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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER 1908

GOD AND MAN IN HUMAN HISTORY

Man's Partnership with Divine Providence. Thirty-eighth Fernley Lecture. By JOHN TELFORD, B.A. (R. Culley. 1908.)

The Providential Order of the World. By ALEXANDER B. BRUCE, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1897.)

The Moral Order of the World in Ancient and Modern Thought. By ALEXANDER B. BRUCE, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1899.)

The Knowledge of God and its Historical Development. By H. M. GWATKIN, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 1906.)

THE doctrine of Providence is a doctrine of faith. Those who accept the inspiration and authority of Scripture find it taught in Revelation. Those who revere and follow Christ as Lord trustfully and gladly accept it from His lips. But no human intellect—no combination of intellects—is gigantic enough to survey the whole field of history, and by complete induction of instances to demonstrate that One All-Wise, All-Powerful, and All-Loving Being so directs and controls all nature and all human life as to make everything minister to the accom-

plishment of one gracious, absolutely dominant purpose of good. To believe in God is to believe in no less than this. But it is a great faith, easily uttered, not easily reached, and still less easily retained amidst the shocks and buffets of secular change. There is much in the personal experience of the servants of God to confirm the belief—the more loyal and complete their faith, the more irresistible is its confirmation; and there is very much in the course of human history which makes it impossible to maintain a directly contrary view. But belief in Providence is one of those rudimentary articles of the creed which every tiro in religion is supposed to accept without question, and at the same time a final, topstone truth, hardly mastered by the maturest saints in whom 'old experience doth attain to something of prophetic strain.'

Theologians would seem to have fought shy of its detailed treatment. Those systematic teachers, who are supposed to take all knowledge for their province, cannot, it is true, avoid it. From Thomas Aquinas to Dr. Newton Clarke, dogmatic theologians devote a few customary pages to Divine Providence, after they have discoursed upon Creation and before they treat of the Fall. And it may be said that even the latest lights of the twentieth century do not shine with overpowering lustre when placed beside the Angelic Doctor of the thirteenth. For subtlety, comprehensiveness and epigrammatic statement, the mediaeval divine is not easily surpassed. But separate monographs are rare. M'Cosh, Watkins, Flavel, Bruce—none of these can be said to have written treatises on Providence, though they have touched upon some aspects of the subject. Of late it has been merged in the wider study of Theism. The somewhat voluminous literature of the Gifford Lectures furnishes the most notable modern contributions to its exposition. Three out of the four works mentioned at the head of this article arose out of lectures delivered on Lord Gifford's foundation.

The more room, therefore, was left for the Fernley Lecturer of this year to treat a great and fascinating sub-

ject. Mr. Telford has perceived and skilfully used a fine opportunity. It would not be suitable in the pages of this journal either fulsomely to praise, or keenly to criticize, the work of its editor. But there is no reason why attention should not here be drawn to his recently published Fernley Lecture, and much reason why the readers of the *London Quarterly Review* should be reminded of this able contribution of its editor to theological literature. Mr. Telford's treatment of his subject is popular, but not superficial. He maps out his theme—for which he has, perhaps, not devised the happiest title—into fifteen sections, dealing with the relation of Divine Providence to the Bible, nature, national life, Church history, missionary service, and individual experience, together with the part in the whole assigned to the providence of man. The lecturer's reading has been wide and various. His illustrations, numerous and apposite, are drawn from the most diverse fields, and they are interwoven into the text with such literary skill as to make the whole volume pleasant and very attractive reading. The quotations, indeed, are so abundant that the reader would often prefer to have the statement of a truth in the lecturer's own words, especially as these are always clear, pithy, and to the point. The advantage, however, of the numerous extracts is that readers are impressed by the breadth and many-sidedness of the topic handled, and the way in which all literature, from ancient philosophy to modern novels, and from theological treatises to poetry and biography, may be made to minister to the 'highth of this great argument,' to 'justify the ways of God to men.'

One criticism which might be passed upon this able and interesting volume concerns the point of view from which the subject is treated. To many it will appear that, considering the temper and controversies of our times, too much is taken for granted. The lecturer does indeed recognize at the outset the preliminary objection: 'Is there any Providence over human affairs at all?' And from time to time in the course of the argument some of the

difficulties which make it hard to believe in the Providential and moral government of God are considered and met. It is true, also, that at some periods of history the discussion of so fundamental an article of religious belief would have been superfluous. But it is the fundamental truths of religion that are now most seriously debated and most freely questioned. Problems arising from theories of evolution, from the laws of heredity and descent, from the existence of moral evil and the place and function of pain, press hard upon every modern exponent of Providence, on the very threshold of his subject. Some of Mr. Telford's readers may follow him in some parts of his exposition with questioning and uneasy minds. For if a general, in the conquest of a country, masks, instead of subduing, a fortress that stands in his way, troops are apt to issue from it and harass his onward march.

But every writer must choose his own subject, and Mr. Telford is probably wise in chiefly addressing believers in Providence who need to have their faith elucidated and strengthened. He knows how vast and complex is his theme, how easily a student is lost in it, how deep are the Divine mysteries and how shallow are human questionings. We may be thankful, therefore, to him for what he has given us, rather than complain because he has not chosen to give us something else. In preaching, the edification of saints is as important as the confutation of sceptics, and many a good Christian will give thanks for the spiritual food and help to faith provided in the latest Fernley Lecture.

The problems of Providence are problems of the relation between God and man in history. What we call 'nature' is only indirectly concerned. The God who created all, preserves all; the order which He established, He maintains, and in Him all things co-exist and cohere. But in the sub-human kingdoms no problems emerge. The unity of nature is established by science. The laws which regulate its course are becoming daily better understood and exceptions in course of time fall into their place

as illustrations of other and higher laws. The scientific man may not use the name God, but he, with Bacon, would surely credit 'all the fables of the Talmud and the Alcoran, rather than believe that this universal frame is without a mind'—and without a purpose, though we may not always be able to discern it. Before man is reached, however, in the scale of being, a 'problem' of Providence cannot be said to exist. It is when consciousness emerges, when will is born and the power of free choice exercised, when evil comes into being and pain and suffering rack the body and rend the heart, when the clash of conflicting aims begins and order is to be educed out of the chaos of human desires and purposes, that men ask in another tone, Is there indeed a God that judgeth in the earth?

The theistic solution of these perennial difficulties has been adopted by only a fraction of the human race. We are apt to forget that the very phrasing of the problem —the relation between God and man in history—assumes what whole schools of philosophy, whole races of mankind, whole generations of history, have never accepted. The Agnostic and the Positivist assure us that such inquiries lead beyond the limits of human faculty, and can only end in despair. Pantheists—and the name must be understood to cover widely spread religions and philosophies that do not bear so definite a label—tell us that it is the artificial distinction made between 'God' and 'man' that lies at the root of all our difficulties. The Polytheist assumes, without asserting or defining, that behind the conflicting wills of multitudes of gods and men, there hovers darkly an all-prevailing Nemesis, Moira or Até—Retribution, Fate or Destiny—which none can escape and none can forecast or understand. The Deist solves problems of moral government by accepting an absentee God, represented in actual life by general laws, often inconvenient in their detailed incidence, but supposed to produce on the whole the best of all possible worlds. The Dualist gives up all attempt at harmony by placing good and evil in eternal and irreconcilable

opposition. The Stoic got rid of complexity by asserting that the soul of the world is just, and that pain, disease, privation, and dishonour are not really evils, but ill-fortunes and accidents which the wise man, wrapped in his own superior passionlessness and virtue, can calmly disregard. The Moslem bows without a sigh before the will of Allah, who does and must rule: what is the use of a sovereign who cannot do absolutely what he pleases? The Hindu flees from the illusions and confusions of sensible existence dominated by Maya, into the imperturbable peace of pure Being, in which no conflict is possible. The Buddhist dispenses with a Deity, and dismisses all moral anomalies raised by the name of God, seeking only for release from the bondage of Karma and the perpetual revolution of the intolerable Wheel of life, in the cessation of all desire, the absorption of personal existence in eternal Nirvana. The Jew did little more than raise questions which the Christian claims to solve, and now a large part of the modern world refuses to acknowledge the Christian solution of them as sufficient.

The Christian solution is not sufficient to answer all human questions, even those which are natural and laudable. What it professes to furnish in its doctrine of Providence is a working hypothesis, more adequate than any other to account for existing facts, but involving of necessity 'mysteries'—by which is meant not incomprehensibilities or unintelligibilities, but partially revealed secrets—since from the very nature of the case human effort and striving are needed for their complete mastery. The secret of the universe cannot be written in letters of fire across the sky, and if it were, we should not be able to understand it. *Omnia exeunt in mysterium.* That does not mean that an ocean of the unintelligible flows round every islet of human knowledge, but that to know even one thing perfectly a man must know everything—which is impossible. The flower in the crannied wall is known in part, not 'root and all, and all in all.' Yet he who understands all that may be known of the 'hyssop

that springeth out of the wall' is on the track which leads to the knowledge of 'what God and man is.'

That the problem which we call that of Providence begins with man is virtually admitted by science. Huxley, in his Romanes lecture, indicated the parting of the ways in his assertion of the paradox that 'ethical nature, while born of cosmic nature, is necessarily at enmity with its parent,' and that 'the ethical progress of society depends, not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it.' The philosopher brings us to the same point when he defines the conditions of existence implied in the possession of consciousness and will, and the fashioning of personal character under the stress of the sempiternal strife between good and evil. But the Theist penetrates more deeply into the significance of history when he finds in its ultimate analysis the problem of the relation between spirits, the One All-Perfect Spirit, and the multitude of spiritual beings made in His likeness, but far from being in conformity with His will. And the Christian believes that in Christ has been given a far fuller comprehension of the nature and will of the Father of spirits and the methods by which He strives to train and educate His wayward children than by any teacher before or since. With this as working clue he can thread the labyrinth of human history in many of its windings, whilst the whole lies before him a mighty maze, still but imperfectly understood. To this whole he gives the name Providence, and finds in its study ever new instruction, ever new bewilderment, ever new discipline, and ever new delight.

Divines have been accustomed to speak of God's end in Creation and His end in Providence. His end in Creation may properly be described as 'His own glory,' if that often misunderstood phrase be taken to mean, not the securing of so much laudation from His creatures, but the realizing in action of the infinite perfections of His nature in and through the welfare of the beings whom He has brought into existence. The chief end of man is, in

often quoted words, 'to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.' The Divine end in Providence is so to order the affairs of the universe that creatures capable of knowing, loving, and serving God shall become like Him, work with Him, and share His blessedness. Where, as in the case of man, a whole race has become estranged from Him and swerved from the great end of their being, the problem of Providence is how to bring all as rational and free creatures into harmony and communion with Him, who is no less All-Holy than All-Loving. At this point a distinction has often been drawn by the theologians between the methods of Providence and those of Grace. But a wider and truer view unites both in one stupendous purpose, described by St. Paul as 'given in Christ Jesus before times eternal,' manifested in the fullness of times and still being wrought out in history. The riches of God's grace, says the same apostle, are 'made to abound toward us in all wisdom and prudence,' and it is through the Church that the 'manifold wisdom of God'—like a richly variegated and embroidered pattern, elaborated with consummate skill—is made known, not only on earth, but even to the powers in heavenly places.

The study of the means by which Providence secures its high ends is inexhaustible. The distinction between their operation in individual and in social life should not be pressed, for the two are really inseparable. Dr. Bruce, in one of his volumes, enumerates three great Providential methods, which he terms: Election, Solidarity, and Sacrifice. By the first he means—what the word ought to imply, but in the history of Calvinism seldom has implied—the special use of one man or one people to bless the many. Particularism thus is not opposed to universalism, it is the mode by which the higher welfare of all is secured. Solidarity emphasizes the fact that by the very constitution of our nature no man can live to himself or by himself, that for better and worse men are bound up together in one body, so that if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, and if one member is honoured, all others

rejoice with it. Personal solidarity implies the continuity and cohesion of personal life; family solidarity is based upon what are now known as laws of heredity; social solidarity shows itself in the region of environment and custom; whilst racial solidarity embraces all men in bonds not less potent because frequently ignored or forgotten. Progress by sacrifice is one of the methods of Providence and an abiding law of human life. The many advance by the suffering of the few, or of one; pain is one great agent in the onward march of the world. 'A corn of wheat, except it fall into the ground and die, abideth alone; if it die it bringeth forth much fruit.' These three methods or principles of government, taken together, account for some of the chief moral stumbling-blocks that are found in human history. That they are reasonable, and not only morally defensible, but even in some sense necessary for the accomplishment of God's designs and the education of the race, might without much difficulty be shown.

It is, however, to the teaching of Christ Himself that the Christian chiefly turns. The principles above described were indicated in outline in the Old Testament, which had 'a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things.' What, then, is the distinctively Christian doctrine of Providence? and how is it distinguishable from bare Theism? The student of the New Testament will do well to bring it into the full light of the revelation of God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The doctrine of God the Father in Providence is laid down by our Lord in the compass of a few lines. The main principles of Providential government there rehearsed go far to relieve some of its chief difficulties. The principles are such as these: that what we call 'the order of nature,' with its general laws, its light and darkness, good and ill, rain and sunshine, is maintained by the Father in heaven to a large extent irrespective of personal character; that God's government is not carried out on the principles of immediate retributive justice; those on whom the tower in Siloam fell were not sinners above all Galileans; that

suffering is to be expected by the true servants of righteousness, and that such suffering may none the less contain the seed of purest joy: that blessedness comes not from without, but from within, and is most enjoyed by those who, humanly speaking, are furthest from conventional 'happiness.' These bald, abstract statements poorly represent the matchless words spoken by the Master Himself; but the very familiarity of the gospel phrases may prevent us from perceiving their bearing upon problems of Providence in their modern form.

Christ not only testifies of the Father, He reveals Himself, the Son. Not, as Harnack said, simply by what He teaches concerning His Father and ours, did Christ establish the religion known by His name, but by what He Himself did and was. The teaching of the New Testament on Providence differs from all others through its revelation of Grace. By this golden name, so characteristic of Christ and His work, is intended that part of Providential dealing with men especially intended to restore the fallen, bring back the wandering and melt down rebellious hearts in the mould of love. The very word 'Providence' needs to be baptized and Christianized. The keynote of its music in Christian ears is the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ as manifesting the love of God for sinners, and His method of saving them without one whit abating His condemnation of their sin. But these lessons of love can be learned only by willing hearts. And thus there are revealed to 'babes'—men content to trust and learn like little children—secrets concerning God and life which are hidden from the wise and prudent. Again and again have the scholar and sage listened with wonder to the unfolding of mysteries of Providence and grace from the lips of an unlettered peasant who has learned in the school of Christ. The 'foolishness' of God has proved 'wiser than men.' 'I thank Thee, O Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight.'

But if we would understand the full teaching of the New Testament concerning the blending of the Divine

and human in history we must take one step further. The doctrines of the Divine Fatherhood over us, and of the Divine Son in His work for us, do not contain all, nor the deepest part, of Christ's teaching concerning the relations between God and man in actual life. The promises which Christ gave of the Holy Spirit, to be communicated in richest and closest measure when He had left the earth, represent the climax and consummation of His message. We do not usually associate the doctrine of the Spirit with 'Providence,' but only through a full understanding of this part of the Christian religion can its solution of the problems of Providence be apprehended. The difficulty of combining the Immanence of God with His Transcendence is recognized by most Theists. It is not easy to steer between the Scylla of Deism and the Charybdis of Pantheism. Matthew Arnold says of Goethe that he

> Neither made man too much a God
> Nor God too much a man.

But teachers outside Christianity usually commit one or other of these serious mistakes. Either the Divine control of human affairs is resolved into 'laws' of society and progress which do not imply supernatural direction, or man becomes, as in Mohammedanism and some forms of Calvinism, a mere slave, or puppet, or pawn upon the chessboard of life.

> For helpless pieces of the game He plays
> Upon this checker-board of nights and days;
> Hither and thither moves, and checks and slays,
> And one by one back in the closet lays.

If the God of Providence come to be regarded either as a Sovereign Fate, or as a mere magnified non-natural man, small wonder that students of nature and of human life refuse to believe in Him. On the other hand, the Immanent God (say) of the 'New Theology' is merged and lost in the stream of humanity, indistinguishable from the higher elements of human nature, so that sin against God has

lost its meaning save as selfish isolation from brother man.

From a choice between these two untenable alternatives we are delivered by the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the work of the Holy Spirit. The end of all true religion is union with Him from whom we have been estranged, the free moral union of finite spirits with the Divine Spirit. Such close union is impossible if God is transcendent only, and unmeaning if He is wholly immanent in the universe. The object of the work of Christ and the doctrines of grace as they are unfolded in the New Testament, is that men should enjoy the full indwelling of the Divine Spirit and become workers together with God for the great ends of His kingdom. 'He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit. . . . Know ye not that your body is a sanctuary of the Holy Ghost which is in you?' If the Scripture doctrine of the Holy Spirit be accepted, the presence and Providence of God are to be discerned *in* nature as well as *over* it. The 'laws' of which science speaks are not mere fiats of an Almighty Will, but exhibit God Himself at work in the world. Only a small measure, however, of the Divine Power and Wisdom can be, as Martineau expresses it, 'planted out' in nature, animate and inanimate, around us. A fuller revelation of God is possible in the spiritual nature of man. But it is only when men are reconciled to God in Christ that His indwelling Spirit renews them, has free course in them and transforms them into the same image from glory into glory. The Christian believes in the presence and working of the Holy Spirit everywhere; it is his business to discern all the traces of His operation in nature and in history. But he may himself be an organ of that Spirit in a closer and more intimate sense, and it is as one who is himself taught of God by the indwelling Spirit that he is permitted to be a 'fellow-helper' with the Providence of Him who worketh all things according to the counsel of His own will.

Is there such a thing as 'special Providence'? Not as

the phrase has sometimes been understood. The use of the term 'Providence' implies universal control; a God who does not direct all does not fully direct anything. The distinction between the natural and the supernatural, important enough in its place, disappears in the great Kingdom of the Natural-Supernatural, which has only one Head, one purpose, one end. Providence is not to be found only in laws, or only in exceptions to law. Grace is not some violent irruption into the realm of nature, but its consummate flower and bloom. God is 'all in all,' but He is not equally in all things, in all creatures, in all men. Aquinas shows that all creatures are subject to Providence, not only in general, but in particular; whilst, as regards the execution of His will, God does not proceed in all things immediately and uniformly; but some events are permitted by Him, some directed, some determined, and some actually accomplished. There is no 'special Providence' which contravenes His universal government. The only sense in which that much abused phrase can be defended is that God can, in harmony with His whole working in the universe, do more for those who trust, love and obey Him than for those who do not; and He promises so to care for His own people that all things shall work together for their good. Everything that happens to the servant of God, however untoward it may appear, and in some respects actually be, shall minister in some way to his welfare and promote his abiding blessedness.

Hence there is no better phrase to set forth the relation of the Divine and human in history than that which the schoolmen styled *Concursus*, the 'Concurrence' of modern theologians. Dr. W. B. Pope has described it in weighty words that deserve careful pondering. 'The Divine Author of nature permits us to regard Him as co-operating with the forces to which He has given a real, though not independent, existence. He is pleased to accommodate His infinite presence and operation to the laws which He has established, concurring with them according to

their nature: with free agencies as Himself free, and with those that work necessarily, as guiding their necessary action. But it is only with the movements of free intelligences that He is said to co-operate, the word *συνεργεῖν* is limited to this. No efforts of the human mind can go beyond this acknowledgement of a mystery that cannot be solved.' The system of natural law, of saving grace, of spiritual control and direction, forms one whole. God has not promised to work miracles to deliver His people in extremity because they are His; the suggestion thus to presume upon Providence formed one of Christ's temptations in the wilderness. But no one has a right to set limits to God's power of controlling and directing events within the order which He Himself has established. As Dr. Gwatkin says in his lectures on 'The Knowledge of God'—a storehouse of suggestive thought on these high themes—'God is the head, not only of the physical order of things, but of a moral order of persons; and the two, being both of His creation, must form one organic whole, yet so that the physical order has neither sense nor meaning apart from the moral or spiritual which governs it and causes all its movements. Therefore we have no right so to limit God's action by physical law at present known to us as to foreclose the possibility that He may please to reveal Himself to moral persons in ways which, after all, do not otherwise transcend the physical order of things than does the ordinary action of our own will, though they transcend it in particular manifestations unfamiliar to beings of finite knowledge and finite wisdom.' David, in Browning's poem of *Saul*, cries: 'I have gone the whole round of creation. . . . All's love, yet all's law!' The believer in the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ holds a doctrine of Providence and human history, which enables him to say: 'All's law, yet all's love!'

The practical aspects of man's co-operation with the all-sustaining Providence of God are endless. It is with these that Mr. Telford's volume is chiefly concerned, but

they hardly come within the scope of this article. Yet we cannot close without pointing out the direction in which a firm belief in the Scripture doctrine of 'God in history' ought to affect man's action in personal, social and national life. From one point of view, a very true one, no 'partnership' is possible. God rules, man obeys. God provides salvation, man accepts it. Redemption is the gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast. Assuredly

> God's all, man's nought.
> But also God, whose pleasure brought
> Man into being, stands away
> As it were a handbreadth off, to give
> Room for the newly-made to live,
> And look at Him from a place apart,
> And use His gifts of brain and heart
> Given indeed, but to keep for ever.

Room to live—and what a life is possible! For a man whose will is in harmony with the Divine all things are possible. So Christ has taught us, and three words may perhaps serve to sum up the part of man in this high emprise: Submission, Prayer, Service. Entire dependence upon God, passively in resignation to bear what He lays upon us, actively to take part with Him as His finger points the way and His indwelling Spirit empowers us. Prayer is then seen to be one of the primal and cardinal energies in the spiritual world, as Sir Oliver Lodge, speaking from the point of view of science, has not only admitted, but contended. But only the prayer which is work, followed by the work which is prayer. *Laborare est orare*, if *orare est laborare*. 'Oh, that I might be,' breaks out the author of *Theologia Germanica* in one place, 'towards the Eternal Goodness what His right hand is to a man!' Do God's will as if it were thy will, said Schemaya ben Abtalion, and thou shalt find Him doing thy will as His will. The stars in their courses fight for the man whose puny, vacillating, and often erring will is upheld and swayed in the mighty grasp of Him who

counts the number of the stars and calls them all by their names. The Master who taught His disciples: 'Apart from Me ye can do nothing,' taught also one of the most eminent among them to say: 'I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me.'

The working out of this principle in individual life is for the most part discernible only by the subject of it. God's dealing with the individual soul is personal, private, incommunicable. It appears only to the man himself, at times, from a certain point of view, often long after the event. The 'guiding hand of God,' as Prof. Rendel Harris shows in an exquisite devotional booklet on the subject, can be descried only by the eye of faith when it has become accustomed to the light in which that sacred moving Finger appears. Newman was content not to see the distant scene, 'One step enough for me.' Whether we are content or not, it is seldom that more than one step is discernible, and the significance of that in relation to the rest on the long pathway is hidden till it forms part of a distant retrospect. Seldom does a voice ring as in the ear of Augustine *Tolle, lege,* Take up and read; more seldom still does the Bible open at the very verse which sounds the depths of the heart and stabs the conscience to the quick: 'Not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife or jealousy . . . Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof.' But sometimes the voice from heaven does call, and then its sound cannot be mistaken. He that hath ears, let him hear.

If men are deaf, God will sometimes use them in their own despite. So did He surname and gird Cyrus, all unconscious, holding him by his right hand to subdue nations and loose the loins of kings. So did the Lord Jesus 'apprehend' Saul of Tarsus and make him a vessel of election unto Him, to bear His name unto the Gentiles. But the meaning of that voice which pierced the persecutor's heart and struck him to the earth was not fully understood till long and toilsome, and even bitter, experi-

ences had made it plain. Sometimes a great leader of men is chosen in spite of himself, his environment and all the probabilities and traceable tendencies of history. The relation between a great man and the times on which his lot is cast has often been discussed. Some make the prophet or reformer to be the mere product of his age, others ascribe his career to reaction against its influences and tendencies. But the last word is not said when the most acute analyst of history has described all the forces at work to shape the man and all the currents of thought and feeling which he found surging around him. One Name is too often omitted from these calculations, and it is the only one that matters—God. The Divinity still shapes our ends, when all man's rough hewing is finished.

Glance hastily down the glittering ranks of history and see the generals and officers and private soldiers, the heroes and the unknown, nameless combatants, with One unseen Commander marshalling and directing them all. Constantine the Great and Athanasius the youthful and obscure archdeacon, Pope Gregory I and Paulinus the evangelist of Northumbria, Francis and Dominic, Wyclif and Hus, Loyola and Xavier, Erasmus and John Knox—these are names selected, not quite at random, but almost promiscuously from Church history, to suggest to the student illustrations of the thesis, 'Man proposes, God disposes.' So with nations; Greece, the inspiring genius of literature and art, and Rome the lawgiver and ruler of the peoples, as well as Israel, the prophetic teacher of religion for countries and generations unknown and unimagined. What nation with a 'mission' ever knew the nature of the work committed to it, or said to itself: 'Go to, I will make a place for myself in history'? The philosophic historian, Hegel or Lord Acton, has his explanation of the rise and fall of nations, and will unfold his rationale of the complex history of the past—no two wise men ever agreeing very nearly in their conclusions concerning it. The believer in social evolution is sure to be ready with his theory of development, whether drawn from the facts, or

brought to them ready-made. But the devout thinker, in his study of national history, finds more than principles, laws or forces, more than heroes and men of light and leading. One Name is for him the only explanation of all, but it lingers in his heart rather than rises to his lips. For, if he be wise, he will not hastily assume that he can read all the riddles of Providence, or decipher inscriptions which wiser men than he have failed to interpret.[1] But he knows that the handwriting of God is visible in history, and to the humble heart and teachable spirit many of its secrets are made known.

For it is quite certain, as Scripture, reason and experience prove, that God desires and opens the way for man's conscious, intelligent, willing service. He makes room for man, not only to live, but to work in conjunction with Him a fabric which can never be wrought without human co-operation. Warp and woof must be intertwined together in the web of life. God is at war with evil in the earth, and the victory can never be won without the energy and striving of the created, as well as the creating, will. God is toiling for the establishment of His kingdom in this world, and it can never be fully set up in men's hearts unless they work out their own salvation while He works in them to will and to work, for His good pleasure. Christ's redemption of man has been once for all accomplished; the death that He died, He died unto sin once; death hath now no more dominion over Him. But in a sense that redemption is only beginning; if its full efficacy is to be realized the members of His body must learn to suffer and triumph with their Head and His loyal servants 'fill up that which is lacking of the afflictions of

[1] Even inspired prophets and psalmists not infrequently took different views of the same political events, and gave different interpretations to the teaching of Providence in history. Compare, for example, the attitude of Habakkuk and Jeremiah at the time of the Chaldæan invasion. This divergence does not imply that either prophet was entirely mistaken, but each perceived a part of the Divine meaning of events as visible from the point where he stood, according to the light given him by the Spirit.

Christ for His body's sake, which is the Church.' Without their suffering and conflict the triumph of the great Captain of salvation can never be completely won, and the question for the Church of every generation is whether it possesses enough of the spirit of its Master to carry on the campaign one stage further. Tasks and opportunities are never lacking; at this moment both at home and abroad doors great and effectual are open wide. Doubtless also there are many adversaries, but what are these to men who are 'working together with God'? The question is whether the will adequate to such high co-operation is present, and the answer to that searching question is, alas! as yet far from clear.

But the spirit in which the holy warfare is to be conducted must be one that realizes the meaning of supreme union between man and God. Not he who leaves God out of consideration can succeed, nor he who slights or minimizes man's duty and effort, nor he who parcels out life by some arbitrary dividing line, saying: Here God's work ends and man's begins, or Here man's work ends and God's begins. All is Divine, all is human. Victory can only be secured by the sublime confidence of those who realize the Divine in and through the human, the God-in-us enthusiasm of heroic and saintly souls in all ages. In personal experience, in evangelistic effort, in Church order and organization, in foreign missionary enterprise, in political and social reform, great things can only be accomplished by those who both see God at work without and feel Him at work within them, who themselves are strengthened to work by the consciousness that in a very real sense they are intended to be organs and instruments of the Divine. The word 'Providence' needs to have its meaning widened and deepened. It belongs too much to crises and cataclysms and curious coincidences, to exceptions and emergencies, to hair-breadth escapes and marvellous interpositions. It is well to see God in these, far better than to ignore Him altogether. But it is better to understand that 'with God, the Omnipresent All-in-each,

nothing is near, is far'; that the whole cannot be complete without the parts, and that the true significance of no part is intelligible except as fitting into its place in the whole; that common life is sacred and fraught with priceless opportunities, occurring often when we are least aware of them, and never recurring to those who let them slip; that Divine Providence is illustrated, not only in the lives of Jacob and Joseph, of Henry Martyn and David Livingstone, not only in the Exodus and the Exile of Israel, the rise and fall of Rome, the glories and the terrors of the French Revolution, but in the politics and society of to-day, and in the untold myriads of commonplace events which make up the lives of nameless saints whose purifying presence heals the wounds of a sinning and sorrowing world, and preserves it from festering corruption and utter decay.

The best work in the twentieth century will be done by practical mystics. Such men are all too rare. The mere 'practical man' is common enough and useless enough, except as journeyman or drudge. The mystic also has appeared often in the course of the ages, 'a beautiful and ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain.' The practical mystic is the man whose hands are apt for toil and his feet swift for service, because his heart is filled with God. The man, the Church, the nation that most completely discerns the Divine Hand in history will most adequately perform those human tasks in and through which the Divine Mind can alone be manifested and the Divine Purpose—at the long last—accomplished.

W. T. DAVISON.

THE LETTERS OF MARTIN LUTHER[1]

WE welcome this translation of a selection of the letters of the great Reformer. The book will bring home to a number of readers the strong personality of the German leader in revolt, and familiarize them with the conditions under which he did his work. The volume is one of many indications of the revival of interest in what may be termed the personal equation in history. In our judgement the scientific school which sees in the workings of society only the operation of forces, and which refuses to allow that great individuals are more than the embodiment of these forces, has had its day. In history, as in other matters, we are discovering once more the value and place of personality. The will power of one man, and the effects of that will power for good or evil, is a tremendous phenomenon which can neither be disregarded nor explained away.

A hundred years ago Coleridge wrote: 'I can scarcely conceive a more delightful volume than might be made from Luther's letters, especially those from the Wartburg, if translated in the simple, idiomatic, hearty mother-tongue of the original.' But no such volume is to be found in present-day German, even in Germany, though in Luther's lifetime collections of his letters began to appear. In English the only collection that exists is a small volume of his *Letters to Women*. For scholars Luther's letters, which may be numbered by the thousand, lie buried in the great collections of De Wette, of Walch, or in the ten volumes of Dr. Enders' *Briefwechsel* (1884–1903). It was high time that a judicious selection of these should be rescued from the Latin and Old German, and presented

[1] *The Letters of Martin Luther.* Selected and Translated by Margaret A. Currie. London: Macmillan & Co., 1908. 8vo, 480 pp. Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

to the English reader. For Luther is one of the great gifts of God for all time to a wider circle than the German race.

We are loath to find fault with a work, the doing of which is in itself a public service, and the difficulties of which were great. Miss Currie's selection of letters is excellent, and with her translation on the whole little fault can be found. But it is a pity that she did not obtain assistance in the revision of her translation from some scholar more familiar than, apparently, she is with the correct rendering of certain ecclesiastical terms, and the correct translation of Latin proper names. We are writing far from books, but books are not needful to indicate that Hieronymus (p. 14) should be Jerome, and Aegidius (p. 200) should be Giles, to give two instances only out of many that we have marked. Here and there Latin words are left untranslated, e.g. 'Capito was Praepositus in St. Thomas' Church, Strassburg' (p. 126); or 'ministerium' (p. 120); neither of which words should have given any trouble. Even more remarkable a blunder is a sentence in a letter to King Henry VIII, in which Luther speaks of 'that monstrosity, hated of both God and man, the Cardinal of Eborack (*sic*), the destroyer of your Majesty's Kingdom' (p. 142). Even a school-boy less omniscient than Macaulay's prodigy would have recognized Wolsey, the Archbishop of York. 'St. Engelsburg' (p. 242) for the Castle of St. Angelo is inexcusable, Campegius (p. 244) should be rendered in the usual English, or rather Italian form of Campeggio; for Pfalz (p. 275), read The Palatine. We have marked other similar mistakes and blunders—but enough of grumbling. The work on the whole seems to us well done, and the mistakes can easily be corrected in a second edition. Our present purpose is not so much to criticize as to introduce the reader to a volume in which they will come face to face with the real Luther, with all his faults, and all his lovableness. If here we see him painted by his own hand, with all his warts, the discerning student will but love him the more.

The chief value of this translation of Letters lies un-

doubtedly in the light they throw upon the character of the great German hero. Nevertheless, it contains letters not without interest for the student of the age. What, for instance, could be better than Luther's verdict on Erasmus, written in 1517:

> I am at present reading over Erasmus, but my heart recoils more and more from him. . . . I fear he does not spread Christ and God's grace sufficiently abroad, of which he knows very little. The human is to him of more importance than the divine (p. 14).

The reader who desires proof of how completely Leo X failed to deal with a situation, which at first was not necessarily hostile to the papacy, will have an illustration in Luther's submissive letter of 1518 in which he seems to have explicit confidence in Leo's justice and love of truth (p. 28), as contrasted with the letters written but a year later, in which he openly defies the Pope and all his weapons. Luther never intended the matter of the indulgences to go as far as it did. In May 1518 we find him writing to Staupitz: 'I expect to receive Christ's verdict through the Papal throne.' As late as January 1519 we see him proclaiming his intention to issue 'a pamphlet exhorting the people to cleave to the Roman Church, and to be obedient and respectful.' At first Luther was 'respectful' even to Duke George of Saxony (p. 48; February 1519), but it is not long before he pours out all the vials of his wrath upon the Pope and upon Duke George, in phrases whose daring is scarcely sufficiently recognized in these days of democratic liberty:

> The devil saw into my heart, when I came into Worms, that although I had known there were as many devils ready to spring upon me as there were tiles upon the house-roofs, I would joyfully have sprung into their midst. Now Duke George is far from equal to one devil. Were things in Leipsic as they are in Wittenberg, I would nevertheless ride in, even if it were to rain Duke Georges for nine days, and each one was more vehement than this one is (p. 99).

Duke George is not the only high personage to whom the miner's son speaks with an astonishing freedom:

> I must reply to the growling liar who calls himself King of England. The ignorance the book displays is not to be wondered at in a royal author, but the bitterness and lies are gigantic (p. 107).

Luther hits off Henry's whole attitude to the Reformation in a line: 'England is embracing the Reformation, and the King looks at it through his fingers' (p. 262).

Among the most interesting portions of the correspondence are the letters which shed a side light upon Luther's translation of the Bible, and the difficulties under which it was accomplished. On p. 102 we see Luther in his workshop in the Wartburg:

> I have not only translated the Gospel of St. John in my Patmos, but the whole of the New Testament. Philip and I are now busy correcting it. With God's help it will be a splendid work. Meantime we need your help to find out proper words. Therefore be ready to supply us with the common names for some things we require; but not those used at Court, for this book is to be written in the simplest language that all may understand it. So that I may begin at once, send the names of the precious stones mentioned in Rev. xxi., and would that you could get permission from Court to let us have the loan of some to see what they are like.

In this last sentence—for the jewels duly came—we discern one secret of Luther's success as a translator. The following is not without its truth, as all students of the Bible will sadly confess:

> The translation of Job gives us immense trouble, on account of its exalted language, which seems to suffer more, under our attempts to translate it, than Job did under the consolations of his friends. Evidently the author never wished it to be translated (p. 121).

In his 'putting Jeremiah into German' Luther was hindered by 'Satan troubling me with a buzzing in my

ears' (p. 220), while he obtained relief from the difficulties of Ezekiel by flying back to the 117th Psalm (i.e. 118th) as 'a channel for my eloquence' (p. 237). When the whole was finished he had much trouble with piratical printers, especially 'that wicked rascal Wolrab at Leipsic, a most unscrupulous man.' 'That blasphemer and pirate' made use of the great Leipsic fairs 'to sell thousands of copies there, easier than our folks can sell one hundred' (p. 373). Leipsic printers were not the only wrongdoers. Luther's works were a gold mine, as certain 'street robbers and thieves' at Nuremberg as well as in France found out. Not content with stealing certain tracts of Luther from the printing press at Wittenberg, and hurriedly setting them up 'with bits left out,' the Nuremberg printers 'learned the art of writing Wittenberg on the top of some which have never seen Wittenberg.' Such 'downright robbery' sorely tried Luther's soul.

