which attempts to re-state the Christian faith in terms of the divine immanence. Seeing that the excitement caused by this episode has now generally subsided, it is possible to take a dispassionate view of the volume as a contribution to theological thought. An

[1] 'Cunctarum haeresum interemptrix.' See *Litterae Encyclicae*, &c., p. 70.

obvious criticism points to the impossibility of producing a constructive work of permanent value which is not based on long and patient reflection; indeed, such a task demands the careful investigation and thought of a lifetime. Evidently the author has been unfortunate in much of the language he uses to unfold his opinions. In his zeal to promulgate the new point of view, he fails to do justice to the opposing position and tends to become in his way as one-sided as Pius X. This impression receives confirmation from his *ex cathedra* pronouncement upon the recent manifesto put forth by a number of distinguished theologians of his own communion; and his attitude gives occasion to the cynic to remark that no one is more dogmatic than the theologian who rejects all dogma. At the same time, it is a real gain to deal with opinions which are stated, as in these two cases, with extreme frankness and unmistakable conviction.

Now, both of these declarations of faith bear witness to the fact that there is nothing really new either in philosophy or theology—unless, indeed, an exception be made in favour of that theory of the universe which has so deeply influenced every department of inquiry, and which is largely responsible for the widespread desire for a restatement of Christian truth. Yet even evolution may be found in germ in the teaching of Aristotle, though in its fullest applications it is rightly claimed as a purely modern conception. There can be no doubt, however, that the view of revelation held alike by M. Loisy and Father Tyrrell—two of the best-known and most distinguished exponents of modernism—and by Mr. Campbell, is as old as the Greek theologians of the second century. Clement of Alexandria distinctly taught that revelation is not a body of truth miraculously attested and externally introduced to the conscience of mankind, but an inward unfolding of the mind and will of the Deity in the spiritual consciousness of the race. Undoubtedly, also, this conception underlies the teaching of the Fourth Gospel, which boldly incorporates from Graeco-Alexandrian philosophy

the doctrine of the Logos as the explanation both of the Incarnation and of the created universe. It is the indwelling Reason or Mind of the Deity that has been the educator of mankind in the ascent from the ideas of primaeval savagery to those of Moses, the prophets, and the Greek philosophers. Curiously enough, Clement's name appears in the calendar of the Roman Church until the sixteenth century, when it was dropped by Benedict XIII. The fact is, Rome was dimly conscious that the teaching of Clement and Origen undermined the whole basis of Latin theology, though the Greek type of thought never had an opportunity of rising to the front owing to the greater authority of Augustine—possibly owing to the ignorance of the Greek language and literature which prevailed up to the Renaissance. Augustine's emphasis on the Church, its priesthood, and its sacraments as essential factors in human salvation determined the destiny of Catholicism. Strangely enough, he also powerfully influenced the theology of Geneva and the Reformers, in that neither Calvin nor Luther wholly broke away from his conception of authority, though they substituted for the authority of the Church and the vicar of Christ that of an infallible book.

Hence the doctrine of immanence and the conception of an interior revelation taught by Clement had little chance of reasserting itself even in the reaction against Rome in the sixteenth century. It may be stated, indeed, with some confidence that it was not till two centuries later that the aspect of religion as an immediate contact of the soul with God, 'with the thinnest human veil between,' requiring neither the medium of priest nor sacrament, was revived. Undoubtedly the evangelical movement of John Wesley, though primarily spiritual, aided in the renascence of the Greek theology by its emphasis on experience as the test of spiritual reality alike in doctrine and conduct, on the doctrines of universal salvation, the witness of the Spirit, conversion and other phases of experimental religion. The whole movement became a mighty argument for immediate inspiration, for the inherent potencies

of the spiritual consciousness when illuminated by the Spirit, for the ethical fruits of the experienced relationship of sonship, for reconciliation and assurance sealed on the heart, not by intermediate agencies, but by Christ Himself. On the purely intellectual side the main source of the changed view of revelation is to be found in the teaching of thinkers like Schleiermacher, who conceived religion to spring from the constitutional endowment of humanity in God's own image, proclaimed the truth of God's immanence in the world, and anticipated the principles and results of modern biblical criticism. Since his day—that is, the early part of the nineteenth century—we have witnessed the swift advance of science, the invasion of every sphere of knowledge by the scientific method, and the application of evolution, not only to the natural processes of the universe, but to the facts of consciousness and spirit and to the history and doctrines of Christianity. Evolution has profoundly modified the methods of science, philosophy, and theology. It is in vain that the Papal Encyclical anathematizes this doctrine. It is with us, and will abide as a permanent factor in human thought. One need not pause to point out how thoroughly it harmonizes with the idea of a progressive revelation as taught by the Greek fathers, and how easily it is appropriated by the modern theology which construes Christian doctrine in terms of immanence. Nor is it necessary to demonstrate how readily the idea of development applied to nature and human history can modify the orthodox view of the Person of Christ, of the nature of sin, and of the reality of the miraculous. Sir Oliver Lodge's catechism entitled the *Substance of Faith* may be regarded as typical of the great change which has been wrought in the mutual relations of science and religion by a conception shared in by both. There has been a marked reaction from distrust and hostility to friendship and even to the enthusiastic recognition of their common relationship to ultimate truth. Naturalism, or a purely materialistic view of the universe, is rapidly losing ground, while the rise of psychology witnesses to

an ever-widening consciousness that the sphere of science borders on the region of the infinite and of mystery, where there may be realities credible or certain, though beyond the analysis of experimental science.[1]

The three things the Papal Encyclical upholds against all these tendencies are the scholastic method, the authority and tradition of the Fathers, and the authority of the Church. Of these the first two are discredited by the advance of criticism and science, and the third—based on the view that the dogmas of Christianity constitute a fixed and unalterable *depositum fidei*—is absolutely out of harmony with the modern theory of development—a theory which owes much to Newman, whom M. Sabatier acutely describes as 'a Protestant badly converted.'[2] The creeds and decisions of Church councils were doubtless valid according to the knowledge of their days, but they cannot escape the process of development to which all human thought is subject, and cannot be regarded as established and final statements, impregnable for all time.

In this maëlstrom of conflicting tendencies, in this period of unrest and stormy speculation, where is our refuge? Not, we venture to think, in blind and unswerving adhesion to the creeds. It is, indeed, surprising to find that so open-minded and progressive a theologian as the Bishop of Birmingham should yet advocate to a restless age the position that the permanent faith of Christianity is summarized in the Catholic creeds.[3] Surely M. Loisy is right when he insists that 'the ecclesiastical formula is the auxiliary of faith, the guiding line of religious thought; it cannot be the integral object of that thought, seeing that object is God Himself, Christ and His work: each man lays hold of the object as he can, with the aid of the formula.'[4] Moreover, the creeds and

[1] Cf. Gore, *The New Theology and the Old Religion*, p. 11.

[2] Herein agreeing with Mr. A. C. Benson, who regards Newman's as 'an aesthetic conversion.'—*Upton Letters*, p. 24.

[3] *The New Theology and the Old Religion*, p. 205 *et seq.*

[4] *The Gospel and the Church* (Eng. trans.), p. 224.

dogmatic definitions of Christianity were formulated in an intellectual atmosphere widely different from our own; they belong to a period of development in which the principles of historical criticism and the scientific methods familiar to modern minds were in the nature of things unknown.

No doubt historical criticism frequently lays itself open to the charge of excessive subjectivity, as when Schmiedel leaves us with nine passages in the Gospels as 'the foundation pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus;'[1] or (to quote M. Loisy), when it may be affirmed that 'le Christ des Synoptiques est historique, mais il n'est pas Dieu; le Christ johannique est divin, mais il n'est pas historique'[2]—an assertion too epigrammatic to do full justice to the problem. It is probably true that even the most attenuated primitive gospel will give us a picture of a Personality who to His contemporaries was unique and superhuman. But whatever may be said in disparagement of criticism by the Encyclical or in defence of it by the modernist, the fact remains that the essence of religion is not an intellectual exercise, engaged in the estimate of historical evidence 'of uncertain origin and value'; it is faith, which 'in its true nature can be justified by nothing but itself.' It was to 'faith' that our Lord always made His appeal as a faculty inherent in man, not to be created, though it might be confirmed, by objective signs or facts. In taking up such a position one runs the risk of being charged with underestimating historical Christianity. But in view of the manifold needs, the myriad expressions and forms of the religious consciousness, who would deny the value of the objective, whether in symbol or historical fact, as a confirmation of faith? Pure mysticism is for elect souls; the multitude require a religion that is visualized and concrete, even when their faith is all the time transcending the seen and beholding the invisible. 'The immanental aspect of God can never be that of popular religion.'[3]

[1] *Encyc. Biblica:* Art. 'Gospels.'
[2] *Simples Réflexions*, &c., p. 158.
[3] *Through Scylla and Charybdis:* Tyrrell, p. 363.

But (to return) what is our resting-place in the present situation? On the one hand, we have a Catholicism which, whether Roman or Anglican, clings to dogmas and formularies which cannot evade the evolutionary process or the investigations of speculative and historical inquiry; on the other hand, we have a Protestantism which has relinquished the old theory of verbal inspiration and no longer believes in a book that has been miraculously safeguarded from error. One reflection at least is suggested by the history of Methodism. Methodism imposes no test of creed as a condition of Church membership. The familiar words of John Wesley may once more be quoted: 'The distinguishing marks of a Methodist are not his opinions of any sort. His assenting to this or that scheme of religion, his embracing any particular set of notions, his espousing the judgement of one man or of another are all quite wide of the point. . . . . A Methodist is one who has "the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him."'[1] Again, 'I am sick of opinions. I am weary to bear them. My soul loathes such frothy food. Give me solid and substantial religion. Give me a humble, gentle lover of God and man; a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy; a man laying himself out in the work of faith, the patience of hope, and the labour of love. Let me be with those Christians, wheresoever they are and of whatsoever opinions they are of.'[2] In other words, a Methodist would agree with Father Tyrrell that the *lex orandi* is the *lex credendi;* that it is religion which in the long run matters, not theology, the statements of which must alter from age to age; that the truths which permanently foster the devotional life, breathe into us peace with God, produce the fruits of a holy, loving character, and evoke a self-renouncing service of humanity are the eternal elements of the Christian faith.

[1] *The Character of a Methodist:* Works, viii. 340–1 (5th Ed.).

[2] *A Further Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion:* Works, viii. 244 (5th Ed.).

In order to arrive at these permanent elements of the Christian faith which lie behind the Christian character, we must begin, as Ritschl does, with the work of Christ. We must question the collective consciousness of the Christian ages: not, we venture to think, the symbolic formulas which satisfied that consciousness in given moments of its history; not conciliar decisions which only crystallized the conceptions of a specific stage in the evolution of faith; but that recorded and accumulated experience of the saints, which 'hath the witness' in itself, and which needs no external symbol to verify to itself the spiritual convictions inwrought into its life. Behind the symbols of the Christian faith—and we remember that not one of them ever commanded the unanimous assent of Christendom—there is a unity of experience which is due to the controlling and enlightening activity of the Holy Spirit. Take such a fundamental truth as the divinity of Christ. Mr. Campbell says, 'Jesus was God, but so are we.' But is this the verdict of the devotional experience of all the ages of Christianity? Is this the conviction which has touched to fine issues and noble aspiration the lives of millions of the race? Granted that there must be a divinity in us before we can apprehend Christ's divinity, is not the united testimony of the Christian consciousness all in favour of the sense of an immeasurable distinction between the soul and Christ, while at the same time the soul is conscious of an undying intimacy and union with Him, not hesitating to assert, 'I have been crucified with Christ: it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me.' No doubt it is open to Mr. Campbell and others to declare that his conception of Christ's divinity as only in degree superior to our own satisfies a deep need of the soul, expresses our real affinity with God, and uplifts thought and activity to higher levels. But the reply of the community of Christ is, 'It is evident that your experience is out of line with the vast consensus of Christian experience in all ages; for such a view of Christ's person is no novelty, and has proved to be but a transient and

ineffectual phase of thought whenever and wherever it has appeared.' Christ as the author of my experience of oneness with God is 'the only one of His own order'; and the recognition of His divinity, whether in a Catholic or a Protestant, rests not upon outward authority or dogma, but on personal conviction. The same method is to be applied to Mr. Campbell's conception of sin as a necessity in human development. Here a veiled Pantheism has given a determinist character to his teaching on freewill and responsibility, and has weakened the verdict of the practical reason, namely, that sin is an abuse of freedom and in essence an act of disobedience, not to some impersonal moral code, but to the living Personal Head of the Universe. The consciousness of guilt is no less a reality than sin itself, if we give proper weight to the testimony of the moral consciousness.

Enough has been said to show that the older view of revelation as an illumination from the outside is yielding to that truer and more spiritual conception which regards revelation as an unfolding of the will and power and wisdom of God within the soul. Methodism has always regarded religion as the language of the soul, and theology as its grammar, co-ordinating and reducing to scientific exactness the facts and experiences of our spiritual consciousness. God's progressive revelation of His mind has culminated in the unique Personality of Jesus Christ; and the supreme fact, the ultimate element of the Christian faith, is the value of Christ for reason as well as for conscience. The mediaeval divorce between faith and reason is annulled by both modernism and Methodism, reason being simply the self-consciousness by which alone man can rise to God. It is well to remember in the *mêlée* of conflicting systems, when we seem to be moving between two worlds—'one dead, the other powerless to be born'—that our Lord uttered two memorable sayings which may be regarded as shields of mighty defence when the battle rages and fear besets the soul. One is, 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit

when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He shall guide you into all the truth; . . . He shall glorify Me: for He shall take of Mine, and shall declare it unto you.'[1] We are living in the age of the Holy Spirit. His supreme work is to manifest Christ, to unveil the hidden applications of His mind to each generation, and to adapt His work to the developing consciousness of mankind. The age of revelation is not at an end. The other saying is, 'If any willeth to do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or whether I speak of Myself.' Christianity authenticates itself through life—through the life of love. It is Christ's view of life, it is His teaching upon the conduct of life, that cannot change. With whatever modes of thought, with whatever theories of the supernatural His law of life has been associated in the past, the law remains valid when the modes of thought and the theories have vanished away or are superseded by others. It is one of the remarkable features of Methodism that it has been so little disturbed by the movements of modern thought which have awakened controversy elsewhere. Some may explain this by intellectual dullness, others by conservative self-complacency; but possibly the reason lies in its interest in practical Christianity. The main concern of a Methodist is social and spiritual regeneration, while he silently appropriates, without self-advertisement, the approved results of a reverent criticism and modern thought. One of the most significant and hopeful signs of the times is the issuing by our Connexional publishing house of Mr. Scott Lidgett's *Christian Religion*—a contribution to philosophical theology which, in its point of view and method, is destined powerfully to influence Methodist thought and teaching in the days to come.

Every one agrees that the noblest as well as the most urgent task of the Christian Church is to win the democracy to Christ, and by a broad-minded sympathy to ennoble and spiritualize the ideals of social progress which

[1] John xvi. 12–14.

are in peril in certain quarters of being coarsened by a hard materialism. That Church holds the key to the future which can appeal to the average man, awaken in him the powers of a holy manhood, and make out of him a factor in the new social order, which is to be shaped by the teaching of Christ. Socialism is now identified with a variety of economic theories none of which has commanded the universal acceptance of social reformers. The late Bishop Westcott is reported to have said that Socialism had been discredited by being identified with a theory of economics. This is a hard saying for the average Socialist; but he meant that the spirit of Socialism which derives from Christianity is larger and better than many of the schemes which are current under its name. Equality of consideration for every member of the race, equality of opportunity for every member of the community—these are root principles of Christian ethics, and it is for the Christian Church to educate public opinion towards practical legislation on these lines. In this work Methodism, with its strong spiritual passion and genius for social service, can play a noble part. Its interest in ethical Christianity—deeper than in doctrinal Christianity—is in harmony with its traditions. The new theology owes a great measure of its attractiveness to the fact that it claims to identify Christianity with the democracy; and if one may credit the opinion expressed by M. Sabatier, the progress of modernism in the Roman system is due to the democratic movement in society and the awakened passion of the most thoughtful of the clergy for the spiritual welfare of the alienated masses. Modernism is really a new temper rather than a new co-ordinated theology. Father Tyrrell, in one of his characteristic essays,[1] eloquently denounces the theory that the hierarchy of Rome is solely a heaven-ordained authority; he maintains that the real authority rests with the multitude and the collective

[1] 'From Heaven, or of Men?' in *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, C. XIII.—an essay published originally in *Il Rinnovamento*.

conscience of the community in which the Divine Spirit of Truth and Righteousness is immanent, and proclaims that 'the priest stands above the layman solely as the representative of the whole organism of the Church of which he and the layman alike are constituent members.' He concludes that if the democratic interpretation of authority does not prevail over the absolutist in the Roman Church, the alienation of the laity will steadily increase. To save souls, then—whether it be the soul of the individual or the collective soul of society—that is the ultimate object of modernism, whether in its Catholic or Protestant form. The Christian Church is everywhere awakening to a sense of the mighty part it is called upon to play in a century which is surely and inevitably to be the epoch of social reconstruction.

To sum up, then, the two factors of Methodism which give us hope that as a Church we may contribute our share to the foundation of the new order are, first, a catholicity of temper which is not a nebulous and easy-going tolerance, but arises from a desire to bring to bear on the practical work of the world's salvation all new thought, all new aspects and statements of truth which can satisfy a spiritual consciousness and intelligence controlled by the immanent Christ; and secondly, a passion for human betterment, an eager yearning for the moral and social uplifting of the countless thousands, at home and abroad, who remain without light and hope and purity, the shepherdless multitudes dully acquiescing in their lot without the knowledge of a larger life and a spiritual horizon. We await with interest the results of the liberal movement in Catholicism; it may end in nothing but the hardening of Roman absolutism; it may break up the sleep of ages and vindicate the place of reason and science in a system of theology which repudiates both. We cannot see into the future. 'Le temps,' says M. Loisy in his brave and outspoken *Simples Réflexions*,[1] 'est le grand maître sans lequel

[1] See p. 277.

aucune vérité ne porte fruit en ce monde'; and it may be that in the providence of God the modern movement in theology will bring about a revival of the earliest democratic ideals of Christianity, will quicken the spiritual energies of Catholicism and Protestantism alike, and usher in 'an age of faith,' of which the previous eras of Christianity will be found to be but a prelude and a preparation, a kind of starlit darkness heralding a universal dayspring.

R. MARTIN POPE.

LORD KELVIN

A FEW weeks ago the writer was standing on the captain's bridge of a steamer coming up the English Channel. The voyage had been punctuated by patches of dense fog, and the night hours disturbed by the melancholy note of the syren. Suddenly the pall lifted, a clear, starry sky gladdened the eye, and the strained attention found relief in conversation. Some question was asked about the compass, when the captain, with a seriousness born of anxious hours, remarked: 'Yes, that is Kelvin's compass, and at his name every seaman should bare his head.' The words had the eloquence of sincerity and gratitude, and the captain became the spokesman of that great company whose life is one long adventure on the waters. The application of highest theories to practical ends is a dominant note in any account of the life and work of Lord Kelvin.

Historians of the nineteenth century, in their estimate of its outstanding characteristics, will dwell of necessity on the wonderful development of science which took place within its limits. The Middle Ages, in spite of the zealous work of many seekers, proved to be a very barren period. This was due to many causes, such as the isolation of the worker and the secrecy maintained as to his results; the mist of charlatanism, which obscured the truth; the regard for authority, whether of the individual, of the Church, or of the State, however arrogant and intolerant; the disdain felt towards the simple unromantic fact. The chief retarding cause, however, was the utter disregard of quantitative relationships, the appreciation of which marks clearly the beginnings of modern science.

The triumph of the dogmatic spirit among the masses was long-lived, but in the great duel between fact and

authority, the former slowly got the upper hand, and with this was realized the first vital condition of development, namely, liberty.

The work was begun by Lavoisier, Black, Dalton, and others, and the relentless quest of truth, for its own sake, was carried on by a great body of men whose fame knows no nationality. This led to an unparalleled development of that 'organized common sense' which seemed to Huxley the essence of the scientific method. Foremost among the leaders in the battle against prejudice and ignorance stands Lord Kelvin—resourceful, fertile in ideas, equipped with fullness of knowledge, and ever faithful to that law of honour which binds science to face fearlessly every problem which can fairly be presented to it.

There are two reasons why the contemplation of the life and work of an investigator like Lord Kelvin should from time to time occupy the thoughts of serious men. The rapid dissemination of news and the popularization of all forms of knowledge spell a very real danger. The human mind does not thrive on pre-digested food. Its use leads rather to that complacent acceptation of the most wonderful discoveries which is characteristic of the day, and to those facile explanations which cloak ignorance and dull so fatally the edge of insight and inspiration. It is a useful corrective to learn something of the struggles, of the toil, of the methods of those whose debtors we are.

Further, there is a tendency to emphasize the assumed incompatibility between the thinker and the discoverer, between the man of ideas and the man of practical achievements. No better refutation of this idea could be found than in a consideration of the life of Lord Kelvin. Over twenty-five years ago Helmholtz said, 'He has striven to purify the mathematical theory from hypothetical assumptions which were not a pure expression of the facts. In this way he has done very much to destroy the old separation between experimental and mathematical physics, and to reduce the latter to a precise and pure

expression of the laws of phenomena. The gift to translate real facts into mathematical equations and vice versa, is by far more rare than that of finding the solution of a given mathematical problem, and in this direction Sir William Thomson is most eminent and original.'

The story of the early years of Lord Kelvin has often been told. He was born in Belfast on June 26, 1824; he belonged to the Scoto-Irish race of Ulster, which has produced so many men of genius. His father, Dr. James Thomson, was himself a remarkable man. The son of a small farmer, he was successively a student in the University of Glasgow, a schoolmaster, a teacher of mathematics in the Royal Academical Institute, Belfast, and in all these he revealed mathematical ability of a high order. This was recognized by his appointment in 1852 to the Chair of Mathematics in his own university.

William Thomson received his early training from his father, and in 1834, when only ten years old, matriculated, with his elder brother James, as a student in the University of Glasgow. He soon distinguished himself by his originality, more especially in the working out of unseen mathematical examples. William and James shared between them the top places in the Latin, Logic, Natural Philosophy, and Mathematics classes. It is interesting to note, in view of much of his later work, that when fifteen years old he won a university medal for an essay 'on the figure of the earth.' Lord Kelvin has himself recorded his grateful obligations to his early teachers.

Soon after taking his Scotch degree, Thomson, at the age of seventeen, published his famous memoir on electric images. Professor Andrew Gray, in an oration delivered on Commemoration Day in the University of Glasgow last April, said: 'It showed that this boy of seventeen was capable of attacking and solving, unaided, problems of science of the greatest generality, and had discovered a theorem of the greatest importance, to which, as it happened, three of the greatest mathematicians of the nineteenth century had already been led.'

From Glasgow he went in 1841 to Cambridge, and there led the life of a healthy undergraduate. He was no recluse, but took his full share in the corporate student life. He was fond of rowing, and won the Colquhoun Sculls. Like many mathematicians he liked music, and played the horn in the Peterhouse band. In his work he read widely outside the course laid down, and, rarest of phenomena, he contributed original papers to scientific journals during his student days. He was second wrangler—but one of the examiners declared that the senior 'was unworthy to cut Thomson's pencils for him' —and later became Smith's prizeman. Thomson's Cambridge career brought him a wider knowledge of men and books, it gave polish and style to his mathematical work, and it brought him the friendship of Stokes, which was to be a potent factor in both their lives.

After Cambridge came Paris, where giants such as Fourier, Ampère, Arago, Biot, and Regnault were showing how experimental induction could be combined with mathematical deduction. The development of physical science during the first half of the nineteenth century was largely due to the French school of physicists. As Professor Fitzgerald has pointed out, 'a devotion to Newton which almost amounted to a worship had largely paralysed advance in English universities.' Arguments in ink and proofs on paper had usurped the place of the arguments of fact and the proofs of the laboratory. There was no simple physics laboratory available at that time for students, and it is one of Lord Kelvin's greatest services that he was among the first to introduce and to press home the vital importance of laboratory work and of practical research. To one of his temperament the Paris school called with alluring voice, and he worked in Regnault's laboratory where researches, since become classic, were being carried out on the determination of physical constants.

Lord Kelvin's education was thus of that varied kind which makes for breadth of outlook. In Glasgow were

laid the foundations, in Cambridge he acquired style and all the advantages which may be reaped by living in a great community, and in Paris the instinct of appeal to nature and experiment was strengthened into the guiding principle of life.

In 1846, when only twenty-two, Thomson was appointed to the Chair of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow University, a tribute to his genius as well as a wise and far-seeing move on the part of the Senate. Here he remained for the rest of his life, in spite of numerous offers to go elsewhere, and here he carried out those researches and made those discoveries which have brought him undying fame.

The genius of Lord Kelvin is a diamond of many facets. He was no pedant, but a man possessed of the confidence of knowledge, fearlessly facing all problems and leaving them solved or a step nearer that solution which an increasing knowledge will bring. He was mathematician, physicist, engineer, discoverer, and inventor, nor did he fail to touch on those problems of faith which not unfrequently are left alone by the man of science. Access to an understanding of much of his work is barred, save for the elect, by its difficulty and by its technicalities, and only in the slenderest manner can its leading features be indicated.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, physics was still in its infancy. Optics had not advanced very much since the days of Newton, the undulatory theory of light had not been established, and electricity and magnetism could scarcely be said to exist. During its first fifty years real progress was made. Young and Fresnel had established the undulatory theory of light; Oersted had observed and investigated the action of a current on a magnet, and this had been developed by Faraday into a science of wondrous possibilities. It was at this time that Lord Kelvin began his work. Competent critics have pointed out that his genius for mathematics fought shy of lines of merely academic reasoning. 'His

mathematics is for the sake of the result, not the result for the sake of the mathematics.'

To-day the principle of the conservation of energy is one of the earliest possessions of the student of physics. Then, owing to the absence of quantitative measurements, heat, light, electricity, chemical affinity were recognized as forces, as mysterious effluvia and manifestations, but no attempt had been made at an explanation or a correlation of these forces. The work of Joule led to the recognition of the equivalence of heat and energy, to the knowledge that heat was transformable into energy and energy into heat in a manner invariable as to quantity. The problem of the dissipation and conversion of energy attracted Lord Kelvin at an early date, and he supplied the basis which has led to the belief that a dynamical explanation of all these 'forces' is possible. He began his work in thermodynamics in a characteristic manner, by suggesting new units and standards which might be generally available. In 1846 he suggested the reckoning of temperature on an absolute scale independent of the properties of any particular substance. In conjunction with Joule, he studied the thermodynamic properties of air and other gases, and defined a scale of temperature which has led to a simple and uniform expression of thermodynamic results. In 1852 Kelvin discovered the principle of the dissipation of energy, which may be thus briefly stated. As far as we know at present, there is no exactly reversible process in nature. A given amount of energy of one kind may be converted into energy of another kind, electricity into heat, for example. The process may be reversed, but the energy of the second form can never be obtained again quantitatively as the energy of the first form. There is invariably a loss of energy, this energy being converted into heat during the process of conversion, and the heat is diffused and disappears by conduction and radiation. The tendency throughout nature is for energy to become heat and to be dissipated, and the process of degradation is ever going on. If there

be no restorative power, and of this we have no knowledge, then the present state of things must inevitably come to an end. The earth must perish of cold and become like the moon, 'a corpse on the road of night.' By his researches on this subject, Kelvin placed thermodynamics on a scientific basis, and paved the way for his own subsequent investigations into the age of the earth.

To Lord Kelvin we owe the present methods of treating electro-magnetism. Much work had already been done by Faraday and others, but owing to the absence of accepted units and of clear definition of terms and to the presence of a muddled nomenclature, comparison of results was extremely difficult and a concerted advance impossible. Kelvin simplified the mathematical expressions, and worked out the connexion between energy and electro-magnetism. Then theory was made the stepping-stone to experiment, and the whole system of electro-magnetic measurement placed on a scientific basis. The selection and establishment of electrical standards is a work whose importance cannot be overestimated. Those best qualified to judge have stated that mankind's greatest debt to Lord Kelvin lies here. It made research possible, it brought about the co-operation of workers throughout the world, it rendered available to all the work of the individual, and gave it its proper value in the forward march of the science, and it has made possible the all-important application of electricity to industries. Kelvin not only devised instruments of greatest delicacy, but he showed how their readings might be interpreted. He laid the foundation of Hertz's work and of wireless telegraphy, and he studied the propagation of electric impulses through cables, which led up to the electro-magnetic theory of light.

The application of the highest theory to practical ends may be illustrated by reference to Kelvin's work in telegraphy. Between 1840 and 1850 great advances were made in telegraphy, and the possibilities of submarine telegraphy were much discussed. The public mind was

fascinated by the idea of a cable stretching between this country and America. It was felt that it would be an invaluable aid to commerce, and a powerful link in the chain binding the two nations to peace and goodwill.

An unforeseen difficulty arose in connexion with the retardation which signals suffered when transmitted along a long cable. It was not so much the delay as to time as the fact that the retardation caused the impulses to be very attenuated when they reached the other end. They were also so mixed up as to make the reading of the message a matter of great difficulty, if not an impossibility. Kelvin worked out the theory of transmission of signals, and showed that the speed of signalling depended on the resistance and capacity of the cable, and that the retardation must be proportional to the square of the length of the cable. This 'law of squares' was fought by various supporters of Atlantic telegraphy, who believed the project would be impossible if the law were true. Mr. Whitehouse, one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the scheme, went so far as to say: 'I can only regard it as a fiction of the schools, a forced and violent adaptation of a principle in physics, good and true under the circumstances, but misapplied here.' Kelvin proved experimentally that the law was true, and maintained that, nevertheless, the Atlantic cable was a possibility.

Sufficiently delicate recording instruments were the prime necessity, and Kelvin invented the reflecting galvanometer, consisting of a small needle hung by a silk fibre, the movements of which were made visible by a beam of light reflected in a tiny mirror. He was thus able to record the first beginnings of the current at the far end, and to stop the current before disturbing complications arose. This was followed by the invention of the 'siphon recorder,' which made the reading of messages a matter of great simplicity, because this instrument is 'supremely indifferent to the vagaries of the current.' These two inventions, which have been adopted the world over, completely revolutionized submarine telegraphy and

made it not only practically possible but financially successful.

The story of the laying of the Atlantic cable is one of the most fascinating pages in the history of applied science. Numerous practical difficulties arose during the making and laying of the cable, and after many failures success was achieved owing to Kelvin's inventive genius and to his unceasing assistance. He was on board the ships that laid the cable, and his attention was thus drawn to other nautical matters. It was a matter of pride to him that he was able to improve the two oldest scientific aids to navigation—the sounding plummet and the mariner's compass. The great hindrance to an accurate compass lay in the increasing use of iron in the construction of ships, which rendered the vessels so magnetic that the readings of the compass were untrustworthy. Numerous attempts had been made to correct this induced error, but nearly all of them sought to attain accuracy of reading by the use of large and powerful magnetic needles. Lord Kelvin solved the difficulty by making the compass card extremely light, and using small light needles whose friction on the pivot was very small. He also contrived an easily adjusted system of correctors for a ship's magnetism. The most emphatic tribute to his genius lies in the almost universal adoption of his compass. He also devised a method of taking flying soundings from a ship running at full speed, which saved the time formerly spent in stopping the vessel. It may fairly be said that Lord Kelvin enriched every branch of physical work by the invention of instruments distinguished by simplicity of construction and accuracy of measurement.

His speculations as to the age of our planet and the origin of life on the earth are of great general interest. As early as 1842 he had begun the study of the first problem, and he returned to it frequently in succeeding years. The early geologists believed that the history of the earth was made up of a series of stupendous catastrophes, which moulded our planet into its present

condition of oceans and continents. The reaction against this view was led by Lyell, who established the principle of 'uniformity.' He maintained that there had been no great cataclysms, but that the familiar agents, such as frost and rain, whose working we can observe to-day, were adequate, given a sufficient length of time, to explain the present configuration of the earth. This led the uniformitarians to make demands for an almost infinite length of time.

The physical argument as to the age of the earth was based by Lord Kelvin on the evidence of the internal heat and the rate of cooling of our planet. The rate of increase of temperature as we descend below the surface is known, as is also the rate of loss of heat from the earth. This knowledge is sufficient to fix a limit to its antiquity. As a result of his calculations Lord Kelvin stated that the consolidation of the surface of the earth could not have taken place less than twenty million years ago, or else the underground heat would be greater than it is, nor could it have taken place more than four hundred million years back, or the underground heat would show no sensible increase downwards. From other considerations, such as the tidal retardation of the earth's rotation, he was inclined later to place the limit at one hundred million years. These views were fought by geologists and biologists, but few to-day doubt but that some such limit must be assigned to the age of the earth. The influence of the presence of radioactive matter, such as radium, on the temperature of the earth, was considered by Lord Kelvin, and in a letter to Professor Orr in 1906 he stated that he did not believe that the heat of the sun or the underground heat of the earth was practically due, in any considerable portion, to radioactive matter.