On the matter of the marriage of the clergy one letter is of curious interest. In 1528 the pastor of Lochau died leaving a widow. Luther at once writes to secure the appointment of a certain Michael Stiefel, and adds as an inducement:

> Were he to become pastor in Lochau, we would try to get him to help the poor widow with her two children, she being left in great poverty, perhaps by marrying her, but if not—God's will be done (p. 181).

Six weeks later we find Stiefel duly appointed, and Luther setting off to marry him to the widow. 'One thing,' adds the reformer, 'always seems to come on the top of another!' As for his own marriage to 'Katie, my wife and commander,' there is a delightful letter to Spalatin:

> My marriage will be on Wednesday, and the great banquet at mid-day. Therefore see that the game does not arrive too late, but let us have it in time, by to-morrow evening if possible. I wish the whole entertainment to be over in one day (p. 140).

As a matter of fact the wedding had taken place some days before the letter was written. The game, and some casks of beer, duly arrived. There were a good many other wedding presents, including a 'handsome glass' for Katie. But the first result of his marriage would appear to have been financial difficulties, aggravated by his boundless generosity to others:

> This year alone I have contracted 100 gulden of debt through my wretched management. I have pledged in one quarter three goblets for fifty gulden. The Lord who thus punishes my folly will again draw me out of the net (p. 159).

The student of the Reformation settlement in Germany will find in these letters a true picture of many of the difficulties, and of Luther's method of dealing with the same. At an early date we see the outbreak among the Reformers of schism over the Eucharist. In 1525 Luther writes that on this matter 'Carlstadt is quite given over to the devil,' and 'has led many astray,' while the idea in Zurich of calling Zwingli 'one of Christ's martyrs' is for Luther 'the filling up the measure of their iniquities.' Zwingli's death seemed rather 'one of God's judgements' (p. 274). In his opposition to the more advanced reformers Luther is always consistent. In 1525 he writes to the magistrates of Dantzig:

> If there be anything to alter or destroy, such as pictures, or whatever it may be, see that it take place through an order from the Council, and do not let the mob attack these (p. 136).

So indifferent is Luther to much that other reformers regard as essential that in 1559 we find him writing to the provost in Berlin that provided he is allowed 'to preach the gospel of Christ purely, without man's additions,' he need not trouble about ritual:

> In God's name go round with them, carrying a silver or gold cross, and coat or surplice of velvet, silk or linen. And if one of these be not enough, then put on three.

> And if your lord the elector be not satisfied with one procession, then go round seven times. . . . Such things if not abused neither add to nor take away from the gospel, but they must never be regarded as necessary, nor made a matter of conscience (p. 379).

In the same spirit he writes to Gabriel Zwilling, bidding him accept the call to Altenburg:

> But go about in an orderly priest's dress. For the sake of the weak do away with that broad angular monstrosity of a hat, remembering that you are sent to those who must still be fed with milk (p. 105).

One matter sorely distressed Luther; the Reformation seemed to dry up all the usual springs of generosity. Of this we have confirmation in other lands than Germany. How to support the new clergy was a crying difficulty, and Luther's outbreaks against the meanness of the people are frequent:

> Formerly thousands were squandered on useless creatures who were deceivers in addition. Now they will scarcely expend one hundred gulden on a pastor (p. 263).

Luther's remedy is to fall back on the secular authority:

> Where any town or village is able, there your Grace can compel them to maintain churches, masses and schools, even as the law obliges people to make bridges, roads, etc., for the public benefit (p. 156).

One great blot on Luther's fame is his treatment of the peasants. These letters will serve to explain how it came to pass that the miner's son became so bitter an opponent of their attempts to right their wrongs. In spite of his personal audacity, his abuse of Duke George and the like, Luther had more than his share of the German's immense respect for constituted authority. He is not blind to the mischief done by 'godless princes, who, out of this paradise of God, make idle, sinful servants of the devil.' Nevertheless, he holds that 'it is God's will that fear should be instilled into the people' (pp. 215, 139). Whether

it was that at the University he had grown out of touch with the country folk we cannot say. But at an early date we find him inveighing against 'the wickedness of the peasants' (p. 157). In his sympathy with the poor our English Wyclif stands out head and shoulders above the German.

But the letters will chiefly be read for the insight they give us into Luther's character. And what a character is his! No wonder the Germans are proud of their great Reformer; he is the incarnation of all their best qualities. A more human saint truly never lived. Other saints are above us; we feel that they live in another world than ours. We wonder if they have ever fought our foes, or looked out upon life with our consciousness of weakness. We can scarcely realize that they have been tempted as we are; at any rate, all such temptations belonged to their unregenerate days. But with Luther all is different. He is one with us in our passions and our struggles. Our foes are his foes; the storms of temptation which swept across his soul have visited us also. And it is because of this that as we read we feel the power of his gospel. No one can doubt his experience of the power of saving faith. Reality is stamped upon all his religious life. There is here nothing nebulous and dreamy; all is objective. To give one illustration: for Luther the devil is an ever present fact; life is a long fight, not with a spirit of evil, but with a living foe. 'Believe me,' he writes to the offending people of Wittenberg, 'I know the devil well, and he is at the root of all this' (p. 92). The devil, in fact, is at the root of most things, the terror of the plague (p. 374), forest fires (p. 390), and the modern practice of young men and young women becoming engaged without their parents' consent (p. 435). So in all else that he does. Luther sees the concrete everywhere. He has the Englishman's quality of avoiding the doctrinaire, and dealing with circumstances as they arise. In this matter he seems more akin to ourselves than to his countrymen. If, in consequence, his visions are often limited, his driving power for the object

of the moment is immense. Nevertheless, in spite of his intense practicalness there is in him a true vein of Mysticism, which finds expression in soaring thought and tender poetry.

Illustrations of the above occur on every page. How we are drawn to the man whose cool common sense can write in 1516 to the prior of Erfurt!—

> You counsel me to flee for refuge to you. But why? The world will not come to an end although Brother Martin perish (p. 11),

and who gives us the secret of this brave confidence:

> For I know from my own experience, as well as from that of all troubled souls, that it is solely our own self-conceit which is at the root of all our disquietude (p. 7).

The individualism of Luther is sublime, but its basis is always the consciousness of personal responsibility:

> It is very hard to be of a different opinion from all the bishops and princes, but it is the only way to avoid God's wrath and hell (p. 60).

Hence the bravery which led him to the world-famous scene at Worms:

> You can fancy anything of me but flight or recantation. I shall not flee, and much less recant, if the Lord Jesus give me the power thereto. For I could do neither without danger to holiness and the welfare of many souls (p. 62).

Or again:

> I perceive that the Emperor Charles' mandate has been printed in order to fill me with fear. But Christ lives! and we shall enter Worms in defiance of the gates of hell (p. 68).

From such exalted heights we see him pass, almost immediately, like Elijah after Carmel, to a great struggle with self. Surely it is not the hero of Worms who two months later can write fretfully from the Wartburg to Melanchthon:

> I am displeased with your letter. You ascribe so much to me, as if I alone could look after God's concerns. Here I sit careless and idle, consumed by my fleshly desires. Instead of being ardent in spirit I am the prey of sinful appetites—laziness and love of sleep. For eight days I have neither prayed nor studied. . . . All of you pray for me. For I shall be immersed in sin in this solitude (p. 79).

To a man of Luther's temperament his confinement in the Wartburg, and for that matter solitude at any time, was more than a misery:

> Believe me, in this solitude with nothing to do, I am the prey of a thousand devils. It is much easier to fight a devil in the flesh, than evil spirits in heavenly things (p. 86, cf. 187).

From these 'devils' Luther found relief in his great task of translating the Bible.

If with Luther sin is ever a tremendous reality, even more real is the power of the Saviour, and the efficacy of the Cross. Early in his career he had learned the great truth. At the time of his conflict with Tetzel he writes to Staupitz:

> I have kept firm to Tauler's theology. I teach that men must trust solely in Jesus Christ—neither in prayer, merit, nor works, but hope for blessedness only through God's mercy (p. 25).

The secret of his hatred for Duke George is because 'he looks upon my Lord Jesus as a man of straw' (p. 99). Nowhere is the reality of Christ as the Saviour unto the uttermost more beautifully brought out than in the letter which in 1530 Luther wrote to his sick father: 'such a father who by the sweat of his brow made me what I am' (p. 217). We regret that we have only space for a short quotation—the whole should be read and re-read.

> I herewith commit you to Him who loves you better than you do yourself, having paid the penalty of your sins with His blood, so that you need have no anxiety. Leave

> Him to see to everything. He will do all well, and has already done so in a far higher degree than we can imagine. May this dear Saviour be with you. We shall shortly meet again in Christ, as the departure from this world is a much smaller thing with God than if you bade adieu to me in Wittenberg to return to Mansfeld. It is only a case of one hour's short sleep, and then all will be changed (p. 203).

It is easy no doubt to prick holes in Luther's theology, and to show up its inconsistencies. We may point out the danger of such a statement as the following:

> So, seeing that Christ has overcome the world, then all which is done, except by Him, is mere outward show (p. 135).

There are also indications in these letters that, as Luther grew older, faith became less and less an experience transformed by love, more and more a clear intellectual apperception. Nevertheless, when all deductions have been made, Luther stands out pre-eminently great, not only by reason of what he did, but of what he was.

In parting with this interesting volume we will give our readers, to whom as yet we have presented but scraps from the royal feast, two complete letters, in which we see the tenderness and poetry of the great reformer, 'the most loving of sons, husbands and fathers.' The two letters are both written from Coburg Castle, the ancestral home of the late Prince Consort.

To His Wife and Household.

April 28, 1530.

> Grace and peace, my dear Katie, sirs and friends! I have received all your letters telling me how you get along. I must now inform you that I, Magister Veit, and Cyriac are not to be at the Diet although we have one here. For there is a thicket just under our window like a small forest, where the doves and crows hold their diet, and such a running to and fro, and screaming night and day, that I often wonder they are not hoarse.
>
> As yet I have not seen their emperor, but the courtiers

are always prancing about dressed simply in black, with grey eyes, and all sing the same melody. They pay no heed to castle or hall; for their salon is vaulted by the beautiful salon of heaven, while their feet rest on the broad fields with their green carpet and trees, the walls of their house reaching to the ends of the earth. They are independent of horses and carriages, for they have feathered wheels by which they escape the sportsmen's bullets. I fancy they have come together to have a mighty onslaught on corn, barley, wheat, etc. Many a knight will win his laurels here. So here we sit watching the gay life of song led by princes, etc., preparatory to a vigorous attack on the grain. I always fancy it is the Sophists and Papists I see before me, so that I may hear their lovely voices and their sermons, and see for myself what a useful kind of people these are who consume all the fruits of the earth, and then strut about in their grand clothing to while away the time.

To-day we heard the first nightingale. The weather has been splendid. I commit you to God; see well to the house.

The second letter to his little son, Hans, is a model of nursery correspondence, and will never be out of date.

To His Son Hans.

June 19, 1530.

Grace and peace in Christ be with thee, my dear little son! I am very pleased to see you so diligent, and also praying. Continue to do so, my child, and when I return I shall bring you something from the great fair (Messe). I know a beautiful garden, where there are many children with golden robes. They pick up the rosy-cheeked apples, pears, plums, etc., from under the trees, sing, jump, and rejoice all day long. They have also pretty ponies with golden reins and silver saddles. I asked whose garden it was, and to whom the children belonged. The man said, 'These are the children who love to pray and learn their lessons.' I then said, 'Dear sir, I also have a son, Hanschen Luther, might not he too come into the garden and eat the beautiful fruit, and ride upon these pretty ponies, and play with those

children?' 'If he loves prayer and is good,' said the man, 'he can, and Lippus and Jost; and they shall get whistles and drums, and all sorts of musical instruments, and dance, and shoot with little cross-bows.' And he showed me a lovely lawn, all ready for dancing, where whistles, flutes, etc., hung. But it was early, and the children not having breakfasted, I could not wait for the dancing, so I said to the man, 'Dear sir, I must hurry away and write all this to my dear little son Hans, and tell him to pray and be good, that he may come into this garden; but he has an Aunt Lene, whom he must bring also.' 'That he can,' said the man, 'write him to do so.' Therefore, dear little sonny, learn your lessons and pray, and tell Lippus and Jost to do so too, and then you will all get into the garden together. I commend you to God, and give Aunt Lene a kiss from me. Thy dear father, MARTIN LUTHER.

H. B. WORKMAN.

CHRIST IN US AND FOR US

THERE is no question in theology to-day of more importance than that of the relation of the subjective to the objective elements in Christian faith, or of Christian experience to Christian history. There is a more general agreement regarding what is the distinctively Christian experience than regarding what is the essential Christian history; and it is desirable, therefore, in a discussion of the relation of the two elements to one another to start from the subjective, and then try to determine what is the objective which it necessarily implies. May we not in starting take for granted that the Christian life has a negative as well as a positive aspect; that it involves renunciation as well as aspiration, or, to use the biblical language, *repentance* and *faith*? There is an evil in the soul to be negated, and a good to be affirmed. Sin must be repented of, and grace must be received in faith. This was the demand which Jesus made as the necessary condition of the coming of the kingdom of God—Repent and Believe.

That man is sinful, and needs to turn away from, having changed his mind about the appetites, passions, and impulses which conscience condemns, is a fact that the Christian gospel may take for granted. The reality of man's sinfulness does not depend on any theory of the origin of sin, or the natural depravity of man. From the standpoint of the modern doctrine of evolution it can be affirmed that in the development of the human personality, be it due to heredity or environment, desires are cherished and habits formed which are in conflict with conscience. As has been said by a strenuous opponent of the traditional doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin regarding the moral life of the child, 'it is a race in which every child starts handicapped,' for 'when will and con-

science enter, it is a land already occupied by a powerful foe.' It cannot be too strongly insisted on that the conclusions of anthropology regarding the early stages of human evolution, or of psychology regarding the beginnings of personal development, do not in the slightest degree contradict the testimony of conscience that man is not what he ought to be, and that it is his moral task to become what conscience bids him be. The gulf between the real and the ideal in man has not been closed up by any assured knowledge of to-day.

Can man's imperfect moral condition be adequately described by the term 'selfishness'? The answer depends on whether we define selfishness adequately. If by selfishness we mean merely disregard of social claims, of the rights of others, and our duties to them—as the common current usage suggests—then the term must be pronounced inadequate. Let us take the modern conception of maladjustment, and describe sin as moral maladjustment to the environment. When we go on to ask, What is the total environment to which a man must morally adjust himself? the inadequacy of this definition of sin will become obvious. God, as well as man, belongs to this environment, to which sin is a maladjustment. Unless we pantheistically identify God and man, man has personal relations to God as well as to his fellows, and sin is the wrong instead of the right relation to God. But ultimately the relation to man is also a relation to God, who as Creator, Ruler, and Father is in all, through all, and over all. Indifference or injustice to our brother-man is distrust and disobedience to our Father—God. Sin is not only this indirect maladjustment to the divine through the human environment: there is a direct relation to God which is disturbed. It was one of the distinctive merits of the Reformation that it laid emphasis on the religious more than on the moral defect of sin.

If man is to be adjusted to his moral and spiritual environment, this maladjustment must be ended. This, to use the language of Christian religion, is repentance.

It is a renunciation of the appetites, the desires, and the impulses that separate from God as from man. On the other hand, there are not only moral ideals to be realized, but also religious aspirations to be satisfied. God has made man for Himself, so that his heart is restless until it rest in God. If the fellowship with God has been interrupted by sin, man's distrust of and disobedience to God, it cannot be restored by man's repentance alone, but there must be God's forgiveness. God must welcome back the penitent to communion with Himself. Even in the relation of men to one another the personal fellowship which has been disturbed is not restored by the confession of wrong on the one side only—there must be assurance of pardon on the other. What human faith first of all receives from divine grace is forgiveness; the new motive of love, the new power of the Spirit of God dwelling and working in man, the new promise of eternal life in God, are all consequent on forgiveness—the restoration of the penitent's communion with God. The Christian life can still be summed up in repentance and faith.

To this Christian experience Paul has given a characteristic description in speaking of it as being crucified and risen with Christ. To be dead to sin or repentance and to be alive to God (faith) is for him bound up with a personal union to Christ. It need hardly be said that the two great articles of the creed of Paul, as of the whole Apostolic Church, were these: 'That Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures,' and 'that He was buried, and that He hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures' (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4). These historical facts were for him both the *type* and *source* of his personal experience. Be it observed here we are concerned not with any rabbinic learning, but with the inner life of the Christian apostle; and whatever view we may hold of his expositions of Christian faith in terms of Jewish belief as regards sin and the Fall, or sacrifice and atonement, we cannot but ask ourselves whether Christian experience does not receive a more vivid and effective expression in

his confession of his own. Can we speak of our repentance as crucifixion with Christ, and our faith as resurrection with Christ?

If we are to make the apostle's language our own in the sense in which he used it, two conditions at least must be fulfilled. First, we must know *Christ*, not as a posthumous influence, not as an historical example, but as a personal presence; our experience must be fellowship with the living God in the living Christ. Are we, any of us, prepared to say that this conception of the Christian life which so dominated the thought of the greatest theologian in modern Congregationalism, Dr. Dale, is an outgrown superstition, and that Christ is not in us to-day? If we are, let us realize that in so doing we charge, not only Paul, but all the saints of the Christian Church, with either delusion or deception; for this life in the living Christ is the distinctive Christian experience. No modern knowledge forbids this faith that Christ lives personally in us. It is not in the competence either of science or of philosophy to determine the possibility of this spiritual reality or to deny it. It is spiritually discerned; and only they who live this life are competent to determine its actuality.

Secondly, the living Christ is known to-day to produce in us an experience which in its essential moral and religious content corresponds with His personal experience in dying and rising again. The repentance and the faith which are fully Christian will contain in thought, feeling, will what gave its spiritual significance and its moral value to Christ's death and resurrection. What is penitence but condemnation and execution of our sin? It is doing to death the sin that in its final issue is our death to God. What is faith but dependence on and submission to God? It is finding our life in God. There can be fellowship only where there is likeness. Man can live in God only as he thinks, feels, and wills as God. To realize sonship man must purpose the perfection of the Heavenly Father. This perfection is, and cannot

but be, judgement on sin; it cannot be indifference, tolerance, or compromise; it must be antagonism and destruction of sin. Holy love, the communicative perfection of God, must oppose itself absolutely to sin, as contradictory and expulsive of itself in man. I shall venture to say that the genuine Christian penitence must be such absolute judgement of sin; and the Christian development is arrested where sin is not so thought of and dealt with. On the other hand, Christian faith means receiving in ever fuller measure the fullness of the light and the love of the life of God, the vision of and the communion with the divine perfection.

Of this experience Christ's is the pattern; for can man outstrip God in the severity of His judgement on sin, or the intensity of His purpose of holiness? From the *subjective* we can thus pass to the *objective*. Christ is the author and the finisher of faith, just because the life of God in man, which is partially and gradually realized in us, was perfect and final reality in Him. Could sinful mankind be the pioneer in this realm of moral and spiritual reality? God must give men the lead in their renunciation of sin and their dedication to the perfection which He Himself personally is. This God has done in the death and rising again of the Son of His love. It is this truth which Paul expresses in the words: 'The death that He died, He died unto sin once *for all*: but the life that He liveth, He liveth unto God' (Rom. vi. 10).

It may be asked, however, In what sense can the sinless have died to sin? I do not believe that Paul thought of the artificial and arbitrary legal substitution, to which so much prominence has been given in some theories of the Atonement; Christ was not judicially held guilty, or punished instead of man; it is better to avoid misconception by not using the words guilty or punishment in relation to Him. The innocent can neither be guilty nor punished. To speak even of representative penitence is to give a strained sense to the words, which it is better to avoid, if we can. Himself sinless and holy, He by His

love for man so identified Himself with the sorrow and shame and stain of man's sin, that man's penitence has in Him its supreme pattern, and also as the Son of God by His love for God He so identified Himself with God's attitude to sin, as in His agony and desolation to experience God's judgement on sin; thus in His consciousness human penitence and divine judgement are blended together.

So far emphasis has been laid only on the inner life of Jesus, His moral conscience and religious consciousness, and we cannot but ask ourselves, Is the connexion between this inward experience and the outward event of His death on the Cross merely accidental, or can we show it to be essential? Was His death to sin in this sense that on behalf of man, as in the name of God, He endured to the uttermost what in Him as the sinless Brother corresponded to human penitence, and as the beloved Son to divine judgement, necessarily related to the death in the body? There are several considerations which must here be taken into account.

Physical death meant for Him separation from those historical conditions in which He was liable to temptation, exposed to persecution, hindered in the full and free exercise of His functions of Saviourhood and Lordship. His submission to the wrong of His execution as His Father's will for Him marked the culmination of His personal development, in which He was made perfect and learned obedience in the things that He suffered. His endurance of death at the hands of men whom He sought to save, in patience and compassion, was the supreme evidence of His love to mankind to the uttermost. In all these respects with His death was connected the consummation of the truth and the grace of His Person.

But there is one element that remains unexplained. Why did the Father's will require the Son's submission to this wrong that man inflicted? We cannot get away from the fact that the conscience of mankind invests

death with moral significance and religious import. It is not a physical occurrence merely; it is a personal crisis. So far as this earthly life is concerned, death brings it to its decisive issue. The conclusion seems to me unavoidable that Jesus regarded the death of man as due to the judgement of God. Death threatened even Him—as Gethsemane and Calvary testify—with the loss of His filial certainty, confidence, and comfort. He realized the divine condemnation on sin in His inner life when He was enduring, even physically, what He regarded as the most evident expression of the divine antagonism to sin in human history. He testified His concurrence with the divine judgement on sin in His submission to this its most impressive manifestation in the life of man.

If it be argued, How could He, the sinless, submit Himself to this judgement on sin? we must remind ourselves that He did not separate Himself from, but identified Himself with, sinful mankind. He so loved Himself into oneness, not with the sin of mankind, but with mankind in its sin, that it was possible for Him, without any unreality, to endure death with all the agony and desolation with which it is invested because of sin. In dying only He experienced to the full the death to sin, which is the absolute type of all human penitence.

We are now in a position to answer the last question which we have raised: Why was the expression of the judgement of God on sin in death necessary in the case of Christ? There seems to me to be a twofold answer. In the first place, only in the case of One who knew and felt all that sin meant, both to God and man, was it possible that death should be invested with its full moral significance and religious import. Men might have dim forebodings of death as the judgement of God, but the full reality of the divine condemnation of sin in death could not be revealed unless in the consciousness of one who could fathom the depths of the human and scale the heights of the divine in this matter.

In the second place, the function of Jesus Christ was

to be the Saviour of mankind by conveying the assurance of the divine forgiveness. He brought God to men in grace, and He brought men to God in faith. By revealing the Father He awakened in men the desire and the purpose of sonship. By His tenderness, gentleness, and forbearance He assured even the sinful of their pardon; they who came to Him entered into fellowship with God in Him. That this pardon might have its full effect, that they might fully come into fellowship with God, the holy love of God must be disclosed, and that involved, and could not but involve, such judgement on sin. That men might commune with God, they must know Him as He is, eternally hostile to sin, and constrained by that hostility to make manifest His judgement on sin. It were no pardon which did not bring God in the absolute perfection of His being into the fellowship of the Father with His forgiven children.

Having thus revealed, because realized, God's forgiveness, in which are blended God's judgement and His mercy, for mankind in His Crucifixion, by His Resurrection He entered on that life of open vision of, unbroken communion with, and unceasing mediation of God to man, which is both the type and the source of the new life which begins with forgiveness. He Himself so liveth unto God as to live in man so that they too live to God. These two functions of His Saviourhood and Lordship are inseparable. Man's renunciation of sin, which has its motive and its pattern in the judgement of sin in His Cross, is but a moment in his reception of God, who comes and gives Himself to men permanently and universally in the living Christ. There is reproduced in us by Christ in us the double movement of negation and affirmation, which was presented in His Crucifixion and Resurrection for us.

It is a fact beyond doubt or question that it is the objective history which is the *source* as well as the *type* of the subjective experience. It is the Crucified who inspires the most genuine and intense penitence. It is the Risen who sustains the life of men in God. A reason

may be sought for the fact. Man's intellectual, moral, and spiritual development is not a self-enclosed and self-sufficient process; mind, heart, and will are enlarged in capacity and enriched in content by contact with and reaction on an environment, physical, social, divine. It is surely a mare's-nest of recent religious psychology to suppose that God approaches man and accomplishes more in him in the subconscious than in the conscious. Conscious and voluntary personality is the truest and best form of reality; and God comes to and works on man in that. That man's penitence might be fully conscious and thoroughly voluntary, it could not be brought about by a mysterious operation on mind and will, but there must be presented to the mind an object which should serve to the will as a motive. That object and motive must be the perfect reality of that which is to be progressively realized in us. Hence, that Christ might be the source of the moral and spiritual change which we need in turning from sin to God, He must present to us as object and motive this perfect reality of the condemnation of sin and the consecration to God; and this He has done in His Crucifixion and Resurrection. He must do once for all for mankind in an objective history what He is now doing in each man in a subjective experience.

As I desire to make as plain and sure as I can the need of this objective history, the Christ for us, let me venture to mention another reason, which has already been suggested in the previous discussion, but which will perhaps be more clearly understood if more explicitly stated. It is this: Human history as a whole is the revelation of God. The perfect purpose of God is being progressively realized in the world. With the divine working in its fulfilment men are called to co-operate. They must know God to work with Him, and He wills to be known as He is. There is so much in the world to obscure and even deny God, that He must needs in the world, in an act that decisively reveals His mind and will, make such a self-disclosure, especially in relation to sin, as will bring men

into right relation to Him by knowing Him as He is. Such a critical act of God is the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ.

In the view which I have endeavoured to state, the objective and the subjective, the divine and the human in the Crucifixion and Resurrection are seen in their unity. It is not only necessary for man to know God as He is in His relation to sin, that he may be brought into the same relation; it is also necessary for God to disclose Himself fully in that relation when He restores men to fellowship with Himself. The vindication of character, when misinterpreted, is not an impulse of personal vanity, but is a necessity of moral life. We may say this of man even, but much more of God; for it is in His perfection and the manifestation and communication of it that the moral order of the world is rooted. That God should be misunderstood in the act in which He seeks man's closest communion, in the forgiveness of man's sin, were a moral disaster which our conscience tells us God was bound at any cost to avert. Hence sin was judged as well as forgiven by God in the Cross of Jesus Christ. It is surely time that the gross caricatures of evangelical doctrine ceased, and that it were recognized that what modern theories of the Atonement of the objective order seek to safeguard is the absolute moral perfection of the love of God in the grace of Christ. That a logical demonstration of the necessity of the death of Christ to manifest this absolute moral perfection can be given I cannot maintain; it is a moral intuition that comes to a man upon his knees; and, therefore, what I have ventured to urge is addressed to the conscience and spirit as much as to the understanding.

I have endeavoured to give a restatement from the modern standpoint of what I believe to be still the general faith of the Congregational Churches; at least it is the Christian faith of the Church throughout the ages. There is a modern substitute offered to us for it; and the contrast it presents may be briefly expressed in the words,

Christ is not *in us*, except as the Spirit of God, which was in Him conspicuously, and is less prominently in us. Christ is not *for us*, as what He did has meaning and worth for us only as the supreme example of what each one of us must do for himself. He is one of us and like us, although, it is conceded, very much better than we are. The Brother takes the place of the Lord, and the Example of the Saviour. We are to save ourselves and others as He did. I have tried to understand and even to sympathize with this representation, to be as just and kind as I can in my judgement of it, yet I am constrained to confess that it seems to me another gospel than Luther's, or Paul's, or even Christ's. Its widespread acceptance in our own day seems to me to be due to two reasons at least.

The first reason is the revolt, and it seems to me the necessary and legitimate revolt against, not the theories of the Atonement formulated by instructed and competent theologians so much as the vulgarization and debasement of these theories in a popular evangelism which has often lacked the moral insight and the religious discernment, not only to see the Cross as it is, but even to reproduce these honest attempts to understand. The work of Christ is declared to be instead of us, and not for us objectively, that it may be in us subjectively. Forgiveness has been offered apart from holiness—not as the necessary condition and the effective motive of holiness. The grace of Christ has been presented as a protection from the wrath instead of as an expression of the holy love of God. I can heartily sympathize with the passionate protest against this travesty of the truth as it is in Jesus; but I must insist that these misconceptions may be refused, and yet the evangelical doctrine of the Cross may be retained.

The second reason is that many, both in our pulpits and our pews, have from their earliest years been so surrounded by Christian influences, and have so responded to them, that they are in moral character and religious attitude Christian without having experienced their need or

the supply of the saving grace of Christ and His Cross. They have not fully known or keenly felt the problem of sin, guilt, and weakness, of which the solution lies in the Crucified Saviour and the Risen Lord; as through their Christian training it was solved in them by the presence and influence of Christ in their moral and spiritual development. They enter on the Christian life consciously and voluntarily when their salvation in Christ has already been in measure accomplished, and thus they can think of Him more as Brother and Example than as Saviour and Lord. Not having known and felt the greatness of the need, they do not realize in all its mystery and infinitude the grace that meets the need. A human pattern seems to avail them instead of a divine power.

Without venturing to sit in judgement upon them, I must insist that a world lying in wickedness, as it is not in either their moral or their spiritual condition, needs a gospel which offers man salvation by God, and not a saving of self and others by man. I confess that I cannot find the gospel I need for myself, and I wish to preach to others, in a cosmical redemptive process through self-sacrifice, of which Christ is the classical exponent because the perfect example, but in which each one of us must for himself participate, instead of in a personal historical act of God in the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ, in which God Himself in His sacrifice offers men the salvation they need, the salvation which is individually realized by the indwelling and inworking of God in the living Christ, and which does involve such a growing resemblance between the saved and the Saviour that love unto self-sacrifice becomes the sovereign law of the new life. Accordingly I do ever look in faith, and love, and hope to the Christ Crucified and Risen *for me*, that I may live in clearer vision of, closer communion with, and greater resemblance to the Christ *in me*, with whom I am being crucified unto sin, and being made alive unto God.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

THE SPIRIT OF EDVARD GRIEG

IF the art of a few outstanding geniuses is to be taken as an indication of the trend of the people's aspirations and progress, it seems as though men were on the eve of taking a step towards universal understanding—as though they were beginning to fling aside the superabundant mental clothing of education with which generation after generation has been hampering them—as though they would no longer trouble their freedom with the heavy draperies of ready-made wisdom, but would trust the unpainted beauty of their own souls. There is certainly in music, art, and literature a new spirit abroad—a spirit of child-like discovery and wonder; the spirit seems sometimes to have the weight and sorrow of centuries upon it, and sometimes the lightness and freedom of one whose bonds have been loosened. It is as though man, who is doomed to wander through the dark tunnels and borings of his own soul—and who is condemned in some measure to delineate the intricate network of passages that he finds has been carved by the rough hand of experience—had suddenly heard the voices of a few of his brethren proclaiming that there was a common ending to these myriad labyrinths where communion might be obtained, but that the meeting-place was a vast sea—the sea that lies beyond introspection, the sea of dreams.

Music since Schubert's day has echoed a new voice—the voice of a flood which lies within ourselves, in a dark chamber of our souls where life lies like an underground lake, apparently inert and sleeping before it is slowly moved towards the *barrage* to be broken into the cataract of thought. The intimacy of the music of men like Chopin and Grieg comes almost as a shock to us, they understand us with that same quiet penetration that holds us fascin-

ated before the silent eyes of the figures of Burne-Jones or Rossetti. It is as though they told us of a hidden sea, a universal tide where all the wells of truth meet, where elemental life waits in a pent-up flood before it divides into the branching ducts of individual existence.

It is only music that can penetrate the solemn galleries where thought lies unborn. Poetry and art can reflect these chambers in the mirrors of metaphor and allegory, but music needs no models—music has no models in the natural world; it is a direct communion between the self we know and the self that is hidden from us; it is peculiarly a child of the soul, as distinguished from the intellect. There are no musical themes in nature as there are subjects for the picture and poem; music portrays the dream without resolving it into material objects. Man looked into the sun and was warmed, and then struck fire out of flint. Later he heard the stirring of the universal tide within him —he was filled with wonder, and struck out music from lengths of wire. Shelley says:

> Die,
> If thou wouldst be with that which thou dost seek!
> Follow where all is fled!

Grieg says in music: 'Come with me to the springs of life, which arise in the sea of dreams.' Maybe both speak alike—maybe the sea of death is also the sea of birth, both are strange dreams.

Grieg's life was not an easy one; genius seems to possess the inborn faculty for attracting disaster and extraordinary events about itself. He was born at Bergen on June 15, 1843. His mother taught him music between her household duties, but it was considered in his early years that he was eventually to become a pastor. 'To be able to preach or speak before a listening crowd seemed to me something very lofty,'[1] said Grieg himself; and he did speak before a listening crowd—a very great crowd, one

[1] *Contemporary Review*, July 1905.

that will be listening still when those who originally formed it have passed along the path into the sunset.

When he was fifteen years old, the erratic virtuoso, Ole Bull, came to stay with his parents, and Edvard was persuaded against his timidity to play some of his own juvenile compositions. The outcome of this was that his parents, acting upon the enthusiastic recommendations of the Norwegian Paganini, sent Edvard to the Conservatorium at Leipzig. Here he stayed five years, and notwithstanding his intercourse with men like Arthur Sullivan, Franklin Taylor, and Walter Bache, he learned little save confusion. To use his own words, 'The atmosphere of Leipzig was as a veil over my eyes.'

After a severe illness, from which he never really recovered, he went to Copenhagen and thence to Christiania, where for eight years he followed the monotonous drudgery of teaching. It was here he met Ibsen, who asked him to write the incidental music to 'Peer Gynt.' Then for a while he became a wanderer, ill-health necessitating frequent change and an open-air life, and spent many years in a charming hut on the Hardangerfjord. Eventually he settled at Bergen. Till then his life had been a continued battle against ill-health and poverty. But his strong spirit strove on undaunted. The Norwegian Parliament at last came to his rescue, giving him a pension so that his whole time might be devoted to composition.

Grieg has not, perhaps, the sublimity of Beethoven; he is more of an agnostic in music, and often there is a lack of tranquillity in his eternal questioning. Like Peter, he sometimes half fears to trust the waves. Beethoven arouses one to action, and Grieg to the speculation from which—in the strong—action eventually springs. Even as Rossetti wove an element into his canvas which Michael Angelo did not possess, so Grieg shows the light in places which those who have been called the great gods of music never remotely drew near. There may be the splendour of herculean strength in Frederic Handel, but in Chopin and Grieg there is the intimacy of a friend. Gluck, Handel,

and Haydn are the orators of music, who stand on the city rostrum to proclaim their tidings. Schubert, Chopin, and Grieg are the poets, who enter the inner courts where the fountains are. Grieg's music is characteristic of the attitude of the period in which dogmatism is giving place to questioning. There is none of the egotism of victory in him—he has now the wistfulness of a child, now the passion of a storm, and then there are occasionally delightful sparkles of humour like wayside resting-places and scars in the road cut by sorrow's labouring wheels. He is full of emotion, but has not always control of it—he was not a master, but a pupil; he did not dictate, but asked innumerable questions, and he reported the questions he asked of Nature, and not always the answers she gave to him. He realizes his inability to fully express himself, and at times breaks into tears and then expresses his tears. Like all true artists, he found that it is impossible to approach too near to Truth; that it is as impossible to express it as it is to paint the sun. He discovered that one may now and then suggest it by deliberately turning one's back upon its awful brightness and portraying its effects upon material things—the simple and astonishing effect that what was dark becomes light—that in its radiance men awake and hills start out of purple void, golden stained emblems of earth lifted heavenwards. One might say that Grieg was the child of music rather than the father of it; music formed him more than he formed music; he never compels his art in the sturdy manner of Beethoven.

There is possibly nothing even in the dream-music of Chopin to surpass the solitary Nocturne of Grieg; it stands alone, a perfect expression of enchanted darkness. It does not begin, but rather awakens out of the silence which preceded it—as a child will awaken out of sleep, exquisitely conscious that the spirit of the night will sink again at the slightest bidding upon its heavy eyelids. The air rocks with the sweet perfume of wet flowers. The stars move placidly onwards from branch to branch of the grey trees, and out of the shadows the light wind brings the solitary

cry of a bird that has lost its mate. But the land into which we are plunged is remote, it lies always on the other side of the horizon, 'afar from the sphere of our sorrow.' Our lips are cooled, but by an invisible chalice, and the hand that caresses is hidden from us, nor shall we ever see the eyes that are pouring love into ours, or the rustling wings that fan our brows. It is a country of gardens, where surprise is unknown—it is a country familiar to us, but we cannot tell when we were there before, or what barriers we have passed to attain it again. It was here that Pelléas wooed the dove-encircled Mélisande, and here Rapunzel reached the barred window of his beloved's lofty prison by the ladder of her shining hair. Not far away is the magic grotto where Palomides loosened the silken cords that bound the arms of Alladine. There is a strange potentiality in it, all seems significant and full of a new life. In this kingdom man the exile is readmitted into communion with the spirit of nature; once more the deer and the insects will take him into their understanding. It is as though a river flowed through a forest of tall trees forming an interlacing trail of sunken stars. Then there is a splendid change; the solitary cry of the bird pierces the haze again, new lights appear—circles of reflected moonlight that dance a graceful minuet on the dark curling water; white points flash in the blackness with strange distinction and are gone again; a faint web of light is cast on the underside of the leaves of overhanging trees, the shadows on the river widen, the pathetic cry of the bird ceases—there is a sense of impending obscurity, and then with a happy sigh of consummation the music slips into the slumber from which it awoke. Although one naturally uses definite figures in describing his music, this of course does not imply that Grieg was in any sense imitative. Music, in common with other arts, has always failed where it has become literal, it then descends to the region of definite thought. As Haweis has pointed out, one loses sight of the dream in Beethoven's 'Pastoral Symphony' when the cuckoo's note is reproduced. The dream—the emotion—

is the thing. A coloured wax figure is repellent, and almost a thing of horror, but a statue of the same subject in stone may be an inspiration. Art must not approach too near the world of matter; and musicians must not, as did Purcell, make men 'go down to the sea in ships' to the accompaniment of descending bass notes. In the first suite of the incidental music to 'Peer Gynt,' Grieg obtains all the emotional colour of bird chorus in his representation of dawn on the coast of Morocco, without any suggestion of direct imitation.

Art is the expression of the relation of a soul to its environment, which works in two directions, positively and negatively; thus there will often be two opposite effects produced by the same cause. In Germany, for instance, music flourished during the Thirty Years' War; but in England under precisely the same conditions—that is to say, while Naseby and Marston Moor were being fought—music became stagnant and dull. The rugged mountains and fjords of Norway suggested such potent deities as Woden and Thor, and also such delicate fantasies as the 'Huldre' and their silver-belled cattle. From the same clouds we get riotous thunder and healing rain. From Grieg we get the sturdy national strength which manifests itself in the folk songs, and the filmy delicacy of his own introspective nature; the latter, however, preponderates, possibly Grieg's physical weakness helping to separate him from the world of action, but more probably this characteristic was temperamental and Celtic, inherited from his Scottish ancestry. But the spirit of Grieg was most deeply moved by sorrow, and sorrow by action or reaction may have wrought in him every other emotion. It is in the peace following sorrow that an artist of Grieg's temperament is able to produce his master-works, when he realizes that none can help and that hope seems useless. It is when tired of the voices, the myriad petulant voices that pester him for a hearing—it is when he has fled the world and knows not whither he has fled, and having plunged through the abyss of sorrow finds himself on a

still plain, the voices gone, all stars shuttered behind a cloud-packed sky—save one—then his heart beats out to him its message, and he penitently hears, it may be, a dirge-like 'Ballade,' or by reaction a brilliant 'Salon.'

Grieg had humour, of course—for humour and genius are almost synonymous terms; both are based on a keen perception and delicate selection. What could be more mischievously humorous than the dance of the goblins around Peer Gynt? It is certainly grotesque, but the same trait in his character shows itself in that weird mad dance as that which impelled him, twenty years before, to stand under the dripping eaves of roofs on his way to school, in order that he might be sent home to change his wet clothes. Like Chopin, he never descends to vulgarity or even to the commonplace; he wraps everything in the silken veil of fantasy, learning of Chopin the value of comparative monotony alternating with clusters of notes sparkling with the delicate beauty of the purple and gold flowers of the belladonna. He arranged notes as erratically as nature arranges flowers in a field. He knew that the greatest harmony lies in apparent irregularity, and that one cluster of golden ragwort on a hill-side is better than a field full, that comfort enters upon the dismissal of luxury.

Like Schubert and Beethoven, Grieg learned little from masters. Masters very often unfortunately try to develop genius as municipalities 'develop' country lanes into something adamantine and rigid. The musician needs little education, for education deals with definite thoughts, the musician with emotions; and no system of education but that given by life itself can reach down to the springs of emotion. Education is as necessary to artists as the cocoon to larvae; but it is the resting stage—the formative period, and when the wings come it must be left behind. Where thought is most active, emotion is most fettered. A man who spends his life in precise thought may be fanciful, but he is never imaginative. Genius arrives at truth in a strange way, and having arrived it cannot well describe

the road that led thereto. It is blind to scientific method, and it is not even conscious of all the truth it eventually finds and expresses. Stradivarius would doubtless be surprised if he could see the results of Savart's experiments on his own violins, and Science is doubtless surprised, having discovered the acoustic confirmation of his immaculate curves, that it cannot do by method what Antonius Stradivarius did by sheer force of instinct and genius. The path which leads the artist to truth lies within himself, and not within the text-book. Grieg's highway lay through the solitary hut on the Hardangerfjord rather than through the Conservatorium of Leipzig. It was the throes of Earth's burning and imprisoned heart that raised the mountains to heaven; it was catastrophe that lifted their heads to the white and shining crown. It was pain and a soul weary of bondage that gave Grieg his music and taught him the value of harmony—not Richter, nor even Hauptmann, whom he loved; it is that which makes his songs so significantly sweet to us that they seem to voice the silence of all our past years. Education threatens to destroy souls and turn men into store-houses for apt quotations. It was the wild grief of winter, that could not forget the passion of throbbing summer, which made Grieg's soul rise with trembling strength and shake itself free of shackle and chain until it ascended into the clear silence out of which song is born, far above the clatter and clang where mediocrity forges for itself the iron fetters of systems and the bonds of intricate education.

Although Grieg had great national and public feeling —so great that he was willing to offend the French over the Dreyfus case—he was affected more by the emotions of individuals than those of nations. If he was composing on the day that Haakon was crowned and on that day he saw a child happy, it would be the smile of the child that would dance in the wires rather than the roar of the people. He loved his nation, but he loved them individually rather than collectively, and he loved them spiritually rather than politically.

A man's music describes his morality better than any other art because it comes from behind the plane of thought, it speaks of him as he is before he has twisted himself into definition. We really need no biography of a musician; his art is the most intimate account of his life that could be written. It is the setting forth of events which have taken place in his soul. It would be interesting to see how much or how little these are affected by material events; there would be some subtle points of contact and some very strange disconnexions. Often there would be sheer inversion, for in calamitous times a man's soul needs peace; if he is strong, peace will reign supreme and his production will be full of peace. In times of quiet the vigour of tumult comes back in boisterous memory. No emotion is ever expressed in art while the soul is obsessed by it—expression is the aftermath. 'The field,' as Emerson says, 'cannot be well seen from within the field.'

Grieg's music, as before observed, is generally introspective; if he voiced his nation's feelings it was not through any superficial patriotism, it was because he was a mystic. Grieg was a mystic, as all men must be who live amid tremendous realities, whether those realities be mountains or men's hearts, whether it is the cry of the sea he hears in answer to the silent love of the moon, or the deep cry of the surging tide of men in answer to the silent call of God.

Grieg's spirit had voyaged in the same blue, rock-bound fjords as his compatriots, the same rugged country that produced Henrik Ibsen and Björnstjerne Björnson. Sometimes he sang of the mountains themselves, and sometimes of that which lay hidden beneath them.

Grieg was not a great executant, an accident to his hand in youth prevented that; but it is rare indeed that a great composer expresses himself well on an instrument before an audience, for the personality of the composer must be kept well within himself, but that of the interpreter should be radiated among his listeners. It is one

thing for a man to put down on paper the intimate whisper of his own heart, and quite another for him to face an assembly of mixed temperaments and proclaim the message which came so haltingly and modestly. The man who would hear the voice in the sea of dreams must seldom enter the world that claps when it is pleased.

There is an exquisite legend which tells how the philosophers of ancient Greece were wont to take a dead rose and place it in the bowl of a heated crucible. As the heat trembled through its shrinking petals a white vapour was seen to ascend and then hang above the vessel, suspended and still. After a little time there grew out of this cloud a phantom stalk, and on the stalk leaves budded; and finally the pale spirit of the flower unfolded itself. From the burning ashes had arisen the soul of the withered rose.

The imagination of Grieg was like the singeing heat of the crucible; into it he placed his wreaths of withered roses one by one. His songs are the phantom flowers which shone in the curling smoke as they lived and blossomed again in the passionate heat, spiritual and idealized.

FREDERIC LAWRENCE.

FAITH AND HISTORY

HOW far is faith dependent on history? Must the matter of faith be historically mediated for us? Can we emancipate religion from history and treat it purely as a science of spiritual laws? These are the questions of the twentieth century just as the relations of religion and science raised the questions of the nineteenth.

In January 1907 an interesting article appeared in the *Hibbert Journal* by Professor Lovejoy on the 'entangling alliance between history and religion.' He supposes the familiar visitor from Mars appearing on this globe. The visitor is aware of the general meaning of religion, but not of its terrestrial manifestations. Since religion, he would argue, involved the possession of truths valid and significant for all men, religious belief will only affirm truths of a universal and cosmic bearing. It will deal exclusively with the eternal verities and ignore contingent and temporal matters of fact. It will concern itself with the nature of the universe and its source, with the meaning of the life of rational beings, and with their generic destiny. Its content will consist of propositions equally pertinent to the interests, and equally accessible to the knowledge, of all such beings at any time and in any place. For what, indeed, can religion have to do with history? How surprising would be the discovery to such a person that in order to become a Christian he must pursue a series of highly technical inquiries of an historical character! —inquiries concerning the genealogy of manuscripts, the dates of certain ancient writings, the congruency of testimonies, the credibility of witnesses. Still more surprised would the Martian be to discover that his own salvation rested on a belief in the real occurrence of some remote terrestrial transactions of which he had never previously heard.

This is an effective way of putting the view that essential religion must be universal, self-evident, mediated inwardly, not historically, with complete certitude to the individual, through his own reason and conscience. That was the standpoint of eighteenth-century deism. It shows a tendency to revive to-day, one of the symptoms being an outbreak of theosophy. It is also the logical correlate of what is called intellectualism in religion. It assumes that knowledge, not faith, is the fundamental thing. As in mediaeval scholasticism, reason is called in to defend the faith; but soon claims the right to define the faith which it has come to defend. Reason next becomes master instead of servant, and offers to determine the length, breadth, height, and depth of faith.

Many lines of thought converge to make the question of the relation of faith to history in religion the question of the coming century. We may note the converging lines. (*a*) The ecclesiastic, the theologian, and the exegete have all appealed to history.

Church theories have loosened their grip as historians have shown a stage of organization which produced one theory, passing into a stage which produced another; and the foreign missionary has found in the development of modern churches that the primitive stages tend to recur. Dogmas have been analysed, tracked to their origin, watched in their growth, and attention has been diverted from what they affirm to the causes that produced them, and the spiritual instincts expressed in them. In the interpretation of the New Testament fresh valid material has come from historians like Sir William Ramsay and archaeologists like Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt. New Testament Greek has been recovered as a spoken language. St. Paul's history has been rewritten in the light of a recovered Asia Minor; and the apocalyptic passages in the New Testament, which have been like a surd in the minds of thoughtful people for years, have come back to us with new meaning under the magic of an historical interpretation. These results have all followed from the use of one method

—the historical. As applied to religion the historical method means the acceptance of certain principles. (1) The valuation of fact above theory; (2) literary criticism; (3) historical construction, or the process of following a belief or dogma through all its stages to its conclusion, and criticizing it by the standard supplied by its own principles; and (4) scientific comparison. Or, using the names of war under which these principles commonly parade, higher criticism, evolution as a method of revelation as well as of creation, comparative religion and religious psychology. The application of these principles has produced a body of students who approach the study of religion in a new temper, which may be broadly described as having for its main features these points of view. According to this school—

(1) The true aim of the study of religion is no longer abstract authoritative truth: it is to discover what churches and peoples have believed and experienced in the sphere of man's relation to God; what they aimed at, what they found, and why they found it. Nothing endures, says one of them, as possible foundation for doctrinal construction save observation and experience (Professor P. Gardner, *Hibbert*, Oct. 1902).

(2) It is not enough to agree upon the creed of one particular time, generation, or church; contemporary facts must be set beside other similar facts in other times, generations, churches and religions. The study of religion must be not only historical, but comparative and scientific.

(3) All the peoples about whom we can learn anything on the religious side of their history have a claim to be studied, but especially those ancient peoples whose history lies before us complete. Doctrine, ritual, and polity in each religion are to be traced back to their roots in personal experience, for all products of religion are found on branches of the tree of life.

(4) It is no longer possible to characterize whole institutions like monasticism, or oecumenical councils, or creeds like the Athanasian, or Nonconformist denomina-

tions, by dogmatic adjectives. All of them have some right to exist. Most of them were good to begin with, some have gone on improving, others were necessary temporary expedients which only became bad because they were perpetuated. The same institution may have to be classed as salutary or detrimental according to the stage of its development. It is the task of the historian to show with perfect impartiality why what was once reasonable and right became wrong and mischievous.

(5) The effect of all this is that dogma is removed from the sphere of absolute into that of relative truth. It is true for the experience of the time which formulates it, but not therefore for all time. Its logical issue in conduct may have proved its condemnation, as e.g. the Calvinistic doctrine of reprobation, which had a strong New Testament basis, but has now fallen out of belief because its ethical results are bad. Truth in religion is no longer abstract and absolute, but personal, practical, experimental.

(*b*) On the other hand, the very rapidity and success of historical research has produced on some minds a feeling of insecurity like that of people living in a district which is being undermined. They never know when next the ground is going to give under their feet. They would like to feel sure that the objective occurrence of the facts of the gospel in history is not a necessary condition of Christian belief or morality. These, they say, are beyond the reach of textual criticism and historical research. They belong to the permanent laws of nature and the universe, like gravitation and the circulation of the blood. 'It is not easy to show,' says Canon Inge, 'how an event or a series of events in the past can affect the truth of a religion. Either these events form part of the regular series of occurrences in time, or they do not. If they do they are only particular manifestations of laws, which are always in operation, and which vindicate themselves continually in human experience. In that case the veracity of the historian does not matter much because the event is repeated. If, on the other hand, the event is wholly

miraculous and solitary, its importance is in inverse ratio to its strangeness.' This is an ingenious attempt 'to put the ark of the Lord somewhere where the Philistines cannot get at it.' The facts in this case are merely symbols of eternal and spiritual truths. What matters is not the facts, but the truths. The weak point of this method is that in effect it surrenders Christianity in order to defend religion as a valid phase of human experience. It dissipates the personal revelation of God into a communication of abstract truths. It sacrifices the redemptive to the didactic element in religion. It tries to save religion, by surrendering Jesus Christ as necessary for mediating the experience of God to man. It is not clear whether those who adopt this method have seen how much they surrender before the Philistines come to their line of defence. Canon Inge is in pleasant company with Emerson and the New Englanders, and there are many interesting possibilities to be explored in that direction; but the central interest in the Christian religion is Jesus Christ, and a line of defence which does not include Him has no permanent Christian interest.

(*c*) The Abbé Loisy made a valiant attempt to combine an extreme critical treatment of the Christian documents with an *ex animo* acceptance of the whole cycle of Roman Catholic dogma. He bridged the chasm left by rejecting the sacred record, with a doctrine of development which was like a suspension bridge with only one pillar to hang on. It was clear that in Roman dogma authenticated by the Pope he had one pillar, but where the other was no one could see. A similar criticism would have to be made of a recent effort in the Free Churches to evolve a dogmatic system from the characteristic Christian experience, after the whole case of the critics against the Old and New Testaments has been admitted. A doctrinal reconstruction which neglects to square accounts with the whole historical and scientific movement of our time cannot be said to rest on a secure basis.

(*d*) A fourth position of great interest and present

popularity makes spiritual need a criterion of religious truth. Whatever proves its value to the soul has a right to exist and live on in the cycle of religious truths. This is a system of Christian doctrine built on what are technically described as 'value-judgements,' estimates, that is, of the worth of religious beliefs to the soul's life. Whether the belief has any relation to objective truth we cannot know, and therefore we need not care. We are only concerned with the question whether it does its work. If it works effectively it may be assumed to be in harmony with the construction of the universe. The position of the Ritschlians is, indeed, liable to abuse; for they can accept theological dogmas and expound them freely, though they recognize in them only a psychological validity. The main position that spiritual need, and not harmony with objective fact, is the test of religious truth, is the position taken by Father Tyrrell in his *Lex Orandi* and *Lex Credendi*. It has in its favour that religious ideals, like all other ideals, must ultimately be tested by their effects. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' In a rational universe it is certainly a strong argument for the truth of a religious conception if it brings peace, harmony, strength and power into a human life. Ritschlianism is a serviceable half-way house for wayfarers whose means of conveyance have broken down, and who cannot get any further on the road to faith. But it is a half-way house at best, and cannot be seriously regarded as affording more than a lodging for the passing night of doubt. It has at least done this service, it has rescued the ark of the Lord from its sojourn in the temple of Hegel and the monists. It has vindicated those who maintained that neither the Hegelian philosophy nor any other could be set up and made the arbiter of the truth of New Testament facts or the validity of the New Testament faith. Ritschlianism has been of immense service in this country as a reasoned position genuinely religious, and therefore holding back the encroachments of rationalism among thoughtful people in the churches. But its value has been in keeping us in touch with the historic

faith. We shall be more at home when faith and history are still more closely and permanently linked together.

These positions have been stated critically and comparatively because none of them seem to fill the requirements of a position catholic in the sense of being true to Christian history, and evangelical in the sense of being true to New Testament emphasis and Christian experience. On these positions, which all have their hold on the public mind, I have now to make three comments.

(1) Faith has in its own right authority to set some limits to the historian's operations. It has ascertained by experience some absolute and final spiritual values.

(2) The competing claims of intellectualism and historic Christianity may be partly reconciled by differentiating between the functions of religion in general, and Christianity in particular. Religion deals with the whole life of man, and the whole relations of that life to God. There is certainly a large element of intuition, spiritual perception, incursions from the unseen, the sense and perception of the inward light, in those relations. Intellectualism finds its sphere in co-ordinating these spiritual feelings and perceptions.

The function of religious personalities is different. They mediate to us spiritual truths and powers, i.e. they interpret these into the terms of human character and life. Jesus Christ mediates to the world, and in this He is absolutely alone, the divine forgiveness of sin; we do not know what that means apart from Him. Only a sinless personality is reliable as a witness to God's forgiveness of sin. It is still impossible to show what is meant by the love of a Father-God or to deal adequately with the consciousness of sin in man except through the historic redemption wrought by Jesus Christ. Christianity is the revelation of God's redemptive character and action in history.

(3) The most recent inquiry into the nature of religious faith classes it with aesthetic and moral ideals as a function of the soul. The product of the aesthetic ideal is a picture, of the moral ideal an act, of the religious ideal a

life lived in a certain attitude to God—a communion with the Eternal amidst the temporal. In that case history and biography are not only the channels by which faith reaches us, they are also the laboratory in which the powers of faith are tested and verified. The remainder of this paper consists of an expansion and application of these three comments.

(1) The spiritual values ascertained by faith stand outside the limitations within which historians work. When an appeal to history is spoken of it is assumed too readily that that appeal means the same thing for all minds that make it; but there, as elsewhere, a fact and a mind estimating the fact go to make an historian's judgement. We cannot get away from a value-judgement by appealing to history. The record of objective events is at any time a small part of history. It is at any time more important to know the meaning of an event than the mere fact of its occurrence. The importance of the event depends on the sequence in which it stands. The historian must know what lies behind it in the way of cause, and what follows from it in the way of consequence. Professor Harnack once described what he considered to be the qualifications of an ecclesiastical historian in these terms. 'In taking up a theological book we are in the habit of inquiring first of all as to the author's point of view. In historical books there is no need for such an inquiry. The question here is whether the author is in sympathy with the subject about which he writes, whether he can distinguish original elements from those that are derived, whether he has a thorough acquaintance with his material, whether he is aware of the limits of historical knowledge, and whether he is truthful. These requirements constitute the categorical imperative for the historian, but they can only be fulfilled by an unwearied self-discipline. Hence any historical study is an ethical task. The historian ought to be faithful in every sense of the word; whether he has been so or not is the question on which his readers have to decide.'[1]

[1] Quoted in the *Historical Review*, vol. xiv, p. 117.

Taken in their full sense, these words imply that an historian requires as large sympathies, and as deep an insight into human nature, as a great dramatist. If a biographer can only write justly about a subject with whom he is in full sympathy, the historian must have in him something of the spirit, habit of mind, or point of view of the person whose life he describes or whose acts he interprets; and also the qualification of being able to view his subject as it were from the inside as well as the outside. To enter into his motives and sympathies and aims is quite as important as the full and accurate knowledge of the external facts of his life. And what is true of biography, or the endeavour to interpret a character, is equally true of the endeavour to interpret a period or an age. If the requirements of a perfect historian are perfect understanding, perfect sympathy, perfect impartiality, it is evident that there is only one competent historian in the universe, and that its Creator.

Such a view of history is very far removed from that which is at present current and popular amongst historical scholars. The scientific historian is supposed to be the man who can accumulate the most massive heap of facts, and all facts are estimated at much the same value. The net result, for instance, of the attitude of the modern scientific historian in matters of religion is seen in such an article as that on Jesus Christ in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, where Dr. Bruce endeavours, no doubt in obedience to what he believes to be important canons of historical study, to state the facts of the life of Jesus as, for instance, Tacitus might have done, or any one else who had no sympathy with either the aims or the ideas of Jesus, and no experience of the effect of His life. The agony of Calvary is summarized and dismissed as though it had no more historical significance than the death of either of the malefactors who were crucified at the same time. This is a kind of climax of the method which reduces history to the cataloguing of State papers, and the statement of bald facts.

The apology for this is that it is an attempt to discover what are the facts with which faith has to deal; but the endeavour is as useless as it is impossible. It is the business of the historian to deal with reality, or, as Professor Harnack puts it, 'to be faithful.' If the meaning of reality is confined to objective fact it is limited to its least important part. The first essential for a just performance of the historian's task is to recognize that no great event is ever merely an external event; it is always external and something more, and its real significance lies in the quantity and quality of the something more. Events have, as it were, different depths—some of them are shallow and surface events which pass and leave barely a ripple; others are evidence of currents of purpose and feeling affecting the history of a world. The difference is made by the relations in which persons and events stand to those things which concern all mankind. Truth lies in relations; and if an historian is to tell the truth, he must bring out the relations in which events stand to the past, the present, and the future. We can only judge the importance of a man or an event by putting him in his own setting. There are parochial men, civic men, national men, universal men. That is, men stand for causes temporary and accidental, moral and ethical, or spiritual and universal. There are some events which stand in such deep and comprehensive relations to the history of an age or a people that, in them, the whole moral and spiritual significance of that age or people seems to get expression. There are persons and events in which for a longer or shorter time the purposes and destinies of a nation are embodied. Such events have a higher degree of reality than anything else in history. An historian who cannot distinguish between the degrees of reality which belong to events, seems very imperfectly furnished for his task.

It is no doubt true that it requires much higher qualities, and much fuller knowledge, to interpret events than to state them. As soon as the risk of interpretation is undertaken, the historian runs the risk of failure. It is,

for instance, a matter of experience that the soul-compelling events on Calvary have been from time to time so overlaid with speculative and doctrinal constructions, as to lose their power over many human hearts. But an error on one side does not cancel an error on the other. It is no true history which deals with the death of the Son of Man, with its tremendous spiritual consequences in the history of the race, as though it were no more significant than any other tragedy. The fact that it functions still as a cosmic moral and spiritual force is sufficient to set it alone in the world's history.

History, in order to do its work, may require the formulation of fresh canons of judgement to discriminate between significant and insignificant spiritual facts; it requires some knowledge of the workings of the human mind, some perception of that great sphere of influence in which ideas, spiritual and ethical forces work—in short, it must invite the aid of religious psychology. This is again the note struck by Professor Harnack:

> 'Without the strength and deed of an individual, of a *personality*, nothing great, nothing that will bring us farther on our way, will be accomplished. Whence comes the strength of the strong, and the deed of the doer? Whence comes it that the knowledge that might advance us, the thought that might save us, is transmitted from one generation to another as barren and worthless and dead as a stone, until some one seizes it and strikes it into fire? Whence comes that higher order of marriage, where a thought so *unites with a soul that each is merged in the other, and belongs to the other, and masters the will?* Whence comes the courage that conquers the resistance of a dull and unfeeling world? Whence comes the living power that begets a living conviction? It is a very limited psychology which fails to see that these are the real levers of history.'[1]

Summing up the argument of this section: the historical and dogmatic methods seem destined to play parts

[1] Harnack, *Christianity and History*, p. 32.

corresponding to those taken in the history of the nineteenth century by the two historic political parties. History is installed as the critic of dogma, and dogma has full right to retaliate as the critic of history. History can show the growth and relativity of dogma, and supply the most severe criticisms by showing how a dogma works out into an absurdity, when it is pressed to a point too logically. But when history has done its best (or worst) a new dogmatist may arrive at any moment with a fresh point of view which will revise all the historian's verdicts. This has, indeed, been done successfully in the historical criticism of the New Testament. Baur and the Tübingen school are outgrown. Renan and Strauss are in the museums. A good illustration of this process may be supplied from recent German thought. In 1901 Niebergall published an argument for the absoluteness of Christianity, using simply the dogmatic method. To this Troeltsch replied, condemning the dogmatic method and urging the necessity of the historical. But he recognizes that the alternatives cannot be made mutually exclusive. If religion, he argues, including Christianity, were only a play of human representations and necessities conditioned by time and place, which has its basis only in the sensible world, has no unique and final form, where could we get a sure foundation for our religious life? He therefore modifies the religious-historical method in its application to Christianity. He recognizes that in the leading personalities of religious history psychology reaches an ultimate fact akin, and yet unlike to, moral judgement and aesthetic taste, a life of the soul, which reveals the independence, the inner unity and originality of religion. This ultimate fact is the original, actual, repeatedly experienced contact of the soul with God. In the comparative history of religion we detect progress and also decay. But in Jesus Christ we find the specific purposes and characteristics of religion receiving a perfect and therefore final expression, and there can be no religious progress beyond perfection. This is clearly a true and probably the ultimate line of reply.

It is recorded of an old Buddhist who had read the Gospels that he said of Jesus Christ, 'He is the only Buddha in whom men should believe.' There may be infinite progress in the application of Christ to history, but to the soul He has mediated once for all and perfectly the relation of sonship to God. There can be no nearer and no higher relation. Here then we arrive at a canon of the soul's life.

In the order of time history no doubt comes first, but *for the ascertainment of truth in religion experience takes precedence of history.*

For example: In the discussion of the Virgin Birth all that the historian could do for us if he were completely successful would be to establish that a certain historical child was, or was not, brought into being with certain antecedents. But what we want to know is whether the unique Son of God has revealed the Father, and that we can only discover from those who have experienced the revealing. The testimony of one person who says, 'I have found communion with the living God established and mediated through Jesus Christ,' is for this purpose worth the verdict of fifty historians on the literary evidence of the first chapters of Matthew and Luke.

The historian can establish the fact that Jesus Christ was crucified on Calvary, but what really matters is whether His death had and has the effect of relieving the consciousness of sin in sinful men, by giving them the sense of a great sacrifice offered to establish reconciliation with God; and for the assurance on that point we must clearly go elsewhere than to the historians. It can only be established by the experimental testimony of those who have been liberated from sin by the Cross.

It is no valid criticism of the Gospels to say that they are shreds and scraps, scattered utterances and imperfect reminiscences. That is not the point. They enable us to feel and enter into the outlook of a perfect son towards God, towards man, on time and eternity, on the past and the future, on nature and conduct, on sin and forgiveness. It does not interfere with my use of the Gospel of John,

for a religious purpose, if I am told by experts that its incidents and sayings come to us through the mind of a disciple in the second century. The important question is: 'Do those sayings give me a true interpretation of the person whom I want to know; do they give me access to the mind of Christ?' and because I am confident that in the main they do, the Gospel of John is still to me the most precious of the four. The mystical note does not detract from its value, meaning by mystical, the note of an immediate consciousness of God. It makes it to me more true; for there is a mystical note in life, and no person can be wholly true to reality who tries to exclude the element of a subtle consciousness of relation to God in the mind of man. There is latent mysticism in every Christian life, and however imperfectly it may be expressed, not to recognize that it is really there is to fail altogether to understand the fact. Christianity without the mystical element is a body without a soul, a tree torn from its root. And when that is gone it is a poor business to try and fill its terms with philosophical and metaphysical contents, which offer to the soul a stone when it asks for bread.

(2) Much is gained in clearness of thought by distinguishing the general function of religion and the specific function of historical Christianity. The study of comparative religion has made it clear that there are certain functions which belong to religion as such. Religion as the habit and practice of worship belongs not to any one time and place. It is part of the very nature of man and the consequence of the universal revelation of God. It is as much man's nature to be religious as to be social or political. Some doctrine about the soul, some idea of a God, and the thought of some continuation of existence beyond death occur generally in all religions. But this is not a definition of religion, it is a description of what men want from religion. They know enough of themselves to want to know more about themselves; they have enough feeling of a power or powers above themselves to want to know what is their relation to it. They have enough sense of the

timeless existence of personality to want to penetrate the future. The great primitive questions which knock at the door of all religions are whence? and why? and whither? These desires and the endeavour to satisfy them should be assumed as the permanent background of all religious history. The frantic efforts put forth in the last thirty years to prove that there must be a why, a whence, and a whither, may be necessary for the moment owing to the pressure of materialistic theories, but they are passing skirmishes. The religious nature may be relied on to reassert itself when the present materialistic phase has waned.

The materialist's conclusions are a nightmare from which the normal human mind must awake. If evidence is required for this it may be found in the large circles of society which, having broken away from historical Christianity, are at the same time sufficiently relieved from the pressure of daily toil to have some leisure to think. It is among these people that one finds with pathetic frequency the native necessity for a spiritual faith reasserting itself in spiritualism, Christian Science, theosophical cliques, the patronage of clairvoyants, crystal gazers, soothsayers. These are all evidence of the saving fact that men and women still have strong and prevailing spiritual instincts. The mystical element in mind or heart cannot be satisfied with the dry bones of formalism or materialism. They are equally evidence that these spiritual instincts have not yet found their satisfaction in an adequate reinterpretation suitable to the modern mind, of the historic faith of Christendom. The plea for that faith is that it is an historical answer given once for all to the perennial questions of the soul. There is here no entangling alliance of religion and history, but there is an historical Person who mediates a divine response to the perennial needs which the soul knows. The Christian religion answers the universal need, not merely by telling a story, but by establishing communion with God through an historic Person. Through Him that communion is realized, enjoyed, consummated, with all its blessed con-

sequences in the forgiveness of sin, the sanctification of character, and the assurance of immortality. Here is no question of 'accepting absolute truths of reason on contingent grounds of history.' There is instead the use of an historic Person to establish a direct communion with God, to show what that communion means and keep it operating in a redemptive direction. The alliance between history and faith is not entangling, but illuminating and redeeming. It is like the alliance of positive and negative poles in electricity. Without it there is the soul's search for God, but no corresponding response from God to the soul. There are spiritual instincts seeking satisfaction, but no satisfaction for the instincts that seek. Take away the historical Person who mediates our knowledge of God, and you steer at once towards one of those pantheistic religions of the Hindu type, which 'deny all worth to appearances in time and space, see no value in the struggling and achieving will, find piety in meditation and abstraction, and deny it to the concrete struggles of personal life and the historic tasks of social life.' Such religion is no true boon to the world; it offers to enrich life by emptying life of its contents, bids men to destroy their wills, and lose their personalities in an eternal abstraction that never enters time existence at all.

Our only safeguard against this pale ghost of a religion, —the death's-head at suburban coteries which play at religious inquiry,—lies in holding fast by the historic Person who mediates to us a God in closest and deepest sympathy with the life of His children, healing their diseases, bearing their sorrows, redeeming them from their sins. This historic element in Christianity is the least expected. It is what Professor Lovejoy's Martian would find most surprising. He comes with inquiries for general information, and he encounters a cosmic moral force, acting through a crucified Person on the mind, the conscience, and the soul. This made Paul insist on preaching the Crucified Christ. There were occasions on which he could talk religious philosophy, as at Athens or Lystra, but as he came to grapple closely with his real task he saw that it was wasting

time to talk philosophy. If he could but make men feel the moral power of the Cross, the general questions of the religious philosophy of life would be settled with an 'of course.'

This defence of the historic Person as permanently vindicating God to those who accept Him, is not to be taken as implying the defence of every historical event alleged in connexion with His person. The historical element in religion is defended, but all history has not, therefore, been elevated into religion; many questions must be left permanently open, questions of texts, genealogies, of some sayings and of some reported incidents. The advantage of defining the vital historical element is that we can hold ourselves free in dealing with the non-vital. Nothing is vital which does not threaten the mediating efficacy of the person of Christ. If He really brings together in His own person God and Man, feels the reason of their estrangement, and achieves the path to their reconciliation, atonement, and reunion, it is enough. So long as He does this He is what we need, He is the Christ of experience whom we find in the Jesus of history.

It is only by retaining the historical element in religion in this sense that we can retain the whole ethical and redemptive power of the gospel. Intellectualism can give us a theistic theory. Mysticism can find an emotional rest in the intuitive perception of a spiritual God. A truly catholic interpretation of the function of religion will not deny the place of any of these. It will find room for God's touch with the soul in nature mysticism and practical mysticism, but it will go on to make clear that none of these give an adequate account of the Christian faith. It is an essential element in that faith that the God in whom we believe is known to the world through a Person in whom the redeeming purpose and will of the eternal have entered into the world's history and shaped it. He is not only the world's Creator, but also the Regenerator of its life, beginning a new race with a new Adam, tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.

(3) The value of history in religion has received a new

vindication from recent study of the nature of religious truth. It has been pointed out that the proper analogue of religious truth is not scientific truth, but the aesthetic and moral ideals; that is to say, faith is a conviction which the religious man brings to all the circumstances and events of life; the conviction that in life and its experiences we are not dealing with things impersonal, but with a Supreme Person, and that all things may and can be seen in relation to Him. In reasoning we bring a logical ideal to regulate thought. The aesthetic ideal is something which the artist brings to nature. The moral reformer sees not only what is, but what ought to be, and he is inwardly convinced that what ought to be has a higher right to exist than what is. His task is to impose his ideal on the facts. So also it may be said religion is a great synthesis—an interpretation of life in terms of relation to a redeeming Will and Person. The religious man moves through life making all his thoughts, actions, and feelings bear on his relation to God. A religious man cannot leave anything outside the synthesis which for him holds life together, otherwise life is incompletely hallowed. The world is for him the home of spirits, temporarily clothed with bodies, and over them is the Father of our spirits. The Father-God reveals Himself to the dependent spirits in experience, in history, in nature, and immediately and everywhere it is found that the revealed God is a *Redeemer*. This being the nature of faith, it is capable of verification in experience. It is verified by seeing its effects.

On this method the supreme line of proof open to religion is not in the sphere of logic, but in the sphere of life, i.e. in biography and history. History is the great laboratory where faith is tested. As the evidence of the artistic impulse and the aesthetic ideal is the picture painted by the artist, so the evidence of faith is the personal and national history which it makes. The supreme argument for faith is not a Butler's Analogy, nor a body of divinity, nor even a philosophy of religion, but an Old Testament containing the record of a divinely led people, or a New Testament containing four portraits of a redeeming Life. As faith

makes history, history is required to make faith. A non-historical faith would be under the constant risk of never getting into history at all, i.e. it would not really mould life, and we ourselves are in Time. We belong to history, and it is in time and through history that the law and grace of God are to act. As these are to be realized in history, so God, who makes the realization possible, must be manifest in history.