Lord Kelvin's theory as to the origin of life on the earth is interesting, as it affords us incidentally a glimpse into the world of his religious faith. He dealt with the matter in his presidential address to the British Association in 1871. He utterly repudiated the speculation of

spontaneous generation. That life is antecedent to life seemed to him as sure a teaching of science as the law of gravitation. We start, he said in his argument, with a red-hot sphere on which life is an impossibility. Cooling takes place, and in time all the conditions for life are present—rocks, soil, air, water, light. As he himself put it, 'the earth is ready to become a garden, but the sun sheds its light and pours its heat on a barren wilderness.' Whence did life come? Are we to assume that trees and verdure sprang into life at a word from the Creator? 'If a probable solution,' said Lord Kelvin, 'consistent with the ordinary course of nature can be found, we must not invoke an abnormal act of creative power.' Just as a lava stream becomes covered in time with vegetation grown from wind-borne seed, so it seemed to Kelvin may life have come to our planet from without, borne on a fragment of some disintegrated world where life had flourished. Every year thousands, probably millions, of meteorites and fragments of rock fall on our earth, and we are in ignorance of the past history of any one of them. Given the theory of evolution and all that it means, then the fall on the earth of a single seed-bearing fragment would account for all life. This theory may appear to be improbable and visionary; all that Kelvin maintained was that it is not unscientific. But it does not help to the ultimate solution of the problem; it only puts it a step further back.

At the end of his address, he drew special attention to the fact that the argument of design had been too much lost sight of in recent speculations. 'Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent and benevolent design lie all around us; and if ever perplexities turn us away from them for a time, they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing to us through Nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living beings depend on one ever-acting Creator and Ruler.'

Lord Kelvin was also a great teacher, whose methods were far removed from the inelastic rules and schemes of

orthodox pedagogues. The true teacher is too often hampered, in this country at least, by the tyranny of the syllabus, and his genius for exposition is fettered and made to run along narrow examinational grooves. To these causes we owe the disappearance of the spirit of the wandering scholar, of the desire to sit at the feet of some great teacher, a desire which is fostered in Germany. The average student of to-day will say frankly that he does not much care who lectures to him as long as he receives that cut-and-dried instruction which will enable him to achieve examinational success. This ideal leads to the creation of a class of 'talking text-books' and to the destruction of originality in lecturer and student. Lord Kelvin disliked the term lecture, and much preferred the French expression, *conférence*. On the occasion of his professional jubilee, he said: 'I feel that every meeting of a professor with his students should be rather a conference than a pumping-in of doctrine from the professor, perhaps ill understood by his students. The professor should speak to his students in the form of viva-voce examination, and oftener in the manner of interchange of thoughts, the professor discovering whether or not the student is following his lecture; and the student, by showing what he knows or does not know, helping the professor through his treatment of the subject.'

Lord Kelvin often thought aloud in his lectures, and they were full of entertaining digressions and original suggestions. It is not surprising that his elementary lectures were very much above the heads of his hearers, and that the majority of his students, their attendance once recorded, would creep out of the lecture-room through a back-door the moment the professor turned to write on the black-board. Professor Ayrton, in some interesting reminiscences, was moved to say: 'To waste the time, energy, and extraordinary original power of a genius like Thomson on such teaching was like using a razor to chop fire-wood.' Lord Kelvin often remarked: 'If you want to know what's in books, go and read them for yourselves.

I am telling you what is not in books.' To those who were worthy of such a teacher, he was a mighty inspiration, and his advice was ever at their disposal. He always began his morning lecture by devoutly repeating the General Confession from the English Church Service, and there was never the slightest interruption. 'They might not be able to follow the lecture,' said one of his students, 'but the affecting appeal which preceded it touched their hearts.'

Even the highest genius has its limitations, and Kelvin was not himself a good experimentalist. Experiments which he devised and which were rendered possible by the instruments he had invented, he could not himself carry out. His students have stated that they dreaded lest he should touch or handle the apparatus they had set up. He was too impulsive to be a good experimentalist, and his students felt that in a sense they were able to help him by trying experiments on his behalf.

Lord Kelvin early emphasized the vital importance of practical work, and he founded the first physics laboratory available for students. This first installation was essentially a research laboratory, which was duly followed later by others in which systematic class work was done. Not the least of his wonderful faculties was his power of turning students into enthusiastic co-researchers and mere spectators into assistants, and this 'faculty for annexation' was never dormant.

Of Kelvin the man, it may be said that he was happy in the possession of those virtues which he held up as ideals to others. 'Goodwill, kindness, friendship, sympathy, encouragement for more work,' these, he said on one occasion, 'are a treasure of which no words can adequately describe the value.'

Many honours came to Lord Kelvin, but no better monument would he have desired than the affectionate regard of those who had known him, and the grateful tribute of the millions who have reaped the benefit of his life. Perhaps the noblest feature of Kelvin's genius was

its conscious ignorance, that knowledge of limitations which makes for modesty and charity. These words of his have often been quoted; they well bear repetition: 'One word characterizes the most strenuous of the efforts for the advancement of science that I have made perseveringly during fifty-five years; that word is failure. I know no more of electric and magnetic force, or of the relation between ether, electricity, and ponderable matter, or of chemical affinity, than I knew and tried to teach to my students fifty years ago in my first session as professor. Something of sadness must come of failure; but in the pursuit of science, inborn necessity to make the effort brings with it much of the *certaminis gaudia*, and saves the naturalist from being wholly miserable, perhaps even allows him to be fairly happy in his daily work.' And so was Lord Kelvin content to enter into the Kingdom of Knowledge, 'clad in the pilgrim's garb of conscious ignorance.'

A. T. DE MOUILPIED.

VICISSITUDES OF ENGLISH EPISCOPACY

1. *The Christian Ministry.* By the late J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. Published by the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund. (Macmillan. 1901.)
2. *Anglican Liberalism.* By Twelve Churchmen. (Williams and Norgate. 1908.)
3. *Agenda of, and other Papers Relating to, the Pan-Anglican Congress of* 1908.

VARIOUS and widely different circumstances have recently conspired to place the titular rulers of the Established Church in the foreground of public activity and popular interest. First in order of importance came the Primate's appeal to his ecclesiastical subjects of all degrees not to let party prejudices or political sympathies prevent their supporting any measure such as the Licensing Bill, introduced with the honest purpose of promoting temperance, provided it might be reasonably expected to promote that supreme object. Not less worthy of his position and influence in Church and State, or becoming the chief pastor of a religion whose Founder pronounced a special blessing on the peacemakers, had already been Dr. Davidson's conciliatory utterances on the educational difficulty. Thomas Arnold, the great Rugby head master, never renounced his idea of a National Church which should be wide enough to comprehend all the sects of Protestant Christendom. That vision, however remote as yet from fulfilment, was transmitted by Arnold to those who might follow him at Rugby. His immediate successor in the control of the school he recreated, Archibald Campbell Tait, entered into the heritage of Arnold's broad hopefulness on this subject; the occupant of Lambeth today is Dr. Tait's former chaplain and son-in-law. Another Rugby ex-head-master of a later generation, Bishop

Percival of Hereford, approaching all these subjects in the spirit that Arnold and Tait would have desired, has missed no opportunity of using his influence in the same direction. Thus Primate and prelates agree in desiring to do the work of interdenominational mediators and peacemakers.

Now, while these lines are being written, there sounds throughout the world of Anglican Protestantism the note of episcopal preparation for the veritably oecumenical gathering fixed to assemble in London in the middle of June. A few details of its personal composition will suffice to show the genuinely and impressively representative character of this meeting. The year which is now half sped finds in the entire Anglican Church a total of 251 bishops. Of these four-fifths, or 194, have dioceses beyond the four seas. The United States possesses 94; the West Indies 9. Canada claims exactly two dozen. China and Japan have 11 between them. To India belong another 11. The episcopal strength of Australia is 20, of New Zealand 7, and of Africa 16.

Before proceeding to some remarks on the personal aspects of this increase in the English episcopate and to its accompanying changes of various kinds, it will not be amiss to refresh the memory as to the origin and the growth of the episcopate itself. That, by the second century, the episcopal office had become a recognized part of the Christian polity is now generally agreed. Equally certain does it seem to be that the idea of the bishop as personifying an authoritative and far-reaching jurisdiction belongs to a later date. The best idea of this primitive prelacy is given to-day by the organization of the great religious bodies in America that perpetuate John Wesley's name. In the old Jewish theocracy there existed no place for an exclusive sacerdotal caste. The Levites received their ordination collectively from the children of Israel; the Jewish priest offered prayers and sacrifices, not as occupant of a position aloof from, and raised above, the rest of the community, but as its representative; he belonged to a holy nation—a nation of priests. He discharged his

functions as the acting minister to whom his fellow subjects of the divine Ruler found it convenient to delegate them.

In the apostolic writings, Lightfoot maintains, presbyters and bishops were the same.[1] Up to this time traces of the episcopate as a separate institution are rare and obscure. In the Acts, St. James stands forth as the earliest bishop. At the Congress of Jerusalem, he it is who fills the place of president, who decides, commands and receives labourers in the spiritual field abroad. At this date, however, nothing is heard of a personage invested with the same authority in the Gentile Church as was given to St. James in the Jewish. The one thing certain is that in and about A.D. 70, apostles, e.g. St. Paul, personally or by letter superintended non-Hebrew churches like that of Corinth. Before the completion of the first century of our era, the Holy City was destroyed. Asia Minor, where St. John lived, thus became the centre of the ecclesiastical system. Immediately, however, after the fall of Jerusalem, was held an apostolic council, which organized what was then called episcopacy as the key-stone of the Christian arch. Jerusalem, however, had for its real ecclesiastical successor no particular town or district in Asia, Africa, or elsewhere. Its place was taken by a Catholic Church embracing the whole world. The episcopal agency secured, in Lightfoot's words, the compact and harmonious working of each congregation as a link in the union of brotherhood.

Four centuries later than the destruction of the Jewish capital Rome itself fell. Of that catastrophe, as has been shown by Dr. Hatch in his work on church institutions, one among the slowly completed results must be reckoned episcopacy's transformation from a missionary agency into an instrument and symbol of secular wealth and power. In 476 Romulus Augustulus was deposed by Odoacer. All that survived of Rome now concentrated itself in the cities of the empire. The schools preserved the Roman tongue; Roman law was immortalized in the language of the

[1] *Christian Ministry*, p. 20.

courts; Roman Christianity lived in the Churches. Of this survival of Roman life the bishop of the town or 'civitas' became the centre. He inhabited for the most part the old praetorium or residence of the Roman governor. He wore the dress of a Roman official. He thus incarnated in himself the enduring spirit of the vast power which had perished only to live again in its constituent parts. The Roman law still continuing in force for Romans, the bishop clothed himself with the power born of judicial status as well as of wealth. Other circumstances combined to increase both his influence and his income; he had the right of interposition in cases concerning widows and orphans; the law courts of Rome's Teutonic dominions gave him a seat by the side of the German graf or comes. His revenues were further swelled by the territorial legacies descending to him from two classes of testators. On the one hand wealthy converts, concerned for the safety of their souls, devised on their death endowments for the Church. On the other hand Roman landowners left him property as being chief among the heads of the political party with which they were most in sympathy. In this way, by the promoting force of circumstances, the bishop became associated with and an instrument of the traditions of social and political control which, exercised by the Roman aristocracy, had long saved the ancient system from complete disruption. The Pope was, in a sense, the heir of the Caesars; the depressed and dispersed patricians became the clients of the prelates. Originally, as has been seen, the bishop was synonymous with the presbyter. From its democratic beginnings the religious community now tended to become an aristocratic organism. No longer merely an overseer in things spiritual, the episcopus approximated more and more closely to a temporal magnate. Thus the Frankish King Chilperic could say, 'The bishops alone reign. Royal authority exists no more; power of all kinds is concentrated in the hands of the city prelate.'

What resulted from the new episcopal supremacy? As

Dr. Hatch has made clear, the first consequence showed itself in the gradual acknowledgement of the episcopal jurisdiction over all the communities whose geographical centre was what may be called the cathedral city. In Asia Minor, indeed, and North Africa, the ecclesiastical arrangements were of a congregational character; each church, that is, was a self-contained and self-governing entity. In Italy this independence was unknown. The last traces of the Roman Empire disappeared; its towns were rechristened by Celtic or German names. Carnutum became Chartres; Bibona, the city of the Cadurci, was changed to Cahors.[1] The same thing happened in Germany and England. Christianity, first spread by the Roman legionaries, was little known outside the camp. Even in Italy dioceses were probably unknown earlier than the fourth century. Territorial prestige and authority had accrued to the bishops long before that. Nor were episcopal state and ceremony unknown even when the divine who enjoyed them was yet only the missionary bishop as he exists to-day in the Methodist Episcopal churches, or in the Anglicanized parts of India and Africa. The earliest instance of an approach to the modern diocesan prelate has been discovered by Dr. Hatch in Alexandria. Yet, even in Christian Egypt, this tendency to ecclesiastical concentration coexisted with a large amount of local autonomy; at times not only every district, but even every village or place of worship, seems to have had a bishop of its own. Throughout all this period proofs abound that diocesan control was comparatively a late and certainly a very gradual development. The presbyter who happened to wear the episcopal title co-operated generally with the others in preaching, baptizing and confirming, and especially in consecrating the holy oil for anointing the sick.

From this brief historical retrospect of the institution in its earliest beginnings and gradual growth the evolution of the episcopal office may be brought down to the

[1] Hatch, pp. 14, 15.

form which it wears to-day; while the survey will be rendered more interesting and not less instructive by one or two personal illustrations of the general narrative. Anglicanism shares the prevailing tendency of the time to mistake fussiness for energy and worry for work. It was difficult not to see an instance of this earlier in the present year when Lancashire was asked to consider the expediency of giving itself a new diocese. Little more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the creation of the Liverpool see. The choice of Dr. J. C. Ryle as its first bishop was among Lord Beaconsfield's latest official acts, and did much to strengthen the representative character of the Bench. To maintain efficiency in all its parts the machinery of an institution may require frequent additions. Organization, however, is not an end but a means, and never reached so high a point as in ancient Rome at the very moment when the imperial system was dying of atrophy. Bishop Stubbs, the historian, has described the reign of Henry III as the palmy period of mediaeval Anglicanism. In those days of slow and dangerous inland communication, the average size of dioceses was such as even in the present age of cheap and easy locomotion would seem hopelessly impracticable. Thus, to take one or two instances, the see of Lincoln stretched from the Thames to the Humber, that of Exeter included not only all Devonshire and Cornwall, but some outlying districts of Somerset. Yet no suggestion of diocesan subdivision or of episcopal increase was ever forthcoming from prelate or synod. The explanation, of course, is that an episcopal sense of personal duty to the see was inconsistent with, and, indeed, impossible under, the relations then existing between Church and State. When English mitres were not, as between the twelfth and the sixteenth century was so often the case, held by foreigners who never visited England, bishops were, for the most part, courtiers and diplomatists. If they had no palace engagement at home they were travelling abroad on the business of treaty-making. Such diocesan duties as they recognized were

systematically left to either the suffragans or the officials of the bishops' courts.

The habit of entrusting political business to ecclesiastics proved fatal to episcopacy as a religious agency throughout the whole of the Tudor and even part of the Stuart period. The good influence of George II's queen, Caroline of Anspach, specifically tended to promote the conception of a more effective and spiritual episcopal type. Burnet of Salisbury, who lived under William III and Queen Anne, was not prevented by any preoccupation with politics or letters from approximating far more closely than had ever yet been done to the modern idea of a conscientious and useful prelate. Of the eighteenth-century bishop, as created or conditioned by the political and religious atmosphere of the time, the most commanding instance is forthcoming in Warburton; the author of the *Divine Legation*, steeped though he was in the prejudices of his cloth and environment, honestly deplored and fitfully struggled against the corruption and lethargy that he admitted were the bane of the national religion. Nor did his plaintive protests against the rising tide of dissent prevent his seeing in it an alternative possibly preferable to the Establishment in its then condition. His own communion he compared to Noah's Ark. Still he thought it 'doubtful whether the howling waste of waters without might not be less intolerable than the stench of the beasts within.'

Gibbon in his autobiography ironically congratulates himself on having promoted so many University dons to the Bench by their replies to the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of his *Decline and Fall*. The most famous types of this variety of controversial prelate were Watson, of Llandaff, and Horsley, successively of St. Asaph and Rochester. Of these the former had crossed swords with Tom Paine (*The Rights of Man*); the latter with characteristic vigour demolished Priestley's *Corruptions of Christianity*, including, as these were said to do, the Uncreated Godhead of the Second Person in the Trinity. One of the

books in the list heading this article, *Anglican Liberalism*, constitutes some reason for thinking that if Paine had written his book to-day, one of Horsley's successors, instead of denouncing, would have characterized it as dealing with open questions. Those who have read the Esher-Benson collection of Queen Victoria's letters will recall Lord Palmerston's noteworthy words on episcopal qualifications addressed to the Sovereign, December 2, 1860.[1] 'Bishops,' Viscount Palmerston begged to submit to her Majesty, 'are in the Church what generals of districts are in the Army; their chief duties consist in seeing that the clergy of their diocese properly perform their parochial duties, in preserving a harmony between clergy and laity, and in softening asperities between the Established Church and dissenters.' Hence the men to whom mitres were given should be practically acquainted with parochial work, should not be of an overbearing or intolerant temper, and should not needlessly engage in disputes about dogma. Moreover, the time had gone by for purely theological as for 'Greek play' prelates, or even for promotions to the Bench merely on the ground of learning. That formed the chief recommendation of Blomfield for London and Thirlwall for St. Davids; of those two scholars, one had proved totally inefficient, the other had grossly mismanaged his see. Then what greater masters of doctrinal lore than Wilberforce of Oxford or Philpotts of Exeter? Yet if the Bench were filled with men like these there would be no religious peace in the land. Palmerstonian prelates became a term of reproach, but in reality only with the fashionable High Church section, which sneered at Lord Shaftesbury, always in these matters consulted by the minister, and which disliked the tolerant Evangelicalism that had come into favour at Court. The Church—and, because of the Church, the nation—still owes Palmerston gratitude for shunning High Church bishops; these, in his own words, 'exasperated the dissenters, who form

[1] *Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. iii, pp. 530–1.

a large portion of the nation, and gave offence to many good Churchmen,' the particular reference here being to H. M. Villiers of Durham and G. Murray of Rochester, both in 1860 recently dead. On the whole, the Palmerston theory of bishop-making was exemplified, not only throughout all his own time, but to the close of the last reign, whoever the Prime Minister might be. It was the posthumous influence of the Palmerstonian wisdom which in 1868 caused Queen Victoria to veto Disraeli's earliest suggestion of Ellicott for Canterbury, and to hold him to his later alternative of Tait.

The twelve Churchmen who have co-operated to produce the volume *Anglican Liberalism*, carry their dislike of theology and the theological bishop to a point far beyond that ever reached by Palmerston. Certainly 'that wretched Pam,' as Samuel of Oxford used to call him, would have fought shy of the bishop who dispensed with an acceptance of Christianity's fundamental dogmas by ordination candidates. It is, perhaps, something to be thankful for that even Dr. Rashdall and his Anglican Liberal colleagues, whose book has received at least one episcopal testimonial, desire that clergymen should believe at least a great deal of the Bible. Their protest is not against the doctrine of our Lord's divinity, but against the unreality of the Church's ordinary language concerning it. Anglicans who have not fully moved with the time, and who have old-fashioned prejudices in favour of the religion which they learnt in their Catechism, will see something to be thankful for in the declaration by one of these twelve Churchmen that clergymen, including even bishops, ought to believe at least in theism and in the New Testament views concerning the founder of the Christian system and a future life. Most other matters, if not all of them, are, is the inevitable conclusion, to be optional. It is the spirit only which vitalizes; the letter must always be a provocative to unbelief.

Language like this is not now heard for the first time from the pillars of the Church. Canon Liddon, himself an Anglican Liberal of undoubted loyalty to his party in

State as well as in Church, was not likely to underrate the ability and the zeal of his pupil, the editor of *Lux Mundi*. That book appeared in 1889; it so depressed and distressed the Anglican writer on *The Divinity of Our Lord*, that it reacted unfavourably on his health, already weakened and disordered. The neological treatise for which the present Birmingham diocesan made himself responsible did, it cannot be questioned, sadden the closing days and hasten the end of the greatest Anglican preacher of his generation as well as not the least learned of its divines. During the second half of the last century the tendency under the Palmerstonian bishops was for Evangelicalism to preserve a benevolent neutrality when clergymen of the school of Hampden were hard pressed by the champions of Anglican orthodoxy. At the present time among all orders of clergy in the Established Church, the alliance is between those who pass for the lineal successors of the old orthodox High Church controversialist as he has been shown in the course of this article, and the clerical free-thinkers who more and more evaporate Christianity into sentiment and put ritual in the place once occupied by religion. From 1650 to 1750 the Anglican bishop was a politician who set his clergy the example of taking for their sermons texts which bore on the divine right of kings and the duty of non-resistance. At a little later date the bishops turned their attention to Christian evidences. Next the questions brought by them to their dioceses from the divinity schools at Oxford and Cambridge were five: predestination, universal redemption, reprobation, irresistible grace, final perseverance. The points now on which for the most part they encourage those whom they ordain to show a bold front to the judicial committee of the Privy Council are incenses, lights, vestments, the reserved sacrament, wafer bread and the mixed chalice. In these remarks the bishop has been seen as statesman, diplomatist, ceremonialist, and agnostic. He may yet make his influence felt as an instrument of order and a friend of faith.

T. H. S. Escott.

THE SANKHYA AND NEO-PLATONISM

Aphorisms of the Sankhya. Madhva Acharia. Trübner's Oriental Series.

The Sarva Darsana Sangraha. BALLANTYNE.

Select Works of Plotinus. Translated by G. R. S. MEAD. (George Bell & Sons.)

Articles, 'Plotinus' and 'Neo-Platonism.' By J. R. MOZLEY. Dictionary of Christian Biography.

The New Theology. By REV. R. J. CAMPBELL, M.A.

STUDIES in comparative religion are very much before us nowadays. It would seem as if some attempt is being made, consciously or unconsciously, to unify all religious thought. The origin, growth, and decay of the religions of the world have been put before us in works that threaten to overwhelm by mere number. An enormous quantity of facts has been accumulated, some amount of categorizing has been accomplished, and in the relations between the several emergent groups one of the most fascinating of studies comes before us. It is, however, fatally easy to deal with the religions of the past very much as men deal with the skeletons of extinct species. Their forms may enrich the 'museum' which each of us carries about in his mind. We visit the dusty precincts from time to time, handle the old bones, and moralize with Hamlet: 'Did these bones cost no more the breeding but to play at loggats with them?' Or, to change the figure, we may regard them as 'blocks of the past like icebergs high, that float on a rolling sea.' It is a chilling prospect, and brings with it no suggestion of life. It is possible now, however, to study religions as stages in the development of what is still quick and powerful in the life of to-day, and it may well be that the embryology will

interpret the fuller organism. If, then, relations are successfully established between one system of religion and another, such relations should always reveal, or at least suggest, the universal and permanent in religion, and we shall learn how to select that which may safely be built into that great temple of God's worth within which humanity is one day to bow in worship.

The object of this article is to bring together two great systems of thought belonging to different peoples, and originating in different ages of the world, yet indicating that universal hunger of the human heart which is to be satisfied only by the perfect fellowship with God in Christ Jesus which is the 'union' so much desired, and now 'not far' from the groping hands which have 'felt after' the Divine.

The six Darsanas, or schools of philosophy, as known in India, sprang directly out of that chaos of conflicting thought which has found its embodiment in the Upanishads recently characterized for us by Deussen, and available for us in more than one form. Anything like an analysis of the Upanishads is impossible here, but some reference seems necessary if we are to understand the position of Kapila. Its similarity to the idealism of Berkeley has often been commented upon, but there is one important difference between the Pantheism of the East and that of the West in this, that while the latter identifies the world with God, the former boldly declares the nothingness of the world. To the Hindu mystic God is one without a second; and this God is not a thinking Person; He is rather thought itself. As Gough says in his philosophy of the Upanishads, 'He is the pure light of characterless knowledge.' Yet at the very moment in which this belief was held, it was also taught that Brahma was the substrate of all that is perceived. In the famous illustration of the snake that is seen where there is only a rope, Brahma is not only the idea of a snake existing in the man's mind; he is also the rope.

Now, these very conflicting conclusions gave rise to

considerable controversy, and it was out of this that the great schools of philosophy arose in India. The six Darsanas—or, if as seems best we class them in pairs and speak of them as three—the three systems, are so many attempts to deal with questions which were vexing the Hindu mind at that time. One was purely rationalistic; it reduced everything to matter, and seems sometimes to anticipate the atomistic teaching of later times in Greece and Rome. Another was pure idealism, and survives to-day in the Vedanta, which is perhaps more than any other system in common acceptance throughout modern India. But between the two in mental standpoint comes the Sankhya. It is impossible to decide what was the chronological order of the three systems; nor have we any actual work of its reputed author, Kapila. We have, however, six books of commentaries on his system, and something like 500 reputed aphorisms of the sage, so that a fair idea of his teaching is possible.

According to this system there are two great entities—absolute existence, or Atma, and a root principle of Nature known as Prakriti. This word is the despair of translators. Monier Williams says that it means 'primary substance'; others translate it by 'Nature'; others, again, by the word 'originant.' Perhaps our difficulty arises from the Western tendency to separate matter from force. Until radium was discovered it seemed impossible for us to conceive of matter possessing as an essential of its own a self-evolving force. Prakriti consists of three qualities: Sat—that which enlightens and purifies, and is the cause of virtue; Raj—activity, variability, vehemence, the cause of error and misery; and Tamas, which is darkness or stolidity: the cloddish element which produces both sorrow and stupidity. The firstborn of this uncreated element is a self-existent intelligence which both creates, preserves and destroys. So that the divine Being as we conceive Him is found in the world of Prakriti rather than in that of Atma. At the same time there would seem sometimes to be in Hindu thought above and beyond this divine cause

of things, a certain vague but much-desired Paramatma, the one spiritual entity in a world of shows.

In the very first aphorism of Kapila it is stated that the end of man is cessation from pain. In the 19th it is declared that the bondage under which the soul groans is due to its connexion with nature or Prakriti. This bondage, however, is mere seeming; it resides in the mind, not in the soul itself. It comes to an end as soon as the necessary discrimination has been made. Mind is the product of Prakriti, and therefore it is no portion of the soul itself. It is as the soul comes into connexion with this restless mind that trouble and pain are experienced.

Sankhya is thus a system which must be classed as dualistic, and inasmuch as the soul is passive without intelligence or volition the system is really grossly materialistic. It differs from modern materialism in this, that the latter, bound up as it is with the doctrine of evolution, ascends from matter to mind: the former descends from mind to matter, the gross corporeal world being due to the fatal exercise of mental activity by which that which has no real existence is posited.

It will be seen that the elemental gods of the Vedas were thus by a process of generalization unified into a living diffusive and creative essence, and this became the active formative principle, the material cause, than which no other existed, of the world.

Liberation from such a world was secured, not by worship, for that presupposed the existence of a personal god to whom the worship would be rendered, but rather by discrimination, the product of profound meditation. There seems to be some confusion here between the non-intelligent soul and the mind which would thus secure its own annihilation by any individual meditation which set the soul free from connexion with it.

The system culminates, or has its complement, in the Yoga, which is sometimes treated as a separate system. In this man is taught by rigorous asceticism and by virtues, which have too much of a physical basis, to secure that

emancipation from the delusions of sense which will enable him to perceive that he is other than the things he sees, and concentration will pass eventually into the blessedness which lies in the complete obliteration of the world of sense.

Liberation from the thraldom of the world—this is what the often contradictory aphorisms of the sage may be reduced to, and the freedom arises from the increase of knowledge—seeing the world as it really is, and bringing into subjection the manifold passions suggested by the senses. There seems to have dawned upon the mind of Indian sages the idea that there was a higher, more profitable, more joyous life to be lived in the world of spirit. That they should place mind in the category of the non-spiritual was probably due to the connexion by them of the pains which belong to the physical with the weariness produced by mental activity. Their 'world' differed from ours, it is true; but none the less, like us, they sought a victory which should overcome the world.

But it is time for us to turn from the wearied East, 'wearied in the greatness of its way,' to the more joyous world of the Greek as we find it in Alexandria during the third century. The similarity between Neo-Platonism and Oriental philosophy has often been discussed. Some have considered that there is a distinct Oriental element in Neo-Platonism; but when we come to consider the two systems closely there seems to be no better ground for the generalization than this—that there is in each a doctrine of emanations. That is very slight ground upon which to base such a contention, and we shall see that the two systems diverge at important points in such a way as to make it unlikely that any part of one was incorporated in the other. Speaking of the more Syrian form of Neo-Platonism, Dr. Inge says that 'it is the ancient religion of the Brahmin masquerading in clothes borrowed from Platonizing Christians and pagan Neo-Platonists.' It is not proven, however, that Neo-Platonists drew from Indian thought. It is at least as reasonable a theory that what resemblances

there may be are due to elements of thought and religious feeling common to both these expressions of the one human mind and heart. There are many details in which the systems differ. One of the most important of these is that whereas in the Sankhya the creative agency belongs to the Prakriti or more material entity, in the Greek system the creative Logos emanates from the Absolute. But what makes it impossible to suppose that the one borrowed from the other is that the Hindu seeks the Universal, which is mankind's eternal quest, by denying the existence of the particular; while the Greek allowed the particular, but accounted for it as a projection from the world of the eternal ideas.

Such speculations of interdependence, however, are excusable enough when we see how close is the correspondence between the two systems. The Neo-Platonist, like the Hindu, posited an Absolute One in whom alone reality was to be found. From this supreme Spirit there emanated the universal Mind by whose creative activity the world soul, ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ παντός, comes into being. The individual soul is immortal and immaterial. It is everywhere diffused, and is shared by vegetables, animals, and even by the earth itself. The soul creates the body, which exists in the soul, by imposing form on matter which is nothing, but is pure indetermination, next door to absolute non-existence.

When we turn to the theory of man we have the tripartite soul, with its highest part thinking itself into accordance with the higher intelligence which it has recognized and desired, and to which it tends to return by means of that ecstasy in which man is delivered from the evil which disintegration always is. His mental rapture may become great enough to enable him to be caught up into the third heaven, to hear the unutterable, and to be made one with absolute existence.

In reducing these systems to common factors we find the following—

1. An absolute existence. But personality does not seem to be posited in either the one or the other.

2. An emanation from the Eternal, in which resides the creative and delivering power.

3. Man moving in a world of unreality, of vague and fleeting show, and finding deliverance in a mental recognition of the fact, and an ecstatic reabsorption into the one eternal existence.

Now it is sufficiently obvious that Christian teaching presents us with many striking parallels to this outline. We too have the Eternal, 'who only hath immortality,' and who is ὁ ἀληθινος θέος. Both existence and reality are indicated in terms common in the Christian Scriptures. We also have the divine Logos 'proceeding from the Father.' 'He also made the worlds, and without Him was not anything made that was made.' Union with the Divine is the goal of our life too, and this is to be realized in Christ. Eternal life is the knowledge of the true God and of Him that was sent, even Jesus Christ, and this life passes into a spiritual union described in words that have no measure; we become 'heirs of God,' and are 'changed into the same image from glory unto glory.'

Now, it may well be asked, if this be so, where the difference comes in between Christianity and these systems that have commanded the allegiance and homage of the human mind in past ages of the world. And the question is all the more pertinent because there seems to be a movement in the thought of some towards a position not so very far removed from that of the Neo-Platonist of the third century. We are told that 'the word "God" stands for "the infinite reality whence all things proceed,"' and that 'there is an essential oneness between man and God; that there is no real distinction between man and God, humanity and deity.' 'Our being is the same as God's, though our consciousness of it is limited.' 'Human nature must be interpreted in terms of its own highest, and therefore it reverences Jesus Christ.' 'Evil is a negative rather than a positive term, and pain is the effort to break through the

limitation which it feels to be evil.' 'The immortality of the soul means that every individual consciousness is a ray of the universal consciousness, and cannot be destroyed. Ultimately every soul will be perfected,' and so on. It may fairly be claimed that if this does not indicate precisely the position of the Sankhya, it may very well stand for a popular presentation of the teaching of Plotinus. It is not our purpose here to criticize in any detail the so-called 'New Theology'; we only refer to it that we may give point to the question which follows by indicating its present-day importance. Perhaps the most deplorable effect of the present controversy is that the hastily conceived and enunciated thought—the crude generalizations of Mr. Campbell and his school, may arouse some amount of distrust and suspicion of a far deeper current of thought which had set in long before Mr. Campbell issued his manifesto, and which seemed likely to lead to a more spiritual presentation of Christian thought. Our question is this: wherein did Christianity go beyond the Hindu and the Platonist? We may express very much in terms of divine immanence, but we cannot express everything. If we may find in the Christian Scriptures expressions that have their counterparts in other systems, what did Christianity add which differentiates it from them?