It is an important consideration much in favour of this view that it leads us to conclusions wider than the justification of linking religion and history within the sacred volume. History is a record of facts and events, but neither in our own time nor any other can it be a record of bare facts—unconnected like dots casually put down on a sheet of paper. We know that events are intimately connected with one another. We know that there are subtle relations, causation, reaction, attraction, which cause events in our own time, and we are sure that there were just such subtle causes and effects in other days. The old astronomers fitted the stars into named constellations because they could not think of them as separate; the modern astronomer determines their relation to one another by mathematical and physical laws; in a similar fashion the human mind by a God-given necessity seeks connexions between the events of history, finds them yielding a history of liberty, or a history of morals, or a history of religion, or a history of a church. When we affirm that we find God in history we make the largest connexion between events, and affirm the largest generalization of all. God in history means, of course, more than God in a particular history; the greater includes the less, and faith will find God in the history of its own land when once its eye has been trained by watching the ways of God in Israel. If God is in all history there is no difficulty in recognizing that He is revealed in a particular course of events and biographies which we find in the Bible. The prophets continually claim that the same God who deals with Israel deals with other people. It is the essence of their claim that the God who has revealed Him-

self to them is spiritual, holy, universal; that whether He deals with Israel, Damascus, Syria or Edom He cares more for righteousness and for mercy, truth, charity and justice than for ritual or sacrifice; that He knows no respect of persons, but has a supreme regard for the vindication of holy ends. In His providence evil scavenges itself out of existence, and good is knitted into the structure of worlds to be. Though this is true of all nations, only one nation has recorded its history from this point of view, and by so doing has become the religious teacher of the whole world.

By the selfsame attitude of faith which finds God in Christ, and does not flinch even in presence of the Cross, we get the only inspiring and hopeful view of our own history. My interest is hardly less deep in England's history than in Israel's—if it is my home, I trust it will be my children's; all the story of its struggles, its heroes, its battles, its ordered progress is dear to me. I love its people, I believe in their future. I tremblingly hope, but really hope, that in a special sense God has a great work for this people to do in the world in bringing in His kingdom. When I remember how He has brought us from the dim confused conflicts of Saxon days, the men He has given us, our Alfred and Edward, and Wyclif and Shakespeare, and Milton and Cromwell, and Wesley and Whitefield, and Carey and Livingstone and Pitt, Bunyan and Burke, Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, Carlyle and Ruskin, Tennyson and Browning, and our great line of apostolic missionaries, I feel that we ought to have psalms like those of Israel telling of God's goodness, with a refrain, 'For His mercy endureth for ever.' I want psalms like the 105th and 106th to tell of our battles and marches, and deliverances at sea and on land, and I want an eleventh of Hebrews to tell of the great company of preachers, orators, missionaries and teachers, who have found faith the assurance of things hoped for, and the testing of things not seen. Nay, one chapter would not do, we should want at least an epistle.

DUGALD MACFADYEN.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

The Greek Versions, &c., of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Edited by the REV. DR. R. H. CHARLES. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908.)

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Translation, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by REV. DR. R. H. CHARLES. (London: A. & C. Black. 1908.)

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. (The Cambridge MS., edited with notices of the Oxford MS.) Edited by DR. R. SINKER. 1869.

THAT distinguished scholar and ecclesiastic, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, was the most advanced critic and literary investigator of his time. Roger Bacon said that he stood alone in his attainments in every branch of science. He was a Greek scholar when there were few in Europe who were acquainted with the classical tongue. His friend, John of Basingstoke (Archdeacon of Leicester, A.D. 1235), had studied at Athens, and had reported to him that he had seen there a manuscript of a book which Jewish jealousy had excluded from the canon of Scripture. It was entitled, 'The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.' The Greek, he thought, was a translation from a Hebrew original. He held that it had been produced before the Christian era, containing predictions both of Christ and of the Church, and that on this account it had been suppressed by the Jews.

Grosseteste and his friend succeeded in the purchase and transmission of this valuable document, and it is still treasured at Cambridge. The learned Bishop fully accepted the suggested view of its age and value, and translated it into Latin. Nicholas of St. Albans helped him in this

task, which was to result in 'the strengthening of the Christians, and the confusion of the Jews.' He had not observed that Pope Gelasius (A.D. 492) had declared that the work was apocryphal, or that Origen noticed it, but never reckoned it to be part of authentic Scripture.

Notwithstanding Grosseteste's advocacy, the book was not generally received as a genuine relic of the Hebrew Scriptures. It slumbered in a few libraries for the next four centuries or more. It was the Lutheran, J. Ernest Grabe, who brought it again to light at the end of the seventeenth century. Grabe, who had begun to doubt the validity of Lutheran orders—for which he had been preparing—under the counsel of Spener came to Oxford, that he might join a Church with a true 'apostolical succession.' He spent a laborious life in the University, and his presence there accentuated the High-Churchism of the time.

The 'Testaments' was one of the books which Grabe edited with the painstaking diligence of a German. Other copies of the work had now been discovered, which he collated with the manuscript of the tenth century already known. He accepted Grosseteste's view of a Hebrew original, but concluded that interpolations had been made by Christian editors. To this judgement, after many vacillations, the later scholarship has returned; and it seems to be finally established by the researches of Dr. Charles. We need scarcely refer to the opinion of the eccentric Whiston, who found in the 'Testaments' a 'missing link' in the series of the Jewish Scriptures, corresponding to that occurring in the New Testament in the case of the 'Apostolic Constitutions.'

Grabe's view of the document, however, did not receive universal acceptation. Corrodi and Nitzsch earnestly opposed it, and their criticism seemed for a time to settle the matter. Their contention was that the book was due to Christian writers alone. Ritschl (1851) endorsed this view, and thought it had been produced by a Pauline writer. In the second edition of his important work (1857) he contended that the author must have been a Jewish

Christian of liberal views.[1] His theory of the 'Nazarenes'—as apart from the Ebionites—depends chiefly on this supposition. The theory was accepted by Lechler, and by most interpreters down to Bishop Lightfoot, who defends it in his essay on 'St. Paul and the Three.'[2] We need scarcely say that this view is seriously affected by the change which criticism has effected in regard to the origin of the 'Testaments.'

It will be seen that the book had elements which were sure to attract the attention of scholars and theologians. Among its devotees must be reckoned Dr. R. Sinker, who published a recension of it in 1869, which comprised a careful collation of the versions and manuscripts then available. Dr. Sinker has given many years of labour to the investigation, and he will receive much sympathy now that his view has been superseded by further inquiry. He supplied the translation of the document which appears in the Ante-Nicene Library, and, it is believed, had been preparing a new edition of his production of 1869. But he was opposed to any theory of interpolation: the Greek form was the original one. In an article on the subject in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. 865, he says: 'It cannot be doubted that the "Testaments" are the work of a Jewish Christian writing for Jews.' The writer belonged, he says, to the Nazarenes, of whom Jerome speaks, who liberally interpreted the Mosaic code, and 'frankly recognized St. Paul.' If Dr. Charles's view of the 'Testaments' proves to be correct, the existence of this liberal party among the Jewish Christians will scarcely be maintained.

The view that Dr. Sinker sought to establish was that which had been accepted by Bishop Lightfoot. He had said (*Galatians*, p. 319) that the book was written after the destruction of the holy city, and perhaps as late as A.D.

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[1] *Die Enstehung der altkatholischen Kirche.* It is surprising tha this book has not been translated into our language.

[2] *Galatians*, pp. 292-374.

132. 'It exhibits,' he said, 'generally the characteristics of the Nazarene sect;' and 'to a strong Israelite feeling it unites the fullest recognition of the Gentile Church.' Bishop Lightfoot, also, had little sympathy with any suggestion of interpolation. Of the theories known in his day he said: 'Such arbitrary assumptions would render criticism hopeless.' But the world has moved since the learned Bishop's days. The modern Church will ever be indebted to him for his erudite and lucid pages; yet he does not appear to have said the last word about the 'Testaments' any more than about the epistles of Ignatius, or about the origin of episcopacy.

The 'Testaments' belongs to the pseudepigraphical literature which abounded in the later Judaism. It has affinities with the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and other works of this class. It professes to give the last words of each of the sons of Jacob. Reuben confesses his faults, but recommends his family to honour Levi, because he would give 'ordinances for judgement and sacrifice until the completion of the times of Christ the High-priest.' Simeon is made to say that 'the Lord should raise up from Levi a priest, from Judah a king, God and man.' Levi warns his descendants that they would 'slay Him, not knowing His dignity,' who was to 'establish a new priesthood for all the Gentiles.'

Judah announces that 'a star should arise for Jacob in peace—a man shall arise from my seed like the sun of righteousness.' In Joseph an interpolated passage declares that 'from Judah was born a virgin wearing a linen garment, and from her went forth a Lamb without spot, and on His left hand was one like a lion.' In Benjamin there is a plain reference to St. Paul, who had been known as a 'wolf.' But he was 'beloved of the Lord . . . enlightening all the Gentiles.'

When a few years ago the Armenian manuscripts of this book were examined by Dr. F. C. Conybeare, it was found that the characteristic passages, which plainly referred to Christ and the apostles, were conspicuous by their

absence. The Armenian version had evidently been derived from copies in which these clauses did not appear.

On further examination it was found that in the Greek manuscripts these portions were marked by great variation. This opened the way for the re-establishment of Grabe's theory that the book was originally written in Hebrew, and had been subsequently translated into Greek. Dr. Charles says that the vocabulary is Greek, but the idioms are Hebraic. The difference between the two Greek versions may be explained by retranslation into Hebrew. The original author must have been acquainted with the Talmud and the Targums, and also familiar with the Jewish interpretation known as Midrash. There are circumstances also which supply hints for the probable date of the work. The alliance of Judah with Levi, and the institution of a priest-king, points to the times of John Hyrcanus, to whom Josephus and the Book of Jubilees give this title. Dr. Charles concludes that the most probable date is 109 B.C.

To Christian readers the supreme interest of the book will be found in the passages which indicate acquaintance with the teaching and language of the New Testament. So many of these are found in what appears to be the original work, that the only inference is that New Testament writers were acquainted with the 'Testaments.' It is not surprising that a large number of these similarities appear in the Gospel of Matthew. Thus *Gad* vi. 3, says: 'If a man sin against thee . . . speak peaceably to him . . . and if he confess and repent, forgive him' (Matt. xviii. 15, where, as in other cases, the original shows how great the similarity is). In *Zebulun* viii. 6: 'Evil against a brother . . . weareth away the countenance'; (Matt. vi. 16, ἀφανίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον, not found elsewhere in this sense). *Zebul.* v. 3: 'As a man doeth to his neighbour, even so will the Lord do to him' (Matt. vii. 2). *Joseph* i. 6: 'I was sick and the Lord visited me, I was in prison and my God showed favour unto me' (Matt. xxv. 36).

Levi x. 3: 'The veil of the temple shall be rent'; (Matt. xxvii. 51, τὸ καταπέτασμα).

Again, the phrase 'bowels of mercies,' Luke i. 78, is first found in *Zebul.* vii. 3. Like Luke x. 19, 20, we read in *Simeon* vi. 6: 'Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot, and men shall rule over wicked spirits.' Luke xxii. 31 has a parallel in *Benjamin* iii. 3: 'The spirits of Beliar claim you (ἐξαιτήσωνται) to afflict you with every evil.' *Levi* xiv. 4 speaks of 'the light of the law which was given to lighten every man' (cf. John i. 9).

In 1 Thess. ii. 16, St. Paul says of the Jewish people that 'the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.' Dr. Sinker (and those who think with him about the origin of the document) holds that this passage gives evidence that the 'Testaments' borrowed here from the apostle. But *Levi* vi. 11 applies it, with verbal agreement, to the Simeonites. In *Asher* vi. 2, another passage seems to have been taken over by St. Paul (Rom. i. 32): 'They both do the evil thing, and they have pleasure in them that do it.' Also Rom. i. 21 may quote *Reuben* iii. 8: 'Every man darkens his mind from the truth' (cf. Eph. iv. 18).

Other instances are such as *Judah* xx. 5: 'The spirit of truth testifieth all things and accuseth all' (cf. John xv. 26, Rom. ii. 15). *Simeon* vi. 1: 'I have told you all things that I may be acquitted of—δικαιωθῶ ἀπό—your sin' (cf. Rom. vi. 7). *Naphtali* ii. 2–4: 'The potter knoweth the vessel how much it is to contain—the use of each vessel what it is meet for'; Rom. ix. 21 (in this case both writers may depend on the Old Testament). *Benjamin* iv. 3: 'He who does good conquers evil' (Rom. xii. 21). *Zebulun* viii. 5: 'Love one another, and do not set down in account evil against his brother' (1 Cor. xiii. 5). *Levi* xix. 1: 'Choose, therefore, for yourselves either light or darkness, either the works of the Lord, or the works of Beliar' (2 Cor. vi. 14, 15).

In *Gad* v. 7 we read that 'true repentance after a godly

sort . . . leadeth the mind to salvation' (2 Cor. vii. 10); in *Judah* xix. 1 that 'the love of money leadeth to idolatry' (Eph. v. 5; Col. iii. 5; 1 Tim. vi. 10). Very striking also is *Judah* xix. 3: 'The God of my fathers had mercy on me because I did it in ignorance,' in comparison with 1 Tim. i. 13; and again, *Dan.* vi. 2: 'The angel that intercedeth for you is a mediator between God and man,' in relation to 1 Tim. ii. 5.

After the original production of the work in the latter part of the second century B.C., there seems to have been some additions made by a Jewish editor, about 50 B.C. But more important for the modern biblical student are the interpolations made by Christian editors two centuries afterwards. In *Simeon* vi. 5 the words 'as man' have been added to 'the Lord our God shall appear on earth'; and in vi. 7: 'Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved man.' Where *Sim.* vii. 2 has: 'He shall save the race of Israel,' the interpolator has inserted: 'and all the nations.' One word added to *Levi* iv. 4 has given a strong Christian reference to the passage: 'Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in the tender mercies of His [Son]'; and *Levi* xiv. 2: 'Thy sons shall lay hands upon Him,' is also an addition; as again: 'The chief priests [shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world].' In *Levi* xviii. 7 there occurs an interesting interpretation: 'The spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water, i.e. of baptism]. Also in *Asher* vii. 3 the additions are noticeable: 'Until the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking], and breaking the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in the person of man].'

Very evident also is the origin of the additions in *Joseph* xix. 8, 11: 'And I saw that from Judah [was born] a virgin [wearing a linen garment, and from her was born a Lamb without spot—all the beasts rushed against Him, and the Lamb overcame them . . . for from them (Levi and Judah) shall arise the Lamb of God who taketh away

the sin of the world, who saveth all the Gentiles and Israel].' In *Benjamin* is found the reference to St. Paul, and in iii. 8: 'In Thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God and Saviour of the world].' One form adds again: 'The sinless one shall die for ungodly men.'

Many other extracts might be given if space permitted. There are some correspondences with the Epistle of James, as *Naphtali* viii. 4: 'If ye do good . . . the devil will flee from you' (Jas. iv. 7). One would have expected more direct contact with Hebrews, but only the frequent allusions to the priesthood show acquaintance with that book. The Apocalypse has more frequent references, as *Dan.* v. 12: 'In the new Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice' (Rev. iii. 12); and *Levi* v. 1 gives the first allusion to the temple in heaven (Rev. xi. 19).

It is evident that the Christian interpolators were familiar with the writings of St. Paul and St. John, and they so fully assimilated the universalism of these writers that no one can infer that they belonged to the class of ordinary Jewish Christians. That which Dr. Charles calls 'the misleading supposition' on the subject, he found to be attended with insuperable difficulties, and he therefore speedily accepted Dr. Conybeare's inferences from his examination of the Armenian version.

'The misleading supposition,' to which Dr. Charles refers, was based upon the assumption that between the extreme Judaizers of the primitive Church, who so frequently interfered with St. Paul's operations, and the Gentile believers who accepted his doctrine, there must have been an intermediate party, who represented the mediating policy of St. Peter and St. John. This more liberal section comprised those who were called 'Nazarenes.' They still adhered to the Jewish ceremonial, and had only the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew; but they did not seek to compel Gentiles to adopt the Jewish ritual, and they are said to have approved of St. Paul's mission to the Gentiles.

However, until recent times it was the fashion to ignore the differences which undoubtedly existed in the apostolic and post-apostolic periods. Occasionally a writer like J. F. Buddaeus (A.D. 1729), or Semler (1752), or Priestley (1782), would refer to the contentions of the early Church; but their inferences were regarded as dangerous and unhistorical. Neander, who sought to trace the spiritual history of the Church, was not unwilling to consider the evidences of these controversies. But it was F. C. Baur, having been influenced by Neander and Schleiermächer, who brought into prominence the serious cleavage which had come into pristine Christianity through the labours of St. Paul. Baur and his allies of the Tübingen school failed to establish their theory that the New Testament writings must be explained as 'Tendency writings'; but they opened a new era in the conceptions of the earliest history of the Church. Their principal conclusion has been almost universally accepted. Bishop Lightfoot has said: 'However great may be the theological differences and animosities of our own time, they are far surpassed in magnitude by the distractions of an age which, closing our eyes to facts, we are apt to invest with an ideal excellence.'[1] Dr. Hort has also remarked that 'this temporary duality within Christendom is constantly overlooked and misunderstood; but if we think a little on the circumstances of the case, we must see that it was inevitable.' Yet Dr. Hort continued to believe that the Jewish Christians of the Dispersion 'in their manner of life must have been intermediate between that of Palestinian Christians and Gentile Christians.'[2]

Bishop Westcott supposed, also, that in the course of

[1] *Galatians*, p. 374.

[2] This really supposes that there was a *trinity* in the varieties of Christian life, rather than a *duality*. In the *Expositor*, 1895, p. 130, the present writer, in a review of Dr. Hort's book (*Judaic Christianity*), notices that he omitted all reference to the 'Testaments,' which, considering the emphasis put upon them by Bishop Lightfoot, was singular. In the same article the 'Testaments' are regarded as a Jewish production manipulated for Christian purposes.

the apostolic age there arose 'an indifference of the ceremonial law for Jewish converts.' This was no doubt true of some who joined the Pauline Churches, but their number was very small. Those who were called 'Nazarenes' by Jerome and Epiphanius, were expressly described as 'neither Jews nor Christians.' They were all 'zealous for the law,' nevertheless.

Many Church writers have been anxious to establish a continuity and fellowship between the primitive Jewish Christians and the Gentile Churches. However, we are now told that 'the complete severance of tradition and associations, which must have intervened between the Jewish Church at Jerusalem and the Gentile Church of *Aelia Capitolina*, would have made it unnatural for a writer of that day to look upon the Jewish bishops as in the same line of succession with the Gentiles.'[1] The 'apostolical succession' here encounters an absolute breach of continuity.

Dr. Charles's studies in this important sphere of literature appear to have silenced the strongest witness for a party among the Jewish Christians who 'frankly recognized St. Paul,' and reduced Jewish observances to a minimum. Even Harnack, who partly defended the theory, allows that the 'Testaments' was a Jewish writing 'worked out by a Christian Catholic who held modalistic views' (*Dogmengeschichte*, i. 140). He also says that there are no Jewish Christian writings of the olden time. The Apocalypse (Rev. iii. 9) speaks of Judaizers as 'the synagogue of Satan.' Hegesippus has been supposed to have spoken for them, but he was a Pauline Christian.

It also becomes clearer that the primitive Jewish Church continued to exclude Gentiles from their fellowship in food. No uncircumcised Gentile could be received to the Lord's Supper in that pristine community. At this point arose

[1] Mr. C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July 1900, p. 539.

the difficulty at Antioch, when Paul 'resisted' Peter 'to the face,' and the *Clementines* show that the separation endured for two centuries at least.

It is allowed that Justin Martyr spoke of one section of the Jewish Christians which was not so exclusive as the other. With these he would not object to 'communicate' (κοινωνεῖν), but he does not say that he positively had done so.[1] Origen also distinguished between those Ebionites who believed in the miraculous birth of Jesus, and others who held that He was merely man. But neither Justin, nor Origen, nor Irenaeus, nor Eusebius calls any section of the Jewish Christians by the name of 'Nazarenes.' It was Jerome who had met with some of them, and had obtained from them a copy of the Aramaic Gospel. Their interpretation of Isaiah ix. 1, he said, approved of the evangelical labours of St. Paul; but the passage is obscure. Elsewhere (*Ep. ad August.*) he states that the Nazarenes, 'who believe in Christ as the Son of God,' were condemned in the synagogues, and were 'neither Jews nor Christians.' Dr. Sinker allows that it is difficult to understand Jerome on the subject. Epiphanius, however, has no hesitation in describing the Nazarenes as heretics, and this became the standing estimate of them in the Church.

The writer of this article, in his *Faith and Life in the Early Church*, p. 244, referred to the 'Testaments' as possibly the production of some liberal Nazarene. It was not possible then to demonstrate the insecurity of the position taken by Ritschl and Bishop Lightfoot. But it was remarked that the book was under examination by the critics, and that Schürer (*History of the Jewish People*) had already adhered to Grabe's view of its origin. The writer also added that 'Origen and Eusebius attributed to all classes of Jewish Christians a strong antipathy to St. Paul.'[2]

[1] *Dial. c. Trypho*, c. xlvi.

[2] This book discussed the questions relating to Jewish Christianity at some length. It was published in 1892; Dr. Hort's *Judaistic Christianity*

Many writers on this subject have overlooked the important change of view which took place in the Pauline (Catholic) Churches, after the destruction of Jerusalem, in regard to the combination of Jewish observances with the Christian profession. Ignatius plainly condemns the association; Justin Martyr regarded it as almost impracticable. The schism had now become complete. Barnabas, Tatian, Diognetus, and Irenaeus speak of the Mosaic customs as obsolete for Christians. This was a great transformation. In the primitive Church at Jerusalem no one could be received into the fellowship unless he conformed to the Jewish ritual. The freedom of the Gentiles was established through St. Paul. There were in his Churches a few Jewish believers who sacrificed their national prestige for the sake of fellowship with their Gentile fellow-believers. But fifty years later the 'Catholic Church' was assuming its superiority, and it could not endure communion with those who adhered to Jewish practice. The Jewish Christians had withdrawn to the east of Jordan, and became known as Ebionites, Essenes, or Elxaites. They did not recognize the equality of Gentile believers, and in turn were disallowed by Catholic authority. The existence of a sect of Jewish Christians who 'frankly recognized St. Paul' therefore becomes very doubtful.

Dr. Charles's laborious efforts to elucidate the relation of the later Jewish literature to Christian thought will, it is hoped, assist the development of clearer views in regard to the position of the two great parties in the apostolic and post-apostolic Church. They also prove that in the two centuries B.C. there was in operation a true *Praeparatio Evangelica*, and that amid many obscurities and vain speculations the Messianic idea came more and more into form, and that the inclusion of the Gentiles in the Messianic kingdom had become a familiar truth. It also

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in 1894. The latter work produced little evidence on the subject beyond that already known.

became evident from the failures and defects of these productions of Jewish piety that a more authentic revelation was necessary for the enlightenment and salvation of God's ancient people, and of the nations outside.

The preparation of the Book of Enoch, of the Book of Jubilees, the translation of the Apocalypse of Baruch, of the Assumption of Moses, and of the Ascension of Isaiah must have cost the editor a toil beyond calculation. The untiring diligence and accurate scholarship which are found in these books are presented once more in the two volumes containing the text (with the collation of all authorities) and the translation, with explanatory notes, of the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.' Dr. Charles himself observes that: 'The labour involved has been very great, at times, indeed, oppressive.' He first had to encounter 'the misleading supposition' that the book was originally written in Greek by a Christian author, which was defended by the majority of critics and editors thirty years ago. Then had to be collated nine manuscripts of the work in Greek, along with the careful examination of the Armenian versions which had been criticized by Dr. Conybeare. Then came some fragments in the Sclavonic language, and others in Hebrew, which had been brought to light. Mrs. Gibson—whose services to biblical literature are well known—copied one Greek manuscript (h) found in the library of St. Catherine in 1892, and in 1896 she found and photographed another (i) in the same place. In this way has been prepared the elaborate work of Dr. Charles. We have not attempted detailed criticism, which will soon be brought into exercise by many interested hands. It may be that some passages of the 'Testaments,' which Dr. Charles has assigned to Christian interpolators, may be reclaimed for the original writers, or vice versa; but we scarcely think that his judgement of the origin of the work will be successfully assailed.

W. F. SLATER.

CHRISTIAN PLATONISM AND MODERN THEOLOGY

Christian Mysticism. The Bampton Lectures for 1899. By W. R. INGE. (Methuen & Co.)

Personal Idealism and Mysticism. The Paddock Lectures for 1906. By W. R. INGE. (Longmans. 1907.)

'THE decisive battles of theology are fought beyond its frontiers.' The truth of Mr. Arthur Balfour's famous dictum is now recognized by most religious thinkers, and even that remarkable person the man in the street has learnt something of its meaning. Its bearing upon apologetics is evident. The conflict between Science and Genesis disturbs few people, the correspondence columns of the *Guardian* notwithstanding. More important than any problems of biblical interpretation and historical criticism are the questions that challenge the possibility of religious knowledge and the validity of spiritual experience.

It is perhaps a sign of the times that when the Lady Margaret professorship of divinity fell vacant at Cambridge last year, a scholar was appointed who had won his spurs in the field of religious philosophy rather than as an expert in biblical exegesis or textual criticism. Dr. W. R. Inge was formerly a fellow of King's College, Cambridge—Benjamin Whichcote's old college—where he seems to have inherited the tradition of that remarkable group of men who won great renown for the university in the seventeenth century. Later on he migrated to Oxford, and his Cambridge Platonism was enriched by contact with that school of distinguished men whose attempt to re-state Anglican theology in terms of modern thought is embodied in *Lux Mundi.* His *Bampton Lectures* in 1899 gave promise of a renascence of Christian Platonism. Two choice essays in *Contentio Veritatis* dealt with the Person

of Christ and the Sacraments from this standpoint, and the *Paddock Lectures* of 1906 are an exposition of the mystical philosophy as against personal idealism. Every new book from this gifted writer will be read with eagerness by those who are interested in that re-statement of Christian theology which is generally felt to be one of our greatest needs to-day.

The purpose of this article is to indicate the standpoint of this writer, to trace briefly the influence of his philosophy upon certain doctrines, and to suggest its bearing upon the new apologetic.

I

The question of the validity of reason in the realm of religion was scarcely raised in the Middle Ages, when scholasticism dominated theology. Neither was this one of the problems discussed at the Reformation. Reason reigned in almost undisturbed tranquillity until she was dethroned in the great intellectual revolt headed by Kant. Dynastic changes have been frequent since then. It is just fifty years since Mansel drew crowds to the university church to hear a Bampton Lecturer argue with impassioned eloquence that man cannot by searching find out God, since to know the Infinite would be to condition the unconditioned—a manifest impossibility. Many were willing to follow this new leader away from the tyranny of metaphysics. But by no means all these malcontents were ready to acknowledge with him the supremacy of Revelation. A great host went out with Herbert Spencer to seek a larger liberty in the wilderness of Agnosticism. Of recent years, however, a new movement towards faith has been observed —or rather a number of movements, animated by a common impulse, guided by the same principle, converging towards one goal. We turn to Lutheran Germany and we see Ritschlianism dispensing with all transcendental methods, and the whole apparatus of speculative Theism, and relying instead upon a system of value-judgements

for the confirmation of the faith. In French Protestantism a similar school is found. The *Symbolo-Fidéisme* of Auguste Sabatier and Ménégoz treats all dogmas, whether historical or theological, as inadequate, and refuses to regard them as literal statements of fact, claiming that we are saved by our faith, and not by our belief. In like manner Liberal Catholicism has produced a school—of which the Abbé Loisy and Father Tyrrell are the foremost representatives—which contends that the real criterion of the religious truth of our beliefs is this: 'Do they bring the will into a right attitude Godwards?' *Lex orandi lex credendi* is their maxim. Thus historical research is powerless to undermine our faith in the Catholic creeds. It deals with facts, and 'facts cannot be in contradiction of any dogma precisely because they are facts, while dogmas are representative ideas of faith.'

The explanation of this widespread tendency is to be found in a sense of growing dissatisfaction with the one-sided intellectualism of Hegel. Feeling that Hegelianism has unduly exalted the speculative reason at the expense of the will and the emotions, a new school in philosophy has arisen to emphasize the will as the constitutive principle in the universe. Pragmatism is the name given to this philosophical reaction, on account of the stress which it lays on the practical activities of human nature in the correlation of truth and reality. In one sense it is a return to Kant, though the influence of Lotze seems to be equally powerful. It also owes much to the new science of experimental psychology. In England this recent movement has resulted in the volume of essays by eight members of the University of Oxford, published in 1902 under the title, *Personal Idealism*. One of the contributors to this series, Mr. F. C. S. Schiller, has developed his theory in a collection of essays on 'Humanism.'

But the protagonist of the movement is the renowned American psychologist, Prof. William James, whose religious philosophy was outlined in this REVIEW not long since by an ardent disciple. Last summer Prof. James

defined his position still further in a volume of lectures bearing the now familiar name of Pragmatism. Regarding all concepts as teleological instruments he declares that 'the ultimate test for us of what a truth means is indeed the conduct it dictates or inspires.'[1] 'Grant an idea or belief to be true, what concrete difference will its being true make in any one's actual life? . . . What is the truth's cash-value in experiential terms?' Small wonder that Christian apologists, weary of the long conflict with rationalism, baffled in every attempt to solve the enigma of the metaphysical sphinx, should hail the Pragmatist as a heaven-sent deliverer. If he does not see in the Christian's creed the sole authoritative test of truth, he at any rate sets forth principles which may be turned to good account in the defence of the faith. But to the Christian Platonist such an alliance is unthinkable. *Non tali auxilio!* Better by far to serve under the contemptuous patronage of the metaphysician than to enjoy a specious liberty at the price of the virtual subjugation of the intellect. And so Dr. Inge, true Mystic that he is, offers uncompromising opposition to these would-be protectors. He denounces their policy as a counsel of despair. He refuses to put his trust in the sons of scepticism. As soon alter the multiplication table to get out of debt!

The Mystic, however, is not to be thought of as an obstinate opponent who has no scheme of his own to offer. Dr. Inge's scholarly examination of the literature of Mysticism has led him to a position from which the Christian system presents the most rational interpretation of the universe and of the facts of human experience. Rejecting the will-worship of Pragmatism, he declines to obey the cold intellectualism of the rationalist, and refuses to accept Schleiermächer's definition of religion as merely a feeling of dependence. *βασιλεὺς ὁ Νοῦς*, said Plotinus, 'The higher reason is King.' And this higher reason is no separate organ for the apprehension of divine truth, but is rather

[1] Cf. Lotze's dictum, 'We strive to know, only in order that we may know what to do.'

'that unification of our personality which is the goal of our striving and the postulate of all our rational life.'[1] It includes the will and feelings, disciplined under the guidance of the intellect, and our knowledge of God comes to us in the interplay of those faculties. So there is a threefold cord which unites us to Him, never more beautifully expressed than by that sweet Mystic of the fourteenth century, Julian of Norwich, 'Our faith cometh of the natural love of the soul and of the clear light of our reason, and of the steadfast mind which we have of God in our first making.'[2] When Fichte speaks of 'religion as a *harmonious* fundamental disposition of the soul,' he is uttering the same truth. Every word in this definition might well be emphasized. It must never be forgotten that it is the soul of man which cries out for God, and that our belief in Him is, in the first place, something very different from the logical conclusion of a series of syllogisms. The seat of religion is in the sub-conscious region, and when 'the hidden man of the heart' awakes to consciousness, his instinctive cravings seek satisfaction through the harmonious activity of the several faculties. But the kinship is felt before it is fully understood. 'We must believe, as a necessary postulate or act of faith, that our higher reason is in vital ontological communion with the Power which lives and moves in all things, and most chiefly in the spirit of man. Such an initial act of faith I believe to be the necessary starting-point of all religious faith that deserves the name.'[3] He that cometh unto God must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of such as diligently seek Him. If we be asked by what process this fundamental disposition of the soul grows into a full-orbed religious experience, we cannot do better than quote from a most valuable chapter on the Psychology of Mysticism. 'The religious consciousness begins as pure feeling. It begins

[1] Cf. *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, pp. 3 ff.

[2] For Julian of Norwich cf. *English Mystics*, Chap. II.

[3] *Truth and Falsehood in Religion*, p. 108; cf. also *Faith and Knowledge*, pp. 178–182.

with a lower kind of immediacy, which I should express in religious phraseology by saying that it begins with God's self-revealing presence in our consciousness. God lends us a portion of His eternal life, that we may at length make it our own. But it can only become our own by passing for a while quite out of the sphere of immediate perception. Feeling must pass into will. In so passing it does not cease to be feeling, but becomes conscious of itself as feeling. And will, when it becomes conscious of itself as will, passes itself into intelligence without ceasing to be will. The reconciling principle between will and intelligence or knowledge is love. But this "intellectual love of God" is a reversion on a much higher plane to the pure feeling or immediacy with which we said religion begins. The religious experience has described a full circle and has entered into the inheritance which was shown to it as its own at the beginning of its course.'[1]

Hugo of St. Victor is said to have summed up the whole creed of psychological mysticism in one sentence, 'To ascend to God is to enter into oneself and to transcend oneself.' This leads us to notice another element in the mystical philosophy which influences profoundly the theology of Dr. Inge—his doctrine of personality. Ever since the time of Kant the idea of a person has generally represented a self-conscious and self-determining individual, and, as such, an end in himself. In many writers this fundamental distinction between the ego and the non-ego has been exaggerated into a doctrine of impenetrable self-existence. Against this rigid theory of spiritual atomism Mysticism is bound to protest, and Dr. Inge does not hesitate to denounce this tendency, in its more extreme forms, as fatal to the proper understanding of New Testament theology. We must frankly admit that the danger of many of the best mystical writers was in the opposite direction. They tended to depersonalize man by substituting the divine for human nature, and thereby not only fell into arrogant modes of expression which bordered on self-

[1] *Studies in English Mystics*, p. 29.

deification, but actually imperilled the philosophic basis of their creed. For 'personality is not only the strictest unity of which we have any experience, it is the fact which creates the postulate of unity on which all philosophy is based.' The task which lies before the Christian philosopher is to form a conception of human personality which will do justice to its unity without regarding the human spirit as a monad, independent and sharply separated from other spirits. To do this he must remember that distinction, not separation, is the mark of personality, whilst it is separation, not distinction, that forbids union.[1]

It is evident that Prof. Inge, while gratefully recognizing the notable contribution which Lotze has made to psychology, finds himself in closer agreement with the general teaching of Fechner. He appears to refer with approval to Fechner's view of life which regards it under the figure of a number of concentric circles of conciousness, within an all-embracing circle, representing the consciousness of God. A belief in divine immanence can thus be seen to lie at the heart of this philosophy. But the reproach of pantheism must be withheld. It will not repudiate the name *panentheism* (coined by Krause), and it expresses sympathy with that theory which is known as *panpsychism*. Whatever may be thought of the speculative value of this philosophy there is hardly room to doubt that it harmonizes in a remarkable way with the theology of the New Testament. When Dr. Inge declares that 'separate individuality is the bar which prevents us from realizing our true privileges as persons,' we recall Christ's words, 'He that will save his life shall lose it, and he that will lose his life for My sake shall find it.' And the statement that 'eternal life is nothing else than the attainment of full personality, a conscious existence in God,' seems to be a paraphrase of one of the profoundest sayings recorded by St. John.[2]

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[1] *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 29 ff.

[2] John xvii. 3.

II

It is difficult to gainsay Prof. Inge's contention that a great part of the teaching contained in the New Testament assumes the mystical position. Let us test this by examining briefly three doctrines which lie at the heart of New Testament theology. We might carry the inquiry much further, but for our present purpose it will suffice to glance at the teaching concerning the Person of Christ, the work of the Spirit, and Immortality.