We are content for the purpose of this article to indicate the Christian contribution to the thought of the world by a single word, and that word is 'personality.' We shall not find that this belongs either to India or to Alexandria, and it seems to be distinctly lacking from such statements of the New Theology as have yet come to light. It is this supreme conception which has put the Christian far in advance of both Kapila and Dionysius. There was given to the Christian such a view of God, of the Eternal Word, and of Man, as made 'Communion' the highest term in which the life of either could be expressed. God was at once seen to be something more than the 'essence' of the Hindu or the 'mind' of the Greek, and since there can be no fellowship between an essence and a vacuum, and

no love unless there be, in personal self-consciousness, both lover and beloved, with that 'something more' the fellowship of love became possible. We shall grant at once that in Pantheism we have a feeling after the truth of the immanence of God, a truth too long neglected by the Western Church; but let us not forget the immense contribution of Christian teaching, which is this—that 'God is not only the ALL, He is also the WILL.' The whole world of ethical relations clamoured for recognition as soon as that was clearly seen. And with that more was given. Law was quickly followed by grace. As soon as a divine will was discovered in the Eternal Spirit, the Incarnation became a possibility, a necessity. It offered to the Divine Personality a presentation on the plane of human history; the eternal Light received a manifestation point in Jesus Christ, and 'what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit.' And it is precisely in Personality that the story of the Incarnation is fullest. The Person of our Lord stands out from whatever teaching we may find in the gospel story, and at the back of all the philosophy of Paul or John stands the historicity of their Lord upon which they built.

'In Him we are enriched in all utterance and all knowledge.' The Gnostic or the Pantheist might use the word, but we must never forget to add, as Paul added, 'According as the testimony of the Christ was established in you.' It is this *μαρτυρίον τοῦ Χριστου* which makes all the difference. There follows upon the Incarnation the fulfilment of that after which both Hindu and Greek felt with groping hands. Union with the divine as the sum of blessedness found its place in the Christian teaching. It is clearly taught us that this alone deserves the name of 'life.' But the great act which secures it is no state of mental discrimination of absorption or ecstasy of dreaming. It is the deliberate self-determination of a person. It is as though

St. John, knowing the subtlety, the fatal fascination of Gnosticism, which we are feeling to-day, refuses to admit as his condition of life that view of faith which might be taken to indicate either a merely mental endorsement or a body of tradition, and so discards the word πίστις in writing his Gospel, and uses instead the phrase which indicates the act of surrender, the obedience of faith, in which a man makes himself one with his Lord. Τὸ πιστεύειν εἰς Χριστον is only possible where one will 'commits itself' in self-abandonment to another.

The Hindu and the Greek felt as we do the eternal conflict between the one and the many, between the world of reality and that of phenomena. To abolish the dualism which created the strife—this was their aim. They thought to secure it by obliterating one of the two terms. They denied its existence, and they made the union that they sought a union of essence rather than a union of will. They created a vacuum and called it peace.

But it was false philosophy and false mysticism to ignore the things of sense, and those facts of earthly relations which lie in what we call consciousness. The nature which they expelled with a pitchfork tended ever to return. An awful divorce between theory and conduct was the inevitable outcome of the attempt. Immorality is nowhere so unblushing as in the land which is the birthplace of the theory of the unreality of the things of sense and of the pain which they create. In Christianity we have a recognition of the aim as lofty, worthy, and true. But the way to it is the way of an obedience in which the freedom of the individual is honoured in the very act in which it is surrendered. The world of sense is neither dishonoured nor ignored. But it was hallowed and sanctified; and man is taught that if his inheritance is no less than God Himself the whole creation shares in that redemption and waits with equal longing for its adoption.

But if we go beyond these systems let us recognize the common human feeling they reveal. Indeed, the fact of so much correspondence may well suggest to us the

permanent and universal religious consciousness, and we may well rejoice that it is receiving an increasing emphasis in these days. For, as Dr. Inge says, 'There is much truth in Amiel's dictum that if Christianity is to triumph over Pantheism it must absorb it. They are no true friends to the cause of religion who base it entirely upon dogmatic supernaturalism. The passion for facts which are objective, isolated, and past, often prevents us from seeing facts which are eternal and spiritual. We cry, "Lo here," and "Lo there," and forget that the kingdom of God is within us and amongst us. The great service rendered by speculative mystics to the Christian Church lies in their recognition of those truths which Pantheism grasps only to destroy.'

We may not lightly characterize all this side of teaching as 'mysticism,' and turn to the easier paths of morals, of dogma, or of actual service. It clearly exists in the records of Christian thought. But we may say more of it even than that—it belongs to all the ages, it crops up in every system of thought; and that it does so suggests that the central, the permanent, elements of truth are to be sought in it. It may well become the burden of modern teaching cleansed as it should be from all that is extravagant, from the merely subjective idiosyncrasies of the individual mind, and from the error that in the past has made it ineffective, and a hindrance rather than a help to man. Could we but secure this cleansing, the effect of a more spiritual presentation of the gospel in the ministry of the word would be far-reaching and sublime. It would supply to morals, to dogma, or to schemes of social service that spiritual element without which these things become tinkling cymbals, cramping fetters, or clattering machinery. It would do more; it would refine all intercourse, lend to our thought yet mightier wings, and breathe into our service the spirit of sacrifice.

Christ came to recognize, to reveal, to insist upon, the reality and the supremacy of all that we indicate by the word 'Spirit.' He also felt the transient nature of that

which we call 'the world.' But He also opened up a way of deliverance, which should at once rescue man from the thraldom of the world, and admit him to a perfect fellowship with God. 'I have overcome'—the relation is established for all time—'I have overcome the world,' and this is *your* victory—the faith that makes you one with Me. Eternal life is to know, to see into the heart of, God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.

Great is the vista which His words open up before us. But when most we pity the foiled groping of patient seekers after the truth which we also only dimly see, when most our clearer vision creates within us the sense of attainment, the strength of assurance, we shall correct both human despair and human pride by a reference to Him who in many parts and in many ways has spoken unto men, and of our strength and of our weakness we shall say—

> "These are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

W. W. HOLDSWORTH.

INNOCENT III AND HIS TIMES

Innocent the Great. By C. H. C. PIRIE-GORDON. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1907.)

History of Latin Christianity. By H. H. MILMAN. Vols. v and vi. (Murray. 1872.)

Rome in the Middle Ages. By F. GREGOROVIUS. Vol. v. (George Bell. 1906.)

Church of the West in the Middle Ages. By H. B. WORKMAN. Vol. ii. (C. H. Kelly. 1900.)

MIGNE'S *Patrologia Latina.* Vols. ccxiv–ccxvii. (Paris. 1855.)

'A MAN of earnest, sterling, austere intellect, a consummate ruler, a statesman of penetrating judgement, a high-priest filled with true religious fervour and, at the same time, with unbounded ambition and appalling force of will; a bold idealist on the papal throne, yet an entirely practical monarch, and a cool-headed lawyer.' Such are the words in which a recent master of history[1] has characterized Pope Innocent III. To the life and times of this mighty Pontiff attention has again been called by the issue of a biography from the pen of Mr. C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon, of which he forms the subject.

Judged from the standpoint of actual achievement, though hardly perhaps from that of conception and creative power, Innocent III stands forth conspicuous as the greatest of popes, a true Augustus in St. Peter's chair, and is undoubtedly one of the most important figures of the Middle Ages. In his case, as in that of Napoleon I, the circumstances of the time made possible to him what would have been beyond the reach of powers even greater than those

[1] Gregorovius, *op. cit.* p. 102.

which he possessed, under less favourable conditions: conditions, for instance, such as those which confronted his great predecessor, Gregory VII, whom we may fairly call the Julius of the papacy, while recognizing the younger pontiff as its Augustus.

At the period of his accession the outlook of Innocent, though not free from disturbing elements, was on the whole eminently favourable to an assertion of his supremacy on the part of a pope strong enough to grapple with the difficulties, and to avail himself of the opportunities of his position.

Of his difficulties the most serious lay at home; and it may, perhaps, be convenient at this point to glance briefly at Innocent as lord of Rome, before passing to those more interesting activities in which he reveals himself as universal sovereign or world ruler. His predecessor, Celestine III, was of the Orsini, a house long antagonistic to that of the Conti, to which he himself belonged. The presence of a hereditary rival on the papal throne necessarily forced the Conti cardinal into the background for the time being; but for all that he was so evidently marked out for greatness that Celestine saw in him his probable successor, and did all within his power to exclude him from the succession. The Pope, however, intrigued in vain, and on his death in the second week of 1198, Lothario de' Conti, though as yet in deacon's orders only and but thirty-seven years of age, was immediately elected as his successor amid great enthusiasm.

Making the most of this feeling, the first act of the new Pontiff was to effect an immediate change in the constitution of the city. The city prefect, hitherto an imperial officer and representative, was, by what means we do not know, induced to take an oath of allegiance to the Pope;[1] henceforth he and the senator alike were to be papal nominees, and to swear allegiance to the Pope alone. But, this success notwithstanding, time soon showed that it

[1] *Gesta*, viii; *Epp.*, Bk. I, 23, 577, 578 (Migne, *op. cit.* 214, pp. xxii, 18, 529, 530).

was beyond the power even of an Innocent III to hold in check the turbulent spirit of the Roman populace, and to compose the interminable feuds of the nobility. The change of constitution created new difficulties, and so threatening did the situation eventually become that at the close of 1203 it seemed expedient to the Pope to retire from Rome for a season. Without going further into the details of Innocent's relations with the city, we may pass on with the remark that, throughout his reign, he enjoyed less real power in his own city than perhaps anywhere else in Christendom.

In the closing years of the twelfth century the state of Europe was such as offered a splendid opening for a really strong pontiff, resolved to make himself an exponent of the Hildebrandine ideal of the inherent supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, as of God over man. A few years earlier it had appeared as if the Hohenstauffen, exercising imperial sway alike on the shores of the Baltic and in the fairest islands of the Mediterranean, were the destined lords of the world; and that the thirteenth century must witness the degradation of the Pope into the position of a mere creature of the Emperor. But this was not to be. Henry VI, who had himself reconquered Apulia and laid his hand on Sicily, by his cruelties in Italy and the hatred which he there inspired towards the German name and the imperial cause, made his own substantial contribution to the advancement of his spiritual rival for universal sovereignty.

Other causes also wrought in the same direction. The position of the Empire was distinctly less international than it had been some centuries before. England had recently become a European power; France was consolidating her strength by a gradual centralization of authority at the expense of the great vassals. Similar tendencies were at work elsewhere. Instead of the Empire continuing as the one embodiment of supreme temporal authority, 'great powers,' as we understand the term, were coming into existence; and balance of power was becoming a

question of practical politics. Dynastic considerations were assuming more importance; and the occupancy of the imperial throne, in theory a non-dynastic matter, was in reality so no longer. Under these changing conditions the rising nations, naturally enough, feared a strong empire.

All this favoured the papacy. While the Emperor was, to all intents and purposes, no longer an international person, the Pope was still supra-national, and appeared to sit above the very mundane scramble for thrones and lordships in which the temporal princes were continually engaged. Amid the clash of interests and the strife of faction, amid the anarchy of a lawless time, men felt the need of a moderator, of some voice of authority able by persuasion or command to mitigate the evils of perpetual unrest. Such could hardly be found in the Emperor under the new conditions, for to the great princes of Europe he was too much one of themselves, nay, their competitor, whose own dynastic interests might well clash with theirs. There remained, therefore, only the Pope. He, and he alone, in all Europe, appeared to occupy a position of such detachment from the dominating personal interests of other princes as fitted him to be in some sort a universal umpire in cases of international or feudal dispute. His spiritual position, moreover, invested his person with awe by its appeal to the superstition if not to the religious feeling of the age; nor would oppressed peoples be disposed to criticize harshly the pretensions of the one earthly authority which claimed the right of dispensing subjects from their allegiance to a hated prince.

The Crusades had also co-operated to raise the Pope, by making him, in a certain sense, military suzerain of Europe; for his right to summon all Christendom to his banner was unquestioned; and, at the same time, by supplying him with a very effective means of dealing with refractory and troublesome princes. These might possibly be slain if they joined the Crusade, and were tolerably certain to be weakened, if not shamed; resistance, on the

other hand, meant excommunication, and the papal sentence would be generally ratified by the superstition of the times. Thus was the unhappy object of papal hatred or fear brought face to face with a dilemma, on one or other horn of which he had a very fair prospect of being impaled.

That Innocent was a man in whose hands the papal authority would suffer nothing in the way of diminution was manifest from the very moment of his accession. In an inauguration sermon[1] the new-made Pope set forth in the loftiest terms his own conception of the papal office. With proud humility he speaks of himself as a servant, 'a servant of servants'; but he is the servant whom the Lord has set over His House. 'It is I,' he claims, 'who am spoken of by the prophet: *I have this day set thee over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.*' As to his official standing he is 'in the midst between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than man; he judges all, and is judged by none.' Quite in keeping with this is his assumption of the title, Vicar of Christ, his predecessors having been content to be vicars of Peter. The one hint of fallibility let fall by Innocent in this remarkable utterance is to be found in his admission that for faults against the faith he may be judged by the Church.

That such a man at such a time would enter upon his pontificate with a comprehensive programme was a matter of course. His general policy may perhaps be conveniently summed up under the following heads:

1. The Pope must be, in the fullest sense, master in Italy, which must therefore be freed from foreign control; above all, the Empire must not be suffered to unite any part of the peninsula to itself, and the papal State must be strong and independent.

2. The whole of Western Christendom must be subject to a general papal control, of which neither prince nor primate should be independent; all such must yield due

[1] *In consec. pont.*, Serm. 2. Migne, 217, 653–60. Mr. Pirie-Gordon gives an excellent translation of this sermon: see p. 220 seq.

submission to the Pope in whatsoever matter he see fit to impose his will.

3. The schism between Rome and Constantinople must be brought to an end, and the Eastern Church united, by submission, with that of the West.

4. The Holy Land and the sepulchre of Christ must be recovered from the Muslim, and placed again in Christian hands.

5. In general, heresy must be everywhere stamped out, that nothing might impair the unity of the Catholic Church, which, from the burning sands of the Syrian desert to the snow-laden plateaus of Iceland, must be of one faith and one discipline, in conformity with the ideas of the Vicar of Christ, enthroned as Caesar in the City of the Seven Hills.

The relations of Innocent with the city have already been touched upon. In Italy he set himself, not without success, to free the land from the German yoke. The Seneschal Markwald, Duke of Ravenna, the most powerful and dreaded of the German adventurers, after trying to come to terms and even to bribe the Pope, was blasted by excommunication, and retired to the south. Conrad, Duke of Spoleto, surrendered the patrimonial domains of the papacy which were in his possession. The Tuscan and the Lombard leagues were anxious for more intimate relations with the Pope. To the former Innocent replied with the claim to be himself lord of Tuscany, as heir of Countess Matilda.

German influences were, however, still strong in the south. Here the widowed Empress Constance, Queen of Sicily, urged by popular hatred of the German yoke, threw open a door to the resolute Pontiff by declaring her kingdom a fief of the Holy See, and seeking papal investiture for her son Frederick. Thus did Sicily and Naples become a subject province of the papacy. A few months later the Queen, on her death-bed, bequeathed her son to the guardianship of his liege lord the Pope. And now Innocent was, 'if he could expel the Germans, virtually King of Sicily, master of his own large territories, and as

the ally and protector of the Italian leagues, the dominant power in Italy; and all this in less than one year after his accession.'[1]

Opposition was not, however, dead. Markwald was still able to give trouble; and, after his death, Diepold, upon whom his mantle fell, was long to be a thorn in the side of the great Pontiff. But, all allowance made, Innocent had achieved success, and success which, on the whole, commands the admiration of posterity.

But if Italy had reason to be grateful to the Pope, it was quite otherwise with Germany. The vacancy of the Empire and the disunion of the princes offered a magnificent opening for an aggressive papal policy. Of the three candidates for the imperial throne, one, Frederick, King of Sicily, was still a child, and for the moment impossible. His uncle, Philip, after an honest attempt to uphold his nephew's claim, was persuaded to stand in the Hohenstauffen interest. The Guelphic candidate was Otto of Saxony, a nephew of King Richard of England. Both rivals were naturally alike desirous to enlist the papal support; but Philip was not prepared to abase his imperial claims in order to obtain it, while the weaker candidate, Otto, was ready to concede anything and everything to win Innocent to his cause. Unhappily, papal ambition was not, as in Italy, easy to reconcile with the real interests of Germany, whose prosperity depended upon the strength and unity of the imperial power; whereas the weakness and distraction of the Empire was the papal opportunity.

Innocent, however, investigated the three claims with a fine show of impartiality, for a time holding his judgement in suspense, with a leaning towards Otto, for whom he eventually declared, though not until he saw that, with some assistance, he was not unequal to the struggle (1201); and even then only at the price of imperial recognition of the independence of the States of the Church.[2]

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[1] Milman, *op. cit.* v, p. 192.

[2] For the Capitulation of Neuss see Gregorovius, p. 70. Cf. also Firie-Gordon, p. 35, *note.*

Apart from the support of the Pope, Otto could not have maintained himself for a day. Upon the Pope, therefore, must rest the chief responsibility for ten years' civil war in Germany, a war of bandits productive of untold misery. Otto's affairs went so ill, however, that Innocent, determined, whatever happened, to be arbitrator in the struggle, was at last preparing to recognize Philip (1207), when the murder of the latter saved him from that humiliation, and placed Otto on the throne.

Once crowned, Otto forgot his promises. The Pope, thinking to find a pliant tool, had deceived himself. How he excommunicated his protégé, and, turning Ghibelline, committed the, for him, fatal blunder of falling back upon the imperial claims of Frederick, and how Otto's hopes were for ever shattered at Bouvines (July 27, 1214), cannot here be told.

Among the rising powers of the West the most conspicuous were England and France. Innocent's dealings with the latter country, at all events, reveal his fearlessness in what appears to be the cause of morality and justice. We cannot enter into the sordid details of the relations of Philip Augustus with his unhappy Queen Ingeburga, whom he forsook for the beautiful Agnes of Meran. The high-spirited Queen refused to be sent home, and flung herself upon the protection of the Pope, who did not for one moment hesitate to espouse her cause, through his legate informing the King that he was allowed one week in which to restore his queen to her rightful place, in default of which his whole realm would be placed under interdict. The King was defiant, and the blow fell; but without the support of his people the royal sinner feared, for the moment, to brave the continued anger of the Pope. What the final outcome might have been it is difficult to say, had not the death of Agnes intervened.

The injustice of his punishment—a nation smitten for the sin of one man—may suggest doubts as to Innocent's motives; for was not Philip Augustus the ally of the German Philip? These doubts are strengthened by his

treatment of two other royal sinners, Peter of Aragon and John of England. Ingeburga, it is true, appealed to the Pope, while in the other cases referred to the injured parties, the Count of Comminges and Isabel of Gloucester respectively, did not appeal. Excusing himself, therefore, on a technical point, Innocent did not interfere. His attitude as a jurist may have been formally correct; but, though a jurist, he had claimed to be far more; and judged by his own high standard, he must be convicted of serious shortcoming, which will not appear the less when we remember that Peter had made his realm over to the Pope to be held as a fief, in return for a coronation, and that John was akin to and the natural ally of Otto, the Emperor of straw.

John's transgression, however, was not to pass unchallenged. For his violation of feudal law, as well as for the murder of Arthur, which Innocent, according to a contemporary chronicler,[1] described as a lawful execution, he was called to account, as Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, by his suzerain Philip Augustus, who was himself desirous of acquiring the French possessions of the English crown. On the fall of Chateau Gaillard, John appealed to the Pope, whose representations Philip Augustus boldly met with the remark that the Pope should mind his own business. To this defiance Innocent replied with the boldest declaration of unlimited power that had yet been made.[2] But John's cause was hopeless, and as he was himself shortly afterwards at loggerheads with Innocent, the prospect of aid from that quarter vanished away.

The story of the Canterbury election is familiar, and we therefore pass it by. Threatened with rebellion at home and invasion from abroad, John, when he did submit to the inevitable, gave more than the Pontiff asked. His cession of the realm appears to have been his own act; the act of an astute and shameless man, and, by identifying papal

[1] Roger of Wendover, ii, p. 186 (Rolls Series).

[2] *Epp.*, Bk. VI, 163 (Migne, 215, 176–80). See also Milman, v, p. 266, Workman, p. 93, *note*. Cf. Janus, *Pope and Council*, p. 158.

interests with his own, eminently served his turn. As temporal overlord Innocent quashed the charter, and as Supreme Pontiff forbade its observance on pain of excommunication. Threatened from France, the papal alliance saved John's throne for his son, and preserved that son's throne when the constitutional struggle was renewed. At the same time it awakened in the minds of Englishmen a spirit of resentment against papal interference, and so prepared the way for the English policy of Edward I, and 'that adjustment of the relations between the papacy and England which continued to the Reformation, and which, read politically . . . continue in the direction of their course to the present day.'[1]

Intervening thus in the affairs of the greater states of Europe, one is not surprised to find that the hand of Innocent lay heavy upon the smaller kingdoms. In Portugal it was a matter of the tribute of the Church; in Navarre a treaty with the infidel; in Castile and Leon certain royal marriages called for the unwelcome notice of the Pope; so too Aragon, which escaped because the Pope was busied in that quarter in bestowing a vassal crown. The King of Denmark looked to the Pope to redress the wrongs of his daughter Ingeburga; the Bohemian Duke had received a royal crown from the German Philip, and must therefore be rebuked; Andrew of Hungary atoned for the ambitions of his youth by going on crusade; remote Iceland is warned against the ex-priest Severo, who sought to fill the Norwegian throne, which in fact he did, and his descendants after him, in spite of papal admonitions.

Space fails to tell the story of Innocent's crusade; how it went miserably awry, and succeeded only in toppling over the Byzantine throne, and setting up a wretched and incapable Latin Empire in its room. It did, indeed, for the moment, seem to end the schism of the Eastern and the Western Churches; Innocent was enabled to establish the Latin discipline in Constantinople, but it was a house built upon the sand, and the storm came and swept it away.

[1] Stubbs, *Introductions to the Rolls Series*, p. 486.

The tyranny by which the Balkan States have for centuries been laid waste has been the most abiding result of the Fourth Crusade.

One of the greatest problems that Innocent had to face was that of the subversion of heresy, notably in southern France. The immoral life of the clergy turned men's hearts away from the Church, and seriously-minded people could not find the religious instruction for which they hungered: the crying need of the time was that of effective preaching. Innocent's attempt to meet the case, despite some effort to secure reformation and restoration of discipline, was most unhappy. 'Europe was crying for bread; he offered a stone. She needed an apostle; he provided a statesman.'[1]

Into the terrible story of the Albigensian War we cannot enter. This so-called crusade was disgraced by atrocities which would have horrified a Turk. Innocent appears to have been himself shocked by what was taking place, but he had let loose forces which he found himself unable to control; nor can he be acquitted of specific treachery in his dealings with the unhappy Count Raymond of Toulouse. The iniquitous enterprise had, however, at least the semblance of success, but it was of the hollowest kind. Heresy appeared to be effectively repressed, but it was by way of coercion, not conviction, a wound hidden but not healed. Its political outcome was the consolidation of France, and the opening up of the path by which the papacy was to pass to that captivity at Avignon which was to contribute so largely to its degradation.

What, then, is the verdict of history on the career of this great Pontiff? So far as appearances went he had carried out his programme with a fair measure of success. But this success lacked the elements of permanence, and was therefore, on the whole, unreal. To him Germany owed the misery of a ten years' civil war; and, but for his untimely end, Philip must have won all along the line. Deceived in his intended tool, Otto, he was compelled to

[1] Workman, p. 106.

renounce his determination to break the succession in the Swabian House, and to push forward Frederick, destined to become a most formidable foe of papal ambition. In France, as we have seen, his authority was never quite unquestioned; while in Languedoc he accomplished his purpose only by means which he deplored, and which left a dark stain upon the white mantle of the Vicar of Christ. In England, in spite of interdict, the barons clave to John, and later resolutely fought the battle of English liberty against the King, with whose cause Innocent had now identified himself. Alike in England, Germany, and France, this great Pope inspired a deep distrust of Rome which was destined to bear fruit in the aftertime.

In his various controversies Innocent has recourse to legal subtleties and dissimulation, and plays off prince against prince in a manner which does not awaken respect for his high and sacred office. His too frequent use of interdict as a weapon of his warfare was a mistake; for, as a recent Romanist historian has pointed out, by depriving pious minds of the outward means of grace it threw them back upon themselves and thus raised the question whether, after all, the clergy were really indispensable. His warfare against heresy was of a character which could accomplish no abiding success; he dealt as a sovereign with rebels rather than as a chief pastor seeking to bring back to the fold an erring flock.

Fresh from a great council assembled in 1215 to be the mouthpiece of his will, and to set its seal upon his work, and, undaunted by previous failure, pressing forward arrangements for a new crusade, Innocent passed away in the prime of life, at Perugia, June 16, 1216. His greatness as a ruler of men is beyond dispute; but he was sovereign rather than saint, statesman rather than prophet of God. His ideals were lofty, and his spirit not self-seeking; yet despite the outward splendour of his work, it has failed to bear the fiery test to which, sooner or later, all the achievements of human greatness must be subjected.

W. Ernest Beet.

LINKS BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE persecution of the civil power was not the only danger which the early Church had to encounter. The literary attack in the interest of the old philosophy and religion was as persistent as it was skilful and energetic. Along with its aggressive propaganda the Church had to carry on a ceaseless work of defence. The weapons used both on the one side and the other curiously remind us of modern parallels. Lucian has been called a second-century Voltaire. The root-and-branch attack of Celsus finds a parallel in Strauss. Porphyry anticipates in some degree the methods and results of historical criticism. The way in which the great Gnostics sought to assimilate Christian ideas and history reminds us strongly of Hegelian interpretations of Christianity. Our knowledge of the attacks is derived mostly from the comments and replies of Christian apologists. The destruction which overtook so much Christian literature made still greater havoc of the writings of opponents. This is unfortunate, for while we have little reason to doubt the equity of the apologists, first-hand knowledge would have been invaluable. From the reply of Origen we get a wonderfully complete view of the scope and details of the attack of Celsus, but Origen stands alone in this matter. In other cases we have little more than fragmentary, often casual, references. We may remark also that the literature of apology, which was remarkable for extent and vigour, often follows lines common in our days. The field of natural theology is well cultivated. Bampton, Gifford, and Fernley lectures have their analogues in early times. All the Fathers, from Clement and Origen and Tertullian to Augustine and the Gregories, contributed to the literature of defence.

The opposing forces may be ranked in two divisions, Gnostics and the many representatives of Greek philosophy. The former supply a unique amalgam of Oriental and Western ideas, the Oriental element, with its unbridled speculation, greatly predominating. There can be little doubt that the great Gnostic movement has suffered much from the loss of the works of the Gnostic writers. The position is much the same as if we had to depend for our knowledge of Hegelian teaching on the criticism of Kant and Lotze. However fanciful and grotesque the details of Gnostic theory, its aim was legitimate enough, namely, to solve the old-world problem of good and evil, God, the universe, and man. It was the union of religion and philosophy in these various systems which made them rivals and enemies of the new faith.

In its boundless pride of knowledge Gnosticism reminds us of modern materialist and pantheist speculations. Like them it claimed the ability to unravel all the mysteries of existence. The long series of emanations ('dominions, principalities, powers') from the supreme Deity bridged the gulf between the infinite and finite. One of these powers, the Demiurge, created the world, or shaped the mass of eternally existing matter into a world. In this process particles from the higher world of light mingled with the lower world of darkness and evil, for matter is the source of moral evil. To Christ, another of the intermediate powers, is assigned the mission of delivering these light particles or better natures from their bondage to matter. The divine Christ, uniting Himself with the man Jesus at the baptism, left him before the crucifixion, as the divine was incapable of suffering. The different degrees of receptiveness to the truth are explained by original differences of nature in men, who are classified as spiritual, psychical, and material. Thus Gnosticism was by turns pantheist, dualist, materialist, fatalist. In any case the Christian element in it seems insignificant, and we are at a loss to understand what attracted some Christians to it, such as Tatian of *Diatessaron* fame; Florinus, who was a

friend of Irenaeus; Marcion, son of a Christian bishop. More complete knowledge of the system might throw light on the difficulty. We are told that Heracleon, a Gnostic, wrote the first commentary on the Fourth Gospel. Prof. Harnack speaks of Gnostics as 'the first Christian theologians.' If they were Christian, what were their opponents—Clement, Irenaeus, Tertullian? Some Gnostics may have stood nearer Christian soil than others. But to include all in the Christian pale greatly adds to the perplexity of early Christian history, a needless addition.

Marcion naturally included more Christian elements in his teaching, but he was by no means a full-blooded Gnostic. He made Christ the centre of his system, simply attaching to Him Gnostic ideas and terms. His chief principle was radical opposition to the Old Testament and Jewish religion. The Old Testament Jehovah to him was an inferior, morally imperfect Demiurge, not the supreme, good Deity. Jesus Christ was the messenger sent by the supreme Deity to release men from the errors into which the Demiurge had misled them. The relation between the Old and the New Testament was one of opposition, not of preparation and fulfilment. He emphasized the novelty of Christianity, which he represented as a new beginning, not a development. In order to establish this theory Marcion adopted a New Testament of his own, consisting of Luke's Gospel and ten epistles of Paul, with important alterations. He magnified Paul's condemnation of Pharisaic misinterpretations of the Old Testament into condemnation of the Old Testament itself. Marcion's arbitrary canon was an exact prelude of the New Testament, which emerges from the modern cry, 'Back to Christ,' save that the latter is of still more moderate dimensions. The new canon leaves us nothing but the Synoptic Gospels in sorely mutilated shape. Both constructions are simply adaptations to a preconceived theory of what Christianity must be. Marcion had the organizing faculty. His community, with its organized forms, lasted several centuries. That Gnosticism as a whole exerted immense influence on

the Christian Church is beyond doubt. It necessitated more precise theological definition; it led to the closing of the question of the New Testament canon; it was a main factor in hastening the development of the episcopal form of Church polity. Clement of Alexandria was fond of adopting Gnostic terms and methods, and is himself a pattern of orthodox speculation. When he calls the Christian the true Gnostic, the only Gnosticism is in the name.

More serious and continuous rivalry came from the various schools of Greek philosophy, Stoicism, Neo-Platonism, and Epicureanism, especially the first two. Apart from its atomic materialism, the Epicurean doctrine of pleasure or happiness is, we know, capable of a worthy interpretation according to the significance given to happiness. Still, it easily falls a prey to deterioration, and it never took firm hold on the Roman world. Lucretius was a wonderful exception. Lucian, the Voltaire of the second century, seems to be the solitary assailant from this camp. In his romance of Peregrinus Proteus, who joins the Christian brotherhood, he satirizes the Christian credulity, which is easily imposed on by fanatical pretensions. Peregrinus then becomes an itinerant advocate of Cynic doctrine, and at last, faithful to his policy of braggadocio, burns himself to death at Olympia.

A similar parody was the romance of Apollonius of Tyana, written by Philostratus at the suggestion of the Empress Julia, wife of Septimius Severus. His character was a mixture of the Indian fakir and a caricature of the Saviour. He also is pictured as a preacher of morality, who converted men to serious living and taught the prayer, 'Grant me, ye gods, what is my due.' From his combination of Greek and Christian ideas he was held up as even superior to Christ.

Parallels to these impostors of ancient romance, Peregrinus and Apollonius, and that in real life, may be found in modern days in more than one direction.

The Neo-Platonist Porphyry, in his fifteen books

against the Christians, seems to have taken the ground of historical criticism of the Scriptures. The Book of Daniel he describes as prophecy after the event, putting it in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, as moderns do. One of his microscopic criticisms finds inconsistency in the account that Jesus declines to go up to Jerusalem and then goes up, John vii. 14, 18.

Celsus (about 178 A.D.) was by far the most formidable enemy of the faith, as his criticism in his *True Discourse against the Christians* is the best informed, the most comprehensive and searching. He sweeps the entire field of Scripture and Christian doctrine.[1] Point by point he attacks miracle, prophecy, historical details in the two Testaments. He is especially severe on the Christian denunciation of idolatry as neglect of the intermediate rulers of nature, the demons or daimones. His chief offence, however, is at the honour done in Scripture to man, especially in the idea of incarnation. Man is only one degree removed from animal and insect. That God should become man is the deepest dishonour to Deity. Writing some forty years afterwards Origen replies step by step. Despite defects arising from the ideas of the age, Origen's defence is surprisingly modern in tone as it is always Christian and lofty. He sometimes apologizes for noticing infinitesimal criticisms: The scorn of Celsus at the idea of incarnation is quite in keeping with the philosophic contempt for the body and for the uneducated masses. He pours ridicule on the notion that evil, which is the inevitable effect of the nature of matter, can be eradicated, and that the ignorant and vicious can be redeemed to a better life. How little conception he has of the moral character of God and of the central glory of that character, is strange to a Christian mind.

Neo-Platonism, the final stage of Platonic teaching, as taught by Plotinus, Iamblichus, and Proclus, was zeal-

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[1] *The Apology of Origen*, John Patrick, B.D., Blackwood, 1892. *Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, C. Bigg, D.D., Oxford, 1886.

ously advocated as a rival of Christianity.[1] The Emperor Julian so used it in his strenuous effort to revive Paganism. The influence of its immaterial, ideal spirit, in distinction from the more realist, not to say sensational, school of thought, was deeply felt all through the Middle Ages. Augustine eagerly adopted its metaphysics and psychology. If the strong tendency of this school to the abstract and impersonal was of doubtful value, its intense faith in and longing for spiritual reality was powerful for good. The school has deep interest for English Christians because of its application by the Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century in the exposition and defence of Christian truth. The writings of Cudworth, More, Whichcote, John Norris of Bemerton, John Smith, were an effectual antidote to the teaching of Hobbes and Spinoza. A fine specimen of the school will be found in John Smith's *Select Discourses*, edited and published by H. G. Williams, B.D., Cambridge, 1859.

The stern ethical teaching of Stoicism explains its wide popularity with the Romans as well as its beneficent influence in the days of the empire. For a long time it acted as a check to the ever-increasing moral degeneracy. Seneca, a contemporary of St. Paul, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus the Greek slave, are justly honoured as pre-eminently the saints of the dying Pagan world. Undoubtedly their influence on social life and sentiment must have been deep and far-reaching. Ample proof of this is supplied by Prof. Dill in his two fascinating volumes on *Roman Society from Nero to the Fall of the Empire*. Seneca especially has full justice, but not more than justice, done to him. He is portrayed as the 'Philosophic Director,' a pagan 'director of souls,' dealing with cases of morality as well in exceptional as ordinary forms. His numerous treatises abound in the fruit of keen observation and wise practical counsel. He is the Thomas à Kempis of antiquity, 'the earliest and most powerful apostle of

[1] See *The Neo-Platonists*, Thomas Whittaker, Cambridge, 1906, and Dr. Bigg's *Neo-Platonism* in 'Chief Ancient Philosophies,' S.P.C.K.

a great moral revival.' A favourite maxim of his was *Vivere militare est*, a thought akin to St. Paul's picture of life as a stern contest. Two other chapters of Prof. Dill's work are devoted to the 'Philosophic Missionary' and 'Philosophic Theologian.' Lucian's Peregrinus stands for one, the genial Plutarch for the other. The missionary of the Stoic creed was the rival of the Christian prophet and evangelist as well as the prototype of the preaching friar and open-air evangelist of later times. His message, which was a call to repentance and amendment of life, was delivered in highways and city squares with impassioned fervour and often with excellent effect. 'What effect on the masses such preaching had we cannot tell—who can tell at any time? But there are well-attested cases of individual conversion under pagan preaching. Polemon, the profligate son of a rich Athenian, was led to a new life by an address of Xenocrates on temperance.' 'Seneca, notwithstanding his pessimism, speaks of the multitudes who were stretching out their hands for moral help. There must have been some demand for that popular moral teaching which is a striking feature of the time. Men might jeer at the philosophic missionary, but they seem to have crowded to listen to him—on the temple-steps of Rome or Ephesus, in the great squares of Alexandria, in the colonnades at Olympia, or under the half-ruined walls of an old Milesian colony on the Euxine.' One of Seneca's sayings ran, 'There is no philosophy without virtue; there is no virtue without philosophy.'

Stoicism, however, is proof on a large scale that philosophy, even when used in the service of high ethical teaching, is powerless to effect deep and lasting moral improvement. Lacking religion, it lacked motive-power. The Stoic conception of God was vague in the extreme. Seneca himself, who uses the divine name very often, does not know whether to speak of God as a personal Creator, or incorporeal reason at the base of things, or a divine spirit diffused everywhere, or as fate and an unchangeable series of interconnected causes. In Stoicism God stands for universal reason, the fixed order of nature, all-controlling

force, and much beside. In short, Stoicism was the experiment, which is being zealously advocated in our days by philosophers, of ethics apart from religion. The theory was expounded with consummate ability and illustrated by the noblest characters. If the plan were feasible, Stoicism should have won the day. It did not. It formed for a time a substitute for religion among the educated; it failed to permanently influence the masses. They preferred the new cults of Serapis and Mithra imported from the East. 'The worship of Isis and Serapis had a reign of more than seven centuries over the peoples of Europe' (Dill). The worship of Mithra, a compound of Egyptian, Persian, and Indian elements, had a still more extraordinary history. It spread with lightning speed over the whole of Europe.[1] We may explain its success in part by the fact that it supplied the need which Stoicism ignored.

Stoicism was long a powerful competitor of Christianity, in many respects a great and noble competitor. Its appeal was to the reason and moral instincts of human nature. Its ethical teaching often has almost a Christian ring. Some have argued that Seneca must have known Paul's teaching. The balance was turned in favour of Christianity by the fact not merely that Christian ethic itself breathed a divine spirit, but that it rested throughout upon the will as it reflected the nature of God. In Christianity ethics and religion are inseparable; they interpenetrate, they grow in one soil and bear fruit together. In the rivalry with Stoicism, the finest product of the ancient world, the triumph of Christianity was in truth the survival of the fittest, the triumph of the perfect over the imperfect, of the best over the comparatively good. Stoicism, like primitive Buddhism and Confucianism, was not a religion, but a philosophy of life. To go back to it, as some seem to wish, is to go back to a scheme that was tried under favourable conditions and that ended in failure.

[1] Detailed accounts of Mithraism are given in the works of Mr. Dill and Dr. Bigg. See also an article by Dr. Workman in this REVIEW for October 1905.

J. S. BANKS.

DELANE OF 'THE TIMES'

John Thadeus Delane, Editor of 'The Times': His Life and Correspondence. By ARTHUR IRWIN DASENT. With portraits and other illustrations. In Two Volumes. (London: John Murray.)

DELANE described himself as 'a Welsh Irishman domiciled in England, but strongly attached to Scotland.' The Delanes or Delanys were of Irish origin, belonging to a clan of cattle-lifters and freebooters from the region of Ossory. The family emerged gradually into civilized ways, and into some distinction. A Dean of Down in 1744 was a Delane. His father's mother was Welsh.

John Delane was born in London in 1817, his father being a member of the English Bar, but he was reared in Berkshire, in that corner of the county bordering on Surrey which abounds in forest and heath. Here the lad grew up among a peasantry marked by independence, manliness, and something of the freedom and lawlessness of the old forest days; and 'his earliest education was of the woods and heaths rather than of the school-room or the desk.' From his boyhood he loved to be in the saddle. He was familiar with every intricate bridle-path and green woodland way in this country of immemorial oaks and wide lonely spaces, the haunt of the badger, the marten, and outlawed birds. Almost to the close of his days the great editor found his recreation on horseback.

In 1833 he was sent to King's College, London, where he met G. W. Dasent, who became his lifelong friend and brother-in-law, as well as his fellow worker on *The Times*. Delane's father and John Walter, the proprietor of *The Times*, were neighbours in Berkshire, and this led to the elder Delane receiving the financial managership of the newspaper. Further, Delane's second son, John, the sub-

ject of this article, attracted the notice of Mr. Walter, who saw in the bright, promising youth the making of a capable man. In due course young Delane proceeded, in 1836, to the University. At Magdalen Hall he did not attain academic distinction, but displayed, his biographer says, 'unusual power of mastering any given subject in the shortest space of time.' He was a lover of sport rather than of books, and often released himself from the obligations of study to follow the hounds or to yield to the charm of the river. In 1840 he took his degree, the same year entered the office of *The Times*, and at once justified the reputation he had acquired at Oxford for quickness of apprehension and readiness of resource.

The influence of *The Times* was already considerable; but Barnes, the editor, the friend of Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt, was in failing health, and his assistant, Francis Bacon, was also ill. In 1840 Bacon died, and in May of the following year Barnes' malady had a fatal termination. Mr. Walter promptly filled the vacant post by appointing Delane, who was only twenty-three years of age, and the youngest member of the staff. 'He was then sharing a lodging in St. James' Square with his friend John Blackwood. One morning Delane burst into the room in tremendous spirits, exclaiming, 'By Jove, John, what do you think has happened? I am editor of *The Times*.' The choice of this youth to carry the vast responsibility now placed upon his shoulders was amply justified in the days to come. Few persons dreamt that the self-reliance, the independence, the breadth of view, the penetrating insight, the almost prophetic foresight, the calm judgement, the ripe wisdom, the grasp of great principles, the mastery of men, the firmness, the tact and the courage necessary to conduct with success the affairs of the first newspaper in the world, read by statesmen, the creators of political thought and movement, and the trained intellect of the nation, and to captain and pilot it, were in the possession of a stripling fresh from the University, who was only beginning to learn the art and profession of newspaper

craft. But this youth of twenty-three, who was already making his chosen work the dominating passion of his life, was richly endowed with rare gifts.

He at once took the reins. He did not write much himself, but set to work to lift the journal to a higher level and to improve the quality of the chief contributions. He himself selected, now and ever after, his writers; laying his hand on the ablest and most trustworthy men he could find. He gave them reasonable liberty in the treatment of their themes, rejoiced as over great spoil when he discovered individuality, freshness, brilliance; but retained his right to alter, modify, and even reject their work, when he thought fit. He reinforced his staff from time to time with acute thinkers, political and literary critics, scholars, men fully abreast of the times in knowledge, and in sympathy with progressive ideas, and with versatile and popular men of letters.

He soon found abundant scope for boldness and enterprise. *The Times* exposed the railway mania in 1845–6 at the cost of huge pecuniary loss to the proprietors of the paper, but to the incalculable advantage of prospective investors. That there was need of plain speaking is evident when it is stated that in addition to existing lines requiring additional capital there were over 1,200 projected railways asking, from a too credulous public, in the aggregate over £500,000,000 sterling! During the same memorable session, Delane was found for once supporting Cobden in his Anti-Corn Law agitation by vigorously opposing the sliding scale. The want of sympathy between these two able men is not easy to understand. It is clear that Delane despised Cobden, underrated his greatness, and misunderstood his aims. This is the more to be regretted, for he, no less than the ardent champion of the people, was at heart a true lover of progress. But no depreciation, and certainly not Mr. Dasent's, can rob Cobden of the glory in which England enshrines him. *The Times* also, toward the close of the year (December 4, 1845), startled the nation by announcing that in the approaching Parliament

'the Royal Speech will recommend the immediate consideration of the Corn Laws preparatory to their total repeal'; and that 'by the end of January at the latest, the produce of all countries will enter the British market on an absolute equality with our own.' The obtaining of the exclusive information of this astonishing fact by Delane was due to his intimacy with Lord Aberdeen, and was one of the earliest of the triumphs which lifted *The Times* far above all rival journals. Delane acquired the reputation of being the best informed man in England, and never lost it.

The growing power of Delane is shown in many places early in these interesting volumes. 'The question of peace or war is in your hand,' wrote Lord Aberdeen to him, in reference to the strained relations between England and France in 1846. Again Lord Aberdeen writes the following year: 'From the great influence which you (Delane) exercise over public opinion, I have frequently told you that I thought the peace of the two countries would be materially affected by the course you think proper to pursue. Your language will do much to regulate the general feeling of the country.' Lord John Russell, writing to Greville in 1851, said: '*The Times* has passed sentence of death on the Administration, and it is most likely that it will be executed speedily.' Delane is asked by the Prime Minister 'to slacken the fire of *The Times* against the French Emperor.' Such quotations might be multiplied were it not that space forbids. Delane became the friend and counsellor of the leading men in the State. He was absolutely trusted; and his wisdom, impartiality, moderation, superiority to merely party or class interests, and his concern for the welfare of the nation as a whole, gave him an impregnable position whatever party was in power. 'Downing Street trembled when Printing House thundered,' and slept more soundly when it smiled. Among those who sought his advice and formed close friendship with Delane were Lord Clarendon, whose correspondence with the great editor would alone fill a volume; Lord Brougham,

whose intimacy lasted till the close of life; Lord Aberdeen, for whom Delane cherished the highest regard, and who seldom failed to consult him; Lord Palmerston, whose early policy *The Times* attacked, but whom Delane learned later to respect, honour, and support as among the wisest of modern statesmen. Palmerston's great qualities, his activity in the public service, his vast capacity for work, his courage in the face of danger, his independence, his social charm, won the esteem of Delane, and the intercourse of these men in relation to matters of public business ripened into mutually affectionate regard. Lord John Russell was so icy as to preclude any approach to intimacy between the head of the Government and the editor of *The Times*. Disraeli, when he was looking forward to coming into power in 1852, sought Delane's support: 'I hope you will be able to back me, but if you can't, we must take the fortunes of war without grumbling.' Claimants for office generally, and friends of prospective ministers, lost no time in the attempt to enlist Delane's good offices.

Delane constantly attended the House of Commons during specially interesting parliaments like 1850; and while maintaining the independent attitude of *The Times*, had a great share in the success of many important measures, such as the Mercantile Marine Bill. On the creation of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England in the same year he strove to stem the tide of intolerance and to repress sectarian animosity. He supported Lord Clarendon, whilst Disraeli endeavoured to turn the wrath of the multitude, who were crying 'No Popery,' from the Pope to the Government of the day, and so to acquire political capital for his party. Delane had never anything but strong aversion for religious bigotry and animosity; but singularly enough he appears to have had little sympathy with oppressed people and their heroes and champions. He blamed Palmerston for his encouragement of Kossuth, and speaks of the welcome which the Hungarian patriot met with in England as 'such a reception as our fools have given him'; and

'our dear public,' he says, 'likes to see discord and revolution abroad, however little it may care for Liberalism.' Kossuth and Mazzini he stigmatizes as 'democratic conspirators.' Garibaldi he cordially disliked, and never took pains to understand the merits of the movement for Italian unity and liberty, and the true character of the heroic leaders whose names will live in history when Delane is forgotten.

Delane visited Paris in 1852 to see for himself what hold Louis Napoleon had secured on the people by the lavish expenditure of public money by which he hoped to gain favour; and was convinced that there was no great enthusiasm for him. 'They,' he says, 'regard Louis Napoleon as good for making trade, but do not see that the money comes out of their own pockets.' 'He gives them, indeed, bread and shows, but it is they who pay for both.' 'He is feeding the hungry dog, who might otherwise be dangerous, with joints of his own tail. When the works are finished or the money runs short, he must either make war or follow Louis Philippe.' He had no words of flattery for this selfish and shallow adventurer.

The first period of twelve years of Delane's career as editor of *The Times* ended in 1852. The circulation of the paper had been raised fourfold. It was now 40,000, while that of its most formidable rival was but 7,000. With the incalculable influence thus commanded by the editor, he continued to play the part of a potent adviser and moderator in home and foreign affairs. Envious factions, sharp divergences of opinion, and changes of ministers could not draw him away from his endeavours to guide the public mind, to which he also sought to give honest utterance. He felt at times the strain and difficulty of being almost constantly on the footplate of such a powerful engine for the expression of the national will. 'Expert as he was in political meteorology, the outlook which presented itself to his watchful eye, if calm and hazy one day, might be clear and stormy the next.' But 'the policy of *The Times*, as edited by him, was to labour unceasingly for the preserva-

tion of peace without the loss of national prestige in great crises,' like that, for instance, preceding the Crimean War. To *The Times* correspondent at Constantinople, whom Delane was obliged to take to task seriously for the pro-Turk tone of his dispatches, he addresses a fine letter, which is at once an excellent illustration of his epistolatory style when he chose to use his pen, and a proof of his wise and pacific attitude while displaying his astuteness and his outspoken masterliness. We give only an extract: 'You seem to imagine that England can desire nothing better than to sacrifice all its great interests and its most cherished objects —to support barbarism against civilization, the Moslem against the Christian, slavery against liberty, to exchange peace for war—all to oblige the Turk. Pray undeceive yourself. For political purposes we connive at the Turk: he fills a blank in Europe, he is a barrier to a more aggressive Power. We had rather have the Straits in the hands of King Log than King Stork, but we have no love for the Turk. We suffer him, and will not permit the Russian to dispossess him; but are not blind to the fact that he is rapidly decaying, and if we were slow to fight for him when he had more vitality, we are less than ever inclined to do so when he is visibly fading away, and when no amount of protection can preserve his boasted independence and integrity!' In this case the war, which he did not think at first would break out, proved to be inevitable; but during the dark days of 1853, when he saw that the nations concerned were drawing near the rapids, he showed his superior foresight over his competitors in the Press by making adequate preparations for representing *The Times* in the East, and for the transmission of instant news of the outbreak of hostilities. 'On February 27, 1854, the Government delivered its ultimatum to Russia, but the management of *The Times* forestalled the Foreign Office messenger charged with its delivery, and the Czar actually received the intelligence, not through any official channel, but from the columns of the leading newspaper.' Delane was violently attacked by Lord Derby in the House of Lords for what he

considered to be dishonourable conduct; and Lord Malmesbury, giving utterance to sinister suggestions concerning the Administration, reminded the House that 'a cask might leak at the top just as well as the bottom'; but Delane boldly replied in a leading article, in which he defended his dispatch, and declared that '*The Times* derived its information not from any clandestine understanding with the Government, but from its own resources, and that Lord Derby having failed to make the honourable portion of the Press his ally, would fail to reduce it to slavery and to intimidate it.'

Delane rendered invaluable service to his country by the appointment of special war correspondents—an entirely new feature in journalistic enterprise. W. H. Russell was invited to proceed with the army to the East, and he proved to be an unsparing military critic as well as a graphic chronicler of events. Thomas Chenery was sent to Constantinople, Stowe of Oriel to Varna, Laurence Oliphant to join Omar Pasha, Charles Nasmyth to the very spot in Silistria where the Czar received his first check. In these arrangements Delane gave further proof of his unique capacity and his intuitive perception of military requirements. We can but give the barest account of the great part which he took in guiding the course of the war and influencing opinion. He advocated the invasion of the Crimea; the destruction of the fortifications and the fleet; for he saw, against the view of Lord Raglan, that 'as long as Russia possessed that fleet and retained that position, it would be idle to talk of the independence of the Sultan.' It has been said that Delane led the Government, and 'what he thought one day the Government thought the next.' He encouraged his correspondent, Russell, to speak out fearlessly, and Russell's brilliant letters alarmed and disgusted and moved the heart of the nation. People were appalled as they read of the shameful disorganization, the deadly disease that thinned the ranks, the needless privations, the paralysing delays, at the same time that they were taught as never before to appreciate the pluck

and patience of the officers and men who were being sacrificed to the fetish of an obsolete military system.

Delane felt that he must go to the seat of war and see for himself. He embarked with Kinglake (the historian of the war) and Layard. We cannot find room for any of the letters he wrote G. W. Dasent; but they bear the stamp of the strong intellect that brought its searchlight to bear on the terrible condition of things he found. Returning home, he urged the Government to provide in that almost Arctic climate for the winter campaign which he believed to be imminent. He had no faith in the ill-informed optimists who announced that the struggle would be ended long before Christmas.

The military authorities sought in vain to silence him, but, as his biographer well says, 'he' (the Duke of Newcastle) 'might as well have attempted to take Sebastopol single-handed as to silence Delane,' who felt it to be his duty to persevere in his condemnation of the responsible directors of the war. Facing a hurricane of abuse, he organized a fund for providing comforts for the sick and wounded in the hospitals, and sent out, to distribute the £25,000 which he quickly raised, one of his staff, with Lord Sidney Godolphin Osborne, who was joined by Florence Nightingale. But we must reluctantly close our references to this part of Delane's career, in which his courage and patriotism and prescient wisdom shine so brightly. Amid all the bewilderment and panic of the period he ever kept his head, and 'always knew what to do next.' And when Palmerston made at length an honourable peace, he was glad to admit that the strong man of the Press, whom he had failed to master or cow or defeat, and whom, long before the end, personal acquaintance and respect had ripened into friendship, was a principal factor in securing the great object of the war.

The Times was conducted with consummate ability during these years. Its circulation reached 51,000 in 1856, and 89,000 in 1861, and its editor was regarded as the best informed man in Europe, whose unique knowledge

of the arrival and course of nation-stirring events enabled him to out-distance all his competitors.

We can only touch a point or two in conclusion. Delane, on his watch-tower as usual, was one of the earliest to warn Palmerston of impending danger in India in 1857. The mysterious wave of unrest that was beginning to undulate in those wide spaces of our Eastern possessions was felt by the observant editor in Printing House Square, and he signalled the coming storm.

Delane's father died the same year. He felt the loss acutely, and wrote in his diary these tender words: 'Surely there died in him as pure, noble, and unselfish a spirit as ever breathed in this world.' After some little relief and distraction from work, he was soon engrossed in the duties of his office, as they bore on the momentous events now occurring or pending. The Indian Mutiny was spreading, and Delane, believing that it could be suppressed only after a protracted struggle, sent W. H. Russell to join Sir Colin Campbell's forces. Russell's powerful pen placed all Europe under obligation by the faithfulness and brilliance with which he depicted the scenes of blood and of magnificent valour marking those sieges, marches, and defences. Delane was sufficiently busy at home with the conduct of *The Times*. The nation was disturbed by the Orsini agitation, the China question, and other critical matters; and according to a prediction of Delane, who read accurately the signs of the times, the Palmerston Government was tottering to its fall. The fall came in January 1858. But again we must hurry on, simply noting that Delane's correspondence at this period includes most of the leading statesmen, and, 'by no means least, Benjamin Disraeli'; whilst his diary, in a brief entry like this, 'Busy all day about the crisis,' reflects the anxious toil that absorbs him. When a Cabinet is in process of making, no man in the nation is more profoundly concerned than he, none more on the alert, none more influential; his political power is simply enormous, and no one is so sure to get first-hand information.

The work of his paper in relation to events of supreme importance filled the following years of his life: the Italian struggle for national unity and liberty; the American Civil War; the Schleswig-Holstein struggle; the Franco-Prussian War; and the Fenian Conspiracy at home. It was now that the Prince Consort died, and Palmerston too, who had endeared himself to all classes by 'his sterling common-sense, his imperturbable good-humour, and by unfailing tact.' Through all Delane is marked by single-minded devotion to the task of his life. His opinion is sought on all great questions. He retains his independence, and is quite untouched by flattery or intrigue, while he mixes freely with the great world. His politics are not affected by patronage or by the hospitalities of his friends. He lives in the confidence of both political parties, and strives by his detachment from individual leaders to be a moderating influence between rivals for the good of the whole people. His justice and honour are seldom called in question. It may be said of him: 'He has few enemies, and never loses a friend.' He is an untiring worker; he is found by eleven o'clock each night in the office of *The Times;* the day has been spent in priming himself with the freshest and most authentic knowledge of the things that the culture and mind of the nation want to learn. He seldom leaves his editorial chair till five o'clock in the morning; and this is the method of his life day after day; and it was so for nearly forty years.

It would be interesting to indicate his attitude on the subjects named at the head of the preceding paragraph and on many other questions, but it is not possible to say more than that on the Italian struggle he was generally in sympathy with Palmerston's liberal views; but the Italian patriots he did not love. In the matter of the cruel fratricidal war between the American North and South he favoured the cause of the South, like some other great Englishmen, as we think mistakenly; but he records the opinion of W. H. Russell, his facile correspondent, that ultimate victory was assured to the

North, and that the North deserved to win. Delane's articles conduced to peace during the affair of *The Trent*. His controversy with Cobden leaves rather an unpleasant taste behind, and it seems a trifle absurd to have attributed opinions 'revolutionary in scope and tendency' to national benefactors like the Corn-Law reformer and his colleague John Bright. For once the editor appears to have been less wise than usual. In the Schleswig-Holstein muddle Delane restrained the martial inclinations of part of the Cabinet, and used his utmost endeavours to prevent a war that might shake Europe to its foundations. He was able to instruct and inform his own Government as to the movements of the troops of the two peoples concerned, and was not without influence on the final fortunate result. On the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, Delane wrote to his assistant editor from Paris, when he was full of hope that the conflict would be averted: 'Pray blow in *The Times* the trumpet of the mediators, and make it as easy as possible for both the principals to accept the arrangement.' Now, as ever, his heart was set on promoting peace and good-will among men and preventing that direst of calamities which he detested. When the war began, he predicted success for Germany. On the unearthing of the Fenian Conspiracy the attitude of *The Times* was free from panic. Delane strongly advocated remedial rather than repressive measures, and mercy even for a man like Burke. He supported Gladstone in the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

There is not much to say about Delane's domestic matters. For many years there was a shadow on a beloved life which may have been, in part at least, the cause of his gravity and of the silence into which he sometimes retired. But his home life was beautiful. He never failed to write his mother every day that he was apart from her, despite the urgency of other duties. His solicitude for her was unfailing. In February 1869 she died; and 'so closed,' he writes, 'as good and useful a life as any of us need wish to live. I need not say what her loss is to me to whom

for so many years her home had been mine, and to whom she had always been the most sagacious adviser, as well as the fondest of mothers.' A few days after he was again at his post. 'Plenty of work, and a dogged pleasure in doing it,' is the significant entry in his diary at this sad time of his life.

Delane's health gradually failed, but he bravely stuck to his post as long as he was able, notwithstanding acute physical pain, retiring in the autumn of 1877. His end came in November of the following year. Of his inner life we know practically nothing. Like many strong men he veiled the sanctuary of his being and admitted none.

We have but one criticism of these volumes. We could have spared a good many pages devoted to the record of dining out, social functions, and 'Ascot,' if only we had something of his relations with the literary and scientific men of his day, and a few of his deeper thoughts.

ROBERT MCLEOD.

Notes and Discussions

ANGLICAN LIBERALISM[1]

A SIGNIFICANT book has just been published bearing this title. Of its twelve contributors six hold pastoral charge in town or country, five are professors or tutors, whilst one, Sir C. Thomas Dyke Acland, is a layman who writes on 'Political Liberalism.' The subject dealt with is in the air, and it is well that it should be candidly and fearlessly discussed. The first paper is introductory. Mr. Hubert Handley dwells on the fact that the English Church really exists. It is to communions which possess that note of actuality that the mass of English people turn when they seek for religious nutriment. The various Christian communions have 'the merit of being here.' 'The Roman and the Free Churches, which we honour,' have it. Mr. Handley next urges that the English Church must be reformed. 'The faults of our beloved Church, and her amazing lack, are ever in our minds; they haunt us.' Yet Mr. Handley's confidence 'in this Church of our fathers is strangely quiet and deep.' If reformed, it may suffice to meet the needs of the time, and 'play a nobler, leading part in social improvement.' To that end 'we must cast out, and hurl over the precipice, the demons in our Church of worldliness, cupidity, clerical ambition, episcopal parade, obsequious class estimates, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.' That frank confession promises well. Mr. Handley also says that his own Church must live on better terms with other Christian communions, 'must repent her own guilty share in the estrangement which has been felt,' 'must wash away that taint of condescension; must drop those teasing nicknames; must forget her own social prestige.' All parties within the Church also must learn from each other, and reconstructions of doctrinal statement must be undertaken which will absorb and assimilate new knowledge in the old religion.

[1] *Anglican Liberalism.* By Twelve Churchmen. Williams and Norgate. 5*s*.

That is a programme with which thoughtful Christian men will sympathize. Everything, however, depends on how it is carried out and the extent to which it is allowed to go. Professor Burkitt, in the second paper, on 'Theological Liberalism,' acknowledges the immense difficulties that are in the way of any attempt to restate the Christian message so that it can be understood by the modern man. His paper is disappointing. He can only suggest that the ideal of the *via media* will open before us 'if the Church be really guided by the Divine Spirit, as Christians believe.' The Catechism speaks clearly of the 'Son of God, who redeemed me and all mankind,' but Professor Burkitt halts sadly. 'At least, we can say that the work of Jesus Christ is bound up with the existence of the Christian Society.' In 'Biblical Liberalism' the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson frankly confesses that 'the Bible is not for people of these days what it was for our fathers.' He hopes to arrest this process by a free assimilation of the results of biblical criticism. 'The general atmosphere of the preternatural in which the history of the Bible is enwrapped, is now seen to belong not so much to the events themselves as to the attitude of the mind of the narrator.' That bridges the chasm between the Bible and the life of to-day by robbing the Bible of what our fathers regarded as its glory. If that attempt is successful, the Bible must drop its colours. It is no longer *The* Book. The principles are applied to the study of the Old Testament and to the system of St. Paul, which 'was bound up with the thought of his day, and, as such, marks a transient phase in the development of religious thinking.' Mr. Wilkinson, however, discerns below the apostle's system a spiritual fact—'a peace of mind and confident sense of power gained through faith in Jesus Christ; and a passionate devotion of love towards the risen Saviour, who had manifested Himself to him.' The longest paper in this volume is that on 'Clerical Liberalism,' by Dr. Rashdall. He suggests that the use of the Athanasian Creed should be optional, that a promise to use the Prayer-book should be substituted for the declaration of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to the Book of Common Prayer. He would also like liberty in the use of the Psalter, so that the imprecatory psalms might be omitted. With some of these claims all of us are in hearty sympathy, but Dr. Rashdall is on dangerous ground when he discusses the limits of permissible toleration. He does

not 'wish to see the ministry of the Church of England made accessible to persons who do not believe in Theism and human immortality, and who do not recognize the unique and paramount character of the Christian revelation in a sense which makes it possible for them, without a feeling of unreality, to use the ordinary language of the Church about the divinity of our Lord.' Yet he would allow the candidate for Orders to judge whether his beliefs make it expedient for him to seek ordination, though he would 'do well to pay regard to the actual state of religious opinion in the community which he purposes to serve, and particularly (if he feels any doubt) to the judgement of the bishop from whom he seeks ordination.' That is a fatal door to open. We see nothing to be gained by such concession to liberal views. On such lines the Church may sacrifice her message to her striving after comprehension.

The Master of the Temple's sketch of 'Past Liberalism' presents many interesting points for discussion. Professor Caldecott has a vital subject in 'Nonconformist Liberalism.' He shows a close acquaintance with the Fernley Lectures, and quotes from this REVIEW. As a broad and fair-minded student he discerns an 'indisputable convergence' between the thoughts of Liberal Churchmen and English Nonconformity. There is no doubt a notable enlargement of view in all Churches, a growth in catholicity and a broad-minded study of truth, which promise well for religious life and work in England. Yet this must not be taken to indicate that the extreme positions held by some Liberal Churchmen are accepted by the bulk of English Nonconformists. It is indeed essential in days of intellectual and spiritual unrest that all Churches should feel their abiding and growing responsibility to guard the faith against rationalizing tendencies which would rob it of salt and savour.

JERUSALEM

BIBLE students are under a new debt to Dr. George Adam Smith for his two volumes on the topography, economics, and history of Jerusalem (Hodder & Stoughton, 24*s*. net). His

Historical Geography of the Holy Land already ranks as a classic, and this new work, with its maps, plans, and photographs, is of the same high character and of even greater interest. The city faces the desert and the sirocco, but catches the full sweep of the rains and humid winds from the Mediterranean thirty-four miles away. It hangs on the watershed between east and west, between the desert and the sea. The 'bride of kings and the mother of prophets' was for centuries the scene of such ceaseless strife that Dr. Smith has drawn up a list of forty-five blockades, sieges, captures, and destructions which she has endured. Even more tragic than the war between man and man was the contest through the ages between God and the human spirit. 'Nowhere else have its human responsibilities and its divine opportunities been so tragically developed.' That is the reason why everything about the city makes its appeal to students of religion.

The desert creeps almost to the city gates, and Arabs are always to be seen in the streets. Jerusalem has a splendid water supply, and for this reason several blockades failed. The climate is temperate and healthy, though with rigours both of cold and heat. 'There is no mirage in the air, nor any glamour, save when, sometimes at evening, the glowing Moab hills loom upon the city, or when the orange moon rises from behind them, and by her beams you feel, but cannot fathom, the awful hollow of the Dead Sea.' The crowding of the houses and the close and sombre lanes are very noticeable to a visitor. The ridge on which Jerusalem stands runs southward at an average height of 2,600 feet. Two other hills unite with this western ridge to form a kind of rough triangle enclosing a space two miles and a half from north to south and a mile and a half at its greatest breadth. At first this space is a high plateau, and the two rocky promontories, known as the West and East Hills, running south from it with the valley el-Wâd between them, form the site of the city proper. On the East Hill stood the Temple, with the 'Ophel' as part of the slope to the south and Shiloah or Siloam at its foot. The district is not volcanic, but 'fits and starts of earthquake' occurred at irregular intervals, and we have records of several serious convulsions.