The doctrine of the Person of Christ presupposes the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. And yet with the modern conception of personality before us, the doctrine of three 'persons' in the Godhead—implicit throughout the New Testament—is reduced to a tissue of contradictions. It is most unfortunate that in our English definition of the subtle ideas which are expressed in this doctrine, we are at the mercy of a hopelessly inadequate terminology. It is a region in which the Greek mind glided freely, clothed with utmost grace in the most flexible language that the world has known. The sonorous Latin tongue—perfectly adapted, as it was, to be a vehicle for the governing will of a race of rulers—moves with ungainly tread amidst the subtle refinements and philosophic niceties of this ethereal realm. Yet it is from the Latin that we have borrowed our terms, and Roman modes of thought have transmitted to us a conception of the Trinity which in its popular interpretation amongst orthodox Christians is hardly distinguishable from Tritheism. Small wonder that to many thinking people the dogma of the Trinity is an insuperable barrier to the acceptance of the creeds. When, however, we examine the teaching of the New Testament and of those Greek Fathers whose interpretation thereof is enshrined in our creeds, we find no trace of this rigid doctrine of impervious individuality. Instead, we discover a remarkably fluid conception of personality. We might even say that we cannot separate the study of the doctrine of Christ's Person from the study of the teaching regarding the Holy

Spirit. If we collect all the passages bearing on the Divine indwelling, we find that this presence is indifferently described as 'Christ,' 'the Spirit,' 'the Spirit of Jesus,' 'the Spirit of the Son,' 'the Spirit of God,' and as 'God.' Underneath all these phrases in the Pauline Epistles there lies a profound conception of the Person of Christ, who is the Image of God, and in whom dwells bodily the totality of the divine attributes. He is also a cosmic principle, maker and sustainer of worlds and their centre of unity; the recapitulation of humanity, whose reign is co-extensive with the world's history. But He is also the life-giving Spirit, who dwells in the hearts of all true Christians. And so the Logos Christology, so dear to the heart of every Mystic, is not only boldly stated in the prologue to St. John's Gospel, but is also implicit throughout the Pauline Epistles.[1]

It is generally agreed that the central truth in St. Paul's teaching is that of the mystical union with Christ, and this stands in vital relation to the promise of the Spirit in the Fourth Gospel. As the purpose of the Incarnation was to reveal God the Father, so the purpose of the mission of the Comforter is to reveal the Son. 'The Paraclete is a principle of spiritual life in the hearts of believers, on whom He acts directly and without intermediary. His work consists in glorifying Christ, bearing witness to Him, and continuing His work of revelation. It is quite useless to ask whether, for St. John, the Paraclete is a distinct hypostasis in the Godhead. The category of personality is quite foreign to the Evangelist, as to his whole school, and no answer to such a question can be drawn from his words.'[2]

The manner in which the doctrine of Immortality is treated reveals both the strength and the weakness of Christian Platonism. A feeling of security steals over us when we find that this precious truth is removed from the

[1] See *Paddock Lectures*, cc. 2f., for a masterly treatment of the Logos Christology—its origin, development, and permanent value.

[2] See Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, article 'Gospel of John,' by Dr. W. R. Inge.

fiercely contested region of historical criticism. The old defences are no longer relied upon, and the Christian hope of immortal life is regarded as part of our religion. Now religion is 'the confident belief of the human spirit that the laws of the universe, when fully understood, will be found to do justice to all its own highest activities and aspirations. This involves the belief that all real *values* will be preserved for ever.' Such a belief, however, is not dependent solely upon either the reason or the conscience or the emotions. 'Faith is an act by which the soul throws herself into the arms of God, not in reckless indifference to troublesome facts, but in confidence that the witness of the Spirit within must be the echo of a real celestial harmony in which all the discordant notes of earth are properly attuned.' Remembering that personality is regarded as inclusive rather than exclusive, it is not surprising to read that we cannot believe in a *purely* individual survival. All through the Bible it is *corporate* immortality which is mainly thought of. The very grandeur and nobleness of human life consists in its incapacity for a purely individual perfection. On the other hand *personal* immortality is insistently demanded by the affections. And it is in pure affection that we penetrate furthest into the secrets of the universe.[1]

We cannot but feel, however, that this argument might be strengthened immeasurably if only due weight were allowed to the historic fact of Christ's bodily resurrection. This event was so creative a force in the origin of the Church, and has assumed so vital a place in the Christian consciousness, that we cannot consent to treat it as a negligible factor in the problem. The empty sepulchre will ever be the great bulwark of the hope of immortality.

III

One cannot read the books named at the head of this article without recognizing that Christian Platonism furnishes us with a new apologetic in its bold yet defensive

[1] See four sermons on this subject in *All Saints' Sermons*.

presentation of Christian truth. The faith once for all delivered to the saints has withstood innumerable assaults; but the portcullis and battlements which gave security to the fortress in other days would not stand against the heavy artillery fire of modern criticism. In sheer despair some defenders of the faith have boldly advocated a pacific settlement on the basis of a delimitation of frontier between faith and science. Dr. Inge scornfully compares this proposal with a treaty between two belligerents in which one party agrees to take all the land, the other all the water. Paley's fortifications are obsolete, and Loisy would patch up a worthless peace. Let not Theology put her trust in walls and moats and ramparts. These clumsy devices do but provoke attack. She must find her security elsewhere. There is only room to point out three lines along which we may look for support.

(*a*) Platonism draws attention to the peculiar happiness which accompanies every glimpse of insight into truth and reality, whether in the scientific, aesthetic, or emotional sphere. Does not this clearly indicate that the true is for us the good, and form the ground of a reasonable faith that all things, if we could see them as they are, would be found to work together for good to those who love God?[1]

(*b*) The principle '*cuique in sua arte credendum est*' applies to those eminent for personal holiness. Now amongst those who have devoted their lives to the service of God and the imitation of Christ there is a very substantial agreement in what they tell us about God. There may be many differences in detail, but the essential testimony is unmistakable. 'He that doeth the will of My Father shall know of the doctrine whether it is true.' That it is the pure in heart who alone can expect to see God lies at the heart of all Mysticism.[2]

(*c*) The irreconcilable conflict between naturalism and supernaturalism is resolved in a more spiritual and less childish view of God and nature. The doctrine of the divine immanence, which is essential to Christian Platonism, forbids us to confine divine intervention in the world to the

[1] Cf. *Bampton Lectures*, p. 249. [2] Ibid., p. 324.

ever-narrowing gaps in our knowledge of natural phenomena. 'God does not begin where Nature leaves off.' The more we recognize that all Nature is sacred, the less likely are we to suffer the humiliation of seeing our Deity steadily driven from the world as knowledge grows from more to more.

In spite of Dr. Inge's protest that he is not advocating a vague spirituality tempered by rationalism, we must confess that his championship of naturalism sometimes leads him perilously near to a quagmire. He is inclined to understate the meaning of sin, and we are disappointed to find that the Cross is not so central to him as it was to St. Paul. The same tendency is responsible for a strange misunderstanding of the Methodist doctrine of conversion. We have also felt that a stronger emphasis might have been laid upon the historic foundations of the Christian religion. Nevertheless, Dr. Inge knows well the dangers that have beset Mysticism from the beginning, and, in declaring his conviction that his own Church is specially called to a development of Johannine Christianity, he does not plead for a volatilized creed. He shows clearly that while, for St. John, historical facts hold a subordinate place as *evidences*, both the Gospel and the Epistle urge the imperative necessity of remembering that the Christian revelation was conveyed by certain historical events.

That the religion of the twentieth century will be mystical in type we can hardly doubt, for 'the strongest wish of a vast number of earnest men and women to-day is for a basis of religious belief which shall rest, not upon tradition, or external authority, or historical evidence, but upon the ascertainable facts of human experience.'[1] In their craving for religious immediacy let these thirsty pilgrims follow those mystical guides St. John and St. Paul, and they will find the fresh springs of the waters of life.

W. F. HOWARD.

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[1] *Light, Life, and Love*, p. lviii.

EDMONDO DE AMICIS

Alle Porte d'Italia. By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. New edition, revised by the Author. (Milano: Fratelli Treves. 1893.)

Cuore. A Book for Boys. By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. New edition. (Milano: Fratelli Treves. 1891.)

Il Romanzo d'un Maestro. By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. (Milano: Fratelli Treves. 1894.)

La Carrozza di Tutti. By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. (Milano: Fratelli Treves. 1902.)

Nel Regno d'Amore. By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. (Milano: Fratelli Treves. 1907.)

WHEN Edmondo de Amicis died suddenly at Bordighera last March, at the age of sixty-two, there was an outburst of lamentation through Italy—a cry as of personal bereavement from many hearts. The sense of loss, on the part of persons of very diverse opinions, surprised those who knew how sharply his writings had been criticized, and how small was the inclination to award him, either as poet or prose writer, the highest rank among his contemporaries.

'We regarded him,' says an Italian contemporary, 'with deep affection, made up of respect, admiration, and gratitude. He was a being of supreme goodness and kindness; his life and work were exclusively inspired by these feelings. He was a Knight of the Ideal. A mild philosophy governed him, and is transfused through his works, where you will find no dark fancies—no perilous dreams; goodness needs no such strange manifestations. From his first book to his last, the elect soul of De Amicis had always the one aim: to educate. Many generations will yet learn *how to live* from his pure and lofty pages. To

contemporary Italy Edmondo de Amicis was the representative of goodness and faith in life; he will be their representative to the Italy of after ages.'

This is high praise; a careful study of the works of De Amicis inclines the student to think it not very much too high.

It would be a thankless task to pass judgement on all the works of a very voluminous writer within the limits of a brief article; the more so, as these works, the output of forty industrious years, were of unequal value. We select among them such books, the fruit of his ripened powers, as either were specially valued by his countrymen, or illustrate in a supreme degree the peculiar and often exquisite tenderness, the humorous melancholy untainted by pessimism, which endeared him to his readers. These qualities are very conspicuous in the writings on which chiefly rests his claim to be styled 'the greatest and truest educator of Italian youth.'

It was the education of the *heart* which he most prized and strove to promote; hence the title *Cuore* (Heart), given to the little volume which his admirers regard as 'the most glorious monument which he gave to Italy and raised to himself.' It is the history, in a series of sketches, of one scholastic year in the life of such a happy child as was De Amicis himself, whose early years at Cuneo, in North Italy, were watched over by tender, tactful, judicious parents. Their circumstances were then easy, the father having an important post under Government; but they encouraged little Edmondo in choosing his comrades among the sons of humble, honest neighbours; and they sharply checked any budding inclination in the gently-bred, gently-reared child to lord it over his less fortunate neighbours. Doubtless *Cuore* owes much of its pictorial vividness to Edmondo's memories of the secrets of honest endeavouring poverty imparted to the boy by his earliest playfellows.

The saddest page of De Amicis' *Memoirs*, consecrated to Furio, the elder of his two sons, tells us how this 'book for boys' came to be written.

'It was the love which Furio had for his school, his sweet gratitude towards the teachers, his brotherly love for his school-fellows, which inspired me . . . perhaps I should never have had the idea, had I not seen the elementary school through the medium of his beautiful soul, which embellished everything.'

Alas! this 'beautiful soul,' all sensitive gentleness and poetic intelligence, passed from earth under a cloud of impenetrable darkness. Furio died by his own hand, years after the appearance of *Cuore*, the book inspired by him; died, none knew why, just when his father's highest hopes for him seemed to be realizing themselves. To De Amicis it was a lifelong grief.

It has been reproached to *Cuore* that its boyish heroes are too heroic, too high-strung, more prone to tears than to mirth. There is a shadow of truth in the reproach. But neither are the little men painted 'without shadow,' like Queen Elizabeth. There are heartless mockers among them, who have to be rebuked by the master for 'making sport of misfortune,' as embodied in 'Crossi,' the maimed son of the poor herbwoman; there are some, cruelly vain of superior advantages. Nay, the valiant 'Garrone,' sturdy champion of the oppressed, begins his knight-errant's career with a 'magnanimous lie,' as Tasso has it, falsely taking on himself the awful crime of having hurled the inkstand which, flung by Crossi at his chief tormentor, has unluckily hit the master, just entering. It is curiously characteristic of Tasso's countrymen that Garrone, his 'pious fraud' detected, is dismissed by the master with the words, '*You* have a noble soul!' yet it is this same Garrone whose eyes flash, whose fists clench themselves, if he be taxed with *a lie*. Other passages reveal the perilous opinion that 'a lie is no lie if told to help another'—a doctrine held by too many who have grown up in the shadow of Rome.

We turn gladly from such flaws to acknowledge the surprising sweetness, delicacy, and kindliness, the admirable good sense, which pervade the book. It is the patient dis-

charge of the humblest duties, the heroic endurance of the sordid evils of poverty which is singled out for praise and set on high for emulous admiration. 'Coretti,' keeping shop for his absent father, the faggot seller, tending the sick-bed of his ailing mother, snatching odd moments to prepare his school-task for the morrow, and doing all with cheerful competency; 'Robetti,' who goes on crutches since the day he snatched a school-fellow from under a cart, at the price of a crushed ankle to himself; 'Precossi,' timid, sickly, diligent, trying to hide the misery inflicted by a drunken father, though his own rags, and thin limbs livid with bruises, betray his sad secret and accuse the brutal drunkard, whose fury will even wreak itself on the poor school-books which the child repairs with anxious trembling care; these, and such as these, are the examples which in *Cuore* are ranked as equal with the boy-heroes of patriotic or pious devotion, whose histories, given as school lessons, are scattered amid the records of humbler life, so as to inculcate loving loyalty and glad self-sacrifice, even to death, for Home and Fatherland.

The poetic passion for Italy, for its true freedom, its true glory, underlies the whole book; it glorifies the teachers, who are shown as doing their work with the fullest consciousness of its importance to the future of their land; it glows in the pages devoted to 'Cavour,' to 'King Humbert,' to 'Garibaldi,' to 'Italy.' It is easy to understand how the immense popularity and wide diffusion of *Cuore*, with its transparent simplicity of style, befitting a 'book for boys,' have well served the cause of right education in Italy, and justly earned for its author the heartfelt gratitude of his countrymen

If masters, schools, and scholars are a little idealized in *Cuore*, it is not so in *Il Romanzo d'un Maestro* (A School-master's Romance), which followed it; a work which did not win the popularity of *Cuore*, but which has high value as a study of actual educational conditions in Italy. The author no longer writes as 'a child for children'; the years of disillusion which he had known in

early manhood are allowed their proper influence on his judgement of human things.

When Edmondo's father was struck down by apoplexy, and left a living wreck, the young man put aside all cherished hopes of literary distinction, and chose the career of a soldier, as the shortest road to independence; he would not burden the straitened family resources. He passed through the military school; he served Italy in the field; he was present at Custoza—how sadly different a campaign from that which, as a lad, he had longed to share with Garibaldi! But these military experiences served him well in the literary career which soon opened on him.

Chosen when at Florence to edit *Italia Militare*, he published in it his 'Military Sketches,' realistic studies of an Italian soldier's life. Their surprising success warranted the young author, 'when the war was over and Italy was made,' in laying aside the sword for the pen; believing that thus he could best serve his country.

Nor was he mistaken. But there were thorns and to spare in his chosen path; his cup of success held the inevitable bitter drop. The ripened man, beloved and applauded, looked back sadly at his early dreams of glory. The mournful note of disillusion, carefully excluded from *Cuore*, may be heard in all its author's latter productions; nowhere more clearly than in his last published work, *Nel Regno d'Amore* (In the Kingdom of Love), which has little indeed in common with the Kingdom of Heaven; the book deals with poor human love, in its touching or its terrible aspects; there are even in it hinted counsels of despair, the suggestion that, on occasion, self-slaughter may expiate treacherous sin.

No such gloomy shadows as these darken the homely 'School-master's Romance,' which is nowise romantic; the slender love story of its gentle, pliable hero is but a thread on which are strung curiously varied, realistic episodes of school and village life. Emilio Ratti has chosen the ill-paid scholastic career under the pressure of domestic

calamity; but his innate love for children makes him an apt pupil of the director of the normal school, who inspires Ratti with his own high ideal of scholastic duty.

To carry that ideal into practice proves no easy task. Grotesque at once and terrible, worthy of the remorseless brush of a Hogarth, are the scenes through which Ratti makes his painful progress. His first school, in a charmingly situated sub-Alpine village, is a gloomy room in an ancient monastery, furnished with dilapidated benches and maps; his scholars are half-brutalized sons of peasants, unwashed, half-clad, ill-shod—and with manners to suit; all described with an unsparing plainness we dare not imitate. These children have been taught to regard the master as a terrible bugbear; their ignorance of the commonest matters is only equalled by their ignorance of the Italian tongue; they speak an almost unintelligible dialect. And the Government circulars insisted much on 'purity of pronunciation!'

But on this unpromising material Ratti sets to work with so much ardour and affection as to receive well-earned praise from the inspector, at the end of his term of labour, for the progress made by his scholars.

Alas! the worst difficulties are found outside the schoolroom! The pretty, peaceful village is a hotbed of hostile intrigues: now masked as insidious friendships, now openly bitter. There are bigots who hold him for an infidel; 'he doesn't lift his hat as he passes the church, his scholars wear no holy medals!' Worn out at last with foolish futile opposition, Ratti seeks another sphere of labour, in another village, to meet new difficulties, not less irritating. We follow his wanderings through successive years to as many different village schools; the story of his trials is told with merciless plainness, and its details heighten our sense of the colossal obstacles facing the Italian Government in its self-imposed task of educating the Italian people, while they impress us painfully with the peculiar hardships endured by the Italian elementary school-mistress, whose solitary position often exposes her

to unworthy persecution at both lay and clerical hands. Startling instances of such persecutions occur in the stories of Faustina Galli, the heroine of Ratti's 'romance,' and of his cousin, a daring little Amazon, who finds in her career of elementary school-mistress enough to satisfy her love of varied adventure. Brave and honest is the cousin; the story of her journeyings in pursuit of her teacher's vocation is full of sparkling life; and we would cite, did space permit, her account of her strange experiences as gymnastic instructress to a certain number of cloistered nuns—unwilling pupils in an art they held all but indecent, but which Government required to be taught in their convent school, or the school must be closed. Rather than lose their pupils the recluses submitted, but with infinite affliction. The cousin's compassion for these child-women, cramped within their narrow walls and rules, is womanly and charming. But, with all her brilliancy and courage she is of a less lofty type than Faustina, in whom De Amicis has portrayed an ideal school-mistress.

This mere girl endures a long season of vile persecution with gentle, unshaken calmness; but she can be moved to fiery indignation by the wrongs of helpless childhood. 'Pity chokes her' when she thinks of the loveless homes, the cruel usage, the evil nurture, which are too often the lot of mere infants; gentle as she is, she can stand up defiant on behalf of an ill-used scholar. And her anger is hot for those who rear their children in wickedness. Should not the law punish these, as it punishes him who coins bad money?

Ratti is in full sympathy with Faustina, having his own sad memories of a little scholar, who died 'of the malady of ill-used children,' with no *friend* near but the master, though both parents were present, alas!

The 'romance' comes at last to its legitimate end, and we leave Faustina and Ratti happily united, pursuing their beloved vocation in Turin, far from the squalid intrigues of the village, free from the tyrannical caprices of rural Syndic and Delegato, who are not always more friendly

than the priests; and of these, few indeed are friendly to those charged with carrying out the Government scheme of education. Too many of these clerical figures are drawn in the darkest colours. Nor are the teachers faultless; there are not many Faustinas amid the quaint array of masters and mistresses that figure in the *Romanzo*. They are handicapped by their miserably poor stipends, which compel them to unworthy submission to those in power; foolish vanity and self-seeking are now and then found in them; and some, honourably striving to do their duty, are pitifully incompetent. Most fantastically original of all is Carlo Lérica, the ex-grenadier, honest, violent athlete, who dare not lift his hand to a scholar 'lest he should kill him!' but regards boys as 'the most iniquitous race the Eternal Father ever put into the world,' and mocks at Jean Jacques Rousseau, 'who said man was born good!' According to Lérica, 'man is a felon even in his swaddling-clothes.' Incapable of being cruel, this good Carlo is a hopeless failure as a teacher, lacking that loving sympathetic intuition which made Faustina very gentle with the faulty children of evil parents. De Amicis would insist on the 'education of the heart' for teachers as well as for scholars.

Leaving the earlier, more purely educational writings of our author, we choose as a good example of his later manner, in which broader questions are handled, *La Carrozza di Tutti* (Everyman's Carriage). This highly popular book is the record of a year's minute observation of the passengers, drivers, and conductors on a certain line of tramcars in Turin. 'Everyman's Carriage' in the hands of De Amicis shows us a small, living image of human society at large. On the homely benches of the tramcar the highest and the lowest sit side by side, the frivolous and earnest, the vicious and the pure-living jostle each other. And to our author's watchful eye the several life-histories of the habitual passengers reveal themselves. Sometimes it is a pathetic little love story, the lowly romance of two very poor workers, which comes to its happy, if humble, conclusion at the end of the year; or it

is the more complicated courtship of a coldly virginal 'studentessa' of medicine, by a young artist who 'detests medical women,' but whose last prejudices melt like snow when he sees the lovely statuesque doctoress, all glowing with womanly eagerness, rendering 'first aid' to the victim of a terrible street accident. But sadder stories are hinted at in *La Carrozza di Tutti*, and we shudder as we see that poor wrecked woman, pitiably decked out, shrinking away and averting her weary eyes from the too radiant innocence of a flock of white-robed school-girls who invade the car; we watch with painful pity the passing funeral of that cheerful old veteran who had taken poverty bravely, and who is now followed to the grave by but one bereaved mourner—his poor faithful dog; and our sympathy is invited for the hard-toiling old woman whose piteous anxiety for her absent soldier son is endured for a whole year ere it wins relief. Drivers and conductors, too, have their undeserved sufferings that make us sigh, as well as their quaint humours that win us to smile; and there is scope enough for the delightful zeal of 'Donna Quixote,' that admirably drawn lady champion of the helpless and oppressed—even in the narrow limits of a tramcar.

Late in life De Amicis announced himself 'a Socialist'; in this book, in *Sull' Oceano*, where the experiences of humble emigrants are dealt with, and elsewhere in his later writings, the quality of his Socialism is manifest enough; its essence is pity and brotherhood. 'There's somewhat in the world amiss; is there a way to right it?' he seems to ask; but can only counsel help, compassion, and love for the downfallen. He dreams of no system which can do away the fatal results of human wrongdoing.

It is well that a writer of this stamp should be 'the most popular author of contemporary Italy,' that in countless Italian households some one of his many books should hold the place of honour; that what has been justly termed his 'evangelical goodness' should avail to win him so much love and honour.

One thing only was lacking to make his great influence

supremely mighty for good: that pure, fervent, untroubled faith, that sincere hopeful piety, which he admired in the heroic persecuted Vaudois of other days, and loved in their descendants when he met them face to face, and sighed for—but possessed not. This we learn in the volume he entitled *Alle Porte d'Italia* (At the Gates of Italy); a collection of studies, historical and other, dealing with strange happenings under the shadow of the stern rocky barriers piled between Italy and her northern neighbours.

De Amicis writes of the savage Alpine beauty and grandeur of these regions with a freshness and fervour lacking to his records of travel in Spain or Holland, Morocco or Turkey. With special power he tells the wild and terrible story of Pra del Torno, the 'Waldensian Thermopylae'; dealing with this theme he rises above himself. And, indeed, what more inspiring subject than the age-long, steadfast, finally victorious struggle of that handful of mountaineers, strong in faith and in desperate courage, against the swarming hosts of their relentless foe?

Having pictured that Titan strife so as to make it alive for us again, De Amicis turns to the present, and shows how the 'men of the Valleys' live to-day; dwelling fondly on the noble simple hospitality of the Pastor Bonnet, on the life led by that champion and chronicler of the Vaudois. He describes the Pastor's sitting-room: 'a sort of monk's cell, bare and white and clean, furnished with a table and four chairs; through three little windows appeared the encircling mountains. Inexpressible the quiet, the freshness, the simplicity of the place.' Here, sitting, De Amicis listened to the musical voice of Bonnet, unfolding the true meaning of the Waldensian story, telling of the sustaining faith and hope that strengthened Pastor and people in their arduous existence. The poet heard with reverence the accents of the saint, alike when the theme was the joyous opening of the new Temple of Pra del Torno, when thousands crowded to hear the fervid orators who, under the blue sky, appealed to the glorious and terrible wit-

nessing mountains; and when Bonnet reverted to his quiet, every-day work, and told of his journeys over the mountains to preach to the shepherds in their widely scattered huts. 'While I,' thought the listener, 'sit warm in my study, playing with my imagination, this gentle, erudite man is travelling over rocky ways, in frost and snow and biting wind, with a Bible and a piece of bread, to teach goodness, resignation, and prayer!' What a contrast! But hearing Bonnet speak of his lonely toils with joy far exceeding that which the admired author had even felt in his own delightful imaginative work, De Amicis felt that this man was rather to be envied than to be pitied.

'Yes, that good pastor awoke such sympathy in me, his look and voice were so sweet, they stirred in my heart such feelings, or rather such echoes of long benumbed feelings, that had we been alone—I know not—I might have seized his friendly hand, and said: "Speak, persuade me, never was my heart so ready to hear, I think that only from your voice can I yet hope anything!"'

But the propitious moment passed; the sympathetic visitor remained sympathetic and admiring merely, and departing, reverted to his former way of thinking.

Alas, that De Amicis was never to learn the secret of heavenly joy so well known to Bonnet! that in all his admirable work, full of pity for human woe, breathing a sad tenderness, the note of divine immortal Hope is never to be heard!

This one thing was lacking to make him perfect as the Apostle of Goodness, and to ensure that his work should have that permanent efficiency, fondly foretold by his admirers, but not, perhaps, so assured as they believe and we would wish.

ANNE E. KEELING.

DOES SPIRITUAL INSIGHT KEEP PACE WITH MATERIAL KNOWLEDGE?

THE spirit of modernism which is at work in so many ways is at any rate enabling us to realize our material possessions. Already we have compassed the globe—have measured its surface, ascended its mountains, and fathomed its seas. Beneath its crust we have discovered *radium*. We know something of the mystery of matter, and of the laws which govern it. Fire, wind, and water are still our servants, and the energy of electricity is in harness. By the aid of his microscope the man of the twentieth century lives in a vaster world than any of his ancestors—a leaf is an inhabited continent, and each raindrop is teeming with life. Spectrum analysis has shown him that the stars are compounded of precious metals, and chemistry that each ton of salt water contains a grain of gold. The new botany is making fresh revelations of an unsuspected sensibility in plants—their sympathy with their soils and their friendships with one another. Musical sound is opening out a world of richer harmonies and of deeper ethical meaning than Beethoven imagined.

His table is spread with food from both hemispheres. His morning paper brings news from all nations. If the Daylight Bill should pass into law, it will give two hundred and ten hours of additional sunshine to his waking year, and if Professor Metchnikoff, of the Pasteur Institute, should succeed in his experiments, another quarter of a century will be added to his threescore years and ten. If he stays at home he can project his thoughts by wireless telegraphy over thousands of miles. If he should wish to travel by land, the *train de luxe* will take him through the Alpine tunnel; by water the *Mauretania*

will transport him to New York in less than a week. If he should prefer another element, the aeroplane is nearly ready. Surely if the material were the only world, and scientific discovery the only progress, the heir of the present age has reason to be abundantly satisfied. But should there be another and spiritual world surrounding and penetrating man with its forces, its wealth, and its laws, then the question, Has his insight into that invisible realm kept pace with his investigation of the material? is of vital importance.

It is not at all easy to delimit the realm of the spiritual. Negatively, it is the All which is not matter—the Reality without Appearance. It includes the elements of thought, feeling, and emotion. It is life without organic shape, or the articulation of the senses. It submits to no physical limits or barriers. It is outside us like the atmosphere we breathe, inasmuch as the Spirit of God and the souls of men have their being in it. It is within us, too, like the breath of our lungs, for our own souls and the Holy Spirit are also within. It has many modes of manifestation, but the scope of our present inquiry deals especially with the unveiling of the life of the invisible God to our spiritual sense, which we call a revelation. It is a tidal movement —a progressive force; not blowing in a regular stream over a smooth level of time, but swelling into special manifestations and creating distinct periods or epochs. These we term revivals. Each has its characteristic features, but the active energy in all reveals itself both in the material and the spiritual. The Divine Spirit is the primal cause of all such movements, and they all press forward with one great aim in view, the conveying of the life of God into human experience. The breath of quickening known as the Renaissance touched the intellect, the religious conviction, and the commercial instinct of the Middle Ages at one and the same time. The result which followed was visibly the discovery of America—spiritually, the revival of learning and the Protestant Reformation. Later on, the regenerating impulse in the

Victorian era displayed itself along two parallel lines, each the complement and illustration of the other. One was the marvellous activity of applied science, the other the achievements of evangelistic enterprise. The utilization of waste products by chemical processes and by machinery from the dustbin, scrap-heap, and rag-bag was the visible demonstration of a divine alchemy which was turning marred potsherds of character into vessels of value, and moral dross into gold.

The spirit of federation which began to bestir itself vigorously in the later half of the last century, and is dominantly active now, is an emanation from the same source, and shows the same intention. Politically, it is striving for imperial unity; socially, for the brotherhood of all classes; religiously, for the drawing together of all the sections of the Christian Church into the bond of a simpler faith and a common life.

We are therefore warranted in inferring from the tracing of these historical movements, that if the Spirit in this present twentieth century is by the amazing discoveries of science bringing man to know the immensity and variety of his material estate, He is also endeavouring simultaneously to open his eyes to the illimitable splendours of his spiritual inheritance. How can it be otherwise? seeing that nature half reveals and half conceals the soul within. That whatever object has beauty or use is an outward and visible symbol of an inward and spiritual grace, and that the great powers of the material universe maintaining it in being and order are to our physical senses the energies of a Divine Spirit, who is imparting His life to human souls in truth and strength and love. That the obligation to know the spiritual is at least as binding as to acquaint ourselves with the physical. That although one kind of knowledge may precede the other, yet the type should point to the archetype—the Holy to the Holiest.

As yet the question which has been suggested remains unanswered.

There have certainly been most valuable additions to the Christian consciousness within the last half-century, enriching its thought and energy and feeling. Our idea of God, the Builder of the infinitely great and infinitesimally little, has immensely expanded. We have realized also, that His methods of working in the realms of the natural and supernatural are identical; that each is governed by law, and not by arbitrary action or caprice. We have learned that in His manifestation of Himself to the religious instinct He has been no respecter of nationalities. That the torch of inquiry has been kindled in all lands, and that every race has had its seer. That while a creed or dogma is a necessity of our limitations, it can never contain the whole of truth. That the revelation of the divine mind has been so broad and full and free, that no section of the Church, or, indeed, of the human family, can monopolize it, any more than Moses, Elias, or the Christ could be contained within three tabernacles. That the development of truth has been ceaselessly progressive; Malachi was not the last of the prophets, nor John the last of the apostles. That the Bible is not the final word—'God is not dumb, that He should speak no more.'

There has come a delightful change over the nature of Christian inquiry and activity. As the substitution of a higher mechanical motive power for a lower has marked the stages of material progress, the modern revolt from the dead hand of human authority in matters of personal belief, and the rejection of the tyrant fear as the supreme motive in morals for the sovereign charm and majesty of love, are indications of the enormous strides which the religion of Jesus Christ has made.

The realm of Christian experience has also felt the expansion and glow of a new spirit. The winter of a stern Calvinism is over and gone. The time of the singing of birds has come. The staunch loyalty of Puritanism remains. The sourness of its visage has vanished. There is a sunny freedom in our home relationships, in

our worship, and our recreations, which is as welcome as the breath of spring.

But when these things are said the issue of the inquiry still remains in doubt, and there is only one method of settlement—the comparison of our spiritual attainments with the territory yet to be possessed. Some idea of its immeasurable expanse may be gained from the words of St. Paul. No one who had ever explored its regions had gained a clearer idea of its boundlessness. He had seen the plain of the Arabian desert, with its distant purple horizon over-arched with a cloudless sky of infinite space, but when he writes to the Ephesians the vastness which he outlines is the breadth and length and height and depth of the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge. He had skirted and crossed the Mediterranean—the great sea by Tyre and Sidon and ancient Troy; the islands of the Aegean, the mountains of Macedonia, and the snow-capped hills of Crete in view, and he had caught sight of the pillars of Hercules and the dim shores of Gaul; but to the men of seafaring Corinth he pictures the immensity of their spiritual inheritance: 'All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's.' Sir Isaac Newton's simile of the child who was only picking up shells on the rim of an unvoyaged ocean is an irresistible suggestion here.

One realm into which the inquiry may be carried is the sphere of redemption. How fully have we realized the immanence of the living Redeemer in the salvation of the race?

Are there any signs in the literature, politics, and commerce of the world which show that the will of Christ is the master spirit, and the truths that He taught are the ruling ideas of civilization? However optimistic one may be, the reply is far from cheering. If these remarks were really evident, why should Bishop Magee assert that the principles of the Sermon on the Mount were impracti-

cable in modern life, or the Bampton Lectures of 1907 inquire the reason why the influence of Christianity on mankind at large is so strangely disproportionate alike to its high claims and reasonable expectation? Or to turn to the startling anomalies of present-day politics, we may ask how far the ascendency of the Christian religion is consistent with the horrors on the Congo, or with the mendacity and selfishness of the brewers' manifesto against the Licensing Bill. That the leaven exists, is potent, is spreading, no one can deny, but into how many pecks of the three measures has its elevating and ennobling influence yet to penetrate? Returning to the question of the impression of the divine personal presence on the consciousness of humanity to-day, it is evident that men are feeling after Him. They are touching, as it were, the hem of His garment. It is something to realize that His Spirit is immanent in matter and in the mind of man. But more than the conception of an ethereal essence is needed to exorcise the demon of selfishness from the human soul and to endow it with the newborn spirit of love. According to Fénelon, the mystic, God *is* the beating of our heart; but what man really craves to know is whether the Divine Being has a heart that beats for him. Haeckel, in one of his last visions, sees the will of God at work in the scent of the rose as well as in the human spirit, but the question of questions is, Can that Supreme Will subdue man's will and harmonize it with the music of the universe? The regeneration of the race can never be accomplished by the theory of immanence. To the ordinary mind it is an idea or a vague, diffused splendour, elusive, impalpable. The only quickening and recreating force is LOVE—love felt and returned; but we cannot bestow our hearts upon an abstraction. Blake, in a piece of suggestive prose, exclaims, 'Think of a white cloud as holy—you cannot love *it;* but of a holy man within the cloud—love springs up in your thoughts.'

The living Christ is indeed, as the Kaiser puts it, the

most personal of personalities. His immanence through His Spirit is the preserving element of the race. It is like the latent heat which maintains the vitality of the earth beneath the wintry snows, but the earth yearns for the smiling radiance and glowing ardour of the summer sun. Perhaps we are nearing the day when the presence of Christ shall be a central orb of love, of which all men living are conscious, of which it may be said His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and His circuit unto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof. As yet, however, we see only the daybreak.

Passing from this outer circle inward, we come to the associated life of humanity. Is the individual becoming enriched to any great extent by the aggregate spiritual experience of the race? That the languages, literatures, and manufactures of the world are beginning to circulate as its common property is evident. And in that way a sense of the solidarity of mankind is growing. Nevertheless, the faculty which would enable us to feel the pulsation of the universal, spiritual life is almost dormant. Why should it not be possible for each of us to have, day by day, an inflow of the tide of thought and feeling and energy from the surrounding spiritual life of mankind?

If the dust of the West Indian volcano flushes our skies, and the germs from the banks of the Chinese river taint the air, and the wind from the Sahara scorches our flowers, why should we not be conscious, without the lame intervention of telegraph or telephonic wires, that a brave deed has been done, a splendid thought conceived, or an act of self-sacrifice completed? The media of intercommunication is already in existence. Physically, the whole of humanity is lying in a pervading and interpenetrating ether. Spiritually, in God it lives and moves and has its being. Here, therefore, in the underlying, all-embracing love there stretches one invisible network of communication, if we could but use it. And if that love of God were to enter within the core of human conscious-

ness, would it not create a sense of sympathy with every form of human life and activity—with its pains and joys, its moral wealth or poverty? Sympathy is Christian telepathy, the thought-transference of a mind that looks not only on its own things, but also on the things of others.

Travelling inward still, we reach the circle of the animal kingdom. Here intelligence, skill, and affection exist; after lower types it may be, but forming a section of the immaterial world well worth possessing. Man has entered it as task-master, hunter, devourer, torturer, and has failed to realize what wealth of love, loyalty, and service awaited him. So long as he sets up the vivisection-table and patronizes the Chicago shambles, he will be eyed with suspicion, and the treasure-house will be closed. The key is in the hand of childlike love. St. Francis had it, and made friends with his brother the wolf, and Hugh of Lincoln entertained his little birds and wood-mice. When the swallows nestled in the arms of St. Guthlac, he apologized for them. 'Have you never read that to him who is joined to God in a pure spirit, all things join themselves in God?'