The position of Sion is one of the cardinal problems of the topography, and Dr. Smith concludes, on what seems convincing evidence, that Sion and the Temple Hill were identical.

The 'Ophel' (lump, or swelling) is placed, in the Book of Nehemiah, south of the Temple. On this the 'City of David' stood. Nehemiah helps us to trace the course of the walls along the edge of 'impassable ravines.' Excavations have made its general lines fairly obvious, though it cannot yet be decided how the Second of the three walls to the North mentioned by Josephus 'ran from the First to the Tyropoeon; we do not know whether it ran inside or outside the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.' For the study of the economics and politics of the city, the Bible affords much material, to which the Talmud and Josephus add illuminating details. The Israelites were a pastoral people when they entered the Promised Land, but they gradually turned their energies to agriculture. Grain could be grown on every hill, but 'the great triad of the olive, the vine, and the fig' were even more staple products. The shepherd was a prominent figure; the ass was the common animal for riding and loading. Horses, mules, and probably camels were introduced at a comparatively late period. A modest trade was done with the desert nomads, who would bring 'salt from the coasts of the Dead Sea, along with cattle, butter, cheese, alum, alkali, and medicinal herbs, and receive in exchange oil and various fruits. But Jerusalem never was such a market for the Bedouin as either Hebron or Gaza.' Fish and salt were freely imported.

David adopted the policy of inducing foreign traders to settle in his city, and Solomon extended this. They brought skilled artisans from abroad, and some of these, no doubt, settled permanently in Jerusalem. 'Native families of artisans on the same lines would spring up: masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, and coppersmiths, all of whom with ruder capacities had been there from the first.'

The history of Jerusalem fills the second volume. It begins with seven or eight clay tablets, dating about 1400 B.C., which have been found among the Egyptian archives. They speak of the city's loneliness in face of some approaching foe. The writing is cuneiform, the language Babylonian. The pre-Israelite masters of the place seem to have been Semites. David put out the Jebusite inhabitants from Sion, but granted them their lives and property. Solomon turned the fortress into a city with temple, palace, and other great buildings. Each stage of the history is traced down to the time of Nehemiah, and then through the period of the Maccabees to the days of Herod.

'Jerusalem of the Gospels' is the subject of Dr. Smith's closing chapter. It was the city of Herod, 'a great engineer and builder of strongholds.' At the time of Christ it looked like a gigantic fortress. Yet it was a city of pilgrimage, the Holy City. 'No part of the topographical tradition is more difficult than that which deals with the data of the Gospels. The textual uncertainties are many. The most sacred sites of all, Calvary and the Sepulchre, lie in that part of the city where the destruction of Titus was complete and continuous excavation has been least possible.' The Roman trial of Jesus was in or before the Palace of Herod on the South-west Hill. In its neighbourhood was a city gate. 'Probably by this the procession left the town, and came to the place Golgotha, at which they crucified Him. Where Golgotha stood, and where the neighbouring garden lay in which He was buried, we do not know, because, for reasons already explained, we cannot tell how the Second Wall, at this time the Outer Wall on the north, exactly ran.' This acknowledgement after twenty-seven years' careful study is itself an indication of the merit of this great work. The most sacred spot of Jerusalem thus remains uncertain, yet the very uncertainty invites research, and such research for every one who pursues it always brings a new sense of reality into the whole Bible story.

THE WICHERN CENTENARY

'THE epoch-making events of the nineteenth century in the sphere of philanthropy were,' says Uhlhorn, 'the establishment of "The Rough House" in Hamburg in 1833, and of the Institute for Deaconesses at Kaiserswerth in 1836.' The latter was the work of Fliedner, the former of Wichern, the centenary of whose birth was celebrated with devout thanksgiving throughout Germany, but especially in Berlin and in Hamburg, on the twenty-first of April last. That the centenary festival should fall on Easter Tuesday was most fitting, for Wichern was an Easter-child, and the Easter-faith was the inspiration of his work, felicitously described by his successor as 'an Easter-dawn' for the Fatherland.

A pamphlet[1] containing a report of the principal addresses delivered at the centenary celebration has been published; its editor rejoices in the widespread recognition of Germany's indebtedness to the man who was 'God's gift to the nineteenth century, as Luther was His gift to the fifteenth century.' To understand this high eulogy it will suffice to refer to two red-letter days in Wichern's eventful career. He writes: 'Only twice in my life have I had the certain, overpowering consciousness that God had enabled me in an extraordinary degree to speak His word in fullness of power. The first occasion was the Sunday-school festival in Hamburg in 1833, the second was my address on the "Inner Mission" at the Wittenberg Conference in 1848.'

In 1832 Wichern had completed his theological studies, and, as a candidate for the Lutheran ministry, was waiting for a pastorate. Pfarrer Rautenberg had established a Sunday-school for poor ignorant children, and Wichern's acceptance of an invitation to take charge of it was the turning-point in his life. His love for the children led him to visit them in their homes; he discovered in what a tainted moral atmosphere many of them were living, and began to cherish purposes to which he first gave utterance at the Sunday-school festival in 1833. At his suggestion the festival was popularized and held for the first time in a public room. 'It was a ball-room, and anxious souls prophesied that to hold the meeting on profane ground would ruin the Sunday-school.' But the room was filled with sympathetic hearers, and Wichern's appeal for money and for voluntary workers, as teachers and visitors, met with a prompt and cheerful response. In the same year the 'Rough House' was founded, and inasmuch as Wichern insisted on the 'family' principle being adopted, his Children's Home soon became a training school in Christian work for lay 'brethren.' The fruit of his work in both these spheres of Christian service is found to-day in many lands.

The second red-letter day in Wichern's life was in September 1848, when he addressed an assembly of the followers of Luther in the historic Schloss-Kirche of Wittenberg, and persuaded them to form a central committee for the furtherance of the work of the 'Inner Mission.' At the

[1] *Die Wichern-Feiern.* Festbericht und Festreden. Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses.

centenary celebration, Dr. Reinhold Seeberg spoke eloquently in Berlin Cathedral on 'Wichern's significance for the Evangelical Church and for the German people'; he reminded his hearers that 1848 was the year of revolution. Discontent and unrest were accompanied by flagrant disregard of authority. Despairing of the State, men turned to the Church for help; but theological strife added to the confusion. 'The Church was waiting for the people to come, instead of seeking them out in their new necessities.' Such was the condition of the nation when, at Wittenberg, Wichern spoke the decisive word. What was needed in those times of distress was 'neither the settlement of disputes concerning doctrine, nor the adjustment of differences concerning organization, but deeds.' This was the striking of a new note. To those who were content to remind men that it was their duty to come to Church, and that they ought not to expect the Church to 'run after' them, Wichern replied: 'If the people do not come, the Church must seek them out; if the regular ministry does not reach them, the Church must make use of town missionaries, Christian literature, the daily press; yea, she must come down from the stilts of high principles, and tread with firm foot the solid ground.'

The following summary of Wichern's address at Wittenberg is given by Dr. Hennig, the present Director of 'The Rough House,' in an essay entitled, 'J. H. Wichern, the Herald of the Inner Mission.' The essay is one of six published in a centenary booklet,[1] which may be heartily recommended as containing an appreciative and instructive estimate, from different points of view, of the influence on the social and religious life of Germany, of the various agencies established by this far-seeing philanthropist.

Wichern began, says Dr. Hennig, by showing that his desire was to serve the Church as well as the State, and that nothing but blessing could come to the Church as the result of its undertaking to direct and develop the work of the Inner Mission. Its general aim was thoroughly to leaven nominal Christendom with gospel principles, and to make evangelical truth practically influential in social life. Wichern's eloquence reached its height as he described the condition of the proletariat in great cities; over her own children in

[1] *Dr. Joh. Hinr. Wicherns Lebenswerk in seiner Bedeutung für das deutsche Volk.* Hamburg: Agentur des Rauhen Hauses.

industrial centres, not only in Germany but also in Paris, Geneva, &c., the Church was losing her hold; in the spirit of love she must strive to win back to her fold the artisans, amongst whom communistic and atheistic principles were rapidly spreading. In the closing passage of this impassioned address, Wichern said: 'Friends! one thing is needful, namely that the Evangelical Church, as a whole, should say, "The Inner Mission is my proper work"; that she should set upon it her broad seal and recognize that love is her concern as well as faith. By saving love she must prove the reality of her faith. This love must burn in the Church as a bright divine flame, proclaiming that the spirit of Christ is visibly embodied in His people. As Christ is revealed in the living and divine word, so must He also be manifested in divine deeds, and the highest, purest, and most churchly (*kirchlichste*) of these deeds is saving love.'

At the close of this memorable day Wichern, overjoyed at his success, wrote to his wife: 'It seems to me that the work of my life might end here.' But, in truth, its most fruitful period was just beginning. During the centenary celebration testimony to the far-reaching issues of his work has been abundant; how manifold it was appears from the titles of the other six essays in the memorial volume: 'Wichern's Educational Principles and their significance for Rescue Work,' 'Wichern's re-institution of the Male Diaconate,' 'Wichern and Prison Reform,' 'Wichern as Ecclesiastical Reformer,' 'The Social Significance of Wichern's Work.'

The inspiration of Wichern's philanthropy was his evangelical faith; he himself testifies that all his activity and all his exhortations were based upon the great truth of the universal priesthood of all believers. 'When Luther taught the universal priesthood of Christians, he prepared the soil in which the Inner Mission could not but flourish.' There is a present-day message to Christians of every nation and of every name in Wichern's words: 'What is most important is that Christians should realize what this universal priesthood of believers implies, namely, that on every Church and on every member of the Church there rests the obligation to put forth the saving energy of believing love.'

J. G. TASKER.

HABIT

We have all noticed often how running water will hollow out its channel in the yielding earth, or even in the unyielding rock. We have seen the pebbles on the beach polished and rounded by the ceaseless action of the waves, and climbed the weather-scarred face of the headland by the little path worn by the fishermen's feet. And the channel is worn, the stones smoothed, the track beaten out, in the same way. The constant repetition of a certain experience is all that is needed.

So with machinery. A locomotive, even a bicycle, works more easily after a little while than at first; the constant action of the running parts soon overcomes the initial friction and resistance. So, too, the coat eases, the uncomfortable new boots 'shape to the foot,' the new hat to the wearer's head.

The human body tells the same story. The adjustment and accommodation of muscles in a Paderewski or a Kubelik, or, shall we say? in a juggler, a billiard player, a cricketer, are marvellous. At the slightest cue, a whole series of complicated and often intensely rapid movements are performed with a mechanical precision and accuracy that seems to admit no possibility of error. This suggests a parallel with our habits of life and conduct. Behind even habit there is a physiological factor, and just as the muscles adapt themselves to the moods in which they are exercised, so does our nervous system; for, though the expression must not be too closely pressed, we can say that even habit is due to the formation of a brain 'path,' down which, on the way of least resistance, the reaction to the stimulus travels. This may not be precise phrasing, but it is perhaps the simplest way of putting the facts. Why, for example, does it take twice as long to say the alphabet backwards as it does to say it in the usual way? For the simple reason that the well-known order is a familiar 'path'; for the reverse order the track has to be found by successive exertions of thought. Now all habits as constantly repeated experiences are, in their physiological aspect, represented by such paths. Thought and action are apt to take the easiest line of discharge, which lies down the paths of habit. Thus behind even the most trivial of habits is a physical factor which makes itself felt in the constant tendency to repeat an habitual action, whenever the appropriate stimulus occurs, in preference to reacting in an

unfamiliar way. This is a great conservative agent, making all change of habit difficult in proportion as the habit has become ingrained and established.

It is a commonplace to say that we are creatures of habit, but no commonplace receives more abundant illustration. From morning to night, whatever we do, great or small, is more or less done in an habitual manner, and the unfamiliar actions of life are set about in the way habit has made familiar. The sailor on horseback shows the sailor in the very way he sits his mount; the policeman who is appointed sidesman cannot help putting strangers into pews in the manner of one who regulates the traffic by the wave of tuniced arm. A few minutes given to examination of the way in which we perform the trivialities of life will astonish us. We find we are veritable machines, working with clockwork order and regularity, and do not deviate a hair's breadth from a routine which has become so unconscious and automatic that we are wholly unaware of its existence.

It is not otherwise with moral habits, and it is in no way derogatory to the spiritual life to point this out. After all, good habits must be formed, and if we blame the sinner for his evil habits, why should there be any stint of praise to the saint, even if his goodness is habitual to him, even as the other's badness is to him? But, one way or other, habits of life and thought and conduct we *must* have—habits backed up by the physical organism itself, so that in a literal sense the better self wars against the flesh, or else has the flesh, its own body, on its side. What is needful is to so train our nervous system for good that, if we have the foe without us, we have the friend within; for character is not an abstraction, but a physical fact, written indelibly by the pen of experience in heart and fibre and brain-cell.

It is therefore a scientific as well as hortatory maxim that advises the one who would form a new habit, or break off an old one, to make the decision as emphatic and memorable as possible, and to start to practise it, to act upon it, at once, and in every possible manner *going out of the way even to find opportunities to do so*. Every new habit has to make its way at the expense of the old, and old-established habits die hard. They have their standing, and recur again and again. The new habit has to gain its ground, and hold it, and crowded out it will certainly be unless it has the will as its ally, not simply to plant it, but to guard it, night and day, until it gains root.

It is far better in most cases to cut off a bad habit by one firm decision, than to attempt to wean oneself by degrees. The sharp resistance rouses us, brings out all the fight in us; it is death or victory, and the habit is killed; but when we lay siege, it is a tedious business: our enthusiasm wanes, our thought wanders, the siege raises itself, and the habit remains to fortify itself more strongly against a second attack. The same truth applies, if anything in a more striking way, to the making as well as to the breaking of habit. There is much to be said psychologically, as well as in other ways, for sudden conversion. If only it is real, the strong resolution, the emotional upheaval, the concentration of will, are all in favour of the keeping of the new ways; but the more strong is the initial resolve the more serious does a lapse become. In climbing the slippery heights every false step sends us back a distance that took us many painful steps to attain.

We see here the practical meaning of the precept 'Overcome evil with good.' I once heard an amusing story of a sailor who suffered from gout and profanity, and was persuaded by his spiritual adviser to substitute 'hallelujah' for the expressions which formerly every twinge rang out of him, and was heard keeping up a chorus of hallelujahs throughout the day. Every habitual action occurs in response to some stimulus, however slight and unnoticed, and the occurrence of this stimulus we cannot always control. If we can allow it an outlet in something that is good, or at least harmless, it will often prove by far easier than endeavouring wholly to repress a reaction which will constantly be tending to recur.

Habit should be the servant of resolution, and such a good servant it will become, that we may safely leave it, after a while, as deputy in charge of the whole business to which resolution is devoted. For example, we resolve to spend each day a short time in reading, prayer, or meditation. That resolve will be a resolve, and nothing more, unless it is merged in a habit. But only give the resolve an outlet: choose ten minutes before coming down in the morning, and for three months, whatever happens, give the time, busy or not, cold morning or warm, and in all probability, at the end of that time, the resolution will be lost in the habit. But let the resolution find spasmodic expressions only at odd times, and sooner or later, probably sooner, it will die the death. Resolutions only become effective in habit. A man may resolve to swim, and at his first

attempts the action of arms and legs is always in his mind, and constant attention is paid to acquiring the right stroke. If habit did not come to the rescue, this constant effort would in time become intolerable, and unless the resolve was continually renewed and enforced, it would probably lapse; even if it were persisted in, the irritation it would produce would destroy all the pleasure of the swim. It is exactly so with resolutions of ethical importance. Unless we ease the strain of repeated resolutions, by making the end to which they are directed in some way at least automatic, the chances are all against the persistence of the resolution.

I close with a striking quotation from Professor James, to whom I owe much, equally in psychology and in its ethical applications—

'The physiological study of mental conditions is thus the most powerful ally of hortatory ethics. The hell to be endured hereafter, of which theology tells, is no worse than the hell we make for ourselves in this world by habitually fashioning our characters in the wrong way. Could the young but realize how soon they will become mere walking bundles of habits, they would give more heed to their conduct while in the plastic state. We are spinning our own fates, good or evil, and never to be undone. Every smallest stroke of virtue or of vice leaves its never so little scar. The drunken Rip van Winkle in Jefferson's play excuses himself for every fresh dereliction by saying, "I won't count it this time!" Well! he may not count it, and a kind Heaven may not count it; but it is being counted none the less. Down among his nerve-cells and fibres the molecules are counting it, registering and storing it up to be used against him when the next temptation comes. Nothing we ever do is in strict scientific literalness wiped out. Of course this has its good side as well as its bad one. As we become permanent drunkards by so many separate drinks, so we become saints in the moral, and authorities and experts in the practical and scientific, spheres, by so many separate acts and hours of work' (*Principles of Psychology*, vol. i, p. 127).

ERIC S. WATERHOUSE.

THE GREATEST ENGLISH COUNTY

FULLER called Yorkshire 'the best shire of England,' and that is evidently the opinion of Mr. J. S. Fletcher, who has just written a most comprehensive volume on his native county.[1] It deserves a place by the side of his *Picturesque History of Yorkshire*, and the illustrations in colour and monotone bring some of the famous buildings and lovely scenes of which he writes vividly before our eyes. Long before the Romans came to found another Rome in the triangular strip of land between the Ouse and the Foss, the residents had learned to spin and weave, to cultivate the land and manage flocks and herds. They lived chiefly on the hills, the moors, and the edge of the wolds, so that the Romans called them Brigantes, dwellers on high places. 'Eboracum became a miniature Rome, the home of emperors and the capital of the British province.'

After the Romans retired wars desolated the country, and for five centuries Yorkshire became a battlefield. Scarcely one of its towns escaped the fire and sword of the Danish invaders. William the Conqueror parcelled Yorkshire out amongst some of his principal adherents, and their castles sprung up at Richmond, Pontefract, and other strong places. The land now began to settle down to more peaceful pursuits. York remained the principal city of the North for fourteen centuries. In the eighteenth century it lost its commercial importance, but became a fashionable centre where the great people of the North spent the season in their town houses. This social life continued till the railways changed everything. Yorkshire includes almost every variety of scenery. Mr. Fletcher says a lover of the beautiful might spend a lifetime in 'wandering over its mountains, through its dales, along the banks of its rivers, across its heath-clad moors and highly cultivated wolds, amongst its towns and villages, around its old castles, religious houses, and churches, and upon its long stretch of seacoast, bold of feature, and diversified by modern watering-places and quaint fishing villages.'

There are no towns so full of mediaeval quaintness as Chester and Warwick, but York 'may justly be said to be unique amongst English cities.' Few pictures are more impressive than

[1] *A Book about Yorkshire.* Methuen & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

a sight of the city from its own walls. The Minster, erected between 1230 and 1472, stands on the site of the church of 627 A.D. in which Eadwine of Northumbria was baptized by Paulinus. In the Middle Ages princes, nobles, and prelates viewed the Minster with 'admiration and wonder; the people came to it from far and near as to the shrine of a favourite saint.' It had one of the largest collections of relics in England. Some were kept in a great cross behind the pulpit, designed by Archbishop Roger. 'At later dates many were preserved in a cross behind the high altar, close to which were three pixes, coloured red, green, and white, wherein more relics were kept.' Other treasures were stored in a great gold box and in a hollow cross of pure gold.

Ripon and Beverley also have their glorious minsters. Hedon Church is the 'King' and the 'Pride of Holderness,' whilst Patrington is the 'Queen,' and has a singularly fine Easter sepulchre. The ruins of religious houses of Whitby, Selby, Fountains Abbey, Kirkstall, Rievaulx, Bolton and St Mary's, York, still keep alive the memories of days of devotion. The sylvan beauties of Bolton Priory and Fountains Abbey are famous all over the world. Yorkshire is a county of strong men, who put their best powers both into work and play. That absorption in the task on hand makes Yorkshiremen so hard to beat in anything they attempt.

Sir Tatton Sykes and his father, who turned the Yorkshire wolds from sheep-walks into the richest corn-growing districts in the world, were noted benefactors of the county. Sir Tatton, one of the richest magnates of his day, was a man of simple tastes, who invariably breakfasted on new milk and apple tart. He disdained railways, and used to ride on horseback from Yorkshire to the Derby at Epsom.

Yorkshire is rich in great houses. Mr. Fletcher thinks the ideal retreat is the Earl of Dartmouth's seat at Woodsome Hall, near Huddersfield, which is embowered in trees and commands a view of a picturesque valley. Wentworth Woodhouse and Castle Howard are baronial mansions singularly rich in art treasures. It is quite impossible to name all the famous seats in the county. Great changes have come over Yorkshire, but it is pleasant to know that the moors behind Haworth Church are just the same as in the days when the Brontës lived beside them.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

Authority, Ecclesiastical and Biblical. By Rev. F. J. Hall, D.D. (Longmans. 6*s*. net.)

DR. HALL, who is a professor of theology in Chicago, is bringing out a system of dogmatic theology by instalments. He has already published a general introduction to the subject, and now deals with the fundamental and all-important question of authority in religion. Everything in theology turns upon the answer to the question, What is the standard of belief and action, and on what foundation do its claims to rule and direct human life rest? The essential importance of the subject is enhanced by the prevalent unrest with regard to it, and the revolt against time-honoured authorities which is characteristic of our time.

Dr. Hall deals first with authority in general—its bases, functions, and relations to reason and criticism. Then he describes ecclesiastical authority, the dogmatic office, tradition and the action of Popes and councils. Next he discusses biblical authority, the meaning of inspiration, the functions of criticism, the rule of faith, and the meaning of development in doctrine. Here is, surely, matter enough for a small volume of less than three hundred pages! But Dr. Hall uses his space well, and those who are already disposed to accept his conclusions will find a fair and able statement of the reasons which support them. The position adopted is that of the High Anglican, who admits the authority of the Bible and the use of reason, but who relies mainly upon the authority of the Church. It is here that the weakness of Dr. Hall's case appears. He rejects the claims of Rome, but he believes in a kind of ecclesiastical infallibility, possessed by the corporate Church as a whole, not by any particular agents or machinery of teaching. 'No truly oecumenical teaching of the Catholic Church as to what is necessary to be believed, or essential to be practised,

can be erroneous.' But what is 'truly oecumenical'? Churches have erred, councils have erred, Popes have erred. The Bible, Dr. Hall says, is not an ultimate standard of appeal, is not the real teacher of man, for it is the business of the Church 'to teach and define,' the Bible only 'confirms and illustrates.' Then where is the Church? asks the bewildered inquirer. Not in Rome, nor in Canterbury, nor exactly in the first seven Oecumenical Councils—certainly not in unexpurgated tradition. Infallibility becomes very nebulous under these conditions, and seems to resolve itself into a pious belief that God in His providence will not suffer His people ultimately to go wrong, and that Christ's promise concerning His Church that the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it, may be understood of doctrine as well as of victory, of infallibility as well as indefectibility.

It is perhaps too much to expect that Dr. Hall should within so short a compass not only explain his own views upon so many vexed and difficult questions, but also defend them against the rationalism of Martineau, who rejects authority altogether, the papalism of the Vatican Council, and the evangelicalism of the Protestant Free Churches. His strongest case is made out against the claims of the Church of Rome; his arguments against modern rationalism and his assertion of the claims of 'the Church' to be the custodian and sole interpreter of the Scriptures are comparatively feeble. But he writes with candour and ability, and we sympathize with his general position that the three factors of spiritual knowledge—Church, Bible, and Reason—must be properly combined. Dr. Hall emphasizes the first of these. He believes, however, as he tells us in his preface, that 'the three tendencies need to be taken up into a larger and richer conception of the process of spiritual knowledge and of the bases of certitude.' We wish that we had heard more of this in the body of the book. Whoever can show how one strong threefold cord may be twined of these several strands, and fashioned without doing injustice to any one of the three, will deserve well of his generation, and may inaugurate a new epoch in the history of Christendom.

The Apocalypse of St. John, i.–iii. By the late F. J. A. Hort, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 5s.)

At intervals a few precious fragments from Dr. Hort's unpublished MSS. are being issued by the pious care of

Dr. Murray and other loyal pupils of the great Cambridge scholar. This last instalment has a value of its own. Doubtless, as Dr. Sanday says in an appreciative preface, these notes are 'scholarship in undress,' and that precarious possession known as 'reputation' might in the case of some authors suffer through the publication of work not prepared for the press. In this case there is no danger in the procedure and much gain. The editors do their work so well that the fragments of lectures and notes thus preserved speak easily and effectively for themselves. And the value of Dr. Hort's work for students lies in the masterly excellence of his methods rather than in the form of finished literary composition.

This slender volume of a hundred pages is divided into two parts, the former consisting of an introduction, the latter of notes upon the Greek of the first three chapters of the Apocalypse. The lectures were given twenty years ago, and Dr. Hort supports the earlier (Neronian) date of the book, which at that time was more generally accepted by scholars than it is to-day. But Hort was not 'fashion's slave,' and the reasons he adduces for his conclusions are not obsolete. This publication may cause the pendulum of scholarly opinion to swing back in the direction of assigning the Apocalypse to 64–70 A.D. instead of 96 —a view which has an important bearing on the question of the Johannine authorship of the Gospel. Dr. Hort's opinion is that 'the son of Zebedee wrote both books, but the Apocalypse many years before the Gospel.' The chief value of this part of his work lies in the model which it presents for the critical examination of such questions.

The notes on the text are brief, obviously fragmentary, but of first-rate quality and very suggestive. The grammatical irregularities which characterize the style of the book are most sensibly treated. They do not necessarily mark either ignorance or carelessness. We miss in the notes much that we should like to find. Some topics of interest, such as the meaning of the 'white stone' and other symbols, are hardly touched. On the other hand, Dr. Hort's judgement on the meaning of the 'angels' of the Churches, together with his quietly cogent reasoning on the subject, should, we think, be practically conclusive. The actual writing of each letter, he says, is to the seven Churches; 'the interposition of the angel as a receiver of each individual message belongs, so to speak, to another sphere; it is ἐν πνεύματι, as St. John himself was

when he beheld the vision and heard the voice.' Hence the angels of the Churches are not to be understood as church officers, nor as 'independent guardian angels,' but as 'personified spirits of the Churches, the image of their living unity.'

All scholars and students of the Greek Testament will join Dr. Sanday in welcoming this fragmentary but valuable volume, which, as he says, 'has upon it the stamp of a great scholar, individual and incommunicable.'

Epochs in the Life of Jesus: A Study of Development and Struggle in the Messiah's Work. By Dr. A. T. Robertson. (Scribners. $1 net.)

These eight lectures were delivered originally to an audience of ministers and Christian workers, and are well worthy the publication that was requested. The lecturer is of opinion that the period of acute criticism of the gospel history is past, with results that are favourable to our knowledge of Christ's career in its external development, and that the time and the materials are ready for constructive work in the interpretation of Christ Himself. This book is an essay in that direction. It assumes acquaintance with the incidents, and concentrates upon the exhibition of the Person and of His mission and value. The specific themes are such as the Messianic consciousness of Jesus; His campaigns in Galilee and in Jerusalem; the training of the twelve; the apparent defeat and the eventual victory. No parade is made of learning, though both of it and of the equally essential qualification of sympathy Dr. Robertson is obviously in possession. He writes with the restrained glow of a conviction reached after struggle, and is popular and suggestive in his appeals; and the book will help to establish the faith of the wavering.

The Nature of Christ, or the Christology of the Scriptures and of Christ. By Rev. W. Marshall. Third Edition. (Elliot Stock. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

We welcome this third edition of a book, which has already done much good. The many enlargements are due to an attempt, not without success, to show some of the defects in the curious combination of views that goes by the name of the New Theology. After a discussion in turn of the nature of God the Father, of the Pre-Incarnate Son, and of man, the author treats of the Incarnation, and deduces practical results.

His own Christology is suggestive, if not convincing. The main peculiarity is the definition of the Incarnation as 'the descent of the God-Man into flesh and blood'; and with this are involved certain conceptions of the pre-existence of Christ which it is not easy to understand or to entertain. On the whole, the older formulation of the truth is perhaps the more defensible. The book will set readers thinking, and help to make them independent in their choice amongst many attractive forms of words. A good index of texts and subjects would be a valuable addition.

The Two Books of the Kings. By W. Emery Barnes, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Cambridge Bible Commentaries on the Old Testament are gradually proceeding towards completion. The Pentateuch and the Book of Ruth remain to be done. The latest volume—that on 1 and 2 Kings—is the competent and scholarly work of Dr. Emery Barnes, Hulsean Professor of Divinity. An excellent introduction, both instructive and interesting, discusses contents, structure, date, authorship, text and versions, and the chronology of the narrative; while a section is devoted to the relations of Kings to Chronicles. Kings is held to be the older work and mainly political in character; Chronicles is much more liturgical and ecclesiastical in its interest. Some pertinent and helpful remarks are made with regard to the spheres of history and story as illustrated by the diverse elements of Kings. It is obvious that considerable portions of the books are parabolic, and present us with stories of which the spiritual message is of more moment than the historical value. 'Kings is not a history, but only a series of cameos from history interspersed with material of a different kind.' At the same time, its place in a progressive revelation and its truly religious import are amply vindicated.

With regard to the annotations, which are on the Revised Version, it is sufficient to say that they maintain the admirable standard of the series. We have adequate and compact comments on such points as the 'pillars' (*maççeboth*) and *Asherah* (translations which take the place of the 'images' and 'grove' of the Authorised Version); and careful explanations are given of all allusions—ethnical, geographical, social and the like. The volume is a valuable aid to our understanding of the Books of Kings.

Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes. By G. A. Barton, Ph.D. (International Critical Commentary). (T. & T. Clark. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

Ecclesiastes remains the greatest enigma of the Old Testament. The relation of its teaching to the general strain of thought in Israel and the reason of the inclusion of the book in the canon are a standing difficulty. If the book may be taken as a sample of Jewish scepticism, it is another tribute to the strength of Jewish faith, for the scepticism of Ecclesiastes is mild in comparison with that of other nations. No reference to the book is found elsewhere in Scripture. The close of the book is an emphatic declaration of faith, and the genuineness of the passage is not disproved. Prof. Barton adds nothing to the exegesis of the book, for there is nothing to be added. The literary criticism is very full and well considered. The linguistic exposition is ample. The verdicts given on material points accord with the widest consensus of opinion. The Solomonic authorship is 'unthinkable.' The influence of Greek thought, Stoic or Epicurean, is fully discussed and rejected. 'The book represents an original development of Hebrew thought, thoroughly Semitic in its point of view, and quite independent of Greek influences.' The unity of the book is defended against theories of disintegration. It is worth notice that so excellent a judge as Prof. Cornill regards the book as one of the chief triumphs of Hebrew faith. Dr. Barton uses a great apparatus of abbreviations and symbols in his references, the list filling six pages of double columns. It is strange that throughout the work Dean Plumptre's name is printed Plumtre.

The Westminster New Testament. The Gospel of St. John: by the Rev. Henry W. Clark. The Gospel of St. Matthew: by the Rev. David Smith, M.A., D.D. (Melrose. 2*s.* each net.)

Dr. Garvie's name as the editor of the *Westminster New Testament* is a sufficient guarantee of quality. A somewhat new arrangement is adopted, a block of text taken from the Authorised Version being followed by a collection of notes. The readers in view are described as 'teachers, lay preachers, and others engaged in Christian work'; and the standpoint is defined as that of modern critical scholarship as far as generally accepted results are concerned. Within the limitations of the

scheme, the first volume is a success; and the class of readers contemplated will find it helpful in regard to the teaching of the Gospel. In a brief introduction the writer gives reasons for his conclusions, that the author was the Apostle John, and that the Gospel is 'a substantially accurate record of what Jesus said and did.' The notes are brief and sensible, free from technicalities, and evidently the production of a man who knows both his subject and the kind of guidance that busy people need.

The second volume was entrusted to the author of *The Days of His Flesh*, and has all the qualities that might be expected. The introduction contains a short discussion of the synoptic question, and a happy attempt to arrange the events of Christ's life on earth in their chronological order. The notes in the body of the book are necessarily brief, but full of pith and substance. It is a beautiful little book, in which any reader of St. Matthew who is not anxious to have all the problems dealt with in detail will greatly delight.

The Astronomy of the Bible. By E. Walter Maunder, F.R.A.S. (Sealey Clark & Co. 5*s*. net.)