As to the world of disembodied spirits. Is our insight into the realm inhabited by the dead who die in the Lord as clear as it might be? Is all the knowledge, love, and grace stored in their characters of no avail to us who stay behind? A deprivation only necessary if these conditions should obtain: That they have lost their interest and sympathy with their former companions; that they have no power of communication or we no power of reception; or that their abode is by its nature isolated from ours.

> That God their sev'rance ruled,
> And bade betwixt their shores to be
> The unplumbed, salt, estranging sea.

The first supposition is unthinkable, and the rest unwarrantable.

The instinct of the human heart is feeling towards this communion of saints, and psychical science, yet in its infancy, is shedding some rays of light upon the borderland. The pessimist Hamlet, when he speaks of the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveller returns, is responsible for much modern incredulity.

If we listen to men when their souls are at their highest, and their sayings transcend their wonted themes, and into glory peep, we receive a totally different impression.

> There's not a wind can stir,
> Or beam pass by,
> But straight I think, though far,
> Thy hand is nigh,

said Vaughan the Silurist to his departed brother.

> Thy voice is on the rolling air,
> I hear thee when the waters run,
> Thou standest in the rising of the sun,
> And in the setting thou art fair,

are words addressed by Alfred Tennyson to his friend, Arthur Henry Hallam, behind the veil.

Father Faber is very positive regarding his invisible companions:

> They move with noiseless foot
> Gravely and sweetly round us,
> And their soft touch hath cut
> Full many a chain that bound us.

But Charles Wesley is still bolder when he bursts forth triumphantly:

> E'en now by faith we join our hands
> With those who went before,
> And greet the blood-besprinkled bands
> On the eternal shore.

These and a thousand similar utterances are neither rhetorical exaggerations nor sentimental insincerities. They are the sober testimonies of men whose eyes for the moment have been widely opened. And, indeed, how can we tell that communications are not being made to

us day by day that we do not decipher—signals that we cannot observe? The constellation invisible to the eye of the astronomer imprints itself upon his photographic plate and remains unseen until the acid develops its image, and it may be that all our consciousness needs to interpret many messages and become sensible to many helpful influences is to be penetrated through and through with the Spirit of God, who is in and with them, and in and with us.

If these considerations lead to the conclusion that man's spiritual insight is not keeping pace with the achievements of his physical senses, one practical inquiry remains: How can his spiritual faculty be enlarged and stimulated? Tennyson, in the 'Ancient Sage,' suggests that mankind is waiting for a new and other sense. If he means that it will come as brand-new revelation or endowment, as the perspective glass was brought to the pilgrims by the shepherds on the Delectable Mountains, he is certainly mistaken. The supposition implies two things, either of which is untenable: That Christianity is unable to regenerate man entirely, or that man by its aid is unable to realize himself completely. Both agencies are in operation. Man is working out his own salvation, and God is working within him—both towards the same ideal and end.

There is first a progress towards individual perfection, for 'man,' according to Browning, 'is not perfect yet.' The ape and tiger in his nature die hardly, the divine climbs slowly. The fountain of the self within him may be gradually fed from the reservoir of his larger self, and into this expanded soul the Spirit of God will bring fresh supplies of the life of God. But progress will take place along another line, and simultaneously the individual will realize his relation to humanity as a whole, just as the atom is a link in the unbroken chain of life. It is here that the Christian revelation gives the clue to the problem. It presents Christ not only as the federal head of the race, but as the Son of Man; whoever, therefore, has the

Spirit of Christ becomes himself a son of man, and assumes a spiritual nature which is racial in its sympathies. The Apostle Paul, in his conception of a perfect man who is not a unit but a unity, carries the solution further. It is this personality of persons, each united to the other and all as one by the indwelling Spirit, that can receive the fullness of the divine life, and reveal the true features of Christ completely. It is this corporate Church of many members, the army of all the tribes, that wins the land of promise.

In the working out of this truth lies the future progress of the race. It is in this coming man, the third Adam, that the new sense now stirring will be supremely active. The movements which are shaping this result are silently but surely at work. The nations of Europe are learning to clasp hands; the Free Churches have drawn closer together, and are looking wistfully on those that are yet without. Socialism is sincerely, if somewhat blindly, groping for a common platform on which all classes can equally stand, and we are even endeavouring to form a language which will annul the confusion of Babel and be a common coinage of universal thought and feeling.

Whether it will be after the lapse of ages, or but yet a little while, assuredly from the tribes of Adam, who lost his paradise, there shall be moulded in the image of the second Adam a perfect man of full-grown stature, who shall enter into the infinite riches of his spiritual inheritance—paradise regained.

E. J. BRAILSFORD.

Notes and Discussions

MILTON'S THEOLOGY

THE tercentenary of Milton's birth (December 9, 1608), as celebrated in the University of Cambridge and elsewhere, has not appealed to the multitude. It was not to be expected that it would. Milton himself desired 'fit audience, though few,' and the reasons for his being more admired than read are tolerably obvious. But there is real meaning in the periodical recalling of the greatness of our great men, and Milton has taken irremovable rank amongst the foremost names in English literature. 'This man has cut us all out and the ancients too,' Dryden is reported to have said. Tennyson described *Lycidas* as 'the touchstone of poetic taste,' and Mark Pattison characteristically noted that 'appreciation of Milton is the last reward of consummated scholarship.' Landor, a savage critic on occasion, doubted 'if the Creator ever created one altogether so great.' Matthew Arnold could find no better, almost no other, example of the 'grand style' in literature, and, for other reasons than that of his regal, august, unapproachable style, it has to be said of our great Puritan poet, his 'soul was like a star and dwelt apart.' It is well that three hundred years after his birth *Comus* should have been performed, and a collection of Milton relics exhibited at Cambridge. It is better that students of literature should consider once again how much they owe to one who at thirty had disciplined and perfected his rare gifts in the hope that he 'might perhaps leave something so written to after times, as that they should not willingly let it die.'

There are three Miltons. The poet of *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas*, might have died at five-and-thirty and lived as long as the English language. The controversialist who spent the prime of life in the din and dust of political strife, 'generating the lurid fires which glare in the battailous canticles of his prose pamphlets,' is forgotten except by students, though the mightiest master of English prose in its

nightiest period is occasionally recalled by the quotation of sonorous sentences which later centuries dare not imitate. The third Milton cannot be confused with either of the other two. 'Eyeless, in Gaza, at the mill, with slaves,' Samson stood alone and dared the Philistines to do their worst. Milton was greater in the gloomy winter of his tragical life than in the freshness of its magical springtide. That 'final period of solitary and Promethean grandeur, when, blind, destitute, friendless, he testified of righteousness, temperance, and judgement to come, alone before a fallen world,' crowns a strangely chequered career and gives us the Milton of history, of the *Paradise Lost*, the *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*.

Milton's masterpiece is a poem on a religious subject, but it is not a deeply religious poem; it is full of theological discussion, but it has had little influence on theology. Edmond Scherer may, or may not, be right in saying that if the *Paradise Lost* survives, it will be in spite of its subject, but it is certain that it is not in virtue of his imaginative treatment of *religious* truth that Milton's immortality is secure. It is as a supreme artist that he lives, because of his superb and incomparable mastery of form, not through his handling of the particularly difficult theme which he chose for the subject of his great epic. As a 'mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies,' as a 'God-gifted organ-voice of England,' Milton's name may well resound for ages. But a religious poet in the proper meaning of the phrase he was not, still less a Christian poet who had, in George Herbert's phrase, measured and sounded the 'two vast, spacious things of sin and love,' and set them forth in words of deathless music. The splendour of Milton's diction and the lofty power of his imagination are apt to blind men to the poverty and aridity of his religious conceptions. Dante awes his readers as for a single moment he gives one glimpse of the Beatific Vision in a glorious privacy of light, Milton makes the Deity argue 'like a school-divine,' and one who had hardly mastered the elements of theology. The Lord of heaven in the *Paradise Lost* is an arbitrary tyrant, whose laws must be obeyed because they are the expression of His will, and against whom Milton, in spite of himself, admits that there is grandeur in disobedience. Not without reason has it been said that Satan is the hero of his epic. With such a Zeus upon the throne, Prometheus cannot but be admired, even though he be plotting the ruin and not the salvation of men.

That Milton was not technically orthodox is not our present point, though that is true. In his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, written in Latin, discovered and translated in 1823, he propounds and defends Arian views of the person of Christ, denounces the keeping of the Sabbath and the observance of the decalogue, besides putting forward his well-known views on divorce and a partial defence of polygamy. There can be no question as to Milton's Christology when, in *Paradise Regained*, he makes the Deity speak of 'this perfect man, by merit called My Son,' whom He has chosen to 'earn salvation for the sons of men.' The way in which the work of that Son, 'of all creation first,' is described in *Paradise Lost*, contains much that is now revolting to most Christian minds. It is not the formal deviation from orthodox phraseology that is deprecated, but the hard, mechanical view of sin and salvation which alienates the religious reader. It may be said that this is characteristic of Milton's age and of Puritan theology generally. Whilst this is partially, it is not wholly true, and does not constitute a sufficient defence. We do not look to a poet for catechism definitions, but if he handles deep, spiritual themes, we expect to find in him finer religious insight, and more potent mastery of essential religious truth, than in the best theologians of his day. It was thus that Browning and Tennyson taught the nineteenth century, but Milton had no such message for the seventeenth. He mitigates somewhat the extreme Calvinism of the Westminster Assembly, but fails lamentably in his endeavour to 'justify the ways of God to men.'

The fact that the redemption of man is represented by Milton as wrought out in the wilderness of Judæa, not upon Calvary, is significant of his view of sin and salvation. It was 'this glorious Eremite' in the desert who 'recovered Paradise to all mankind, by one man's firm obedience fully tried through all temptation.' It is true that at the end of the poem Christ is addressed as entering on His glorious work and 'beginning to save mankind.' But it is clear from its whole drift that the victory over temptation which Christ gained at the opening of His ministry proved Him to be only a man who specially deserved the name 'Son of God,' and whom the tempter must 'hereafter learn with awe to dread.' When that victory was gained, 'a fairer Paradise was founded for Adam and his chosen sons.' The 'last and deadliest wound' upon Satan

was, it is true, yet to be inflicted, but the method of conquest is set forth in the scene which preceded Christ's entry upon His ministry. In virtue of this victory He is declared to be the Son of God with power, and His followers are to conquer temptation like Him, the Captain of their salvation, so that they may win a Paradise in which they shall dwell secure, 'of tempter and temptation without fear.'

A gulf separates the theology of Milton from the Christian religion of to-day. This is not to be described merely as the difference between Calvinism and Arminianism, or between Puritanism and Methodism, or between those who accepted literally the language of Genesis iii and those who regard it as a myth of bygone days. The whole relation between God and man, the whole significance of the work of Christ, is differently viewed. In the theological discussions of the fourth century Athanasius contended that if Arianism were accepted, the redemption of mankind would be endangered, and the doctrines of salvation, which were to him as very life, would fall to the ground. The language seemed to many to be exaggerated, but history has proved it to be true. The view that a third Person, neither wholly God nor simply man, should intervene between an offended Deity and a rebellious race, and procure salvation by paying 'the rigid satisfaction, death for death,' is not the Christian doctrine of redemption. Its identification with Christianity in some ages, by some teachers, has done more harm to true religion than can easily be estimated.

That, it may be said, is not Milton's fault. Most true, yet that a supreme work of human genius—only, as Johnson said, 'not the greatest epic poem in history because it was not the first'—should be identified with a shallow representation of Christian Theism, is a calamity. Milton is not read for his theology; he did not invent it, he is not wholly responsible for it, and perhaps his influence has not done very much to perpetuate it. But it has done something, and all the brightness of his poetic genius is flecked by dark streaks of theological misconception and misrepresentation. His religion is essentially mythological and uninspired. The machinery of supernatural agencies is clumsy; it creaks and jars in its awkward operation. Only the magnificent descriptions and some powerful imaginative conceptions, such as those of Sin and Death and Satan, prevent a complete revolt against the unworthy portraiture of the Divine Father and His Son, of angelic spirits and of man.

It is on the theological side that Milton's inspiration fails. Professor Raleigh, contrasting him with infinitely inferior poetic spirits, points out that in moving beauty even the love-poets of the Restoration surpass him. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, the wandering fire of song touches the hearts and lips of whom it will. Milton built an altar in the name of the Lord, and he made a great trench about the altar, and he put the wood in order and loaded the altar with rich, exotic offerings, cassia and nard, odorous gums and balm, and fruit burnished with golden rind. But the fire from heaven descended on the hastily piled altars of the sons of Belial, and left Milton's gorgeous altar cold.'

This sounds hard measure from one of Milton's most devoted admirers and most discriminating critics. But Milton's niche in the temple of fame is secure, his own peculiar glory is unsurpassed, if not unsurpassable. Had his spirit been suffused with deepest Christian devotion, as his poetic genius was sublime, and his style transcendently rich and lofty, modern Christendom would have hailed him its bard as mediaeval Christendom hailed Dante, and the world would have listened to strains that not only ravished the ear, but charmed and won its inmost heart.

W. T. D.

PROFESSOR LOOFS ON PRESENT-DAY PREACHING

To an excellent series[1] of monographs designed to present a survey of Christian preaching from Chrysostom to our own times, Dr. Loofs, the learned and broad-minded Professor of Church History in the University of Halle, contributes the latest volume, entitled *Academic Sermons*. In an outspoken preface, Dr. Loofs makes instructive reference to his own twenty years' experience as a University preacher. He realizes that the task of the preacher to-day is by no means an easy one, especially if he endeavours to re-state, in terms familiar to the modern mind, the profound truths of the evangelical faith. To

[1] *Die Predigt der Kirche*, Abteil. VII: Prediger der Gegenwart. Bd. 4, *Akademische Predigten*. Von Dr. Friedrich Loofs. Dresden: C. Ludwig Ungelenk.

the question, 'What should be the purpose of the modern sermon?' he finds no satisfying answer in the handbooks which expound theories of preaching and lay down rules for the construction of various kinds of discourses. He does not despise these homiletic aids; indeed, his own sermons are symmetrical in form, and are based on careful exegesis; but he is of opinion that a far more perplexing problem confronts the modern preacher. This problem he proceeds to state, and to offer some practical hints towards its solution.

A frequent excuse for neglect of public worship is that the services are not interesting. Dr. Loofs thinks it is not enough to say that if the religious interest were supreme, as it should be, sermons would not be tedious. To the average hearer a sermon is interesting if it deals with questions which are stirring in his own mind, and makes use of modern forms of thought and expression, avoiding those which have lost their original force, and are now almost empty of meaning. But how manifold are the needs of a congregation! The ideal sermon will edify the saint, arouse the formal worshipper, encourage the seeker and captivate the casual attendant; if it does all these things, it will also attract the absentee. Obviously this ideal is unattainable save by a few preachers of exceptional gifts, who are able to interest simple and learned alike. But on Christian ministers in general Dr. Loofs urges the desirability of concentrating attention upon the needs of a particular class. When a church has several ministers, such specialization is both possible and desirable. It is also probable that the preacher of varied gifts will accomplish more by adapting his discourses now to one, and now to another section of his hearers.

The needs of the times make it essential that the preacher should bear personal witness to the faith of the gospel, and not be content to repeat doctrinal formulae. Dr. Loofs regards with disfavour strict tests of orthodoxy; but much depends upon the constitution of the church in which a man is to exercise his ministry. The plea for freedom, however, renders all the more impressive such earnest words as these: 'The preacher is but "sounding brass or a clanging cymbal," unless in his inmost consciousness he is sure of his call to proclaim *God's* truth. . . . If he is not "a believer," he is as useless as a music-teacher who has no ear for music. But belief has many stages.'

The preacher's effectiveness depends largely on his having a true vision of the mental and spiritual horizon which forms the boundary of his hearers' thought-world. He is blind to patent facts who is unaware that even in educated circles there is 'a deeply rooted distrust of all ecclesiastical traditions'; for this state of things the Church is partly responsible, and, to some extent, blameworthy. To overcome this distrust what is needed is not that historical and critical discussions should be dragged into sermons, but that prominence should be given to the great facts of history and experience upon which the Christian religion is based. Theological phrases which have lost their significance ought not to be used as though they were the current coin of speech. Dr. Loofs seems to us to speak more strongly than is necessary in regard to the extent to which references to the Holy Spirit are beyond the understanding of modern hearers. But he is unquestionably right in saying that progress in psychological study should enable the preacher to describe more clearly the Holy Spirit's work in the hearts of men; he does well, also, to urge the importance of making it plain that experience may verify what passes the comprehension of the mind. A forceful protest is entered against the use in the pulpit of pious jargon, otherwise known as 'the language of Canaan.'

But a preacher may understand his hearers and yet be ineffective. An essential condition of success is that every sermon should have a definite purpose. Homiletical rules may prove a snare. If a preacher regards his text merely as an essayist does his theme, 'the practical aim which every sermon ought to have will be kept in the background,' and the discourse will move in a world of ideas remote from the thoughts of those who listen to it. Present-day hearers desire, and have a right to expect, 'answers to *their* questionings, comfort in *their* sorrows, guidance and encouragement for the discharge of the practical duties that are binding upon *them*.' Therefore, careful exposition and hermeneutical skill are means to an end. In his preparation the preacher should have in mind not the homiletical critic, but the members of his own congregation. 'To-day, more than ever, all artificiality mars the effect of preaching. It lays the preacher open to the suspicion of insincerity. Affectation, pulpit-tone, and stilted language are an abomination to the modern mind. The more natural, the better; the more practical, the more effective.'

On some points of detail the judgement of Dr. Loofs deserves to be quoted: 'It seems to me, beyond all doubt, that the poverty of thought and the tediousness of many preachers are the result of their having given up the practice of writing their sermons before their minds are stored richly enough to enable them to speak extempore.' The study of great sermons is recommended, but, to avoid the repetition of other men's thoughts, and to promote humility, the study should take place *after*, not before the preacher has honestly done his own thinking. 'Then there is no temptation to appropriate quickly what other men have said, and to appear wiser than we are.' There are some common-sense remarks concerning the alleged vanity of preachers. Undue depreciation of the result of laborious preparation is no preservative against vanity. Nor dare a Christian minister pray that failure in the delivery of his message may humble him. For the honour of his Master, and the glory of His cause, he must hope and try to succeed. 'But vanity is effectually banished by remembering that our very best is demanded in the service to which we have pledged ourselves. For when we have done everything—yea, verily *everything* that is within our power, we have done only "that which it was our duty to do."'

J. G. TASKER.

SUPPLY AND TRAINING OF CLERGY

IN July 1907 the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed a small committee to investigate and report upon existing agencies for 'The Supply and Training of Candidates for Holy Orders.' This Report[1] furnished valuable information to the committee of bishops whose recommendations were discussed at the Lambeth Conference, and its findings deserve the careful consideration of every Church that is seeking for a solution of similar problems.

The committee consisted of seven clergymen and two laymen, and no less than eleven meetings were held for the purpose of collecting information and considering evidence. Twenty-one appendices to the Report afford ample proof that

[1] The Report may be obtained on application to Canon Bullock-Webster, Parkstone, Dorset (1*s.* 6*d.*, post free).

no pains have been spared in the endeavour to secure accurate knowledge of details. The tabulated summaries are full of instruction in regard to systems of training in the American Church as well as in the Church of England, in the Benedictine and Jesuit Orders as well as 'in Churches and religious bodies other than the Church of England.'

A diagram, after the pattern of a barometrical chart, shows the number of deacons ordained between the years 1877 and 1907. It records a progressive rise up to the year 1886, but a steady decline since that date. In 1886 the number of candidates admitted to the Diaconate was 814; in 1907 it was 587. From these figures some unwarranted inferences have been drawn. It has been hastily assumed that in the Anglican Church there is a dearth of suitable men desiring to be trained for Holy Orders. But this is not the case. The deficit is in the number of deacons ordained, as may be clearly seen from Appendix II on 'The Supply of Candidates Available.' The evidence of principals of theological colleges and hostels, where an 'assisted education' is provided, is to the effect that 'the number of applicants is very large, and is yearly increasing.' At the St. Chad's Hostel last year there were over one hundred applications for six places, 'most of them from men who are splendid fellows.' Canon Harding, who has had eighteen years' experience as the principal of a theological college, records 2,770 inquirers in that period, and of these 1,850 were 'unused.' He regards one-third as a sufficient allowance for unsuitable candidates; hence, 'there remain unused during eighteen years 1,230.'

The causes for the decline in the number of candidates for the sacred ministry are summarized under three heads—theological, social, and financial. 'The theological unrest of the present day, together with the party strife and divisions among us, has, no doubt, had a deterrent effect on many; while socially, the numerous openings for new careers, which our modern civilization has developed, have proved a strong counter-attraction. But we are convinced that the financial problem stands in the forefront of these causes.' It follows, however, from what has been said above, that the Report concerning the falling off of the supply of candidates has reference to 'those who can provide, either from their own resources, or by the help of existing educational endowments, for their education and training.' The inevitable conclusion is that it

is to the class of 'assisted candidates' that the Church must look in the future for the recruiting of the ranks of the ministry.

In this connexion the Primate's committee 'draw special attention to the remarkable figures' given in Appendix XIX, which furnishes statistics in regard to 'Colleges for Ministerial Training—other than the Church of England.' The contrast between the 'estimated cost per head' and the 'annual payment charged' is appealed to in confirmation of the following statement in the *York Convocation Report:* 'In this matter the Church of England stands alone among other Christian communities. The Roman Catholics, the Wesleyans, the Congregationalists, and the Baptists are in a better position than ourselves. Aspirants for their ministries are able to obtain the whole of their special training, extending over three years or more, free of all cost to themselves, if the authorities are satisfied as to their inability to meet the expense.' The churches selected for honourable mention need, however, to realize that *a fortiori* the financial recommendations of this Report apply to them: 'The provision of funds for the training and maintenance of candidates should not be left to benevolent action alone, but should be regarded as a fundamental part of Church finance, . . . as a serious and necessary obligation.'

A striking feature of the Report is the confession that in the Church of England the essential need for distinctively theological training is, at present, 'very inadequately recognized.' During the five years from 1902 to 1906, out of 3,037 deacons ordained, 1,278 received no theological training previous to ordination. 'Much more importance is attached to a special theological training by other religious bodies.' Concerning the advantage of residence at Oxford and Cambridge the committee's judgement is based on memoranda received from university authorities. As an 'introduction' to the special training for the ministry, university education is morally, intellectually, and socially 'of the highest value'; but the universities are 'places of higher education, not of higher religious education. They are a complement to a secondary education, not an alternative for a theological training.' The conclusion arrived at is that at least one year's special theological training should be required of all graduate candidates, the period to be lengthened, when practicable, to two years.

Of special importance is the committee's discriminating pronouncement as to the benefit which 'assisted' candidates

are likely to derive from residence at Oxford or Cambridge. It is pointed out that there are two classes of such candidates. 'Those who are socially on the same level as independent candidates would benefit as much as they by a university course, provided that their secondary education has been adequate; but those who have come from less cultivated homes and narrower surroundings are not, even with an adequate secondary education, always able to adapt themselves to the environment of our older universities.' Of twelve university authorities consulted, nine are opposed to hostels for ordinands at Oxford and Cambridge during their undergraduate course. It is manifest that the committee regard with favour residence at a hostel in one of the newer universities, or a prolonged course at a theological training college as more likely to enable most candidates of this class to do 'justice to themselves and to those responsible for their training.'

As to the length of training, when graduate colleges realize their ideal and are able to give a two years' theological course subsequent to a university degree, then non-graduate colleges should provide two years of special training after an arts course of three years. 'Meanwhile all graduate candidates should have one year's course of special training; and all non-graduates a four years' course, of which the first part should be devoted to higher education, and the latter part to ministerial training.' If Church hostels were provided at our modern universities, the non-graduate colleges might 'receive promising applicants, test in some degree their vocation, and prepare them for matriculation.' These candidates would pass on to a hostel for their university course, and return for their period of theological study.

Obviously the adequacy or inadequacy of the length of the period of training depends upon the work to be done. The committee extended their inquiries to include the question of 'the relation of the clergy to the social and economic problems of the day and the necessary training involved.' Appendix VIII contains memoranda contributed by many specialists, but the most definite reference thereto in the body of the Report is in the section on 'Length of Training.' The period is said to be too short, 'especially if the course is to include some measure of training in scientific methods of dealing with social and educational questions.' Mr. Sidney Webb and Professor C. S. Loch urge the importance of the study of economics.

Mr. T. C. Horsfall eulogizes the practice of the German Protestant Church in requiring all candidates for its ministry to spend six weeks in a training college for teachers. Mr. Albert Manbridge, Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association, thinks that 'one of the most pressing needs of the Church is an additional, if not a new, type of clergy.' More candidates for Orders should come 'from working-class homes.' It is encouraging to hear him say: 'Social questions are in the air, and there is a real danger that candidates for Orders may tend unduly to become social rather than spiritual experts. The primary business of the Church lies in the presentation of its spiritual life as fundamental to social movements.'

Among the appendices to the Report are syllabuses of the courses of study and training for the ministry required of their candidates by 'other religious bodies.' It must suffice to quote the comment of *The Guardian* on this document: 'The English Church scarcely compares favourably with any of them, excepting the Baptists, in the one important particular of the provision of definite expert training for candidates. By the provision of expert training we mean a course of practical instruction in all that distinctively concerns the cure of souls, apart from the general intellectual preparation of a course in arts; and also that such instruction should be obligatory and not merely optional for all candidates, graduates as well as non-graduates.' It is only fair to say that, in excepting the Baptists, the writer in *The Guardian* seems to have laid undue stress on a sentence quoted from the Secretary of the Baptist Union: 'But a number of men pass into the Baptist ministry without any special training. This is regarded by the authorities as inevitable, though to be regretted.'

On this supremely important question one Church may learn from another, for few will deny the truth of the closing sentence of this Report: 'An adequate body of well-trained clergy is essential to the well-being of the Church, and no subject calls for more serious attention at this present time.'

PRACTICAL FELLOWSHIP

THE title must not be thought to reflect adversely upon any other kind of fellowship that may be known and observed amongst us. Its object is simply to call attention to certain aspects of the life of the early Christian Church which indicate a vivid realization of the meaning of fellowship on its more material and practical side.

What fellowship means in Methodism is well known. That this conception is included in, and partially expresses the New Testament word κοινωνία, no one will gainsay. As the *Statement on Church Membership* presented to the York Conference says, 'Our fathers reproduced, in a simple and unstudied way, the modes of Church life indicated in the New Testament.' But that the various fellowship meetings peculiar to Methodism do not, either individually or conjointly, exhaust the significance of the New Testament κοινωνία, is a fact that is not seldom overlooked. It is the somewhat neglected part of the connotation of this word that we now wish to emphasize.

In the New Testament the word 'Fellowship' is never used in connexion with any meeting of Church members. The only apparent exception is in 1 Cor. x. 16, where, in speaking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Paul asks the question, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a *communion*[1] of (R.V. mg., *participation* in) the blood of Christ?' and a similar question concerning the bread. In the case of Acts ii. 42 ('they continued steadfastly . . . in *fellowship*') it is probable that many are in the habit of reading into the word the sense of a meeting, analogous to the Class Meeting or the Lovefeast, in which the members took part. It is far more likely, however, that the meaning of κοινωνία here should be inferred from the statement made in ver. 44: 'All that believed were together, and had all things common (κοινά). This is reiterated in ch. iii. ver. 32, and illustrated by the action of Joseph (Barnabas) and of Ananias. As Dr. Armitage Robinson says, 'The method was incompatible with the higher organization of the Body; but it was a striking exemplification of the new spirit of fellowship, the sense of common interest,

[1] In this paper the words which translate κοινωνία and its cognates in the original are italicized. It is unnecessary to give the form of the Greek in every case.

the realization of oneness' (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Communion).

It is precisely this 'new spirit' of brotherhood, in all its divine breadth, and with all its manifold bearings on the mutual relationships of the members, that is signified by the κοινωνία of the early Church. That it included the interchange of religious experience may be taken for granted. But it included far more. 'It found concrete expression in a life of mutual service—the rich for the poor, the strong for the weak. . . . All blessings, earthly and spiritual, were spontaneously shared with those who were in need' (Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, s. v. Fellowship).

The fact that in English the verb 'communicate' has been separated in meaning from the noun 'communion' (except in a technical sense, when speaking of the Lord's Supper) tends to obscure the meaning of certain illustrative passages even in the Revised Version. In Rom. xii. 13, e.g. ('*communicating* to the necessities of the saints'), our rendering fails to bring out the force of the original—that such an act is an expression of Christian fellowship.[1] In Heb. xiii. 16—'to do good and *to communicate* (P.B.V. *distribute*) forget not'—the 'sacrifice' with which 'God is well pleased' is not a dole, not a favour conferred by the rich on the poor. It is a form of Christian fellowship, and in such a gift there is no ground for a sense of superiority in the giver nor of inferiority in the receiver. The relationships are not those of patron and dependent, but of brethren sharing in common the gifts of God's grace. In 1 Tim. vi. 18 they that are 'rich in this present world' are to be exhorted, amongst other matters, to be '*willing to communicate*' (κοινωνικούς). Here, again, the element of fellowship is obscured by our rendering. Even the R.V. mg., '*ready to sympathise*,' is scarcely an improvement. '*Ready to share with others*' is, perhaps, as near an approximation as we can get, if we are not to be allowed to find the word 'socialist' in the New Testament.[2]

[1] 'The mode in which the fellowship appears is determined by the context; nowhere, however, does κοινή pass into the active meaning of *communication*, or the passive of *communicated*, i.e. *alms*, but always denotes a relation which, between persons, is based on Christian unity' (Cremer, *Lexicon*, s. v.).

[2] The following are some of the renderings given: Bengel, *communicativos*, mutuum dando, in commune conferendo, cum multis;

A sentence must suffice to point out a special instance of this concrete expression of Christian fellowship. In Gal. vi. 6 we read, 'Let him that is taught in the word *communicate* unto him that teacheth in all good things.' In Paul's own experience the clearest example of such willingness of the members to share their earthly goods with their teachers is to be found in his relations with the Church at Philippi. 'Ye did well, that ye *had fellowship with* my affliction. . . . No church *had fellowship* with me in the matter of giving and receiving but ye only' (Phil. iv. 14 f.).

Such sharing between ministers and members is not surprising. Paul feels that he has reason on his side when he argues (in 1 Cor. ix. 11): 'If we sowed unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we shall reap your carnal things?'[1] But we next notice a manifestation of fellowship that was altogether new and remarkable. The almost impenetrable barrier that had hitherto separated Jew and Gentile in religious matters was now broken down, and in the course of the apostolic age complete fellowship was established between the Jewish and the non-Jewish sections of the Christian Church. Through the missionary work of Paul the wild olive of the Gentiles was grafted in among the branches and 'became *partaker with* them of the root of the fatness of the olive-tree' (Rom. xi. 17). Such a revolutionary union could not be regarded by the Jewish section of the Church without serious misgiving, but the grasping of the right hands of *fellowship* by the leaders of the divergent parties (Gal. ii. 9) gave official sanction to the partnership. Having thus *been made partakers* of their spiritual things, the Gentiles owed it to the Jews 'to minister unto them in carnal things' (Rom. xv. 27). Hence, when occasion arose, a collection was set on foot for the poor among the saints at Jerusalem. It is called in our rendering a '*contribu-*

Alford, *ready-contributors*, communicating their substance; Grimm-Thayer, *inclined to make others sharers in one's possessions;* Ellicott, *ready to impart to others;* J. P. Lilley, *ready to share.* R. M. Pope says, 'R.V. mg., *ready to sympathize*, is an attractive alternative rendering, but both the usage of the word and the context suggest practice rather than feeling.'

[1] Cf. a passage in *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (IV, 8): 'Thou shalt not turn away the needy, but *shalt share* all things *with* thy brother, and shalt not say they are thine own; for if ye are *sharers* in that which is imperishable, how much more in the perishable things?'

tion ' (Rom. xv. 26, 2 Cor. ix. 13), but again we must point out that it was not a dole, but a manifestation of Christian fellowship, the word κοινωνία being uniformly employed. This gift produced at least two important results, in addition to the material help afforded. The various Gentile Churches, working together in the common cause, were more closely united by their '*fellowship* (or *participation, Expos. Gk. Test.*) in the ministering to the saints ' (2 Cor. viii. 4); and the union between the two sections of the Church, which had been subject to considerable strain, was now more firmly cemented than before. Thus in the Christian Church ' aliens and disfranchised found fellowship with those who inherited religious promises and social privilege. Roman and Greek stooped to love the hateful Jew, and the Jew was willing to transfer the sacred name of Israel to Gentiles whose past was unclean ' (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, loc. cit.).

Thus far the New Testament. We have seen how much was already involved in the ' new spirit ' that marked Christ's followers. Contributions on behalf of the poor members of the local Church, offerings for the support of the ministry, the joint undertaking of a far-reaching scheme of relief, the recognition of true unity in spite of divergences of ceremonial, the co-operation of workers representing different schools of thought, the overcoming of racial distinctiveness by the common bond of religion—all these are referred to in terms which indicate that they are manifestations of the spirit of fellowship. A still further development, not to be realized completely for many centuries, seems to be adumbrated in Paul's letter to Philemon. When he prays ' that the *fellowship* of ' Philemon's ' faith may become effectual ' (ver. 6), surely he is hinting at what he suggests more definitely in ver. 16—the manumission of the slave Onesimus.

The reflection that suggests itself to the writer is that not even yet have we realized all that is involved in fellowship on its practical side. To the devotional side Methodism has been giving its best attention of late. No Conference Committee has defined, or will define, the meaning and scope of fellowship on its practical side, but, none the less seriously because unofficially, many amongst us are inquiring what are its present-day implications.

We have no valid ground for thinking that all its meaning has yet been unfolded to us. Analogy would lead us to expect

evolution in this as in other things. We do not stand where the first century stood; there is no reason why the eighteenth or nineteenth should be regarded as having reached finality. Human relationships that were formerly capable of subsisting even between Christians professing the fellowship of Jesus, would now excite surprise and indignation. It may be that Christians of the coming age will look upon certain relationships of the present day with similar feelings. To the most casual observer it is evident that the social conscience of Christian people is now receiving a powerful stimulus. How far it will be capable of imbuing society with more Christian ideals one cannot safely prophesy. But one may at least hope that this generation will not have passed away until the removal of some of the most glaring blemishes of the social order has been accomplished. Meanwhile, it is for us to seek to understand, with the unfailing guidance of the Spirit of God, what is involved in Christian fellowship on its practical, no less than on its devotional, side; and, having understood, to act.

ERNEST G. LOOSLEY.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

High Priesthood and Sacrifice. By W. P. Du Bose, S.T.D. (Longmans. 5*s.* net.)

Dr. Du Bose, who is Professor of Exegesis in the University of the South, U.S.A., is already well known on this side of the Atlantic, and his theological work has been highly praised by Prof. Sanday. The present volume is described as an exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and it is quite true that the author follows in the main the outline of thought presented in that Epistle. But he does so in his own way, and his method is dogmatic rather than exegetical. It might be fair to say that the author shows how the Epistle illustrates the principles of theology, which he considers to be those of the New Testament, rather than that he is anxious to preserve the special characteristics of thought which belong to this particular Epistle. Such a method has some advantages. We have commentaries enough on the Hebrews for all tastes and needs. Dr. Du Bose's work should be read as supplementary to his volumes on the Gospels and St. Paul, and it will be found both to shed light on the earlier treatises and to receive light from them.

As a mediating theologian of a mystical turn the author reminds us sometimes of Westcott. With much less learning and exegetical insight, Du Bose exhibits more of a constructive theological habit of mind than the great Cambridge scholar. His work will be found helpful by many who desire a broader and freer treatment of soteriology than is to be found in the writings of many evangelical theologians, provided at the same time it keeps near to the teaching of the New Testament. The chief topics handled in this volume are such as these: The Divine Propriety of the Death of Christ, Christ the All-Tempted yet All-Sinless, High Priesthood in Christ, The Sacrifice that

takes away Sin, and The Faith that inherits Eternal Life. On the main subjects that concern man's salvation Dr. Du Bose preserves the broad lines of evangelical truth, whilst seeking especially to commend that truth as reasonable to the enlightened spiritual understanding. The strongest part of his argument is where he unfolds the Pauline doctrine of the believer's mystical union with Christ as it is presented in the Hebrews, and the meaning and necessity of Christ's sacrifice for sin. We are not sure whether we quite apprehend the author's exposition of the sinlessness of Christ. He seems to hold that Christ assumed our sinful nature and sanctified it, whilst He did not Himself yield to temptation. 'Our Lord's whole relation to sin in our behalf was identical with our own up to the point of His unique and exceptional personal action with reference to it. . . . There was no sin in Him, not because He was God, not because as man His nature was in and of itself sinless, or incapable of sin, or because He could not sin, or because He could not be really tempted as we are to sin.' Christ was sinless 'because He humanly resisted sin unto blood, because by the weapons of a man He overcame and destroyed sin in Himself.' This sounds rather like Edward Irving's teaching, which was seriously, though unintentionally, heretical. But we understand Dr. Du Bose to be expanding the language —admittedly strong—of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the humanity of our Lord, and to be emphasizing the reality of Christ's temptation rather than admitting that the taint of sinful humanity was in Him.