This is a really valuable book. The author is the superintendent of the Solar Department at the Greenwich Observatory, and an astronomer of front rank. His history of our national observatory is a model of clearness, and it is given to few to command such a combination of qualities as we find in all Mr. Maunder's writings. In this, the most recent of his volumes, he sets himself a task of no mean order, and accomplishes it in a way which will do more than many an apologetic to enhance the value of the Old Testament books. Much of what has hitherto been written concerning biblical astronomy has been in the nature of mere conjecture. Here, however, from first to last, is nothing but painstaking scientific work, issuing in a wealth of fact as fatal to fanciful theory as it is illuminative of the sacred page.

The author is not ashamed to confess himself a believer in divine revelation, but he is careful to show that it can be no part of the divine purpose to reveal supernaturally what man can discover for himself. Hence we do not go to the Bible for astronomy, or for any other science. The language of the Old Testament writers is the language of their own times, and by a strict investigation of the various phenomena

referred to, and a careful examination of the terms used, it is possible to see through the eyes of these men and correctly interpret their attitude. For this task Mr. Maunder is the right man. He combines the love of the white light of truth with a sympathy and reverence which leave nothing to be desired. There is not a flippant sentence in the entire volume, as there is not a dull or uninteresting page. The work betrays, but never parades, a wide acquaintance with the literature as well as the science of his subject, and the conclusions reached are for the most part simply irresistible.

Too long has it been assumed that Babylonian astronomy coloured, if it did not inspire, much in the Old Testament, and that the days of the week and the Sabbath of rest and worship came to the Hebrews from that source. Mr. Maunder's book completely shatters these notions, and brings out into clearness the vast superiority of the Hebrew cosmogony and the complete independence of the Jewish Sabbath. But it would be impossible in a brief review to give any idea of the way in which many Old Testament problems are solved in this charming volume. Scores of texts are set in an entirely new light. Difficult tangles are successfully unravelled. Better still, the spiritual element emerges in every instance from the scientific treatment. Nothing could be finer than the exposure of the wickedness and folly of the bastard science of astrology, and it would be difficult to overstate the cogency and beauty of every argument. It is not a book for astronomers alone—they cannot fail to appreciate the accuracy and lucidity of its science; but any reader of average intelligence may follow every step of the road.

A word must be added as to the illustrations. They are worthy of the book, and that is saying much. The entire volume is one of surpassing interest and real merit, and is sure to occupy a quite unique position in modern biblical literature. It cannot be too highly commended.

The Teaching of Christ. By W. L. Walker. (T. & T. Clark. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a new and revised edition of a little book published fully three years ago, and which, at that time, had the warmest welcome. The writer has real distinction as a theological thinker and teacher, and in this volume he reveals his finest qualities. His method of treating his great theme is entirely

his own, and is suggestive and luminous. The book is practical and constructive rather than critical and analytic, but everywhere it is written with full knowledge and keen sympathy. It is the very book for those to whom the larger books are impossible; and those who know the larger books will find in this interpretation, suggestion, and help.

Prehistoric Archaeology and the Old Testament. By H. J. D. Astley, M.A., D.Litt. (T. & T. Clark. 5*s.* net.)

Dr. Astley, vicar of East and West Rudham, Norfolk, delivered these Donnellan Lectures before the University of Dublin in 1906–7. He set himself to show that 'the truth of the Christian religion is not bound up with the Jewish cosmogony, nor with a literal acceptance as historical facts of the legends in which the poets and prophets of Israel figured to themselves the origin and first development of the story of man, and of their own history.' Some of his statements seem to us extreme and unguarded, but the value of the lectures lies in their frank acceptance of the results arrived at by the sciences of anthropology and prehistoric archaeology, of which Dr. Astley has made special study. He traces the history of man through the various geological periods, and sees him everywhere advancing from savagery to civilization. The book is full of controversial matter, but it is forcibly and clearly expressed. Dr. Astley has no fear of 'the new and enlarged views of human nature' and the antiquity of man. But he shakes his head over Nonconformity. 'In separating themselves from the Church's system, and aiming at what they consider a more spiritual Christianity divorced from material adjuncts and aids, our Nonconformist brethren are depriving themselves of that in which alone the true Christian life consists.' It is rather strange to find such teaching side by side with the very advanced positions held in these lectures.

The Analysed Bible. Three Vols. By the Rev. G. Campbell Morgan, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.* each.)

Dr. Campbell Morgan has gained his power as a teacher by study of the Bible rather than of works written about it. That led him to see its wonderful unity, and the close con-

nexion of every book with all the rest. These volumes are taken up with a general analysis of each book. It is very clearly drawn, and is sufficiently full to make it both readable and helpful. Strong faith and sound sense are evident in every part of the work. There is much to be gained from rapidly surveying the Bible in its broad outlines, and Dr. Morgan thinks that both families and groups of friends might follow his scheme with much interest and profit. They will certainly learn much from these epitomes, and will feel fresh pleasure in their Bible reading.

The Holy Bible for Daily Reading, by the Rev. J. W. Genders (Passmore & Alabaster, 5*s.* net), is divided into daily reading portions of equal length; present-day grammatical forms are used, and modern words substituted for those which are obsolete. Each daily portion is clearly marked by a number, and where a change is made in the text authorities are cited. In Isaiah ix. other changes should have been made. It is a very attractive and handy volume, in flexible leather covers. We hope Mr. Genders may be greatly encouraged by an excellent sale.

A Primer of Homiletics. By the Rev. John Edwards. (Culley. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

As senior tutor in Homiletics in the Union for Biblical and Homiletic Study, Mr. Edwards has already rendered admirable service to young preachers, lay and ministerial, and this well-arranged and comprehensive primer will appreciably extend his usefulness. The Purpose of Preaching, The Preacher's Call and Message, The Preparation and Delivery of the Sermon, The preacher's preparation, and the sources of his power, are clearly and effectively set forth, and to the work is added an appendix of much value on The Preacher's Homiletic Library. No 'young aspirant to pulpit work' could possibly master and assimilate this admirable handbook without at least knowing how to approve himself unto God, and to show himself a workman that need not be ashamed before his fellow men. Older preachers will find in it not a little to refresh their spirit and to quicken their zeal. Peradventure some may find the chapter on the Things to be Avoided not without its use.

The World's Quest. By Rev. F. W. Orde Ward, B.A. (Francis Griffiths. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Loyalty to Christ is the characteristic of this book: Christ as alone able to satisfy the desire of all nations; the Cross of Christ the most potent factor in the world's history; the Life of Christ the one perfect ideal of what the aim of human life ought to be; the spirit of Christ the true regenerator of society.

Mr. Orde Ward is an original thinker, and has his own ways of expressing his thought—ways not always easy to follow, for he is much of a mystic, and is not concerned to put things in the simplest possible light; but his pages amply repay study, and will commend themselves to thoughtful people. His sentences are sometimes ponderous, and he does not hesitate to coin words when those in common use do not fit his ideas; he is by turns caustic, tender, poetical, denunciatory, but always logical and always devout. Whilst by no means eager to 'exchange old lamps for new,' he is not afraid of the restatement of Christianity characteristic of modern times, holding that 'we gradually outgrow our ancient *formulae* as final presentations of doctrinal truth, though the great creeds themselves in their essential points and ultimate significance cannot be outgrown.'

Abreast of modern thought, and with a well-stored mind, familiar with the best literature, this 'instructed scribe' brings out of his treasure 'things new and old,' and has furnished the student, and especially the preacher, with a rich mine of suggestive reading. It perhaps needs a little resolution, at first, to determine to go right through these twenty-eight chapters, each of which is a treatise, but the book grows on the reader, and he who perseveres will be thankful.

Six Sermons on Social Subjects. By J. Ernest Rattenbury. (R. Culley. 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Rattenbury has become convinced by an increasing knowledge of the conditions under which men are living to-day, that 'evangelical preaching is incomplete which is not concerned with social conditions as well as social results.' He does not advocate Socialism, though he defends it where he considers that it is unjustly attacked; but he pleads for the Christian obligation of social reconstruction. He is in warm sympathy with 'the aspirations and movements of the people towards betterment,' and feels that it will be deplorable if the

Christian Church should stand aloof from them. Mr. Rattenbury speaks strongly of 'the devil's socialism.' He never loses sight of the fact that 'to substitute Socialism for Christianity would be to substitute the less for the greater.' Communistic experiments have failed because they broke the law of God as to the home and family life. Mr. Rattenbury's hope is to break down grinding competition and set up a system of combination, co-operation, and mutual help in its place. He writes strongly, and he deserves a careful hearing.

The Christian Life, and How to Live it. By Alfred G. Haughton. (R. Culley. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This book is written for those who find it hard to live the Christian life, and it cannot fail to make the way brighter and easier for them. It is full of insight and sympathy. Mr. Haughton is not only a student of character, but a thinker and a reader of the best books. He turns all his studies and experiences to the best use in these wise and helpful chapters. It is a book to be grateful for.

Dean Robinson's Advent Lectures on *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel* (Longmans, 6*d.* net) are singularly luminous and helpful. St. John justifies himself to those who reverently and patiently investigate his Gospel, and leads his readers to 'echo the naïve words of that early confirmation of his narrative, "We know that his witness is true."' The note 'on the alleged martyrdom of St. John the Apostle' is of great value. The conclusion reached is that there is no sufficient evidence to cast serious doubt on the universal tradition that St. John died peacefully at Ephesus in extreme old age. The Dean's little book will repay the most careful study.

The Spectrum of Truth. By A. B. Sharpe, M.A., and F. Aveling, D.D. (Sands & Co. 1*s.* net.)

In less than ninety pages a luminous and readable conspectus is here given 'of the characteristic attitude of the chief philosophical systems towards the great speculative questions with which philosophy is directly concerned.' The writers regard the scholastic system 'as the safest guide to truth and the surest basis for speculation.' The book is in its own line a little masterpiece.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

The Religious Teachers of Greece: being Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion delivered at Aberdeen. By James Adam, Litt.D. Edited, with a memoir, by his Wife. (T. & T. Clark. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THE early death of Dr. James Adam, in his forty-eighth year, brought a career of great promise to what seemed an untimely end. He had proved himself a stimulating teacher of classics; and his edition of *The Republic* is both accurate and adequate, some of the notes displaying an unusual degree of insight. These Gifford lectures are the only other work of importance that he produced, and fortunately he was able to complete their preparation for the press, though not finally to pass the sheets. That task, with the verification of the references and the completion of the index, was undertaken by his widow, whose short memoir of her husband is prefixed to the body of the lectures, and is a tender and pathetic tribute to the memory of a man who is not likely in academical circles to be soon forgotten.

Dr. Adam announces his subject as the development of religious ideas in Greek philosophy and poetry from Homer to Plato. Starting with the obvious feud between philosophy and the old Homeric religious ideas, he traces the evolution of theological thought as resulting from the interaction of the two rival principles of poetical orthodoxy and philosophical dissent. Yet it must not be assumed that the theology of the poets was quite stationary. Neither Pindar nor Aeschylus fully abandoned the gross anthropomorphism of Homer, but they allowed it to recede into the background of their teaching, whilst they refined the elements of religious idealism that were not entirely absent from the Homeric and Hesiodic theologies. This movement reached its climax in Sophocles, who more than any other Greek poet laid hold of whatever was imperishable in the traditional faith of Greece and enshrined it in his dramas, which are rightly described as the most perfect embodiment of the Hellenic genius at its best.

Meanwhile the pre-Socratic philosophical movement had culminated in Anaxagoras, in whose teaching may be found the germ even of a teleological interpretation of Nature. The convergent streams of development met in Euripides, who was styled by the ancients themselves 'the philosopher upon the stage.' He may be said to have gathered together all the principal thoughts of his predecessors, whether popular or professional, in both theology and ethics; but his influence upon the traditional beliefs was mainly destructive, and his real position is that of the poet of the Hellenic Illumination. Socrates introduced a new era; and from his time onwards religious thought in Greece advanced with the help of philosophy only, poetry either becoming a mere plaything for the idle, or at least failing to serve as the vehicle of fresh theological ideas.

Twenty-one lectures are devoted to the treatment of this fascinating subject. In turn the poetical development is traced from Homer to Sophocles, and the philosophical from Thales to Anaxagoras, each teacher or group of teachers being examined in order as to their views upon the supreme questions of God, of man's obligations to God, and of immortality—the three great corner-stones of religious belief. Attention is given next in succession to the Sophists and Euripides. A lecture on Socrates prepares the way for a series of five on Plato; and for them it is not too much to claim that they form a masterly exhibition of the theological teaching of that great man, and make it clear in what sense and to what an astonishing degree he was a precursor of Jesus. Parallels with Christian thought are pointed out on page after page. And apart from the scientific character of the book as an exact study of one of the most important stages in the evolution of the religious thought of the race, it has a distinct value both as literature and as a contribution to apologetics. Dr. Adam makes no parade of scholarship, but writes with all the simplicity and clearness of one who moves easily beneath his weight of learning. And his book shows how in Greece, as elsewhere, a preparation was made for the central doctrines of Christianity, up to which all the theologies everywhere seem to lead, as the flower of the growth of man's thoughts about God.

A History of Modern Liberty. By James Mackinnon. Vol. III, *The Struggle with the Stuarts*, 1603–1647. (Longmans. 15*s*. net.)

Dr. Mackinnon's literary output is simply amazing; including the goodly volume now before us, he has, within a dozen years, placed to his credit considerably more than three thousand closely printed large octavo pages. More remarkable still is the really high quality of work so rapidly done. Some of the shortcomings of his earlier work, to which we have drawn attention in the pages of this REVIEW, are no longer present—the appearance of having written in a hurry, for instance; and the general style is better. In the volume with which we are now concerned, Dr. Mackinnon has given a clear and adequate account of the great constitutional struggle which was the outstanding feature of the reigns of the first two Stuart kings; a struggle which was to so great an extent the dominating factor in the political and religious, and to a large though, of course, less extent in the social life of the nation during that period, that its history is really a general history of England under the kings named; breaking off, however, before the death of Charles I. It need scarcely be said that this period has difficulties all its own; men and measures alike afford matter for dispute, and many of us are still partisans in a controversy of more than two and a half centuries ago. To write a satisfactory history of such a period makes great demands upon the judgement of the writer, and calls for much self-repression lest he cease to be an historian and become an advocate. That Dr. Mackinnon has fairly succeeded in this difficult achievement may be seen by noting his sympathetic yet just treatment of such diverse characters as those of the two kings, Buckingham, Strafford, Elliot, Laud, and Pym, to name no others. Avoiding the extreme of harshness in judgement, on the one hand, and the extravagance of hero-worship on the other, appearing neither for the prosecution nor the defence, he with considerable measure of success assists his reader to appreciate their actions from their own point of view, and to criticize them from that of their opponents. Like Macaulay and Froude, and the Americans, Motley, Parkman, and Prescott, Dr. Mackinnon has learned the secret of making history interesting. There is not a dull page in this book, nor in any book of his that we have seen. This volume and its continuation, which is already

in the printer's hands, will be a most satisfactory and interesting history of Stuart England for the general reader; and students also will find in it much which will appeal especially to them. We shall hear more of Dr. Mackinnon; his amazing industry and wide learning, together with his remarkable faculty for making things interesting will, we feel assured, give him an honourable place among the historical writers of the present day.

A History of the Christian Church since the Reformation. By S. Cheetham, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

Archdeacon Cheetham's volume is the fruit of many years of study, and at every point where we have been able to test it, we have found it both judicial and thoroughly well informed. It covers a very large area, and some of the sections dealing with the Roman Church, the Church in Germany and in North America, gather up stores of information for which one would have to search through many volumes. The pages on 'Methodism and Evangelicalism' are a good gauge of the writer's fairness. After stating the facts as to the Wesleys, Archdeacon Cheetham says, 'Whether it would have been possible by gentler treatment to retain the Methodists within the Church of England is one of those questions which can never be determined. Several bishops treated Wesley with great respect and courtesy, but the feeling of the clergy generally was no doubt opposed to an enthusiasm which overleaped the bounds of ecclesiastical order, and presented a startling contrast to their own inertness. In the end there can be no doubt that the indirect influence of Wesley produced a great effect upon the Church.' The section on the Oxford Movement is full of interest. As to Tract 90, we read, 'It may be imagined what horror and indignation were roused by a book which attempted to show that the Articles by no means condemned every form of the doctrine of purgatory as a place of purification after death, nor every form of "Sacrifices of Masses." To most men outside the Tractarian circle it seemed dishonest.' The pages on Theology and Biblical Criticism in Germany during the nineteenth century will be of special service. On the whole this may be pronounced to be one of the most complete and reliable compendiums of Church history since the Reformation that we possess. Those who use it will feel a growing debt to Archdeacon Cheetham for a piece of work that must have involved immense labour, and is in every sense worthy of it.

A History of the Jews in England. By Albert M. Hyamson. With portraits and maps. (Chatto & Windus. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Jewish population in this country has always been small compared with that of the Diaspora; but its history gives in miniature that of the whole Dispersion. Mr. Hyamson's pages thus reflect the vicissitudes which have been the lot of Jewry for the last two thousand years. Little credence can be given to the legends concerning the early settlement of Jews in Britain, but it is certain that a Jewish immigration took place early in the reign of William the Conqueror. They brought coin, which was speedily put into circulation, so that the king received his feudal dues in money, and was thus able to purchase luxuries and meet his military requirements. The Jews had strong and handsome houses in the Old Jewry, and at different times possessed several synagogues in the city of London. Mr. Hyamson thinks that the Blood Accusations were brought against the Jews 'without the slightest evidence in support.' A very interesting account is given of the Jews as capitalists and usurers. Aaron of Lincoln, who lived in the twelfth century, lent large sums for the erection of St. Albans Abbey, Lincoln Minster, Peterborough and other abbeys. The period before the accession of Richard I was the Golden Age in early Jewish history. They and their Christian neighbours lived on terms of friendly intimacy. Dark days followed, until their expulsion from the kingdom in 1290. Mr. Hyamson's record of oppression and persecution forms a painful study. Some Jews were to be found in England as wayfarers or settlers, but their history here was not resumed till 1655. Mr. Hyamson brings his narrative down to the present day with maps, chronological table, and portraits, which add greatly to the interest of the story. His book is very brightly written, and may be strongly commended to all who wish to have a compact history of the whole subject.

We have already reviewed the first instalment of *The Historians' History of the World* (*Times* Book Club, 7*s.* 6*d.* per volume). The last volumes deepen the favourable impression made by the work. The section on *Separation of Church and State* in France is brought down to January 1907, and a clear account is given of 'The "Entente Cordiale" and the

Moroccan question.' In the History of Russia the course of the war with Japan is sketched, and the 'promulgation of a constitution' described; and portraits of Freeman, Hume, Macaulay and Froude form the frontispieces to the volumes on English history. The record begins with the pre-Celtic inhabitants, and fills four volumes. The brief section on 'The Rise of Methodism' is admirable, but at every point we have found the work reliable and well written. It is no small advantage to have one work covering such a vast area, and we believe *The Historians' History of the World* will find growing favour among readers and librarians.

Mignet's *History of the French Revolution, from* 1789 *to* 1814, has just been added to Bell's YORK LIBRARY (*2s.* net). It was first published in 1846, and is the best short history of the Revolution that we know. The volume is so compact, so neatly got up, and printed in such clear type, that it is sure to be popular. The York Library is growing, and no one should overlook it.

Erasmus: The Scholar. By John Alfred Faulkner. (Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. $1 net.)

Dr. Faulkner has made a close study of the Reformation period and of the works of Erasmus. The opening chapter on 'The Renaissance' gives an interesting description of Petrarch and Pico della Mirandola, and shows how Erasmus 'united all the culture of the Italian with some genuine traits of Northern piety.' His father was an artist, who afterwards became a priest; his mother was daughter of a physician at Zevenbirge. The boy was illegitimate, and his father and mother never married, but both died about the age of forty. Erasmus had three guardians, who intended him to be a priest in order that they might appropriate his inheritance. The boy was 'thoroughly unfit for a monastic life. He was a roving bird; he hated restraint and restrictions enforced from without; he felt a call to the life of a student, and wanted to be free to consult or collect manuscripts wherever he could find them, and the grosser faults of the monks he abominated.' At the University of Paris he made some English friends, who induced him to come to this country in 1499. He was in raptures with all he saw and heard. 'England pleases me as no other land has yet pleased me; the climate I find most

agreeable and healthy, and I have come upon such accurate and elegant scholarship, both Greek and Latin, that I have no care now to go to Italy, except for the sake of seeing the country.' Colet seemed, like Plato, restored to life, and he asks if Nature herself had ever 'made a more gentle, a sweeter, or happier disposition than Thomas More.' In 1511 Erasmus leaped to fame with *The Praise of Folly*, copies of which spread like wildfire over Europe. His Greek Testament was published in 1516. Its Latin notes gave huge offence. On Acts ix. 43, he writes: 'How great a guest—the very Chief of the Apostles—to lodge with so humble an entertainer! In our days three royal palaces scarce suffice to receive Peter's Vicar.' Dr. Faulkner discusses his creed, his controversy with Luther, and his chief writings. The great scholar died at Basel in 1536, 'without priestly aid, calling only on the mercy of Christ.' This biography gives evidence on every page of careful research, and it is very brightly written. It is a worthy portrait of one of the most interesting figures of the Reformation era.

The Victorian Chancellors. By J. B. Atlay. With Portraits. Vol. II. (Smith, Elder & Co. 14*s.* net.)

Mr. Atlay's first volume, which appeared two years ago, contained the lives of Lords Lyndhurst, Brougham, Cottenham and Truro. There are ten studies in this concluding volume—Lords St. Leonards, Cranworth, Chelmsford, Campbell, Westbury, Cairns, Hatherley, Selborne, Halsbury, and Herschell. The interest of the first part of the work was very great, but Mr. Atlay had there to cover much familiar ground. Here he deals with men about whom most of his readers know less and have less easy access to information. There is a lawyer-like precision and clearness about the sketches, with a keen relish for a clever saying and a good story. The lives of our famous lawyers are a national inheritance, and each of these ten portraits has its own interest. Lord St. Leonards was the son of a hairdresser in Westminster, who is reported to have said that Edward had no genius for his business, so that he had been 'obliged to put him as a pupil with Mr. Duval the conveyancer.' Within ten years from his call to the Bar he was in the enjoyment of a commanding practice, and Lord Eldon 'paid him the unprecedented compliment of asking him into his private room

to consult him over a knotty question which had arisen over a case in which he was not retained.' He had an extraordinary power of dispatching business. Once, after an early dinner, he sat down to read his briefs for next day. They were brought to him in successive bags by his clerk, and when he had finished the pile he found that he was surrounded by thirty-five. 'He admitted afterwards that he could never have got through them had they been presented in a serried mass.' The clock was only striking eleven when he was done, and he called a coach and drove down to the House of Commons. Lord Cranworth was no strength to his party in Parliament, but his decisions in Chancery rank very high among lawyers, and his manner on the Bench was considered to fall not far short of perfection. Lord Selborne thought him one of the best chancellors he had known. 'In steady good sense, judicial patience, and impartiality and freedom from prejudice he was surpassed by none.' Frederick Thesiger, Baron Chelmsford, 'possessed a gift of narration which seemed to render comment superfluous, and he was particularly adroit in examination in chief; taking the witness by the hand and conducting him through his story without allowing him to drop anything by the way.' Colonel Inglis, who had married one of his daughters, took command of the Residency in Lucknow by the dying wish of Sir Henry Lawrence, and Lady Inglis's account of the Siege is one of the most moving stories of the Mutiny. There is no more striking example of industry and ambition even in this record than that of Lord Campbell, and, despite the hard things said about him, Mr. Atlay finds it impossible to part from him without a feeling of something very like affection. Lord Westbury was as thoroughly hated as Lord Cranworth was loved. As an advocate Bethell has never been surpassed. 'Imperturbability, pertinacity, readiness of retort, and self-possession are qualities which he shared with some of his contemporaries. But where he stood supreme was in the power of concise and lucid exposition, of marshalling his facts and his comments and his law in an order which was so logical that it seemed not merely appropriate but inevitable.' In term time all his waking hours were given to his profession. His dinner, snatched in his chambers, is said never to have 'varied in quantity or quality—a mutton chop, one slice of stale bread, and a glass of water from Lincoln's Inn pump.' His scornful sentences were 'swifter

than arrows and sharper than swords.' Yet this great lawyer was a mere child in the hands of unprincipled intriguers, and when the House of Commons passed a vote of censure on him for laxity in some appointments, he was compelled to resign the Chancellorship. He received somewhat hard measure, Mr. Atlay thinks, and 'a revulsion of feeling has continued in his favour down to the present moment.' Earl Cairns, Lord Hatherley, and Earl Selborne are better known to this generation, and no three Chancellors have ever been such devoted Christian workers. We owe much to Mr. Atlay for this noble gallery of legal portraits, painted with rare sagacity and critical discrimination.

A General Account of my Life. By Thomas Boston, A.M. With introduction, notes, and bibliography. By the Rev. George D. Low, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Michael Boston used this *General Account* in preparing his grandfather's *Memoirs* in 1776, but the whole manuscript has never been published till now. It was intended for the writer's descendants. Mr. Low fortunately bought it in May 1904, and allows us to share his treasure. His introduction brings out the savour and significance of the document, and shows how Boston's influence as a preacher and writer grew steadily during his lifetime. For a century after his death his name was a household word in Scotland, and still lingers, as Principal Fairbairn says, 'like a soft golden light amid the braes and down the Water of Ettrick.' His father, a cooper by trade, took the boy of eleven to hear Henry Erskine at Rivelaw, and 'laid me in Christ's way.' The first sermon pierced the young hearer to the heart. He was early marked out for the pulpit, and though the way thither was beset with difficulties these were triumphantly surmounted, and at Simprin and Ettrick he gave glorious proof of his ministry. The story of his proposal to Katharine Brown reveals his sensitive and restless conscience. He could never forgive himself that he 'did not set some time or times apart for fasting and prayer for that end,' before he made the proposal. When the way was clear 'my difficulty was not to get love to her, but rather to bound it.' The lady also was troubled that her favourable answer to his suit 'was not enough deliberate.' They had one rather formidable lovers' quarrel through

his staying to a fast kept in a minister's family, but that breach was soon healed. After thirty years' married life Boston describes his wife as 'a woman of great worth, whom I have, therefore, passionately loved, and inwardly honoured; a stately, beautiful, comely personage.' The descriptions of rural life and manners, of church controversies and parish work, are of the deepest interest and value. The book is a real treasure, and it is admirably edited. Every reader will be eager to get the continuation of the story which Mr. Low intends to publish if his volume proves a success. Of that there can be no doubt.

Cardinal Newman. By Charles Sarolea, D.Litt. (T. & T. Clark. 3*s*.)

The character and genius and work of Cardinal Newman have been studied, both here and in France, from so many points of view, that one would have thought another study to be almost 'a superfluity of naughtiness.' But this volume gives one more proof of the irresistible fascination of his personality, and of his subtle power to cast a spell over the finest minds. This study is no book made to fill a place in a series of studies —it is in the series of the World's Epoch-makers—but is a careful, adequate, and sympathetic appreciation of a character of rare distinction. The character of Dr. Newman is one of almost baffling subtlety, and a critic can easily err in the complex ways of his mind. But this study is everywhere fair and judicious; it is made in the full knowledge of the circumstances in which Newman was placed, of the forces which at that time were powerful, and of the personality of the man himself. Dr. Sarolea is no blind worshipper at a shrine, but he is thoughtful and finely equipped, and he has succeeded in giving us a picture which, while it will not satisfy extravagant men on either side, will seem to most dispassionate students to be true, congruous, and satisfying.

A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England. By G. R. Balleine, M.A., Vicar of St. James's, Bermondsey. (Longmans. 5*s*. net.)

We can strongly recommend this book as a full and reliable history of the Evangelical Party. The writer's lists 'For further Study,' at the end of each chapter, show how wide is his knowledge of the literature of the subject. He has studied more

than a thousand eighteenth-century biographies and pamphlets, and 'constant journeys on the underground railway have given a quiet opportunity for reading all the seventy-five volumes of the *Christian Observer*.' Mr. Balleine gives a wealth of details, and makes every part of his subject live. The Evangelical Party dates its existence from the great revival of the eighteenth century. 'The story opens at Oxford in 1729.' The first chapter is a valuable sketch of 'The Oxford Methodists.' Then we find a moving description of the state of England 'Before the Dawn.' That brings us to 'The Awakening.' This is the Methodist section of the history, and it is both exact and large-minded. The condensed biographies of the leaders of the Evangelical Party have specially interested us. Laymen like John Thornton and James Ireland are not forgotten, and we have a very full account of John Fletcher, and an excellent sketch of Bishop Ryle of Liverpool. The pages on the Palmerston bishops, the Church Missionary Society, and the Home Mission Work, which the Evangelical Party inspired, will be read with pleasure. Mr. Balleine says, 'The closing years of the nineteenth century found the Evangelicals stronger than at any previous period.' He claims that they have taught the primary importance of home and foreign missions, have refused to allow men to ignore the Bible, and have never suffered anything to come between themselves and Christ. That is true, and it is well put, yet we are not sure that the Evangelical Party is holding its own to-day. Mr. Balleine's book ought, however, to give heart to all his party.

The Diary of John Evelyn. With an introduction and notes by Austin Dobson. (Macmillan & Co. 3*s*. 6*d*.)

This 'Globe' edition is a reprint of Mr. Dobson's three-volume edition of *Evelyn* with some additional notes and a few corrections. The introduction brings out various phases of the writer's life, which are passed by in the *Diary*, and sends a reader with keener zest to the wonderful record, which is a mine of information for students of the second half of the seventeenth century. It is a very cheap book, with its 550 clearly printed pages and its valuable notes. Southey said, 'For an English gentleman Evelyn is the perfect model.' That is certainly true, and this volume needs no further recommendation.

Mr. Unwin has added Heinrich Duntzer's *Life of Goethe* to his standard works of History and Biography. It is the best Life of the great German master, and to get more than 800 pages and fifty illustrations for half-a-crown net, is an opportunity for which every lover of German literature will be grateful.

Messrs. Macmillan have added to their English Literature for Secondary Schools George Cavendish's famous *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*. It has an excellent introduction and helpful notes by Miss Tout, a chronological table, and two good indexes. The long passages about foreign affairs and Wolsey's diplomacy are omitted. It will be a great convenience to many teachers to have such a text-book.

Ceylon and its Methodism. By Thomas Moscrop and Arthur E. Restarick. (R. Culley. 1*s.* net.)

This little book, prepared by two Ceylon missionaries, gives a clear description of the island and its religions, and of the noted men who have laboured here. There is an excellent map, and the book is full of facts. Mr. Restarick has written the two opening chapters, and the narrative of work in the north and east; Mr. Moscrop is responsible for two chapters on the pioneers of the Mission, and three on the South Ceylon District. It is an admirable volume, which every student of missions will find of the greatest interest and value. 'The impact of the West upon the East is nowhere more striking and more fruitful than in Ceylon. The great problem of modern times is being worked out in this meeting-place of races, religions, and civilizations.'

Leo Tolstoi. By A. C. Turberville. (E. Dalton. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Turberville's sketch appears at the right moment, when Tolstoi is much in men's minds. He tells the story, explains and criticizes Tolstoi's opinions, gives an account of his books, and allows us to see his daily life and employments. He is not blind to certain limitations in the Russian thinker and philanthropist, but regards him as 'simply one of the greatest men who have ever lived.' We are not ready to go so far, but we like this book, and have found it full of information both clearly and pleasantly put.

English Christianity in its Beginnings, by Rev. E. H. Pearce (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 6*d.*), gives a clear and readable description

of the British Church before Augustine's mission, when we find no signs 'of Roman influence or claims in Britain,' and then turns to the work of Augustine in Kent. 'The man himself was earnest, but his limitations were many. By temper, by tradition, he remained the monk of the Caelian Hill, and the system that had guided his daily life through middle age robbed him of a chance of developing that courage, that initiative, that restlessness, without which the missionary of the gospel in a heathen land must fail to make much impression.' It is a little book every one ought to read.

The Wonderful Story of Uganda. (Church Missionary Society. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Two new chapters have been added to this second edition, which describes the events of the last four years and the manners, customs, and religion of the Baganda before the introduction of Christianity. The book is indispensable and intensely interesting.

A Hundred Years in Travancore, 1806–1906. By the Rev. T. H. Hacker. (H. R. Allenson. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a beautiful volume, with many portraits and groups of workers and illustrations of native life and Indian temples and scenery. Travancore is one of the most prosperous native states in India, and the landscape forms a garden of delights. The first European missionary was a Prussian, William T. Ringeltaube, from whose diaries Mr. Hacker makes some interesting extracts. The London Missionary Society has been working in the state for a century, and now has 9,764 church members in Travancore, and 72,080 native adherents. It is a story full of encouragement for lovers of missionary work.

Messrs. Seeley have published a new edition of *Cambridge* (6*s.*), by J. W. Clark, M.A., Registrary of the University. It has forty-six full-page illustrations, and Mr. Clark's account of the mediaeval town and the various colleges is full of bright and vivacious matter. Stories of dons and undergraduates make it a delightful volume. This, and Mr. Lang's companion volume on *Oxford*, are the best popular books on the subject that we have. Every one who loves Cambridge will be proud of such a volume, and will get a really good view of its history and its famous men.

GENERAL

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., and A. R. Waller, M.A. Vol. II. *The End of the Middle Ages.* (Cambridge University Press. 9*s.* net.)

The Cambridge History of English Literature has established its claim to a place by the side of *The Cambridge Modern History*. The second volume is as workmanlike as the first, and the interest of such subjects as Piers Plowman, the religious movements of the fourteenth century, the beginnings of English prose is inexhaustible. The reader is not burdened with processes or distracted by footnotes, but has the fruits of wide research and ripe scholarship set before him in the most compact and readable form. There is helpful guidance for students in the ample bibliography appended to each chapter. The volume opens with a learned discussion of the three texts of *Piers the Plowman*, which Professor Manly thinks are due to several hands. The chapter on John Rolle, Wyclif, and the Lollards is of special interest. Mr. Whitney thinks that the effect of Wyclif's translation on the language has sometimes been overestimated. For some years after 1381 A.D. there is no hint of any hostility to the Scriptures on the part of ecclesiastical rulers; it is only Lollard preaching that is checked. Purvey's version seems to have superseded even the Vulgate. The Church was content to use the Wyclifite versions until the growth of Lollard prologues and commentaries rendered it suspicious. Pecock's strange career is vivaciously described by Miss Greenwood. He was a learned man and a thinker, but his astounding vanity alienated even the bishops whose cause he championed. 'London was still thick with Lollards, and it became Pecock's lifelong aim to overcome their heresy by persuasion.' The 'Paston Letters' furnish much racy material, and the chapters on Caxton, Malory, Chaucer, add greatly to the value of the volume. The fifteenth century is sometimes considered a dull period in English literature, but these pages show that it is 'not deficient either in variety of utterance or in many-sidedness of interest.'

Confessio Medici. By the writer of *The Young People.* (Macmillan. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This doctor has a nimble wit, a dainty style, a full mind and a warm heart. He knows what life is in a sick-room, and has learned to prize the rewards that attend the faithful healer. His 'Essay for Students,' though he sets high store on it, is rather misty, and we should have dispensed with that psychology for more chapters like 'A Good Example,' the racy sketch of Paré, the sixteenth-century surgeon in Paris. 'The Discipline of Practice' and 'The Spirit of Practice' are full of mellowed wisdom. How true it is that the spirit of practice does not enter readily into a life which is full of furniture. 'I have had the honour of knowing many great physicians and surgeons; and I see this in all, or nearly all, of them, that, when they were young, they made ready, for the coming of the spirit of practice, apartments of the utmost simplicity; quiet, bare, whitewashed, empty little rooms. Some of us block the room with all that we put in it.' That is admirable. All bends in one direction—fitness and readiness for practice. 'When people are very ill, their demands are not many. They send for the doctor to make them well, not for the pleasure of seeing him.' The book is rich in hints for young beginners in all professions, and there is a depth and weight about the book which well befit its title.

Frontiers. By the Right Hon. Lord Curzon of Kedleston. (Clarendon Press. 2*s.* net.)

It is a remarkable fact that, though this subject is of such international interest, no work has ever been written upon it. No one was better fitted to undertake the task than the ex-Viceroy, and this Romanes lecture is not only the work of a ruler and traveller, but also of an experienced administrator. It is written in a way that attracts and holds attention. Frontiers are 'the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations.' Lord Curzon found that his subject appeared 'to embrace all history, the greater part of geography, and a good deal of jurisprudence.' His description of the origin of frontiers, the various forms they have taken, and the struggles which have been waged about them, are of deep interest. An eloquent passage describes that march of the American pioneer towards the West in which 'America ceased to be English and became American.'

Lord Curzon comes closer home when he shows that 'outside of the English Universities no school of character exists to compare with the frontier; and character is there moulded, not by attrition with fellow men in the arts or studies of peace, but in the furnace of responsibility and on the anvil of self-reliance.' The whole lecture is stimulating.

The Catholicism of the Church of England. By the Hon. and Rev. James Adderley. (F. Griffiths. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This little book is a High Churchman's defence of his position as against Rome on the one hand, and Nonconformity on the other. It is able, temperate, and marked by real catholicity of spirit, though it is, of course, distinctly advanced. Mr. Adderley holds that the Church of England can only call herself Protestant 'in a very limited sense. To emphasize the use of the word would only make ordinary people think that she had adopted the Nonconformist use of the word. To do that would be to stultify her formularies and to forfeit her right to be considered "Catholic" by the rest of Christendom.' In referring to Methodism he says, 'John Wesley was a Church of England priest, and one of the greatest of men. His intention was to found an order of gospel preachers in the Church, which in his day was terribly wanting in evangelistic zeal. He never wished to separate from the Church, but the sad separation nevertheless took place after his death. One cannot lay the blame for this at the door of any particular person, but there is no doubt that the Church of England authorities, by a want of sympathy, had much to do with it.' The chapter on 'Points of Agreement' between various communions is suggestive. In 'the yearning after Brotherhood and true Socialism' Mr. Adderley seems to detect the coming together of all Christians. If all men were living as brothers that would be the kingdom of God. It is needless to point out how greatly and strongly we dissent from much of the teaching of this book, but it gives a very clear statement of the advanced Anglican position.

Biographia Literaria. By S. T. Coleridge. Edited, with his Aesthetical Essays, by J. Shawcross. Two vols. (Clarendon Press. 8*s.* net.)

The only annotated edition of the *Biographia Literaria* that has previously been published was that issued by Coleridge's daughter and son-in-law in 1847. Mr. Shawcross has found

its notes on the philosophical portions of the text very helpful. He has set himself to supply such a commentary as will meet the needs both of philosophical and literary students, and to furnish references to Coleridge's other works which may illustrate the continuity of his opinions. The Introduction traces the various stages of Coleridge's life from his 'fretful, sensitive, and passionate' childhood up to his later years. A supplementary note shows how the *Biographia Literaria* began to take shape in 1815. The printer's blunder as to the size of the manuscript led Coleridge to write more matter than a single volume would contain, and the additions needed to fill a second volume turned the work into what he calls an 'immethodical miscellany.' It represents the various states of mind in which the writer found himself during its composition. Coleridge's dominant idea was to set forth his poetic creed. He thought he was also acting as a champion of Wordsworth, but the *Biographia Literaria* gave his brother poet no pleasure. 'The praise he considered extravagant, and the censure inconsiderate.' Wordsworth altered some of the passages which Coleridge had censured, but the changes thus made were infelicitous. The interest and importance of the work are acknowledged on all hands, and Mr. Shawcross has spared no pains to provide the fullest light as to Coleridge's allusions. The notes are a monument to the editor's patience and knowledge, and make this incontestably the standard edition of the *Biographia Literaria*.

Coleridge's Literary Criticism. With an Introduction by J. W. Mackail. (Frowde. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This is a book that no real lover of English literature can resist. Its very arrangement is tempting. After a few pages of general extracts come the famous critiques of Wordsworth, which take up 125 pages; then we reach Chaucer, Milton, and the great Shakespeare passages. Mr. Mackail's Introduction is worthy of the company it keeps. He says, 'Wordsworth found his own life an unfathomable well into which, as his eye grew trained to see in darkness, he could plunge deeper and deeper down among the springs of life. From those depths—and they were inexhaustible—he drew the water out of which we may still drink, and which we shall not find in other vessels. But when he rose from them, it was with eyes that did not readily adjust themselves to the upper air; and that is why he so often

reminds me of an owl in the daylight. The circling flight, the poise and swoop of the critic were not his.' His sister Dorothy gave him eyes.

Tacitus Dialogus, Agricola and Germania. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by W. Hamilton Fyfe. (Clarendon Press. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Dialogue on Famous Orators gives some glimpses of the education in rhetoric which such a youth as Tacitus must have received to fit him for a political career. The merits of poetry and oratory are discussed, then the subject turns on the relative merits of ancient and modern oratory. The degeneracy of modern times seems to be taken for granted. The interest which Tacitus feels in morality here begins to reveal itself. These early works are also interesting for those who wish to trace the gradual evolution of Tacitus' literary craftsmanship. 'The style of the *Dialogue* is Ciceronian, fluent, grandiloquent, and largely rhythmical, with occasional glints of the Tacitean epigram. In the *Agricola* and the *Germania* Tacitus has already adopted the style which makes the *Annals* and *Histories* immortal, but the note of rhetoric is struck more often than in the later works.' Mr. Fyfe's translation is graceful and pleasant to read, and the notes give just the information one wants in order to enter fully into the meaning of the three works. It is scarcely necessary to add that the volume itself is a model of neatness and good taste.

Poems of T. E. Brown. Selected and arranged with an Introduction and Notes by H. F. B. and H. G. D. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Introduction to these poems gives them an added charm. It helps us to understand the writer's double life as poet and schoolmaster, and sets him in that Manx framework which was the inspiration of his muse. His last years were spent chiefly in the Isle of Man, 'revelling in its scenery, living with its people, renewing the memories and the ties of his youth.' He refused the archdeaconry offered him in 1894. 'I need absolute freedom, freedom to go to church or not to go to church; freedom to commune with local preachers and occasionally to attend Methodist chapels, freedom to smoke a pipe in a Manx public-house, freedom to absent myself from church con-

ferences and ruridecanal potterings; in short, *absolute* freedom.' What use he made of his homely friends 'Old John' may show. Braddan Vicarage is a vision of his own childhood:

> I wonder if in that far isle,
> Some child is growing now, like me
> When I was child: care-pricked, yet healed the while
> With balm of rock and sea.

His tribute to Samuel Sebastian Wesley—'The Organist in Heaven'—brings out his own delight in music, whilst 'Vespers,' in praise of the blackbird, pleases us almost as much as Alfred Austin's 'Thrush.' 'The Prayers' is a delightful fancy about the first prayer of a little child. The narrative poems are very happy. The selection well represents the poet's range and the way his work appeals both to the fancy and the heart. Its music is sweet, but its broad and deep sympathy with everything human is still sweeter.

The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe. (Bell & Sons. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Perhaps no modern poet has been so variously judged as Poe, but that he possesses the subtle gift which, for want of a better term, we name genius, hardly any will deny. In recent years there has been a revived interest in his work, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's generous eulogy has emphasized the fact that Poe was the originator of the modern detective story. Here, however, we are concerned with his poetry, which cannot be considered according to the ordinary canons of recognized criticism. Poe himself, in his article on 'The Poetic Principle,' acknowledges this, and declares that poetry has little connexion with the intellect or the conscience, that it has no concern with duty or truth. He defines poetry as 'The rhythmic creation of beauty,' and ridicules the notion that poetry *teaches*. Now, how shall we judge such an one? We must, perforce, fall back on the poetry itself, and see whether it conforms to the canons of art. In some respects it does, for it is musical, and, as Professor Bradley recently remarked, 'Whatever in the world has any worth is an expression of love. Love sometimes talks. Love talking musically is poetry.' This high standard is not always attained by Poe, yet it must be confessed much of his verse possesses a bewitching quality that cannot be described, and 'we are inclined to listen, as it were, to the echo of a lyre from behind the hills of death.'

This volume, we should add, is charmingly produced, as regards both binding and type. The illustrations are by Mr. W. Heath Robinson, and there is an admirably written introduction by Mr. H. Noel Williams, who is keenly appreciative of Poe, and believes that, 'when the works of far greater poets have fallen into neglect, Poe will still be read and still appreciated; for, in the domain which he made so peculiarly his own, it is hardly possible to imagine that he will ever have to encounter anything approaching serious rivalry, while the feelings which he appeals to are universal.'

The Social Paradise. By Richard de Bary. (Francis Griffiths. 6*s.* net.)

It is very difficult to give an adequate idea of the trend and purport of this book. There are detached sentences and paragraphs that are full of truth and beauty; but there are also many hard to understand, and harder still to fit into their sequence and place in the movement of the whole. The Social Paradise is 'the divinely revealed polity of brotherliness'; and for its interpretation the general movement of the Scriptures, as well as the chief of the creeds, is placed under detailed consideration. But the language is so unusual; the thought so unfamiliar and mystical, as, e. g., when the writer speaks of 'the Holy Ghost, the social genius of God,' that the book is difficult and perplexing reading. Those who are expert in this kind of thought may gather up the meaning of the whole, but we are afraid the general reader will be far more puzzled than helped.

Missions to Hindus. By Louis George Mylne. (Longmans. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Mylne was Bishop of Bombay for twenty-one years, and the material for this book has been carefully worked over, and already used in many ways. The first part of the work deals with the problems of caste, and the type of character it produces; the second discusses the methods needed to meet these problems; the third is concerned with results and prospects. Readers of the book are allowed to share the ripe thoughts of an experienced missionary, and the conclusions finally reached will be much debated. Bishop Mylne is convinced that the Acts of the Apostles is a divinely prepared manual of missionary methods. He believes in concentration of effort on a district

which can be effectively worked. Native Christians may thus be thoroughly trained for future usefulness. The bishop maintains that caste must go; that to make terms with it is to break once for all with the practical gospel of Christ. That does not mean, however, that social distinctions are to be obliterated. Bishop Mylne also holds that the strictly educational mission has had its day. He does not convince us at this point, but everything he says deserves very careful consideration. This is a book that will provoke much thought.

South African Native Missions. By J. L. Fuller. (Leeds: R. Jackson. 6*d.*)

It is startling to be told that in going 'to minister to a primitive people we need a complete outfit of the faith—bishops and priests, with the four great sacraments of the people,' &c. Mr. Fuller belongs to the Community of the Resurrection, and is in charge of the 'Church of England Native Missions on the Rand, in the diocese of Pretoria.' With much that he says about developing the character of the natives, and making missions among them self-supporting, we are in hearty agreement, but there are passages that make a Protestant reader anxious as to the influence of such work.

Islam: A Challenge to Faith. By Samuel M. Zwemer. (Student Volunteer Movement, New York. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This book by Dr. Zwemer, an experienced missionary to Mohammedans, is a thoroughly workmanlike presentation of its subject, and, as a study in the world-wide activities of Christianity and Mohammedanism in their relation to each other, it stands unrivalled. It contains many illustrations, maps, and diagrams, and they all illuminate the subject, some of them remarkably. Dr. Zwemer's purpose is to present Islam as a challenge to the faith and enterprise of the Christian Church, and as the great unsolved missionary problem of our time. He discusses with ample knowledge the origin and sources of Islam; its doctrine, ritual and ethics, its geographical distribution and political significance. And the conviction is produced in the mind of the reader that to leave the problem of Mohammedanism alone might be fatal to Christianity. Pan-Islamism might easily become a great political danger, and the real solution of the Eastern question is in christianization. Moreover, Mohammedan leaders are challenging Christendom;

Mohammedan zeal is one of the marvels in the world of religion, zeal that finds its brightest examples amongst the laity, and a large increase of Moslems is inevitable unless a larger and worthier endeavour is made to evangelize the followers of the prophet, who now number one-seventh of the world's population. Africa in particular is menaced by Islam, but its chief numerical strength is in India, and large portions of Asia are peopled by its devotees. It is significant, too, that each of four European powers has more Moslem subjects than there are in the whole Turkish empire, and two-thirds of the Moslem peoples are under Christian rule or protection. They are thus within the sphere of our influence, and 'the doors are open.' Nor must it be thought impossible for Christian missions to succeed amongst Mohammedans, for this excellent volume proves the contrary. Yet the great problem remains, and Dr. Zwemer gives a clarion call to the Christian world to undertake missions to Mohammedans in earnest, and on an adequate scale. The book is a key to authorities, and has an excellent bibliography. We most cordially commend it.

No Struggle for Existence—No Natural Selection. By Geo. Paulin. (T. & T. Clark. 5*s*. net.)

No one can complain that the title of this work lacks either lucidity or confidence. And whether one accepts the author's conclusions or not, it must be allowed that the work is carefully written and merits fair attention. Its general attitude is best summarized in a few words of the Preface. 'The condition of the geological record shrieks out the most emphatic refutation of Darwin's doctrine of Natural Selection, as the evolutionary power of nature. Nature most clearly proclaims that if there has been evolution from lower to higher forms, it has not been by slow and gradual processes; for such processes could by no means have left the geological record a *tabula rasa* in the matter of intermediate forms. If I be asked in what conclusion then do I rest, I can only answer in this, that I know nothing. The way of God in creation baffles me by its mystery. Of the mode of evolution Nature tells us nothing.' It will certainly be a new consideration for modern science if we are seriously called upon to believe at once in evolution and special creation. Evolution which 'has not been by slow and gradual processes' will seem to most modern thinkers a contradiction in terms. And when the writer here

asserts that 'the imparting of the principle of life to the first monocellular bit of protoplasm' was a special act of creation, he may be true or not, but modern science no more warrants this assumption than it accepts Prof. Haeckel's theory of archigony. In the later parts of his book the author strongly controverts Malthus's well-known 'Essay on Population,' and substitutes for it his own 'Law of Population,' which is to the effect that 'The general movement of population is determined directly by the ability of the individuals of a community to marry; and this ability again depends upon the state of the labour market.' He works out this theory with much elaboration by means of carefully selected tables. He is evidently far removed from any sympathy with modern Socialism, but writes throughout in a spirit of intelligent sincerity which deserves regard. We cannot agree with many of his positions, but recognize the author as a forceful thinker whose work is of value from the conservative standpoint. His style is clear and interesting, and the work is helped by the good print and get-up which characterize all Messrs. T. & T. Clark's productions.

National and Social Problems. By Frederic Harrison. (London: Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Under the above title, in order to represent the practical application of the principles of Positivism, laid down in *The Creed of a Layman* and *The Philosophy of Common Sense*, the Nestor of the Positivists has collected and republished a series of essays, many of which date back to the early seventies and eighties, the latest being written in 1899. So stoutly does Mr. Harrison retain his views that he finds almost nothing to retract, not even as concerns the somewhat pessimistic essay on the British occupation of Egypt, written in 1882, which he will not admit has been falsified, a fact which does more credit to his tenacity than to his judgement. To-day, as then, though not unnaturally scorning the facile nickname 'Little Englander,' Mr. Harrison is an unrepentant anti-imperialist, and though his views will be thought extreme, they are not more so than those to which they form the antithesis, the unreasoning Jingoism, now happily abating, which once passed as imperial spirit. It is strange to read in 1908 an essay begging England to intervene in the Franco-German War. One wonders what would have been the result if Mr. Harrison's counsels had been taken! But as a contemporary study of events still potent

in the policies of Europe, these essays justify their reproduction, the more so since the style is clear, graphic, and readable.

The social essays, especially those relating to the bearing of the success and failure of Trades Unionism on Socialism, though they will not please the Socialists, are a serious argument, worth far more than tirades about the 'have nots' and 'haves,' which so often form the staple fuel of this ever-burning controversy. Mr. Harrison still reiterates with undiminished faith to an unbelieving world that the religion of humanity is the cure of all its ills, and still holds that Christianity is other-worldliness. The religion of humanity will conquer, but not in the form given to it by Comte. The victory will be to the religion of humanity as taught and lived by Him who calls Himself the Son of Man.

Socialism, the Church, and the Poor. By P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1s. net.)

Dr. Forsyth is always stimulating, and this small book is packed with matter. Its charm and value is that it speaks out plainly as to certain obvious dangers which attend the social discussions of the time. The writer thinks that the question of the relation of Christianity to Socialism is 'one that will grow much hotter before it grows cooler, and it will divide the Socialists themselves down the middle.' Dr. Forsyth points out that Christianity is not bound up with any particular scheme, dream, or programme of social order. 'Its essence is redemption as forgiveness or eternal life, and the kingdom of God as flowing from these. And the eternal life can be led under almost any form of society.' He argues that 'the soundest, surest method of social change is the English one, the experimental.' The whole discussion is vivacious, and though it will not please every reader it will pay every one who is interested in this vital subject to study it with close attention.

Christianity and Socialism. By the Rev. W. Nicholas, M.A., D.D. (R. Culley. 2s. net.)

The Book Room has been well advised in placing a new and cheaper edition, revised and partially brought up to date, of Dr. Nicholas's Fernley Lecture in the series of handbooks on social questions which opened with *The Citizen of To-Morrow*, and the new edition of Mr. Keeble's *Industrial Day Dreams*.

From the members of the W.M. Union for Social Service especially it should receive a hearty welcome, for it presents both Christianity and Socialism in slightly different aspects from those in which they are usually regarded in the publications of the Union; and one of the purposes of the Union is to study these matters in all their aspects and on every side. The question is discussed with knowledge, ability, and much popular sympathy. The author does not believe that Socialism in any of its forms is either a practicable or desirable remedy for the ills of mankind, but he has a burning and a reasoned faith in Christianity, and with much eloquence he shows both where and how its truths and influences may be brought to bear for the renewal of the individual and the amelioration of society. The motto, 'See and Serve,' might have been placed above the dedication of this efficient help to vision and service.

Yorkshire Vales and Wolds. Painted and described by Gordon Home. (A. & C. Black. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Home has described the northern half of Yorkshire in two previous books. Here he deals with the southern parts—the wolds, the coast from Filey to Spurn Head, Beverley, along the Humber, the Derwent, York and the manufacturing district. His work of exploring, note-taking, painting, and writing has spread over four years, but the result justifies the labour both of pen and pencil. The wolds are not unlike the chalk-hills of Sussex or the wind-swept downs around Stonehenge. Scarcely a house is to be seen for miles, and the wonderful health-giving breezes sweep continually across pasture, stubble, and roots. There is scarcely any region so rich in its remains of Early Man. After a ramble over the wolds we reach Filey Brig. Its real fascination is felt when viewed from the top of the Naze with a gale driving enormous waves upon the line of projecting rocks. Mr. Home's description of the cannonading of the rocks when the whole Brig is invisible in a vast cloud of spray makes one wish to watch it for ourselves. The charm and glamour of Beverley are best felt at sunset on a clear evening as you stand by the north transept of its Minster and see the western towers thrown out against a soft yellow sky. Of this Mr. Home gives a dream-like picture. He is, however, not so enthusiastic about the Minster as the architects are. For him, despite its Early English work, 'Beverley is merely on the road to York.' Patrington Church is rightly styled 'The Queen of Holderness'; 'in its per-

fect proportion, its wealth of detail and marvellous dignity, it is a joy to the eye within and without.' The chapter on the capital of the county will help even those who have never seen it to feel its spell. It seems to link together all the ages. 'To thoroughly master the story of the city of York is to know practically the whole of English history.' Mr. Home's pictures of the view from the Minster, Stonegate, Bootham Bar, are as effective as his text. The whole book is a delight.

Highways and Byways in Hampshire. By D. H. Montray Read, with Illustrations by Arthur B. Connor. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s*.)

Mr. Read is an enthusiast. To him Hampshire is a delightful bundle of memories, with 'a setting of sunwashed landscapes, sweet scents, and bird melodies.' He does not include the Isle of Wight in his itinerary, and only touches the fringe of the New Forest, but he leads us about '*the* most perfect of English counties, and the most representative corner of England,' with such evident relish that we soon fall under the spell. 'Not even Kent can claim a greater share in the making of England, and proud London herself bends courteous head to Winton, her sister city.' We enter the county at Southampton and pass on to Winchester, Andover, Romsey, Christchurch, Portsmouth, Alton and the quiet corners where the downlands melt into the heaths and commons of the London Basin. The last paragraphs are given to Wellington at Strathfieldsaye. Mr. Connor's illustrations of Romsey Abbey from the East, Basingstoke Church, In the Master's Garden, St. Cross, and other delightful places add to the charm of a really pleasant volume full of good stories and instructive glimpses into the history of the county.

Champions of the Fleet. By E. Fraser. (John Lane. 6*s*.)

This book appeals to all the instincts of a patriot. Its tales of the fighting days of the Navy are told with great spirit, and a host of details are given which seem to bring back those stirring times which are the pride of every Englishman. Our battleships bear names which carry us almost to the beginning of our Navy. The *Dreadnought*, the biggest, heaviest, fastest, hardest-hitting man-of-war that has ever sailed the sea, is the seventh to bear that name. The first was built as an answer to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and Mr. Fraser gives a

vivid description of the dock and the workmen who built her at Deptford. Thomas Fenner, Drake's right-hand man, commanded her, and the Spaniards had some uncomfortable tastes of her quality. No ship bore herself better in the opening encounter with the Spanish Armada. The history of her successors is given with a most interesting description of the present *Dreadnought*. The *Téméraire* supplies material for a good chapter, and the *Victory* fills a proud place in the record. The whole book is alive, and is full of out-of-the-way lore. It will be a splendid school prize, but it appeals not only to boys, but to every lover of our Navy.

The Story of Crime from the Cradle to the Grave. By H. L. Adam. Illustrated. (T. Werner Laurie. 10*s*. 6*d*. net.)

For some years Mr. Adam has been visiting courts and prison to see with his own eyes all that concerns his painful subject. He enlisted the sympathy of the Home Office, of judges, barristers, and prison authorities, and secured extraordinary facilities for his self-imposed task. He has a great deal to say, and he says it with a journalist's easy confidence in his own judgements and opinions. Mr. Adam is very hard on solicitors and somewhat severe on the police; but his chief antagonism seems to be against prison governors who are military men. Our sympathy is certainly with the governor of Wandsworth, who objected to the intrusion of the camera into his grim domain. On the question of monogamy Mr. Adam seems to have strange views, and he is strongly opposed to the cell system and to capital punishment. His description of Borstal prison and the methods there pursued is one of the most valuable chapters of his book, and shows an eager sympathy with the efforts made to reform young prisoners. There is also an excellent chapter on Brixton, the remand prison of London. The book is full of incident, and represents much patient and diligent research into the whole subject.

Smuggling in the Solway and Around the Galloway Seaboard. By J. Maxwell Wood, M.B. (Dumfries: Maxwell & Son. 3*s*.)

The seaboard of Galloway offered a fine field for the smugglers of a century ago, when the Scotch people regarded imposts as an unjust aggression upon their ancient liberties.

The Isle of Man was close at hand, and was exempt from certain import duties on foreign commodities which were levied in all parts of England and Scotland. The vessels engaged in the trade were small sailing boats known as 'scouts' and luggers carrying as many as twenty-two guns and fifty men. Of the daring deeds of the smugglers Mr. Wood has gathered together many a stirring story. He explains the methods of shore concealment which were used, and tells how the minister of Anwoth was deposed because he shared in the illegal practices of his parishioners. Illustrations are given of the smugglers' caves along the coast which lent themselves to the trade, and the whole wild life is brought before our eyes. 'The Solway Smuggler in Fiction' will be of special interest to readers of *Guy Mannering*, *The Raiders*, &c. Mr. Wood has done his work with much care and skill.

The Sayings of the Wise, or Food for Thought. By William Baldwin, 1555 A.D. (Stock. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

In his prologue Baldwin urges his readers, 'every man in his trade of living, to use such moral virtues and virtuous behaviour one towards another, that our love and charity used towards our brethren may testify our faith and love towards God!' In the first part of the work we have short lives of the ancient philosophers from Hermes to Seneca, 'that we Christians, ashamed of ourselves in beholding the lives of these heathen persons, may amend ours; and follow the good doctrine that they have taught us.' In his second book Mr. Baldwin quotes sayings of the philosophers as to God, the soul, the world, &c. Then follows a collection of proverbs, some of which are turned into verse 'to the intent they may be the easier learned, and better kept in mind.' A short book of parables closes the selection. Every page has its gem. 'He that vanquisheth his lusts is a great conqueror' is a word from Plato. Socrates adds: 'Pleasure perisheth lightly; but honour is immortal.' Professor Arber has spread a rich feast before his readers.

Parerga, by Canon Sheenan, D.D. (Longmans, 7*s*. 6*d*. net), is a series of short meditations arranged under the headings, Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer. They are studies in nature and literature. Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller, Swinburne, Carlyle, Tennyson—all are here, and of each Canon Sheenan has some interesting critique or study. Every subject is handled

in a way that sets one musing. This is pre-eminently a book for a holiday or a leisure hour.

The Demonstration Schools Record. Edited by J. J. Findlay. (Manchester University Press. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume describes the work done in the demonstration schools connected with the department of education in the University of Manchester. Professor J. J. Findlay is responsible for several of the papers, and his stamp is on them all. He has found the schools very useful for the study of children. Careful observations have been made as to their height, weight, eyesight and other points. The child is studied 'at a respectful distance, and through his public performances rather than by button-holing and cross-examination.' Particulars are given of a science course and a French course, with many other details which will be really helpful to teachers and students of educational method. The book shows what strides education has made in our country, and gives strong hope for future advance.

Liberal and Mystical Writings of William Law. With an Introduction by W. Scott Palmer. (Longmans. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

In a preface to this selection Professor Du Bose says that it has made the real William Law stand before him for the first time. Mr. Palmer thinks that the *Serious Call* conceals and misrepresents Law, and that Jacob Boehmen's writings made him the seer whom we know through *The Spirit of Prayer* and *The Spirit of Love.* Law had a mind at one with the best thoughts of our age and with all our knowledge. That is Mr. Palmer's verdict, and Dr. Du Bose is evidently in sympathy with the mysticism revealed in Law's writings. The book deserves careful reading.

Blossom and Fruit. By Mary Chimmo. (R. Culley. 1*s.* net.)

In thirteen brief chapters the authoress has written words of cheer for all who need spiritual refreshment. There is a quiet restfulness about her thoughts, which seem to culminate in the promise, 'Thou satisfiest the desire of every living thing.' And this peace, this satisfaction is strengthened by the contemplation of Nature, which is an open book waiting to

reveal itself to the purged eye and ear. When Wordsworth told us that Nature never did betray the heart that loved her, he uttered a truth of far-reaching import. He taught how our lives might be ennobled by the study of a flower. Here the writer, in simple allegory, draws lessons from the wonderful works of God, and in these 'Messages,' winged with faith and hope, she seeks to enable others to take 'the living spring.'

Health at its Best v. *Cancer.* By Robert Bell, M.D., F.F.P.S. (Unwin. 5*s.* net.)

Dr. Bell hopes that it may before long be possible to stamp out cancer. He has been a careful student of the whole subject, and holds strong views on many points. His main contention is that proper diet and absolute cleanliness of the skin and every part of the body are essential to health. He pleads strongly for vegetarian food, but holds that much of its virtue is lost by cooking. Dr. Bell writes brightly, and his volume is one of very deep interest.

Luxury and Waste of Life. By E. J. Urwick. (Dent & Co. 4*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Urwick's luxury is an expenditure beyond £200 per family per annum. He has many interesting and timely things to say, but he admits that his conclusion is 'rather impotent,' and that how far expenditure beyond the £200 can be justified must be left 'to the individual conscience—a very tricky umpire.' The writer's desire to be fair and reasonable somewhat hampers him, and when he begins to discuss the use of surplus income he is very much at sea. It is all in the best temper, but we cannot honestly say that much light is thrown on our problems.

Mr. Crewe's Career. By Winston Churchill. (Macmillan. 6*s.*)

Austen Vane, the son of the chief legal adviser of the North Eastern Railroads, is the hero of this book, and Mr. Churchill has never drawn a finer one. The story turns on the attempt of Humphrey Crewe, the self-centred millionaire, to win the nomination for Governor of the State. The elder Vane has to conduct the political campaign in the interest of the railway, and he wins his victory; but his son's downright honesty opens his eyes to the unworthiness of the trickery that has been going on for years, and he resigns his office. It is a vivid and

vigorous picture of State politics in America; but Austen Vane would make the fortune of any story, and his love for Victoria Flint, the railway president's daughter, who has as much force and humour as Austen himself, is exciting. Euphrasia, Mr. Vane's housekeeper, is another portrait that one cannot forget. It is a story one is glad to have read.

The S.P.C.K. publish a valuable set of twopenny pamphlets, papers to be read at the Pan-Anglican Congress. They are written by leading experts, and deal with vital questions such as Marriage, the Church and its Ministry, Methods of Carrying out Missionary Work, the Anglican Community, Morality in Commercial and Social Life, Christianity and Socialism, Church work among the Jews, Christian Philosophy, Religion and the Press, Religious Education of the Young, &c. Any one who wishes to get a careful study of such subjects, packed into small compass yet full of facts, will be well advised to secure these pamphlets. *The Official Year-Book of the Church of England* (S.P.C.K., 3*s*.) gives statistics as to baptisms, confirmations, and all sides of the Church's work. The voluntary contributions of Churchmen for general and parochial purposes reached seven and a half million pounds last year. Such a book can only be described as indispensable.

The Clarendon Press are issuing *Select English Classics* (3*d*. and 4*d*.), edited by Mr. Quiller-Couch. Bunyan, Crabbe, Defoe, Cowper, the first four of the series, will tempt many readers. The type is bold, the selections have been made with taste and skill, and the three-page introduction happily combines facts and helpful estimates of the works from which the selections are made. A few coppers will be well spent on these neat booklets.