We have found the whole volume full of theological interest and suggestion, even when we could not accept the writer's modes of expression. We can assure the theologian and the close student of Scripture that they will find the book, small as it is, to be more fruitful and helpful in their work than many a ponderous conventionally written treatise. It may help some to accept the doctrine of Christ's Sacrifice for Sin who have hitherto been repelled by crude and unsatisfactory presentations of it.

Mediaevalism: A Reply to Cardinal Mercier. By George Tyrrell. (Longmans. 4*s*. net.)

Cardinal Mercier was anything but well advised when in his Lenten Pastoral he attacked Modernism in the person of 'the English priest Tyrrell.' Whether it was worth Father Tyrrell's

while to answer him and break a moth upon the wheel, may be questioned, but it would appear that the assault of one whom he had reason to consider his friend was too flagrant, and the opportunity once again to vindicate the Modernist position too tempting, for him to pass it by. The result is a volume in which the unfortunate cardinal's allocution is riddled through and through with shafts of irony and delicate satire, and the present position of Ultramontanism and the *Papalini*, who are more popish than the Pope, is exposed to the uttermost.

The vindication of Modernism is not so satisfactory. There is indeed something pathetic in the appeal which devout and liberal Catholics are making against the tyranny of the bureaucracy that is crushing them, whilst they know not to what tribunal, or in the name of what doctrine, that appeal is to be made. Modernism is not a doctrine, but a tendency. The mediaevalism which Cardinal Mercier defends and Mr. Tyrrell denounces knows at least what it means—'the synthesis between faith and general culture in the thirteenth century viewed as primitive and as practically final and exhaustive.' The Modernist, on the other hand, denies the possibility of such finality; he maintains 'the insistence on modernity as a principle.' But what kind of a principle is this for religious faith? 'Mediaevalism is definable, because it is dead; Modernism is not so, because it is living and growing.' Catholicism according to the Modernist is 'a great experimentation in religion'; but it is hardly likely that good Catholics will risk their souls upon an experiment.

Then to whom does the Modernist appeal? He adheres to 'the ancient catholic and apostolic conception of a teaching authority belonging to the Church as a whole'—not to the Pope, nor to the Curia—and that 'the Church is alone in the full sense Christ's Vicar upon earth, commissioned to teach what He taught and no more.' But what and where is that Church? If the Modernist Catholic had his way to-morrow, how would that Church be constituted and where would be its authority? To what General Council could Father Tyrrell appeal, seeing that he pours such scorn upon the Vatican Council of 1870 and holds all councils in slender esteem?

Perhaps it is hardly fair to press these questions upon one who is only just emerging from bondage and groping his way towards freedom and light. What the end of the Modernist

movement will be, none can prophesy. But, given a few more teachers like Father Tyrrell, who wields Newman's rapier in a better spirit and for a better cause, and the 'five wounds' of Catholicism must become five hundred. More such teachers are coming forward in all countries of Europe, if the signs of the times may be trusted, and what will the Cardinal Merciers of the next generation do in the end thereof?

Cords of Adam. By Rev. Thos. J. Gerrard. (Longmans. 5*s.* net.)

Protestant readers will hardly recognize this title as taken from Hosea xi. 4 (Vulg.). It describes a series of devotional essays or short sermons intended to show how Christianity, rightly understood, appeals to the common heart of mankind. The writer aims at bringing out 'the essentially fair and beautiful aspect of the gospel'; he holds that the movement of thought 'which makes for a kindlier and broader view of the more severe of God's attributes must be in the direction of truth.' The heart-strings of Adam, 'experienced in every member of Adam's race, only realized their full delicacy, tenderness, and strength in the Sacred Heart of Christ.'

There is very much that is attractive in these discourses or meditations. They exhibit Catholicism on its best side. They show how Roman Catholic and Protestant may meet at Bethlehem and on Calvary. They make a wide and tender appeal to all that is best in human nature and tend in the Spirit of Christ to draw men 'with cords of a man, with bands of love.' The more, therefore, do we regret the constant and presumably unavoidable references to what is sectional, narrow, and less admirable in Roman Catholicism. 'Sacred Heart devotion,' as known in the Church of Rome to-day, is but a travesty of true devotion to Christ Himself. So with the constant use of the Vulgate as sacred Scripture. This is amusingly illustrated in the preface, where the author quotes the curious rendering of Psalm lxxi. 15, 16: *Quoniam non cognovi litteraturam, introibo in potentias Domini,* which occurs to me every time I say the Thursday office: 'Because I know not how to write a book, I will go into the mighty deeds of the Lord.' 'What precisely was the sacred writer's intention,' adds Father Gerrard, 'I am not sure.' The possibility of the sentence containing a pure blunder, in the translation of the Hebrew, traceable through the LXX, though patent to any scholar, is of

course a theory not tenable by a Roman Catholic priest. In reading the book we have found ourselves alternately attracted and repelled by the writer's utterances. This is probably inevitable for a Protestant, but the truly devout and Christian spirit of the writer must be patent to all his readers.

The Christian Minister and his Duties. By J. Oswald Dykes, M.A., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 6*s.* net.)

Fifty years in the ministry, of which twenty have been spent in preparing students of divinity for their future work, give Dr. Dykes a commanding claim to be heard on the subject chosen for this volume. His aim has been to write a book which would be of practical service to candidates for the ministry and to the junior clergy of all Churches. Such readers will feel themselves under a lasting debt to the venerable author. His counsels are the outcome of ripe experience, and are marked by the insight and sagacity, the broad and fair-minded spirit which won Dr. Dykes such a high reputation both at Regent's Square and in Cambridge. His book is divided into four parts: The Modern Minister; The Minister as Leader in Worship; The Minister as Preacher; The Minister as Pastor. The minister of to-day had no exact equivalent in the age of the apostles. He is, perhaps, 'the nearest representative of the primitive presbyter, otherwise called "bishop." He may even be the historical descendant, by unbroken succession, of that order.' Our age has seen a great widening of the official duties of the minister of religion, and it is often difficult to know what proportion should be kept between the various duties of his office. He is the 'organizing and inspiring Head of a staff of active, though unpaid and unofficial, workers for the kingdom of God.' Dr. Dykes' conception of the Church is that of 'a priestly Brotherhood of Spiritual equals.' The chapter on 'The Call to the Ministry' will help and guide many. 'Like all similar questions regarding God's will for individuals, it can only be determined with greater or less probability after weighing well a variety of concurrent considerations.' These are clearly pointed out, and should enable those who have been waiting for 'more extraordinary and compelling signs' to recognize the guiding hand of God. There is a beautiful chapter on 'The Minister's Devotional Life.' Its spirit may be judged by the verdict that 'the only cure for perfunctory service is the cultivation of the interior life of devotion. This

includes a sharpening of the conscience to perceive one's hidden faults; a deepening of contrition for them when discovered; a more abiding sense of the divine presence; a firmer and less unstable reliance on the aid of the Holy Spirit,—everything, in short, which goes to make a holy man of God.' It is a question how far a minister is 'justified in surrendering to the social, philanthropic, or semi-political "causes" for which a minister's active co-operation is expected, indeed, is all but demanded, hours which are required for higher things.' When Dr. Dykes discusses 'The Minister as Leader in Worship' he is able to draw on his own half-century of experience. He deals wisely with the question of Scripture Lessons. Some maintain that these should be chosen with a view to the sermon, but Dr. Dykes points out that in this way 'the unity of a complete service of divine worship, in which each devout mood of the people, with all their wants, finds adequate and harmonious expression, in the degree of its importance in religious experience' may be sacrificed. The importance of week-night services is a timely theme. They may save the Church's ministration from degenerating into a busy, bustling philanthropy, 'and warm all Church business and every workers' meeting from the central fire of pious love to Christ.' There is also a suggestive passage on prayer-meetings, and many wise hints on all sides of a minister's work.

On preaching Dr. Dykes has a special claim to be heard, and the chapters devoted to this part of his subject will be of great service. 'The truth is, that an experienced preacher who achieves diversity in his preaching, does it simply by giving his chief attention to the subject of each sermon, allowing that to prescribe its own appropriate manner of treatment.' 'A good sermon is not one sought after, but given. That is to say, the central idea, the germ of thought out of which it is all to grow, has at one time or other offered itself with living power to the preacher's mind.' On visiting and the care of the young and the sick there are some golden counsels. The whole book will refresh the mind and heart of ministers, and will be of daily service in all the details of their work. Every congregation ought to present a copy of it to its own pastor, and should study it carefully in order to help the minister to realize the lofty ideal here set forth with such emphasis and grace.

St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians. By the late W. G. Rutherford. (Macmillan. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The late head master of Westminster School and author of the *New Phrynichus* was one of the ripest scholars of his time. He died last year at the early age of fifty-four, and a brief prefatory note to this volume gives an account of his life and work. During Rutherford's lifetime his translation of the 'Romans' was published, and at his death he left the fragments now given to the world ready for publication. No one can question the accuracy, discrimination and completeness of the author's scholarship. It may be doubted, however, whether he is seen at his best in a translation—often rather a paraphrase—of St. Paul's Epistles. His severe criticism of the Revised Version prefixed to his 'Romans' will be remembered. But in avoiding stiffness and pedantry, Rutherford has sometimes gone to an opposite extreme, and his work cannot fairly be compared with a version of a sacred text in which the closest fidelity to the original was held to be a crowning virtue. Read as a kind of running commentary, this volume will be useful.

The following are a few specimens of the renderings suggested. 1 Thess. iv. 15: 'Shall have no advantage in time' (*φθάσωμεν*). Instead of 'Quench not the Spirit' Rutherford reads: 'When the Spirit kindles, let not the fire die out'; and in 1 Thess. v. 21, he renders: 'Stick to the true metal; have nothing to do with the base.' It is doubtful whether the reference here is to assaying metal, and the colloquial 'stick to' is distinctly bad. Is it any improvement to read instead of 'Faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it,' 'He who calls us may be trusted, and he shall complete his work'? St. Paul's 'hymn to love' is by Rutherford turned to prose indeed. 'Love is long-suffering, is kindly given' is far inferior to 'Love suffereth long and is kind'; and 'There is no jealousy in love, no parade, no conceit, no bad manners,' &c., is as prosaic a way of saying what the Apostle intended, as 'Love is always content, always confiding, always sanguine, always patient' is bald in comparison with the noble words of 1 Cor. xiii. 7, so familiar to generations of readers. A fine scholar should surely have elementary good taste enough not to substitute 'always sanguine' for 'hopeth all things.' None the less it is well on the whole that this fragment of Rutherford's work

should be published, and it may be profitably compared with Dr. Weymouth's *New Testament in Modern Speech*.

The New Testament Portrait of Jesus. By Rev. George Parkin, B.D. (Robert Culley. 2*s*. 6*d*.)

The Hartley Lecture of this year deals with a topic of perennial and yet eminently present-day interest. Almost every study of the Life and Person of Christ adds something to our knowledge of Him, and amidst modern changes in theological thought a fresh portrait of the Master, as He is presented in the New Testament, cannot but be timely and interesting. Mr. Parkin pursues the method of biblical theology, and gives first 'Paul's Presentation,' taking the Epistles separately; then that of James the Lord's Brother; then those given in 1 Peter and Hebrews, then 'the Synoptic Presentation,' and so forth, concluding with the Apocalypse. A minute examination of the various passages referring to Christ proves Mr. Parkin to be a close and scholarly student of the sacred text.

This method has advantages to which we are not blind. But the general effect left upon the mind by so piecemeal a treatment of a great theme is far from satisfactory. This criticism might have been modified if the lecturer had devoted at least a closing chapter to the work of gathering up the threads of his argument and weaving them into one whole. But he is content with a few sentences, in which he speaks of 'nine distinct presentations,' and briefly characterizes each. What we miss is the constructive power which would show the relation to one another of these several portraits of a great Figure and vindicate their unity against the assaults of modern criticism. But Mr. Parkin has given us a series of interesting studies, for which we should be thankful. We have noticed a few misprints, e.g. Shûrer (p. 78), and we may add that to our eyes the transliterating into English of Greek words presents a very awkward appearance.

The Four Gospels in the Earliest Church History. By Thomas Nicol, D.D. (Blackwood & Sons. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Professor Nicol feels that the first line of defence for those who have to maintain the credibility of the Gospel history is the external evidence, and this he has stated in the light of the most recent research. The opening chapter, on 'Earlier Critical

Theories,' gives a very clear account of the positions held by Paulus, Strauss, and Baur, and this is followed by a discussion of the criticism of Schmiedel, Pfleiderer, and Kalthoff. Having thus described the attack Dr. Nicol shows what views as to the Gospels were generally accepted about 200 A.D., and works back to the verge of the Apostolic Age. He gives brief historical sketches of the witnesses whom he calls in, and discusses their claim to be accepted as competent and reliable. After this survey the Gospels themselves are studied with a view to bring out all that concerns their authorship. Every position is made clear as the argument proceeds, and the judicial calm with which the investigation is conducted is most impressive. The result reached is that the four Gospels may reasonably be concluded to have been written by the Evangelists whose names they bear and to whom they were ascribed by the almost unbroken tradition of seventeen centuries. 'That tradition derives consistency and strength from the society within which the Gospels originated, and for whose spiritual requirements they were written—the Church of believers in Christ, which early spread over the Roman world.' It is a noble book, sagacious, candid, clear-sighted, and eminently reassuring for those who have been disturbed by rash critical theories. We are thankful that such a teacher holds the position of Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen. Young students will find the book of the greatest value and of the deepest interest.

Nestorius and his Teaching. A Fresh Examination of the Evidence. By J. F. Bethune-Baker, B.A. (Cambridge University Press. 4*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Mr. Bethune-Baker's *Early History of Christian Doctrine* had led us to expect other stimulating work from his pen, and we have studied this defence of Nestorius with deep interest. The newly recovered Apology, disguised under the title *The Bazaar of Heraclides*, lest those who regarded Nestorius as a heretic should refuse to read it, has led Mr. Bethune-Baker to the conclusion that Nestorius was not a heretic at all. His protest against the then popular term Theotokos, applied to the Virgin Mary, was not meant to deny the full Godhead of the Son, but to oppose the notion that our Lord's Godhead had its origin in the womb of the Virgin Mary. If that were so it was not Godhead as the Father's, and He who was born could not

be homoousios with God. Nestorius complained that in the Council of Ephesus (431) which condemned him, Cyril of Alexandria was 'the whole tribunal; for everything that he said was at once said by all of them as well, and they unhesitatingly agreed with him as the personification of the court.' The Reformers shared Nestorius' feeling about the term 'Mother of God,' and dropped it from the article on the Incarnation. Mr. Bethune-Baker maintains that Nestorius did not hold the belief attributed to him that in Jesus Christ two persons, the person of a God and a man, were mechanically joined together. He is as explicit as possible on this point. 'He did not think of two distinct persons joined together, but of a single Person who combined in Himself the two distinct things (substances), Godhead and Manhood, with their characteristics (natures) complete and intact though united in Him.'

Nestorius seems to have been the victim of much misrepresentation and misunderstanding. If he held the views attributed to him he said he would condemn himself. This is new light on a question that has exercised the minds of many theologians, and Mr. Bethune-Baker's scholarly examination of the subject will appeal strongly to all students of theology.

The Optimism of Butler's Analogy. By Henry Scott Holland. (Clarendon Press. 2*s.* net.)

Canon Scott Holland hopes that the moment is arrived in which Butler may again be drawn into the central currents of our intellectual life. The controversy with Deism is long since closed, but Butler's optimistic belief in human faculties, and in the fact that the universe is an organic whole from end to end, is an inspiration which our generation needs as much as that which first read the *Analogy*. He 'rested his whole argument upon the immediate and unquestioned reality of material phenomena and upon the validity of human experience.' Canon Holland thinks 'probability' the most unlucky title Butler could possibly have chosen to describe the 'effective certitude' on which he insisted. Yet his conception of the 'vast scheme of one progressive Ideal, moving ever towards its completion, until it embraces the whole sum of things' is lofty optimism; indeed, Butler may be compared with Browning, who set himself to sing the optimistic creed. He appeals to his readers to go forward through Natural Religion to Revelation. The vision of a universe held together in a coherent and progressive

purpose never fails him. Reason and Religion are at one; moral and intellectual growth coincide. That is his gospel, his optimism, and Canon Holland asks: 'Is there any intellectual gospel that will more aptly meet our needs, under the strain of a day like our own, darkened by much depression, loaded with heavy burdens, beset with unanticipated bewilderment, and yet conscious of a great hope labouring towards its fulfilment—of a light that can be felt behind the clouds?'

Century-Bible Handbooks. Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ. By Rev. W. B. Selbie, M.A. *Man, Sin, and Salvation.* By Rev. R. S. Franks, M.A. *The Apocryphal Books.* By Prof. H. T. Andrews, B.A. *The Early Church.* By Rev. R. F. Horton, D.D. (Jack. Cloth, 1*s.*; Paper, 6*d.*)

The series, of which these are the first issues, is after the model of the well-known Scottish series, which has had a very large circulation in the north. That the series will be equally helpful, both to teachers and students, is beyond doubt. The several volumes are by experienced writers, and are models of trustworthy, condensed information. They are by no means for mere beginners. For the most part they presuppose general knowledge of the subjects treated of, and, if they do not require, they will be better for the explanations of competent teachers. In such hands they would be invaluable as text-books of advanced study. Mr. Selbie's able booklet assumes acquaintance with modern theories of Christ's life and teachings, discussing as it does the problems arising out of the origin and close, the miracles, teaching, and ministry of the Lord. Dr. Horton's is a fascinating summary of early Church history, tracing step by step the development from the beginning through the New Testament and the sub-apostolic age. Here, again, knowledge of the facts is presupposed. Not the least merit is the impartiality and open mind so rarely met with in works on Church history. Mr. Franks' work is nothing less than a biblical theology including both Old and New Testaments, and giving a succinct and clear account of each doctrine from both standpoints. Any one who masters the brief treatise will be no mean theologian. *The Apocryphal Books* characterizes not only the Old Testament Apocrypha proper, but also the Jewish Apocalyptic Writings, the New Testament Apocrypha, Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, &c. The entire series gives

good promise of popularizing knowledge which has hitherto been the privilege of the learned few.

The Son of Man. Studies in His Life and Teachings. By Gross Alexander. Eighth Thousand. (Nashville.)

When this volume first appeared in 1899 Dr. Tigert hailed it as the first contribution to biblical theology made by any member of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Dr. Alexander was then Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Vanderbilt University. He is now the late Bishop Tigert's successor as book editor and editor of the *Methodist Review*. His book had a very favourable reception, and it continues to sell. It deals with many difficult questions of the gospel history, such as the Virgin-birth, the meaning of our Lord's baptism, His 'self-consciousness,' and His resurrection. There is room for diversity of opinion at some points, but Dr. Alexander is always sagacious and thoroughly well abreast of the best European theological scholarship on the subjects of which he treats. He owes much to Keim, Weisse, and Wendt, though he never follows them slavishly, but uses his own judgement. It is a very luminous and suggestive study, the popularity of which is an excellent sign for American Methodism.

The True Church, A Study (Historical and Scriptural). By A. M. Dulles, D.D., Auburn Theol. Seminary. (F. H. Revell. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

The number of works published on the nature of Church authority is proof enough that this is one of the critical questions of the day. Roman and Anglican advocates rest their case on this ground. The replies called forth are equally numerous and, we think, more cogent. The present volume, containing the substances of college lectures, goes over the whole ground in a popular style. 'This book is but an argument. It makes no pretence to furnish information concerning the Church.' The two concepts of the Church always in view are the Catholic and the Evangelical. Gore, Moberly, Mason are the spokesmen on one side; Hatch, Lightfoot, Harnack on the other. There is nothing original in matter or mode of treatment. Still, the main points in the great argument are forcibly expounded and their bearings shown. There is a good bibliography, and the number of writers referred to in the body of the work is very large.

What is Truth? By L. B. (E. Stock. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.)

A spiritually minded and suggestive book with a worthy enthusiasm for 'the little ones' of the nation. 'When you have placed them in clean and wholesome surroundings, secure from the neglect and brutality of unnatural parents, that will be time enough to educate them. Though the salvation of the parents may in some cases be hopeless, the salvation of a young child can never be hopeless, and the money expended in feeding, clothing, housing, and educating these little ones, making them decent, honourable citizens, will repay itself many times in the saving of expense connected with criminal punishment and the Poor Law.'

In Defence of the Old Faith. By John A. Bowman. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1*s*. net.)

The title of this book is misleading, for it denies the divinity of Jesus Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity, whilst it admits that God gave Christ power to work miracles in proof of His Messiahship. The book is a strange mixture of reverence and quiet audacity.

The Epistle to Diognetus. By the Rev. L. B. Radford, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 1*s*. 6*d*.)

Mr. Radford's scholarly introduction discusses the history and date of the text, the contents and some critical opinions of this remarkable Greek letter, which probably was written in the latter part of the second century to answer the questions of an inquirer as to Christianity. The translation reads well, and there are full notes. It is one of the invaluable Early Church Classics.

Human Nature a Revelation of the Divine. By Charles H. Robinson. (Longmans. 6*d*. net.)

A cheap reprint of an able and convincing argument for the inspiration of the Old Testament, drawn from the unique character of the spiritual teaching which it contains. It will help many whose minds may have been disturbed by advanced critical teaching.

Messrs. Methuen have added to their LIBRARY OF DEVOTION *Devotions for Every Day of the Week and the Great Festivals* (2*s*.). They appeared in Wesley's *Christian Library*,

and were written by John Austin about 1650. A complete system of doctrine intended to instruct and guide the devotions is woven in with the prayers and psalms. The book is worthy of a place by the side of Bishop Andrewes' *Private Devotions*.

Sermons by a Suspended Vicar, by R. C. Fillingham, M.A. (Francis Griffiths. 2*s*. 6*d*. net). Mr. Fillingham regards Modernism as the great deliverance, and his book is an attempt to popularize it. He permits himself to use strange language about the God of the Old Testament. 'He was very touchy: very apt to lose His temper.' By the divinity of Christ, Mr. Fillingham means that 'He was full of God, always talking *to* God, always talking of God; no personality so thoroughly spiritual ever moved among men.' He ventures to say that 'in the Church of England Ascensiontide is, for the most part, a simple Saturnalia of Irrationality.' Such a volume is very painful and disquieting.

St. Paul's Illustrations, classified and explained by Robert R. Resker (T. & T. Clark, 6*d*.). The arrangement is very clear, and the erplanations excellent. It is a little book which we can strongly commend to teachers and Bible students.

Our Friends the Angels, by Irene Palmer (Elliot Stock, 3*s*. 6*d*. net), is a helpful survey of the Bible passages which refer to angels. They are arranged in order from Genesis to Revelation with suggestive comments. The book is devout, and throws new light on some familiar passages.

The Christianity of To-day, and other Essays, by Uno (Francis Griffiths. 2*s*. 6*d*. net). The first essay in this volume is levelled against the inconsistencies of Christian men, which the writer regards as a dishonour to religion; the papers on tone-deafness and music appeal largely to musicians. All are full of ideas, and will set others thinking.

Bishop Wordsworth has written a lecture on *The Invocation of Saints and the Twenty-Second Article* (S.P.C.K., 6*d*.), in which he shows with assured mastery of the whole subject that the article forbids 'all use of direct Invocation of Saints.' 'The devotion called *Ave Maria*, or *Hail Mary*, is recommended for use by English Churchmen,' but the bishop insists that loyalty to the Church of England requires that such teaching and practices be abstained from.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham. By Elizabeth Raikes. Illustrated. (Constable & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Miss Beale shrank from the thought of a Life of herself, though she realized that her many 'children' trained at Cheltenham, and the work she had done there, would make such a volume necessary. She left ample material for it in the form of letters, diaries, and autobiographical fragments. In one of these fragments she hints that some reminiscences of the state of things as regards education when she began her work forty years ago, 'and some traces of the way in which the Potter has formed the vessel for the service of the household may perhaps be allowed.' Her father belonged to a Gloucestershire family, and after training at Guy's Hospital practised as a doctor in partnership with his brother in Essex. In 1824 he married a Miss Camplin, who was of Huguenot extraction. In 1830 they came to live in St. Helen's parish, Bishopsgate, where Dorothea Beale was born in 1831. She was one of a large family, and the relatives on both sides of the house were cultivated and scholarly, so that the growing children heard much thoughtful and intellectual conversation in their father's house. Dorothea passed from the care of daily governesses to a school at Stratford-le-Bow. Ill-health compelled her to leave at the age of thirteen. Then began a time of self-education, which was probably of greater service than any existing school would have been. She read the first six books of Euclid, and made considerable progress in algebra. In 1847 she went to a school in Paris, but this was brought to an end by the Revolution of 1848. She was now seventeen, 'a grave, quiet girl, with a sweet, earnest expression and deliberate speech; also with a sunshiny smile and a merry laugh on occasion. She was remarkable even in a studious, sedentary family for her love of reading and study.' The opening of Queen's College, Harley Street, in the year of her return from Paris, gave a wide field for her energies. She was one of the earliest pupils, with Miss Buss, Miss Jex-Blake, and Adelaide Anne Procter, whose simple holland dress without ornament, bands of dark hair,

pale complexion, and regular features were noted by a young fellow student. At Queen's College Miss Beale studied mathematics, and in 1849 became the first lady mathematical tutor. In 1854 she was appointed head teacher in the school under Miss Parry. She resigned two years later, as she felt the administration was getting too much into the hands of one person, and there was not enough scope for that womanly influence which she deemed of such importance in the education of young girls. The step was greatly regretted by Dr. Plumptre and the leading spirits at Queen's College, but it showed that Miss Beale already had the courage of her convictions. She now became head English mistress of the school for clergymen's daughters at Casterton, near Kirkby Lonsdale. The strain of teaching a large number of subjects was very great, and the school needed to be thoroughly reorganized. The Committee listened to her views, but at last it was intimated to her by the chairman that it would be best that her connexion with the school should cease. This was a great blow at the time, but she recognized afterwards that it had had its place in fashioning her life-work. Her father's support of her action was a special help. She now devoted her strength to *The Student's Textbook of English and General History*, and wrote her little book on the Deaconesses' Institution at Kaiserwerth, and another on *Self-Examination*. In July 1858 she was elected Principal of the Cheltenham Ladies' College, which had been opened four years before, and had met with such small success that it was proposed to give it up. Fortunately it had a few far-seeing friends who resolved to struggle on, especially as the lease of Cambray House had still two years to run. Some difficulty was caused by a report that Miss Beale's religious beliefs were 'dangerous,' but this storm blew over. From the first her hand was felt remodelling and developing the school. She was not able to introduce science or mathematics into the curriculum. Euclid might have been the death of the college, so she was obliged to wait for the tide. Her predecessor had opened a rival school, which drew off the elder pupils; but Miss Beale's quiet dignity, her strength and personality, her power of influence, soon made a deep impression. The school seemed 'in the eyes of the world slowly perishing, but was really sinking strong foundations.' In the last half of 1859 there were only sixty-five pupils, and just a few pounds in the bank. Miss Beale took on herself the fretting business of making the

college pay. When the lease of Cambray House expired no one was willing to face the responsibility of renewing it. The owner consented, however, to let it on a yearly tenancy, and Miss Beale found a skilful financial helper in Mr. Brancker, so that by 1864 the college had a hundred and thirty pupils, and all pressing anxiety for the future was over. Difficulties of many kinds were met and conquered. New subjects were introduced, despite the complaint that girls would be turned into boys by studying the same subjects. Longer morning hours were substituted for morning and afternoon school. So the college grew, not only in outward prosperity, in teaching power, in accommodation for classes, but 'the invisible fabric of mind and will and heart, co-ordinated by one great idea, was slowly being raised.' Miss Beale was the soul of the whole enterprise. She did not seek personal popularity. She felt that the influence of the Principal should be through the teachers. 'If you want a thing done, do not do it yourself,' she regarded as the daily motto of a ruler. In teaching her 'aim was to inspire. She sought but little to inform, but much to kindle a thirst for knowledge, a love of good and beautiful things, and to awaken thinking power.' She used to prepare her Bible lesson on her knees, and for this task her greatest force was reserved. This book will make a strong appeal to teachers. Miss Beale's devotion, her insight, her tenacity of purpose, her readiness to acknowledge her mistakes, all contributed to the influence she exerted on teachers and scholars. She built up a lasting monument by her forty-eight years at Cheltenham, and her noble generosity showed that her whole heart was in the work of female education. Not less interesting is the story of her religious life. She was a strong High Churchwoman, but the struggle which she had with scepticism in 1882 left her enriched with large sympathy for those who were tossed about by doubt. She was willing to suffer if she might help those she loved to reach a stronger confidence in God. She wrote of one whose calling was to teach others—'You say he has been reading sceptical books; I want him to go on doing so. He must know how deep the questions go, or he will be fighting windmills, as I have done.' Her own faith grew richer and more assured up to the end of her long life of service.

An Autobiography. By Herbert Spencer. Two vols. (Williams & Norgate. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These volumes were first published in 1904 at the high price of 28*s.* net. It is a boon to have this cheap issue within four years, and the work is one of the greatest interest. It is a frankly egoistic revelation of the training and the mental development of a singularly original worker who devoted his whole strength to a self-appointed task. But that higher interest, which has already been generally recognized, does not make it less interesting to watch the philosopher in other circles. His earliest work was done as a teacher, but he soon left this sphere to become a railway engineer. In these days he had one exciting adventure on the Birmingham and London line. He wished to get to Harrow, but the train by which he was travelling did not stop there. A coach-truck was attached, and was uncoupled some time before he reached that station. It had no brake, and the gradient made it run far past Harrow. It finally came to a stand near Willesden. Spencer knocked up the man at the level crossing, and together they pushed the truck back to a siding, though they ran it off the rails in doing so. Many glimpses of early railway times are given in the first volume. When Spencer turned his attention to literature, Lewes took him to see Carlyle, but he found that he 'must either listen to his absurd dogmas in silence, which it was not in my nature to do, or get into fierce argument with him, which ended in our glaring at one another.' He therefore dropped the acquaintance, though the originality and vigour of Carlyle's conversation made other visitors disregard the manner for the sake of the matter. Spencer became intimate with Miss Evans, George Eliot, in 1851, and persuaded her to write fiction. He regarded her 'as the most admirable woman, mentally,' he ever met. 'I am very frequently at Chapman's, and the greatness of her intellect, conjoined with her womanly qualities and manner, generally keep me by her side most of the evening.' Each stage of Spencer's philosophical work is described, and the volumes give pleasant glimpses of John Stuart Mill, Tyndall, and Huxley. The descriptions of travel and holidays are full of bright and good passages.

Jean Racine. By Jules Lemaitre. (Calman Levy. 3*f.* 50*c.*)

This study is divided into ten conferences, which begin with Racine's infancy and his education at Port Royal. We

see his early literary struggles, and watch him gain assured fame and position as the greatest tragedian of the French stage, who was penetrated with the beauty of the Greek models, yet, under classic forms, dealt with the questions which are near to the heart of all generations. The tragedies of Racine are intensely human, and all his work is enveloped in poetry. M. Lemaitre gives sketches of his contemporaries and friends, and an estimate of each of his masterpieces. Then we watch the heroic moment of his life, when the man who had the dramatic world at his feet renounced the theatre in order to cultivate his religious life. The fact is almost unique in the history of literature. At the age of thirty-seven, and after the brilliant success of *Phèdre*, Racine retired from the field where he had won his laurels. He had gained renown, he was in the full tide of his genius, but he now set himself to an exact practice of Christian morals, and repudiated entirely, and without looking back, what had been for him the principal reason of living. He was handsome, elegant, brilliant, a charming talker, a man of the world and the court. He had strong friends and many enemies; but now he married a homely woman, whose letters show that she was full of good sense, though she had not read one of his tragedies. In early life he had revolted against Port Royal, because it stood in the way of his ambition, yet its influence worked secretly. His aunt, who was the head of the convent, continued to write to him, and at last he was brought back to the fold. The subject has taken hold of M. Lemaitre, and the grace and force of this study have already made a deep impression in France.

Life and Letters of H. Taine, 1870–1892. Abridged and translated from the French by E. Sparvel-Baily. (Constable & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This is the third and concluding volume of *Taine's Life and Letters*. It covers the period of the Franco-German War, which was the saddest time of the great writer's life. In spite of his defective eyesight, he sought to be enrolled among the National Guard, but his health was so weak that the Army doctor refused his application, and advised him to leave Paris at once. The whole story of disaster and disillusionment is here. 'The foollshness of our rulers is beyond all words,' he writes when the enemy was just outside Paris. 'They know absolutely nothing as to the strength of the Prussian Army,

and nothing of the national spirit of the Germans.' Sorrow and anxiety seemed to sap Taine's energy, and he could get up no vigour for his work. In February 1871 he tells a friend, 'My mind has worn mourning for the last six months.' It is a relief to pass on to his English visit in the following May. He describes London as 'a colossal city of enormous wealth, and with ragged beggars going about barefoot, with little twists of paper to protect their sore toes. Mean alleys at the back of sumptuous streets, massive trees and beautiful verdure in streets full of sooty fog that chokes up one's throat and nose.' News of the horrors in Paris made him exclaim, 'The miscreants! The savage wolves! And with petroleum! What can be saved from such flames! The Prussians would never have done as much!' At Oxford he went with Dean Kitchin to visit Iffley, dined with Jowett, met Dean Stanley and Lady Augusta, Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, and other celebrities. Every page in this volume has its own interest. He is anxious about his daughter's studies, and begs her not to read some English poetry, which he compares to morphine. The lyric poems of Mrs. Browning are placed in this Index Expurgatorius. As to religion, he thinks that what seems 'incompatible with modern science is not Christianity, but the Roman Catholicism of to-day; abroad a liberal Protestantism seems to offer conciliation.' We are grateful for the completion of this work, and the abridgement and translation seem to be very well done.

Essays Political and Biographical. By Sir Spencer Walpole. Edited by Francis Holland. (T. F. Unwin. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The reminiscences prefixed to this volume by Mrs. Holland give a pleasant impression of her father's boyhood and his younger days when he was Inspector of Fisheries with Frank Buckland. His old colleague's sunny friendliness used to charm those who came before the Board as reluctant witnesses into a willing pouring-forth of all they knew. Sir Spencer had the same spirit. His universal kindliness, his simplicity of soul, were manifest in all he did. The ten papers in this volume are on George Savile, Lord Halifax; Sidney, Earl of Godolphin; George Crabbe; The Croker Papers; Madame de Lieven; Lord Granville; The History of the Cabinet; The Dining Societies of London; The Causes of the American Civil War; and Mr. Frank Buckland. The first two articles are excellent speci-

mens of the ample and well-digested knowledge and strong sense which we have learned to expect from the writer's *History of England*. Here is his portrait of Halifax. 'Few men who have filled a great place in the history of this country have displayed more brilliant qualities than Halifax. As a statesman he was the first orator of his age. But, unlike most great orators, his pen was as efficient as his tongue; and it was as easy for him to influence thought by a pamphlet as to sway the House of Lords by a speech. In private life his wit and knowledge made him one of the best talkers of the day; and he knew how to win men so different as Bishop Burnet and Charles II.' The lecture on Crabbe is a happy tribute to one who had 'a mastery over the English language and a capacity to move the heart which few of our great writers have excelled.' It may be strongly commended to those who wish to get a clear and compact estimate of the East Anglian poet. The article on 'The Croker Papers' is concerned largely with the light they throw on the character and work of Sir Robert Peel. Sir Spencer does not think Croker himself either a great politician or a great writer. The estimate of Lord Granville will be read with pleasure. It is mainly concerned with his public career, in which he showed himself 'neither hard enough nor stern enough to deal with the troublous circumstances in which his lot was cast.' He brought to the Foreign Office the feelings and instincts of a gentleman, and could scarcely realize that some of those with whom he had to deal were made of baser metal. A good deal of information which it would not be easy to find elsewhere is given in the papers on the Cabinet, and the dining societies of London, whilst the tribute to Frank Buckland is full of good stories which bring out the endless eccentricities of that delightfully lovable being. 'When he was studying oysters, he would never allow any one to speak; the oysters, he said, overheard the conversation, and shut up their shells. More inanimate objects than oysters were endowed by him with sense. He had almost persuaded himself that inanimate things could be spiteful, and he used to say he could write a book on their spitefulness. If a railway lamp did not burn properly, he would declare it was sulky, and throw it out of window to see if it could find a better master. He punished his portmanteau on one occasion by knocking it down, and the portmanteau naturally revenged itself by breaking all the bottles of specimens which it con-

tained, and emptying their contents on its master's shirts.' This is a volume so varied, so interesting, and so instructive, that it is bound to find a large circle of readers.