The Rev. W. J. Heaton has written a forcible tract: *Should not the Revised Version of the Scriptures be Further Revised?* (F. Griffiths. 6*d*. net.) His main objection to the version is, as the Bishop of Durham puts it, that it 'seriously lacks that English felicity' which one has a right to expect in such a translation. Mr. Heaton supports his case with a host of quotations. We do not think the time has come for any change, but Dr. Moule no doubt puts his finger on what many feel to be a grave defect of the Revised Version.

We are glad to see a second edition revised of Professor Sayce's *Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (S.P.C.K.,

5*s*.). It is a book of the greatest interest and value for Bible students. The story of the decipherment of the inscriptions is a real romance, and the whole subject of Babylonian and Egyptian civilization is lighted up by these lectures.

Pope Pacificus. By Junius Junior. (S.P.C.K. 6*d*.) A striking little fable in which a pope teaches Christendom the law of love. If his book is but a dream the writer urges that every reader should begin at once to frame his own life according to Christ's rule.

Under Bond and Banner, by Robert Whittleton (Culley, 3*d*. net), is a booklet addressed to soldiers as comrades in arms. It begins with the recruit and passes on to his warfare, armour, discipline, comradeship, and triumph. Those who begin will be eager to read to the end, and we advise every one to begin. It is full of wise and helpful words.

The seventh edition, revised, of Dr. Sayce's *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Verdict of the Monuments* (S.P.C.K., 5*s*.) is sure of a warm welcome. The fourteen years which have passed since the first edition appeared have been a period of strenuous excavation and wonderful discovery. Dr. Sayce thinks 'every advance in archaeological knowledge has been in favour of tradition and against the subjective conclusions of the "higher criticism."' That is the position which he takes, and those who dissent from his verdict will have to study this survey of Babylonian, Egyptian, and Assyrian antiquities as carefully as those who accept it. It is a book of the greatest interest and importance.

The Census of New Zealand, 1906 (Wellington: Mackay), is a really interesting study. It was taken in April 1906, and showed a population of 888,578, exclusive of Maoris and recently annexed Pacific islands; an increase of 115,859 since 1901. The dwellings numbered 197,003, of which 11,279 were unoccupied and 1,267 in course of erection. Besides these there were 5,381 tents or dwellings with canvas roofs. The number of persons to each inhabited building was 4·82. The Church of England has 366,828 adherents. Presbyterians number 203,597, Romanists 126,109, Methodists 89,038, Baptists 17,747, Congregationalists 7,360, Salvation Army 8,389.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

THE remarkable article in the **Quarterly Review** (April-June) on *The Ideas of Mr. H. G. Wells*, only deals with his latest book, *New Worlds for Old*, in a postscript, but the review of all his other works is so thorough and discriminating that it is not probable that the writer's view would have been greatly modified by a more leisurely perusal of that deliverance. Mr. Wells is regarded as a representative figure in English society, exhibiting in a striking manner the virtues and defects of a new and increasing class in the English bourgeoisie. 'He is a revolutionary fanatic with a doctrinaire cast of mind, who has appeared when the English mind for the first time is losing hold of the world of experience and groping wildly in a world of theory.' 'It is a pity,' says the writer, 'that a novelist with so lively a sense of the picturesque, so impressive an imagination, and so gracious a power of sympathetic insight, should have been drawn into a frothy movement of enlightenment in which his natural genius is dwarfed and distorted.' The writer does not think he will become the Luther of the Socialistic movement. 'He lacks the soul of iron and the colour-blindness of the systematizer. The stream of his feelings does not run in the same direction as that into which the current of his thoughts has, unhappily, been turned. Hence his continual alterations of opinion. His polemical works are written with a view to convincing himself. But he cannot make up his mind. He is not, like Mr. G. B. Shaw, a gay and curious sceptic by nature, who has taken up Socialism as the latest and most perverse form of intellectual dilettanteism. Mr. Wells is in earnest, but he is not certain what he is in earnest about. . . . So he vacillates in a strange spiritual unrest; being, on the one hand, an anarchist, who would destroy, out of wild, personal discontent, a civilization on which rests everything he loves and admires; and, on the other, a troubled, anxious, questioning spirit, seeking vainly amid the shows of time for the eternal foundations of religious faith.'

The best, because the most elaborate, painstaking, and discriminating account we have yet seen of Mr. Thomas Hardy's portentous trilogy, *The Dynasts*, is to be found in the **Edinburgh Review** for April-June. The writer rightly regards the work as *sui generis*, and does not attempt to judge it by the accepted canons of literary or dramatic art. It is a poem, but whether it is epic or dramatic, or both, or ever so

many other things besides, he prefers not to decide. With the philosophy underlying it he briefly and unhesitatingly deals. It is Schopenhaurean. It eliminates the spiritual, and its author, in his general preface, takes for granted that all thinkers have long since abandoned the idea of a deity. It is impossible, therefore, for poetic purposes, any longer to assume either a God or supernatural presences and powers. To which the writer of the article rejoins, 'Are then Goethe, Coleridge, Carlyle, Tennyson, Browning to be rated as out of the order of "thinkers"? Or, among metaphysicians, was not Kant a thinker, nor Fichte, nor Lotze? Surely,' adds the writer, who thinks that the poem is entirely spoiled by the philosophy, 'this is bluff, and bluff of this sort springs out of hysteria.' The conclusion of this part of the critique puts the matter in a nutshell: 'The "Immanent Will," which is absolutely impersonal, which must be spoken of as "It," which is generally spoken of as "unconscious," "unthinking"—this is an idea which may be graspable in the region of metaphysics, but certainly not in the sphere of creative art.' The other literary article in this valuable number will be treasured by all Dante students. It traces the influence and appearance of *Dante in English literature from Chaucer to Cary*. Milton's acquaintance with the *Commedia* is fully illustrated both from his poetry and prose. Cary's translation is regarded as still holding the field amid a multitude of competitors in almost every variety of metre, and those who are most familiar with that masterpiece will endorse the verdict: 'Cary made Dante an English possession, and in so doing won for Dante, as well as for himself, a permanent place in English literature.'

Hibbert Journal (April).—Dr. Forsyth opens this number with a strenuous plea for Christian experience as a trustworthy evidence for the validity of Christian truth. Moral certainty, he contends, is surer than rational certainty, and the saint's communion with his Saviour, his experience of salvation, is 'not a passing impression, but a life faith; not a subjective frame, but an objective relation and even transaction.' The article is written with Dr. Forsyth's customary ability and force, but it obviously appeals to believers rather than to sceptics, and as a sermon is addressed to those who are already converted. In the experience of the Church, to which the last section of the article is devoted, the writer rests his case upon objective considerations. Mr. Lowes Dickinson always writes interestingly, though his own religious creed seems to be of the scantiest. In discussing *Knowledge and Faith*, he admits a place for religious faith in human life, only on condition that it shall never claim to be knowledge, or harden into doctrine. He seems to agree with Höffding that religion is the mere poetry of life; pleasing, even strengthening, so long as it is content to move in the region of imagination, 'an airy citadel in the realm of the unknown.' Sir Oliver Lodge's second article on *The Immor-*

tality of the Soul, adduces arguments from automatism, telepathy, genius and the subliminal faculty to prove that our personality is not bound up with our bodily existence and may survive its dissolution. The 'permanent element in man' cannot perish. Mrs. H. F. Petersen's article on *An Agnostic's Consolation*, is not very consoling. She gives up the comfort concerning the existence of evil and pain, which some have drawn from a theory of 'compensation,' and also that supplied by 'evolution.' The one consolation remaining to the agnostic lies in 'the help and sympathy which we ourselves can extend to our fellow creatures.' 'Let us be kind to one another, for to-morrow we die,' is certainly a better motto than 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die'; but there is no small danger lest sympathy should dwindle when hope is gone. And it is Christianity that keeps hope alive to-day. Rev. R. Morris' paper on *Was Jesus a Divine Man and Nothing More?* is short, but very cogent. It points out on how unstable a footing faith rests which tries to be content with Jesus as exhibiting merely the ideal of manhood. Professor Hearnshaw's note on the several meanings of *Law* is timely and useful. He is severe in his remarks on Mr. Arthur's *Fernley Lecture*, and hardly does justice to the argument of that able treatise. Still, he makes good one or two criticisms, and the acute distinctions he draws ought to be more constantly recognized both by scientific and theological writers.

Journal of Theological Studies (April).—The one article for general readers in this scholarly periodical is that by Dr. C. F. Burney on *A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in Early Times*. We have been much interested in it in the light of our own conviction, that while the conclusions of criticism as to the later development of Jewish religion have been fairly established, current hypotheses as to its earlier condition rest upon nothing like the same basis of evidence and need to be revised, perhaps revolutionized. Dr. Burney seeks to 'indicate for Moses the establishment of a high form of ethical religion.' He believes that the religion of Moses forms the background of the moral Decalogue of Exodus xx, and that the Decalogue was in its original short form promulgated by Moses himself. These views, which were taken for granted half-a-century ago by theologians in this country, are not held, as is well known, by the majority of scholars in Germany to-day. But the theory that a condition of belief and cultus obtained in Israel in pre-prophetic times that was inconsistent with any high standard of ethical religion, is an assumption for which no adequate objective evidence has been forthcoming. Now we are finding out that Babylonian civilization extended far back beyond the beginning of Israelitish history, and no theory concerning the early religion of Israel is worth anything which does not take full account of its relation to the civilization and religion of Babylon. The subject is far too large for us even to touch upon in a note, but we commend Dr. Burney's long and able article to our readers, leading as

it does to the conclusion that 'tradition is correct in assigning the promulgation of the moral Decalogue to Moses.' Notes and studies are furnished in this number on the Hymns of St. Ambrose, the Byzantine Liturgy and the Catacomb of St. Priscilla. The reviews of E. F. Scott's book on *The Fourth Gospel*, and Dr. Salmon's *Synoptic Problem*, are able and interesting.

The Expositor (April, May).—Professor Denney's article on *The Cup of the Lord and the Cup of Demons*, possesses a deeper interest than the title might promise. It takes us to the heart of the question, What is meant by a sacrament? and it illustrates with great point and force the dangers incurred by 'enlightened liberalism.' Dr. Denney is not narrow, he is content to stand by the side of St. Paul, whom so many modern teachers pride themselves on surpassing. Dr. James Orr continues his inquiry into the Resurrection of Jesus, dealing in this number with *The Credibility of the Witness*, especially on the subject of the Burial of our Lord. The prejudice against the supernatural is in our time so strong that Dr. Orr's reasoning will be felt to be timely and helpful, especially in relation to Professor Kirsopp Lake's recent volume on the subject. Dr. Oesterley's interpretation of the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard lays stress upon the Christian doctrine of grace, and implies that the parable was specifically directed against the Jewish doctrine of works. Christ wished to teach not merely that reward will be granted at last according to the quality, not the quantity of work done, and that Gentiles will be sharers with Jews in the final salvation; but that no man in virtue of any work done can claim reward, and none can be justified in the sight of God by his own merit. Dr. Eagar's 'critical note' on St. Luke's account of the Last Supper is learned and able. The difficulties raised by St. Luke's mention of two cups are frankly faced and fairly met. He proves, we think, that the first cup preceded the feast, and was not eucharistic. Mr. Hart's *Plea for the Recognition of the Fourth Gospel as an Historical Authority* was much needed and it moves in the right direction, but his argument needs strengthening to bring full conviction to questioning minds. The *May* number contains two articles on Easter subjects; one by Dean Bernard on *St. Paul's Doctrine of the Resurrection* in 1 Cor. xv, the other on *The Easter Message*, by Dr. Orr. Professor Lofthouse of Handsworth contributes an illuminating article on *The Social Teaching of the Law*. He describes Jewish law as 'nothing but custom in process of crystallization,' and shows how conservative was its spirit even in the midst of change. The writer follows some of the changes in social legislation through the 'Book of the Covenant,' the Deuteronomic Code, the Holiness Code and the Priestly Legislation, and gives an excellent illustration of the intelligent handling of the Old Testament in the light of modern critical theories.

The Expository Times (April, May, June).—The Editor's Notes o. Recent Exposition continue to form a salient feature in this ever fresh periodical. They furnish exactly the kind of stimulus to thought and further reading which the average minister requires, though they are necessarily too fragmentary for comment some time after date. We notice that two Professors from Handsworth College contribute to these three numbers. Dr. Tasker writes on the last volume of the new edition of *Herzog*, which he has introduced to English readers in a series of appreciative articles; and Mr. Holdsworth continues his papers on *The Life of Faith*, dealing in this instance with the response to faith and our Lord's profound knowledge of 'that which was in man.' Mr. Emmett furnishes two articles on Professor Harnack's views concerning the *Second Source of the First and Third Gospels*, which will interest scholars. Dr. F. R. Tennant's paper on *Biogenesis* points out that 'at present evolution has its limits, and is not concerned with origins.' He holds that 'the question of biogenesis has no bearing upon theology.' We believe he is perfectly right, but what a pother might have been prevented had this been properly understood earlier! Professor Sayce's article on *The Archaeology of Genesis*, and Mr. Macfadyen's on *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, are worth noting for different reasons. In the June number Dr. Moffatt criticizes with point and effect Loisy's volumes on the synoptic problem. He thinks that they illustrate a method of research which 'may be said to have almost seen its best days,' and the remark, coming from so thorough-going a critic, is very suggestive. It is assuredly difficult to see how the Curia 'could permit critical opinions of this kind to be published by an accredited teacher of the Church.' An interesting article on *Saintly Miracles*, by Canon M'Culloch, draws attention to the way in which the legends of hagiology grow up, and the teaching of modern psychology with regard to unusual and apparently supernatural phenomena that are now for the first time coming to be understood.

The Church Quarterly (April).—The study of *John Wesley and the Psychology of Revivals* deserves careful attention. The writer says the strong tide of religious feeling which flowed over England in the eighteenth century was free from any turbid admixture of politics. 'The movement was religious through and through.' Through Wesley 'multitudes of Englishmen attained what may fairly be termed a new life. They gained an entrance into new fields of experience. Their horizon expanded, until they became conscious of powers the very existence of which they had never hitherto suspected.' The man through whom this change was wrought deserves special attention. 'A revivalist like John Wesley is in some sort a prophet of modern times, and the problem of his influence deserves to be studied along the same lines as the inspiration of the great prophets of old.' He stands forth as one conspicuously gifted with the aptitude for wakening into life the

religious activities of the listless and the indifferent, the ignorant and the hardened. The writer thinks the distinguishing feature of Wesley's power was 'the faculty of controlling the wills of those with whom he came into contact.'

The Primitive Methodist Quarterly (April).—Mr. T. E. Slater's discussion of *Indian Monism and Christian Thought*, which began in the last number of this Review, is here continued and is full of suggestion. A thoughtful article is that by J. Swinden on *The Authority of Jesus*, dealing with Dr. Forrest's volume on the subject. More than a dozen articles besides help to make up an interesting number. Readers of various tastes are catered for, as the following titles of papers will show: *The Social Ethics of Jesus, The Poetry of Lowell, Watts-Dunton's Aylwin, Rt. Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P., Some Recent Philosophy.* It must be conceded that the brevity in the treatment of large subjects necessitates a certain superficiality, which is to be regretted.

In the **Dublin Review** for April-June, Dr. William Barry contributes a sequel under the title *Rome and Democracy*, to the articles in previous numbers entitled *Roma Sacra*, and *The Papal Deposing Power*. The aim of the series, apparently, is to show that democracy may and should be theocratic, with the implied assumption that the papacy is the only authorized earthly organ of the theocracy. The editor, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, reviews Mr. Balfour's Henry Sidgwick Lecture on *Decadence*, and shows that the lecturer 'points to a new faith and a new source of progress, emerging from the conquests of reason in applied scientific knowledge; new vistas of practicable schemes for the benefit of the community and the race; and a new source of inspiration to the workman, both in the intellectual movement to which these schemes are due, and in their known practicality.' There is also a very interesting parallel between *St. Dominic and St. Francis* by an anonymous writer, who contends that the contrast between these two saints and their Orders has been over-emphasized, and maintains that 'a truer and more understanding devotion will be paid to St. Francis when, side by side with the Poverello of Assisi, shall be honoured with a like passion of love, Dominic, the child of proud Castile, with the musical voice and slender hands and the great light upon his brow.' In *The Worldly Wisdom of Thomas à Kempis*, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald quotes and comments on a number of maxims from the *Imitation*, which illustrate the value of this great manual of devotion as a guide through the world to Everyman, and explain its attractions for men and women so diverse as Dr. Johnson, Carlyle, Dickens, Talleyrand, and George Eliot.

After Colonel Maude's articles in the April and May **Contemporary**, in which he tells us all that may be disclosed about the new gun that is capable of throwing projectiles as far as from London

to Paris, and that is possibly destined, if not to put an end to war, at least to make people think a thousand times before bringing weapons so destructive into action, perhaps the most extraordinary paper is the one in May by Sir Oliver Lodge on *The Ether of Space*, in which he tells us not merely that ether is everywhere, but that matter is a form of ether, though ether is not matter, just as a knot on a piece of string is composed of string, though the string is not composed of knots. As to what ether is, Sir Oliver is probably as much in the dark as the rest of us. Of it, as of Tennyson's 'Flower in the crannied wall,' it may possibly be true that if we could know it, we should know, as the poet suggests, 'what God and man is.'

In the **National Review** for May Dr. William Barry, like one of the old prophets, takes up the prediction of Ruskin nearly thirty years ago in his *Fiction Fair and Foul*, and shows the effects of novel reading on the present generation, large numbers of whom are distinguished by a fearful frivolity, lowered vitality, love of excitement, &c., until the once serious Briton is fast developing into a light-brained creature who gambles, looks on at football matches, plays bridge, and shirks responsibility. In all directions revolution is abroad, with imaginative literature as its herald and encourager. 'The corruption of love, that authors and publishers may thrive upon it, is the natural and necessary outcome of a science that denies what it cannot reach, and an art whose sole aim is sensuous enjoyment.' The women are as bad as the men, and the effects on both are similar. 'He does not want to be a father; his wife declines to be a mother. . . . If not sullenly incredulous, he is quite indifferent to Church and Bible. He wants money, pleasure, show. A bundle of sensations, with vanity pricking him on; when he is rich he gratifies every fancy; while he is poor he scamps work, and lives on somebody else, and gets intoxicated at the public expense. Apply all this to the woman of the period; and you will own that, if I am drawing a popular type, Ruskin's foreboding was justified.' 'The heart of this people,' says this new Isaiah, 'needs to be changed, its dream of soft living dissipated, the smoke swept from its eyes, that it may see and repent, literally thinking new thoughts which shall be the old gospel applied to new times'; and he clearly sees that 'unless English men and women keep their hearts pure, it is hopeless to expect that their literature will be clean.'

The part of **Mind** for April–June that will most interest our readers is the paper on *The Ambiguity of Pragmatism*, in which Professor F. H. Bradley criticizes the teaching of Professors James and Dewey, and closes the former part of the discussion by expressing the wish that Dr. James would turn his back for a time on 'sporadic articles, and on popular lectures with their incoherence and half-heartedness and more or less plausible ambigui-

ties, and would work in a way in which a man who seriously aims at a new philosophy is condemned to work.' The result, Professor Bradley feels sure, would repay his labour. Meanwhile he suggests that the brilliant American doctor might remind his followers on this side the Atlantic 'that, of course without prejudice to the future, it is not yet true that the crowing of the cock brings the sun above the horizon.'

The May **Blackwood** has an interesting paper by Mr. A. T. S. Goodrick on *Robinson Crusoe, Impostor*, discussing the originality of the great romance. 'Our joy in whitewashing rogues,' begins the writer, 'is now-a-days only excelled by our delight in blackening heroes.' He then plunges into an examination of the recent attempts to deprive Defoe of the glory of creating the immortal Crusoe, and concludes: 'That Defoe was a plagiary in the modern niggardly and carping sense; that he was indebted to his predecessors severally for the idea of the hermit castaway, for the *locale* of the island, for the hundred minor details of lonely and even squalid life over which he had cast the glamour of his genius, cannot be denied. So far Robinson is an impostor; but when we come to the soul of the book, its matchless charm, its humanity, its brilliant presentation of common happenings, then we feel that we may claim to have produced within the limits of our narrow seas the greatest romance the world has ever seen.'

What will give distinction in the eyes of many of our readers to the May number of the **Albany Review** is the beautiful appreciation by Mme. Linda Villari of the character and poetry of the late Eugene Lee-Hamilton, who died in September last, and whom she describes as 'A Master of the Sonnet.' The writer had known her friend for over thirty years, and gives reminiscences of his terrible sufferings as well as of his marvellous recovery. His happy marriage with Miss Annie E. Holdsworth is gracefully referred to, and his relations with his mother, Mrs. Paget, and her daughter, his half-sister, Miss Paget, better known as 'Vernon Lee.' There is no doubt that the strength of this fine poet was shattered for the second time by the death of their child, but born of this great sorrow 'came the incomparable sonnet sequence, "Mimma Bella; in Memory of a Little Life,"' which Mme. Villari thinks will endure as his most perfect work. In studying his complete works, she says, 'one is amazed by his wealth of out-of-the-way learning and unusual range of imagination. Side by side with delicate playful pieces full of tenderness and charm, one finds scenes of rugged and even ghastly force. In certain pages instinct with morbid power one suddenly discovers passages of the truest serenity and kindliness.' Through all his life, we learn, 'he practised the ideal of conduct of which he wrote in his "Wine of Omar Khayyam":—

> No.—Just because we have no life but this,
> Turn it to use; be noble while you can;
> Search, help, create; then pass into the night.

The Bibliophile (6*d.* net) has already won a high reputation, and the first three numbers are full of good things. It is intended 'for the collector, student and general reader,' and its readable papers, its colour plates and numerous illustrations make it one of the most delightful companions for a leisure hour. There is not a page here that does not make its appeal to bibliophiles. The whole thing is thoroughly well done.

Cornhill Magazine.—Every article in **Cornhill** is worth reading. Mr. Arthur C. Benson's set of papers have the suggestiveness which marks all his work. *Shyness*, in the May number, will carry many back to their green youth. It has its lighter side, but it ends with a beautiful illustration drawn from the way time had mellowed an ancient font-cover in an old church.

AMERICAN

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The April number contains an able article on *False Biology and Fatalism*, by the Rev. J. T. Gulick, D.Sc., of Honolulu, the author, if we mistake not, of contributions to *Nature*, which deeply impressed the late Professor Romanes. Dr. Gulick challenges the biological assumption on which Mr. Herbert Spencer bases his denial of the freedom of the human will. That assumption is that all vital activities are pre-determined by activities in the environment. Dr. Gulick's position is that through the activities of the organism changes in its relations to the environment are often produced; through these changes the character of its survival is changed, and so the character of its selection. 'External nature furnishes the means and the occasions, but not the cause.' The article is most interesting; Dr. Gulick furnishes abundant illustrations of his statement that 'change in the character of the selection may be produced through change in the organism, without any change in the environment.' The conclusion to which the argument leads is forcefully expressed: 'If even the snails are capable of dealing with the same environment in different ways, how much more may we expect of mankind? The voices of science, of philosophy and of religion appeal to us both as individuals and as communities, saying in the words of Paul: 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you.'

The American Journal of Theology (April).—The chief articles in this number are a *Defence of Orthodox Doctrine on the Virgin Birth of Christ*, by Dr. C. A. Briggs, *A Discussion of the Religious Basis of Ethics*, by Professor G. B. Foster, and *An Examination of the Religious Aspects of Pragmatism*, by Anna L. Strong. On the side of constructive articles this number is not so strong as usual; on the other hand more than a hundred pages are devoted to a survey of recent theological literature, and to the student this

will prove most valuable. Scores of books on such leading topics as 'Jesus in the Light of recent Gospel Criticism,' 'the Philosophy of Religion,' 'Various Periods of Church History,' and 'Recent Apologetics,' are reviewed not in a hasty and perfunctory way, but by experts in each department who know how to characterize and 'place' each volume. This function of a review is now indifferently performed in many quarters, and we have found this section in the **American Journal** most able and useful.

Methodist Review (New York, May-June).—One of the most interesting articles in this number is by Professor Milton Terry, under the not very illuminating title of *Divine-Human Lawgiving*. He illustrates from various quarters St. Paul's statement concerning the Gentiles, who 'do by nature the things of the law,' and have 'the work of the law written in their hearts.' The code of Hammurabi, the laws of Manu and the legislation of Solon and Numa are aptly cited, and Dr. Terry's concluding observations are very suggestive. The writer of the article on *The Children of British Cities and Towns*, though using the pseudonym 'Robert Macleod,' is, we believe, well known in this country. Dr. W. A. Quayle writes on *The Book of Ruth* with an 'eloquence' which is hardly suited to the subject, and other subjects discussed are *Henry Drummond, The Church and Social Problems*, and the *Development of the Superman*. The last-named article presses home the question, 'Have the churches made doing good an excuse for not doing right?'

The Princeton Theological Review (April).—The Westminster Assembly of Divines is often referred to, but its exact position and work are too little understood. Dr. B. B. Warfield's article on this subject, of which a first instalment is given in the current number, is distinctly illuminating. The connexion between the Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland and the political situation in the English Parliament is clearly brought out, and the way in which the work of the Westminster Assembly was deflected from its original intention is made plain. Dr. Warfield, however, is working on a large scale, and the minute historical inquiries into which he enters in the introductory portion of his article are, we presume, a preparation for more constructive teaching to come. The paper on *The Future Life in Hebrew Thought* is hardly up to the mark from the point of view of biblical criticism; a considerable part of the author's argument would fall to the ground if even moderate critical theories were accepted. Other articles are, one by K. D. Macmillan on *Marriage among early Babylonians and Hebrews*, in which the code of Hammurabi is freely used; *Autonomy in Ethics*, by Dr. James Orr, showing the dependence of true morality upon religion; and *The Beginnings of Saint Worship*, by C. R. Morey, who shows the significance of the changes in belief and ritual which took place in the Church towards the end of the fourth century. The Reviews of Recent Literature are as able as they are staunchly conservative.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville, Ky., April).—The following are the chief articles in this number: *The Seminary's Future in the Light of its Past*, by T. P. Bell; *The Literary Works of Thomas Paine*, by L. Burrows; *Recent Hittite Discoveries*, by Professor A. H. Sayce, and *The Figure of Exaggerated Contrast*, by J. R. Sampey. The last title does not explain itself. The writer dwells at length on the well-known literary device which states as absolute an antithesis, which is only relative. 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice,' means mercy rather than sacrifice; 'If a man cometh to Me and hateth not his father and mother,' means that Christ must be loved more than father or mother. The bearing of this upon such disputed passages as Jer. vii. 22, is obvious. Dr. Dargan continues his papers on homiletics, and Professor Moore of Vanderbilt deals with *The Sociological Function of the Ministry*.

FOREIGN

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 9 Dr. Achelis of Marburg reviews the second and enlarged edition of the late Dr. H. A. Köstlin's standard handbook on Pastoral Theology—*Die Lehre von der Seelsorge nach evangelischen Grundsätzen*. Its publication and Dr. Köstlin's death occurred almost simultaneously, and Dr. Achelis pays a highly appreciative tribute to the gifts and graces of this distinguished scholar. His book is described as no mere theoretical discussion, but as the ripe fruit of his own rich experience. Its chief value is said to lie in its wise and helpful suggestions in regard to the necessity of discrimination in pastoral work. In the cure of souls account must be taken of differences in age, sex, temperament, education, &c.; there is, therefore, need for greater specialization in methods. The high praise given to Dr. Köstlin for his masterly handling of this important subject suggests the desirability of translating his book into English. In thoroughness of detail it seems to be in advance of any of our text-books; not only does it deal with the special needs of the various classes, as e. g. the learned professions, the military, artisans and peasants—strangely omitting the mercantile class, complains Dr. Achelis—but it also gives valuable hints in regard to the problems which confront the faithful pastor, as he strives to minister to the bereaved and to the afflicted both in mind and body, to those who are struggling with doubts and to those who have fallen into sin. Enough is revealed of the contents of this work to show that Dr. Achelis has good grounds for expressing his earnest wish that Germany may have an abundant supply of evangelical pastors whose ideal of their high calling will be that which Dr. Köstlin so lucidly and so sympathetically expounds.

To No. 10 Dr. Achelis also contributes a most favourable notice of Pfarrer Hesselbacher's *The Village Pastor*. It is a valuable contribution towards a true understanding of the peasant who has

too often been caricatured by those who, through lack of love, are 'blind to what is all important, but quick to observe what is of little account.' Pfarrer Hesselbacher's love for his village flock does not make him blind to their weaknesses, but it enables him to discern the kernel of a sweet and sound religious nature beneath the rough husk. The titles of the various chapters of this book are eloquent; they reveal the secret of this country pastor's success. The word which heads each chapter is a compound of 'friend'; the village pastor is portrayed as the children's friend, the friend of the sick, the sinner's friend, &c.

Theologische Rundschau.—The special article in the May number is by Dr. Wobbermin, whose excellent work on *Christian Theism in relation to modern Philosophy and Science* is already in its second edition. Father Wasmann, a Jesuit and an expert biologist, is one of the many Christian evolutionists who has incurred the wrath of Professor Haeckel. 'Wasmann contra Haeckel' has, for some time, been a popular heading in Berlin journals. Wobbermin has the qualifications necessary in one whose estimate of the present position of the controversy is to inspire confidence. The following are the most noteworthy of his conclusions: Haeckel's world-view is not a unity; various, sometimes contradictory tendencies meet in it. Its claim to be the only scientific view is 'nonsense,' for the natural sciences do not exhaust reality, to which the intellectual and the ethical life contribute important factors. Haeckel's 'heavy artillery,' pointed against the Christian view of the world, has missed fire; that is to say, the theory of evolution, rightly understood, is not a foe to the Christian faith. Scientific criticism distinguishes between the basal principles of evolution and the Darwinian doctrine of natural selection. From this single, isolated principle, evolution cannot be explained. Scientists should remember that the theory of evolution is only a hypothesis; theologians should remember that it is a well-founded hypothesis. So far from evolution and theology being antagonistic, evolution points towards purpose. Haeckel's Monism is an exaggerated application of a legitimate tendency of thought; it is one-sided, and fails to take the whole problem into account.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—In the April number Dr. Engert of Munich discusses the attitude of the Roman Catholics of Germany towards the Encyclical of Pius X. He recognizes that, for the most part, there has been submission to the Papal pronouncement, and he endeavours to account for the fact. It is partly to be explained, he thinks, by the present unsatisfactory condition of New Testament exegesis among the Roman Catholics of Germany. In passing he points out that the apologists who shelter themselves behind Cardinal Newman's theory of development do not escape the Papal ban. The Pope holds, for example, that 'the seven sacraments were instituted by Christ, and not that they were evolved, by

differentiation, from two or three means of grace.' One Roman Catholic prelate—Dr. Heiner of Freiburg—has declared that there is no contradiction between either the Syllabus or the Encyclical and the 'assured results' of scientific criticism, but Dr. Engert holds that, in this declaration, due account is taken neither of modern biblical criticism nor of historical study of Christian doctrine. Dr. Ehrhard has displeased the Vatican by his rejection of scholasticism, although he affirms his adherence to Roman Catholic dogma. His position, like that of Professor Schell, is regarded by Dr. Engert as logically inconsistent. The Roman Catholic Church has identified itself with scholasticism, and Schell's earnest, but vain attempt to reconcile scholastic science with the modern view of the world, only demonstrates how impossible it is to do so.

It is, however, not exclusively due to stubborn conservatism that the Roman Catholics of Germany have not, as a whole, rebelled against the Pope's condemnation of Modernism. In educated circles there are many over whom the glamour of Romanticism has cast its spell, consequently they put their own interpretation upon forms of worship which have become distasteful. It is significant, says Dr. Engert, that the clearest expression of dissent from the Papal Encyclical should come from the occupant of the only chair of 'Historical Theology' in the Roman Catholic faculties of German Universities. Professor Schnitzer has openly asserted that 'Scholasticism is positivism,' and that, therefore, it 'does not like history.' In his view the Encyclical is irreconcilable with the results of modern historical criticism. Some who agree with Schnitzer may have kept silence; but the majority of educated Roman Catholics are religiously indifferent, and the masses are incompetent to form an estimate of the trustworthiness or falsity of the results of modern scientific research. The conclusion arrived at in this informing and careful article is that there is no hope of a religious movement in Roman Catholic Germany, which would result in a transition from mediaeval to modern thought. The breach made by the scholasticism of Pius IX between Roman Catholics and the modern world has been widened by Pius X. In the interests of German culture, Dr. Engert regrets to contemplate the probability of Roman Catholics becoming helots, so far as the intellectual movements of the time are concerned; nevertheless, he hopes that the social needs of our age will compel them to come to terms with modern science.