A History of the Ancient Egyptians. By J. H. Breasted, Ph.D. With four Maps and three Plans. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6*s*.)

Dr. Breasted is Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History in the University of Chicago, and this book is 'based directly and immediately upon the monuments, and in most cases upon the original monuments.' To write it he has copied or collated the monuments still standing in Egypt or installed in the museums of Europe ('the latter *in toto*'). That complete version was published at Chicago in five volumes in 1906–7. Full information is there given as to the bibliography of each monument. The present volume is mainly a condensation and abridgement of the larger work. The recent discovery of the Hittite capital in Asia Minor has supplied new facts, which have been incorporated in this history, and has shown that the civilization of the Nile is older than that of the Euphrates. Dr. Breasted's journey through Sudanese Nubia, in the winter of 1906–7, 'cleared his mind of a number of misconceptions of that country, especially economically, while it also recovered the lost city of Gem-Aton, and disposed of the impossible, though current, view that the Egyptian conquest was extended southward immediately after the fall of the Middle Kingdom.' The Introduction gives a survey of the chief physical features of Egypt, and a general view of the history which will be very helpful to a student. Then the whole course of the history is followed in a way that will hold the attention of every reader. Much light is thrown on the daily life and religious beliefs of the Egyptians, and there are some incidental references to the Israelites and to Joseph's story, but here the monuments are vague. The book is as pleasant to read as it is reliable, and the maps and plans are the best that could be produced.

Light from Egyptian Papyri on Jewish History before Christ. By Charles H. H. Wright, D.D. (Williams & Norgate. 3*s*. net.)

This volume is really a supplement to Dr. Wright's two previous books on Daniel. He categorically denies Dr. Marcus Dods' statement that Daniel's 'predictions of events subsequent

to the Exile are so minutely exact as to betray an acquaintance with the history of the third and second centuries B.C.' Dr. Wright shows that there is little information to be discovered from the Book of Daniel as to the Maccabean insurrection and the grievances of the Jewish people. 'So far from the events "prophesied" or "recorded" being of the character which would naturally have been expected in a book designed to arouse a sleeping nation to indignation and fury, the account afforded, one might almost say, is tame to an extreme.' The papyri discovered recently at Elephantiné are in Aramaic, which, to all intents and purposes, is the same as that in Daniel and in Jeremiah x. (11). The arguments used to demonstrate the theory that Daniel could not have written such Aramaic as exists in the book that goes by his name have now been absolutely overthrown. Dr. Wright gives an interesting account of the three recently discovered Aramaic papyri edited by Dr. Sachau of Berlin, which describe or refer to the destruction of a Jewish temple in Elephantiné at the instigation of some Egyptian priests of the ram-headed god Khnub. The little book shows what welcome light the papyri are throwing on many biblical questions.

The World's Epoch-Makers. Wyclif and the Lollards. By J. C. Carrick. (T. & T. Clark. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

We find it difficult to understand how the editor of this series, certain volumes of which have been excellent, can have passed the extraordinarily weak and inaccurate patchwork on Wyclif, every page of which shows that the writer has few qualifications for a difficult task. We have marked so many errors that we grew tired in our task. On p. 8, for instance, we have two blunders characteristic of the whole work. 'St. Anselm, the author of the *Cur Deus Homo*,' was not 'Abelard's teacher,' but Anselm of Lucca, a very different man; nor was Bernard of Clairvaux 'Abelard's keenest opponent,' the author of 'Jerusalem the Golden.' After this it is a small matter that on the next page Albigensians are called 'Scripture-Christians,' and identified with Waldensians; that a 'monk named Richard Longland' is the author of *Piers Plowman*, or that Claude of Turin founded the University of Paris (!). But of the researches of Denifle into the rise of universities, as in fact of all literature bearing directly or indirectly on his subject later than Lechler, the writer seems to be ignorant. We have here all the

old myths—Wyclif born at Spresswell, educated at Egglestone, Duns Scotus an inmate of Merton, Wyclif's first work, *The Last Age of the Church* (!). A writer who could be guilty of this last astonishing blunder, abandoned by all scholars for thirty years at least, is capable of anything, even of deriving Dominican from 'Dominicanes, or *dogs* of the Lord!' But to give a list of blunders would exhaust the patience of our readers. Excepting for a few pages, the whole volume is a hash of out-of-date authorities, utterly unworthy of the reputation of a firm such as T. & T. Clark.

Makers of the Scottish Church. By the Rev. W. Beveridge, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 2*s.*)

This is a little book which Scotchmen will be proud of. It illustrates what Mr. Beveridge calls progress by personality, and sets the great drama of the Scottish Church, from the times of Ninian and Kentigern down to Chalmers and Rainy, in motion before our eyes. The lives selected form a chain of history, and Mr. Beveridge writes so freshly and handles his material with such skill, that it is a pleasure to pass with him from generation to generation. The chapter on Columba, 'the greatest and most massive figure in early Scottish ecclesiastical history,' is an admirable epitome, and 'Queen Margaret' makes a lovely portrait. Full justice is done to Thomas Chalmers, but we are even more interested in the sketch of 'Robert Rainy,' 'a real Maker of the Church,' whose 'name will stand beside those of Knox, Henderson, and Carstares.' We are grateful for this living panorama of the religious history of Scotland.

The Life Story of the Right Hon. John Burns, P.C., M.P. By Arthur Page Grubb. (Dalton. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Englishmen like to know all they can find out about John Burns, and this book is sure of a welcome. It is bright and vivacious, full of facts drawn largely from the statesman's own speeches. It is a record of which the boy who used to help his widowed mother to carry her basket of washing from Park Lane to Battersea may well be proud. Even then he had seen his vocation. 'Mother,' he said, as he struggled with his burden, 'if ever I have health and strength, no mother shall have to work as you have to, and no child do in life what I have to do.' That saying is the key to his whole career, and

we are thankful for such an attractive presentation of it as Mr. Grubb gives in this most readable volume.

Methodism in the West Indies. By the Rev. Henry Adams. (Robert Culley. 1s. net.)

It is not an easy task to compress the story of our oldest mission into a book of the Methodist Missionary Library size; but Mr. Adams has succeeded well in his attempt, and has given his readers a perfect vignette. He starts with the story of Nathaniel Gilbert, Speaker of the House of Assembly in Antigua in 1758, and finishes with the memorable session of the London Conference of 1907, when the Earthquake Relief Fund was subscribed. His six chapters cover the ground well, and picture the condition of the people before the abolition of slavery and after, the methods and experiences of the missionary, and the progress of the gospel. Incidentally, the flora and fauna of the beautiful islands are described, and the present prospects and needs of the population discussed. Altogether, this is an excellent little book, written with vividness and charm.

The Priory Church of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, Smithfield. By George Worley. (Bell & Sons. 1s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Worley starts with the life of Rahere, drawn from the illuminated manuscript in the British Museum, and shows how his church and hospital were begun about 1123. Ten years later a charter of privileges, including the dues of Bartholomew Fair, was granted by Henry I to the prior and canons. The spoliation which befell the Priory in the times of Henry VIII was followed by a long period of neglect and desecration. In 1809 the Lady Chapel was filled with modern tenements, the site of the north cloister was occupied by a blacksmith's forge, a public-house, &c. A fringe-manufactory was also established within the church. Mr. Abbiss, the rector, began the work of restoration in 1863, and skill and money have wrought wonders during the interval. Mr. Worley describes the building and its tombs with the help of plans and photographs, and gives a list of priors, rectors, and a description of the priory seals. An interesting chapter is added on the hospital and the church of St. Bartholomew-the-Less. There is no more interesting ecclesiastical building in London than Rahere's Priory

Church, and this little volume will be greatly prized and widely used.

Christian Biographies through Eighteen Centuries. By F. St. John Thackeray. (S.P.C.K. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

This portrait gallery begins with St. Paul and ends with John Wesley. The Vicar of Mapledurham notes a steady advance as he looks at the successive centuries through their representative men and sees how 'many an individual life has leavened the Christian body, and brought forth fruits worthy of its Founder.' The biographies are written with real skill and with a fine sense of the salient features of each man's life and character. Of Laud we read, 'Government, rule, authority, tradition, those were his sacred words. He appeared, it has been said, to the world always a schoolmaster armed with punishments, rather than the leader of a higher system.' Of Wesley we are told, 'He did not reflect his century. He wrought it into a new pattern. A spiritual force, a spiritual impulse—that was what his time wanted, and that he gave it. In this lies the secret of his work.' Mr. Thackeray looks at some points in Wesley's course through a Churchman's eyes, but the sketch is sagacious and felicitous. So is the whole book.

Foxe's Book of Martyrs. An Edition for the People. Prepared by W. Grinton Berry, M.A. (Religious Tract Society. 2*s.*) Mr. Grinton has omitted those extended examinations of the martyrs before their judges which fill so large a space in Foxe, and has disentangled his narratives from the lengthy dissertations of general religious history in which he delighted. Protestant readers have reason to be thankful for this edition.

The Religious Tract Society also publish a beautiful little book on *Bishop Hannington*, prepared by W. Grinton Berry, M.A. (1*s.* 6*d.*). About a third of it is taken from a volume of letters Hannington sent to his nephews. Mr. Berry has had other excellent material to draw from, and his book will bring many into the presence of a true Christian hero. It is a pleasure to read it, and the illustrations add much to its interest. A shilling edition of Legh Richmond's *Dairyman's Daughter, and other Annals of the Poor,* may be strongly recommended. It has three coloured pictures, and the type is very clear.

GENERAL

The Wheat among the Tares: Studies of Buddhism in Japan. By the Rev. A. Lloyd, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THE writer of this book is described by Basil Hall Chamberlain as 'the first authority on Japanese Buddhism who not unnaturally follows the lead of his Japanese instructors.' This gives us the explanation of much in Mr. Lloyd's book. How is Japanese Buddhism to be accounted for in its differences from the simpler and purer Buddhism of Ceylon and Siam? It is quite insufficient, in Mr. Lloyd's view, to say that the one is Mahayanist and the other Hinayanist. He says that Japanese Buddhism has had a history and development of its own, and that more than one variety of it has elements derived from Jewish and other Christian sources. Shingon Buddhism came either from Egypt or Babylonia, and, though containing many Indian elements, is essentially Manichaeism, and has kinship through Gnostic and other elements with Christianity rather than with Buddhism. Amitabha Buddhism has in it teaching from 'the contemporary prophets of the Exile.' 'Amida' is taken from the Jewish conception of God, and 'Sakyamuni' (a glorified and later Buddha than Gautama) represents Christian and Gnostic thought from Alexandria. The Mahayanist conception of Sakyamuni as the great Self of the Universe is so near the Christian conception of the Christ that it only needs the doctrine of the Cross to perfect it. The Eternal Christ and the Eternal Buddha are one. The writer seeks to establish their identity. He hopes to supply by his researches 'material for a new apologetic and a new weapon of attack and defence,' and thereby for 'the conversion of Buddhism to Christianity,' and through it 'a drawing closer together of the disunited forces of Christianity.' We are afraid his hopes will run in a lonely furrow, for the Christianization of Japan seems likely to proceed on other lines. But is Mr. Lloyd's contention of a large common basis for Christianity and Japanese Buddhism historically sound? We should say not, on the evidence given. He should have said much less or much more. He says his

book is 'an unsystematic exposition,' has been 'hastily put together,' and he asks pardon for not working things out in detail. He ought to be pardoned certainly, since he asks for it, but not without penance (he is either High Anglican or Romanist), notwithstanding the fact that his book is only the remnant of one burnt in Japan when passing through the press. The work consists of lectures before the Asiatic Society of Japan, and of papers from the *Japan Mail*, which presuppose a Japanese audience. We are afraid many readers will find it provoking through its want of unity, and also inconclusive, though in some aspects of its theme it is fascinating.

Ceylon Buddhism: Being the Collected Writings of Daniel John Gogerly. Edited by Arthur Stanley Bishop. (Colombo Wesleyan Methodist Book-Room.)

For forty years the writings of Mr. Gogerly have been buried in periodicals and journals difficult of access. Some have become so scarce that several pounds have been paid for volumes in which his essays appear. The Rev. John Scott tried to reproduce them in the Ceylon *Friend*, but he did not complete the series, and the *Friend* has become exceedingly scarce. Mr. Bishop has taken the utmost pains to form a complete collection of Gogerly's writings, and has been rewarded by some valuable discoveries. Every one agreed that the task should be undertaken, but no one was able to address himself to it till Mr. Bishop set his hand to the work. In his first volume we have: 'An Introductory Sketch of Buddhism; An Outline of Buddhism; The Books of Buddhism; The Laws of the Priesthood; The Pattimokkha.' The restrained tone of the essays is in striking contrast to Mr. Gogerly's controversial pamphlet, which produced a profound impression in Ceylon nearly fifty years ago. There he puts into popular form arguments drawn from his long experience. Here he laboriously brings to light the actual text of the Buddhist scriptures, allowing the text itself to speak for him. Mr. Gogerly's translations are still regarded as models, and subsequent workers are greatly indebted to him. He was a zealous missionary as well as a true scholar, and he knew how to set out the results of his vast knowledge in the clearest and simplest style. The Introductory Sketch of Buddhism and an Outline of Buddhism, which are both popular and scholarly, lead up to a discussion of The Books of Discipline. It is a careful study of the original

documents, and is followed by a translation of the precepts contained in the ecclesiastical code. The whole volume will be of the greatest value to students of Ceylon Buddhism, and will add much to the reputation of a man who went out to Ceylon as printer to the Methodist Mission press, and then became a missionary. He spent the rest of his life in Ceylon, never returning to this country even for a furlough. Mr. Bishop has earned the thanks of all scholars by the publication of this volume, which does great credit to the Mission Press at Colombo.

The Handbooks issued for the United Study of Missions are completed by the seventh volume on *The Nearer and Farther West*. (Macmillan. 1*s*. 3*d*.) Dr. Zwemmer is responsible for four chapters on Moslem Lands, which describe the character and conquests of Islam, its social evils, the story of missions to Moslems, and the work that remains to be done. The scene round the Kaaba at Mecca in the month of pilgrimage furnishes an effective opening to the description of 'A World-wide Religion' which numbers 200 to 250 million adherents. It would not be easy to find a more reliable and compact account of what Moslems believe, and of their 'Every-day Religion,' than is here given. Each chapter is followed by 'Helps for Leaders,' with suggestive 'questions,' a Bibliography, and Illustrative Selections. A Chronological Table is another excellent feature. Three chapters, on Siam, Burma, and Korea, are written by the Rev. A. J. Brown, D.D. The country, the religion, the mission work are described, and good maps are given. The handbook will serve its purpose admirably, but we can also strongly commend it to those who wish to have the best and latest information on the lands with which it deals.

In *Missions and Sociology* the Rev. T. E. Slater (Elliot Stock, 1*s*. net) shows that Christianity alone goes to the roots of the disease that has smitten humanity in every land. Experimental proof of its transforming and uplifting power is given in our Indian Empire, where Hinduism 'brands one-fifth of the population as social out-castes, and subjects them to shameful oppression through the inhumanities of caste,' and where twenty-five millions of innocent widows, numbers of them mere children, are condemned to a life of seclusion and despair. The spirit of exclusiveness has, however, begun to yield, female education is making steady progress, even among

the Brahmins. Mr. Slater says there is 'no aspect of Christianity likely to be more impressive in India than that it is an applied and sacred science for the uplifting of the oppressed and out-caste.' Christian missions are laying the foundations of a new social order, and if the Church at home can be led to realize this, and devote herself to bring in the kingdom of Christ, great days are in store for India. This is a timely and valuable little book from one who knows his subject.

Centuries of Meditations. By Thomas Traherne (1636?–1674). Edited by Bertram Dobell. (Dobell. 5s.)

Mr. Dobell gave the world rare delight four years ago when he published the *Poems of Thomas Traherne*, which had lain in manuscript more than two centuries, unknown and uncared for. He has completed his work by issuing this volume of *Meditations*, now first printed from the author's manuscript. The best judges have endorsed the editor's verdict as to Traherne, and the *Meditations* will confirm that judgement. 'To think well is to serve God in the interior court: to have a mind composed of Divine Thoughts, and set in frame, to be like Him within.' That is the note to which the meditations are tuned. The wonder of things lies on Traherne's spirit, and he knows how to make others share his reverence. 'The world is not this little Cottage of Heaven and Earth. Though this be fair, it is too small a Gift. When God made the world He made the heavens, and the heavens of heavens, and the angels and the celestial powers. These, also, are parts of the world.' To him man is the great miracle: 'The world is but a little centre in comparison of you,' and 'your enjoyment is never right, till you esteem every soul so great a treasure as our Saviour doth.' Man must be linked to man as he is linked to his Maker. 'God is Love; and you are His object. You are created to be His Love; and He is yours.' The Christian note comes out in the beautiful passage (91) beginning, 'O Jesu, Lord of Love and Prince of Life.' 'Let the length and breadth and height and depth of my love unto Thee be like Thine unto me.' The *Meditations* are arranged in four sets of one hundred each, with an unfinished century which has only ten pieces. The third century, which is a mental and spiritual autobiography, has some of the finest passages, among which a few golden poems are interspersed. Some useful notes have been supplied by Mr. Dobell and his friends. The book ought to be

often in the hands of all who are burdened with the world's cares and duties, for it touches chords of praise and reverent wonder which are too apt to grow silent.

Catholic Teaching in relation to Missions in the Far East, by J. Leonard Posnett (Robert Culley, *2d.*), contains a timely warning. The writer strongly urges that the zealous propagation of doctrines and ceremonies which assimilate Anglicanism to the Church of Rome means an untrue presentment of the Christian faith on the mission field, and that a revived apprehension and enforcement of evangelical truths in our own land would affect beneficially the world-movements which make for the Christianization of the nations.

A Brief Account of the University Press at Oxford, with Illustrations, together with a chart of Oxford Printing. By Falconer Madan, M.A. (Clarendon Press. *2s. 6d.*)

This history of the Oxford Press was undertaken at the request of Mr. Frowde. It begins with the year '1468,' the date on the first book printed at Oxford. The fifteenth-century press ceased in 1487, and it was not till 1517 that the second press got to work. It lasted three years, and published about seven books. In 1585 the University lent Joseph Barnes, an Oxford bookseller, £10 to establish a press, and the work remained in private hands till 1669, when Dr. Fell established the Sheldonian Press. In 1713 the Clarendon Building was opened. It was named after the Earl of Clarendon, and was largely built from the profits of his *History of the Rebellion*. This was the home of the Press till 1830, when new and stately premises were built in Walton Street. The 'Learned Press' employs about 300 persons, can do work in 150 languages, and turns out about one book for every working day of the year. The Bible Press employs about 400 persons, and produces a daily average of 3,000 copies of the Bible, besides Prayer Books. Mr. Madan gives 'Incidents and Curiosities' of the Press, with statistics and dates. The Illustrations are of unusual interest, and the whole get-up of the *Brief Account* is worthy of the Oxford Press.

Personalism. By Borden Parker Bowne. (Constable. *6s.* net.)

Professor Bowne's volume is a welcome addition to the growing mass of literature which supports the contentions of

Personal Idealism, not less so perhaps because it proceeds upon its own lines, with scarcely a reference to any other writer of the school, English or American, though teaching similar conclusions to those gained by Personal Idealists, and the majority of Pragmatists.

Idealism is the dominant philosophical theory to-day, but not every idealist accepts the personal standpoint. There is a school which professes great humility, and delights to cry: 'What is man, so tiny a creature in the immensity of the universe, to imagine himself its measure!' If mere mass and physical vastness are to be worshipped man is truly a poor creature, but with all the reproach that to these thinkers the term 'anthropocentric' conveys, there is no need for man to abase himself to the footing of a Uriah Heep, and grovel before the infinities of space, the eternities of time, and the immensities of matter. Christianity at least is unashamedly anthropocentric in revealing God dying for man, and if man believes that he may interpret God's love in terms of himself, he needs no apology for adopting a like attitude towards God's creation. Personalism is the form of philosophy which comes nearest to the Christian standpoint.

Professor Bowne's six chapters are six successive steps. The first contends that we are in a personal world which must be personally interpreted, whilst other chapters assert that the problem of knowledge implies a spiritual principle, and that causality is to be interpreted, not mechanically, but in terms of will. Another chapter shows that the physical world has neither existence nor meaning apart from intelligence. A third is critical, meeting idealistic impersonalism and naturalism; whilst the final chapter seeks to establish the personal attitude in religion and philosophy. The book is not written as many treatises are, on the presumption that the reader is an experienced philosopher. It takes nothing for granted, and is a lucid and continuous statement of the idealist position and its personal form. Towards religion its attitude is just and sympathetic. Altogether the book is a clear, meritorious, and persuasive setting of a method which promises to rid philosophy of its sterile formalism, and to make it instinct with humanity and usefulness. Personal Idealism has a valuable supporter in Professor Bowne.

The Grammar of Philosophy. By David Graham. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Graham is a man with a big stick, and he wields it upon the Donnybrook Fair principle, 'Whenever you see a head, break it.' In these pages, Idealists are 'Illusionists,' and are 'akin to lunatics,' Utilitarians are 'our gibbering friends the Futilitarians,' Mr. Edward Clodd has 'taken a double first at the University of Absurdity,' and so on for 370 pages of 'common-sense philosophy' and head-splitting, which the sub-title of the book denotes as 'a study of scientific method!'

Professedly Mr. Graham 'develops' the doctrines of the Scottish Common-sense School, though it is doubtful whether Reid would recognize this loyal Scot as his disciple. He is resolved upon the apotheosis of common sense as the one measure of the universe, and, as with most men, common sense means for Mr. Graham 'what I believe.' He draws up a list of necessary truths, the existence of space and time, the laws of number, Logic and Ethics, and the belief that everything contingent has a cause, and also that behind all apparent design there must be a designer. Most philosophers would regard it as needful to justify the assumption of so much philosophical capital, but Mr. Graham does not attempt any refutation of the ordinary philosophical standpoint, save by much *argumentum ad populum* and literary fisticuffs; indeed, he has hardly reached the Johnsonian stage of the discussion with Idealism, for instead of kicking a stone he prefers to kick the idealist. It is impossible to take seriously a volume of this character, which asserts without even a pretence at proof, and claims as self-evident whatever the author desires to establish. Common sense is certainly a desirable starting-point in philosophy, but it is not made the omega as well as the alpha by setting it up, riddled with contradiction as it is, and declaring that the man who does not accept it wholesale is a fool. With Mr. Graham's methods of controversy before him, the reviewer trembles to think what name will be invented for him if this notice meets the author's eye.

A Pawn in the Game. By W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6*s.*)

Dr. Fitchett's latest story moves among the tragic scenes of the French Revolution and the early days of Napoleon. Its hero is the son of a London banker, a widower of forty, who

becomes enamoured of a Frenchwoman in London, and marries her, despite the warning of his friend Charles James Fox. His boy pays dearly for his father's folly. His inheritance is snatched from him, and he is neglected and misused by his step-mother and her factotum in a way that makes one's heart bleed. But in these days the lad gets to know every nook of Paris, and goes to the military college at Brienne with the young Corsican, Napolione. At last he escapes to his uncle in England, where a large part of his inheritance is restored to him, and he gets a post at the Foreign Office. By-and-by he learns that his step-mother is in prison in Paris, with her daughter Denise. John Lawrence returns to France, and shares in the rescue of the ladies from the pikes of the mob. Mrs. Lawrence dies a few days later, but Denise comes to England. John is then sent on service to Egypt, and his experiences as slave to an Arab sheikh supply many a thrilling incident. The book is a moving picture gallery, in which Napoleon, Pitt, Fox, Sir John Moore, General Baird, and other notable figures, pass and repass. Dr. Fitchett is equally at home amid the Paris of the Revolution and the desert scenes which fill so large a place in the latter part of the story. John Lawrence is a hero of the best sort, who scorns falsehood, and finds daily strength in prayer. His love for Denise supplies a charming touch of romance to a book which will be eagerly read and greatly enjoyed.

The Wild Geese. By Stanley Weyman. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.)

We owe Mr. Weyman many a delightful introduction to the romance of old French life. There is no need to praise *A Gentleman of France*, but we turn to his *Count Hannibal* with never-failing pleasure. Mr. Weyman's English stories are not less charming, and his invasion of Ireland has given us a book that challenges comparison with anything he has ever written. Colonel Sullivan come back from the Swedish wars with a rooted hatred of bloodshed and quarrels. In the early days of George I this made many regard him as a coward. But the verdict is soon reversed. He quenches a rebellion in Kerry by his own wit and daring, and turns the hate of Flavia McMurrough into love and esteem. The study of Irish character, and the descriptions of life in the McMurrough household and among the officers at Tralee, are excellent. The book takes hold of us in the first chapter, and grows more entertaining up to the happy climax at the end.

Ray: The Boy who Lost and Won. By Rev. J. Williams Butcher. (Culley. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

This is the story of the stiffening of a boy's character by the 'rough-and-tumble' of school-life, and by the influx of a higher power. Except in unimportant details here and there, the story is true to life, and admirably told. Its tone, as might have been expected from our Connexional Sunday-school Secretary, is of the highest, and the character-drawing displays an exceptional knowledge both of boy-nature and of school-life. Manly and spirited, it cannot fail to rouse a response in every unsophisticated heart. Ray Nicholls, the hero, is a real boy with excellent qualities, but with many weaknesses of will and purpose. All he needed was a bit more backbone, and that was eventually put into him by the religion which came to him in a perfectly natural and beautiful way. Squire Wycherley and the Rev. Gerald Wood will also be popular with the readers of this thoroughly wholesome and attractive book. The story is nicely illustrated and enticingly bound. For senior boys it is an ideal gift-book.

Progress of the Church in London from the Accession of Queen Victoria to 1908. By the Bishop of Dover. (S.P.C.K. 1*s.* 6*d.*)

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a preface contributed to this volume, says, 'I attach a high value to this little book.' It is written by one who has taken a responsible share in providing for the religious needs of the metropolis, and gives many impressive facts and figures as to the growth of London since 1837, and church building after the Great Fire and in the reign of Queen Anne. This prepares for a description of the principal efforts made during the last seventy years to grapple with the religious needs of London. In the Appendix we have a list of churches which were in existence in each rural deanery in 1837, and of those built since then. There is also a chronology of events bearing on the subject of the book. The work deserves Dr. Davidson's praise, but it seems to need some general survey of the beginning and end of the period which would bring out more clearly the work that has been accomplished.

The Oxford edition of *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, edited with an Introduction and Textual Notes by H. Buxton Forman, C.B. (Frowde, 2*s.* net), contains all his verse and six-

teen lines of *The Eve of St. Mark*, which the editor found in a Keats scrap-book lent him by Mr. Frank Sabin. The portrait, by Joseph Severn, forms the frontispiece, and we have also Haydn's life-mask of the poet, type facsimile titles of Keats's three books, with a chronology and a list of books which Mr. Forman has consulted. The Introduction and Notes show with what skill and care the edition has been prepared, and this cheap copy will be hailed as a treasure.

The Hidden Gift and other Poems, by Kalamos (Spottiswoode, 2*s*. net). The writer of these poems has strong views on Genesis, Daniel, and the universality of the Atonement, and he expresses them forcibly in his verse. It is not high art, but there are some good lines here and there, and the tone is always devout. The prose is as infelicitous as the poetry.

Messrs. Chatto & Windus have added Mr. Mallock's *New Republic* (2*s*. net) to their St. Martin's Library. Ruskin, Jowett, Tyndall, Huxley, Matthew Arnold and other celebrities, under somewhat slight disguise, discuss culture, faith, and philosophy in a country house. It is a clever book, which often raises a smile, and at some points is a real help to faith.

Fina's First Fruits and other Stories, by Lena Tyack; *Joyce Macdonald*, by Ethel S. Cann; *The Bevans*, by W. T. Emms; *Those Boys*, by Faye Huntington (R. Culley), are already established favourites, and these cheap reprints will be welcomed by all who want to find pleasant stories with a good religious tone. Mabel Wynn does a great work among *Those Boys*, and her success will encourage many a girl teacher. Miss Tyack's stories are very fresh and moving; *Joyce Macdonald* will be popular with girls, whilst *The Bevans* tells how love healed a feud between two families.

From a Hertfordshire Cottage. By W. Beach Thomas. (Alston Rivers. 3*s*. 6*d*.)

The Introduction to this book is puzzling, but we suppose we have the photograph of Mr. Thomas and his wife in the frontispiece. The papers cover a very wide range of subjects: cloud-birth, birds, flowers, snails, gorse, weather, snow, and frost—everything about which a cottager thinks, though we are not sure that he would think, much less express himself, as Mr. Thomas does in these rather finely phrased chapters. But there is much pleasant matter here, in which every lover of the

country will feel an eager interest. 'Nightingale Haunts' brings out the fact that 'there are nightingales and nightingales.' One may have a rough, unpleasant voice, another pours forth 'a trembling, bubbling little cascade' of song. The paper on 'Gorse' is specially good. 'Nowhere abroad can we see what we may call the great "prairie fires" that are the spring and autumn wonder of the West of England.' The book is full of good things.

Charlie Bland, Bookmaker, a booklet by the Rev. J. Sadler Reece (Culley, 3*d.*), shows how attendance at a brotherhood meeting transformed a London gambler and drunkard. It is a striking story, told in a way that will make a deep and lasting impression.

Gold Producing Soil (Stroud: F. Steel, 1*s.* net). Mr. Newsome's account of French gardening will repay careful attention. Vegetables and fruit may by this system be produced practically at any season of the year. 'Everything is sown in the ground under shallow frames with glazed lights and under bell-glasses called cloches.' At Evesham, where a plot of about three-quarters of an acre was planted in the French method, about 400 frames and nearly 2,000 bell-glasses were required, and the produce was at the rate of about £700 per acre. Mr. Newsome gives full instructions as to the way to begin and how to make frames, mats, &c. It is the first work on the subject in English.

The Licensing Bill. A Catechism for Friends, Doubters, and Opponents, by W. R. Maltby (Culley, 1*d.*). No one should overlook this Catechism. It deals with the real points at issue fairly, clearly, and successfully. It will be greatly appreciated by all friends of temperance.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

DR. WILLIAM BARRY opens the July-September **Quarterly** with a most timely and brilliant article on some current *Forecasts of To-Morrow*, in which Mr. Wells's *Anticipations*, and *New Worlds for Old*, together with Prof. Petrie's *Janus in Modern Life*, and Von Hentschel's *Varuna*, are analysed and illuminated with searching annotations. In the three Utopias described, he shows, among other things, that freedom would be limited—that of the millionaire, that of the loafer, and that of the parasite. Summarizing part of Dr. Petrie's book, Dr. Barry writes: 'The number of parasites in our social system is amazing, and seems likely to be increased by those political leaders who regard taxation as inexhaustible, with no corresponding obligation to render a service where a benefit has been given. Distaste for work, craving for excitement—features of a decaying civilization, as shown on the later frescoes at Mycenae and notorious in Imperial Rome—have been remarked in every class of Englishmen as on the mounting hand. Smart society, its follies and its sins, may call forth the denunciations of a popular preacher; but more signlficance attaches to the quietly accepted Epicurean standpoint, from which our great middle-class judges of the life that now is as a thing to be enjoyed, because there is probably no other.' These are but a few sentences from an exceedingly opportune and useful article. There is also a valuable paper on *The First Homer*, based on Mr. Andrew Lang's *Homer and His Age*, and *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, by Mr. Gilbert Murray, in which Prof. Verrall, the writer, scores some interesting points in a perennial debate.

In the **Edinburgh Review** (July-September) there are three articles of general interest, one on *Hymnology*, *Classic and Romantic*, based upon the new edition of Dr. Julian's *Dictionary*, the *Roman Breviary*, by the Marquis of Bute, and the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gesanbuch*, published in 1883; another on *Port Royal*, based upon Sainte-Beuve and Mrs. Romanes, but displaying much independent judgement; and a third on *Herbert Spencer*, perhaps the best of all. So far from being a man of strong will and weak emotions, Spencer is said to have been '*par excellence* a man of weak will and strong emotions.' But his emotions were not predominantly of the tender kind. 'They were evoked far more by abstract ideals such as the ideal of justice. But the intensity of his feeling was very

great,' and this intensity of feeling kept him immersed, in spite of his natural indolence and impatience, in the subjects on which he wrote. Summing up Spencer's characteristics as illustrated in his *Life and Letters* and in his *Autobiography*, the writer says: 'One of the powers of the intellect we found to be abnormally developed, while the other was unusually quiescent; certain of the emotions we found to be very intense, while certain others were scarcely experienced at all; and a disposition, in which little active energy was present, we also found to be somewhat deficient in energy of will. A warning is conveyed to those who consider that education should invariably aim at an equal development of the mind on all its sides.'

The Dublin Review (July–September) prints a posthumous paper on *Shelley*, by the much-lamented poet, Mr. Francis Thompson, that will be greatly prized. To Mr. Thompson, Shelley was from first to last the enchanted child, and in this he finds the key to all his poetry. All of it springs from the child's faculty of make-believe raised to the *n*th power. He is always at play, only 'his play is such as manhood stoops to watch, and his playthings are those which the gods give their children.' 'Prometheus Unbound' is, in the eyes of the later poet, 'unquestionably the greatest and most prodigal exhibition of Shelley's powers'; but he has also the highest regard for 'Adonais,' though he does not fail to note the defect which prevents that great elegy from reaching the point of ideal perfection, its 'lack of Christian hope.' 'Were we asked to name the most perfect among his longer efforts,' he says, 'we should name the poem in which he lamented Keats; under the shed petals of his lowly fancy giving the slain bard a silken burial. Seldom is the death of a poet mourned in true poetry. Not often is the singer coffined in laurel-wood. Among the very few exceptions to the rule is "Adonais." In the English language only "Lycidas" competes with it.' Equally true and fine is his appreciation of the shorter poems and detached lyrics: 'Here Shelley forgets for a while all that ever makes his verse turbid; forgets that he is anything but a poet; forgets sometimes that he is anything but a child; lies back in his skiff and looks at the clouds. He plays truant from the earth, slips through the wicket of fancy into heaven's meadow, and goes gathering stars. Here we have that absolute virgin-gold of song which is the secret among human products, and for which we can go to but three poets—Coleridge, Shelley, Chopin, and perhaps we should add Keats.'

In the **New Quarterly** for June there are a number of extracts from the Note-books of Samuel Butler, the author of *Erewhon*. Referring to Matthew Arnold's famous comparison between Hebraism and Hellenism, he remarks: 'This sounds well, but can we think that the Jews, taken as a nation, were really more righteous than the Greeks and Romans? Could they indeed be so if they were less strong, graceful, and enduring? In some respects they may have

been—every nation has its strong points—but surely there has been a nearly unanimous verdict for many generations that the typical Greek or Roman is a higher, nobler person than the typical Jew. . . . If three men could be set before us as the most perfect Greek, Roman, or Jew respectively, and if we could choose which we would have our only son most resemble, is it not likely we should find ourselves preferring the Greek or Roman to the Jew? And does not this involve that we hold the two former to be the more righteous in a broad sense of the word?' It need hardly be said that Butler did not think too highly of Jewish literature. He thinks that a man would get the most useful information with respect to the ordering of his life from modern European sources; next to these he will get most from Athens and ancient Rome. 'Mr. Matthew Arnold notwithstanding, I do not think he will get anything from Jerusalem which he will not find better and most easily elsewhere.' In the same number the Hon. Maurice Baring has a striking paper on *Anton Tchekov*, the Russian poet and novelist. Tchekov, he says, has depicted for us the attitude of mind, the nature, and the feelings of this generation, just as Turgenieff depicted the preceding generation. 'He is a kind of Russian Guy de Maupassant without the bitter strength of the French writer, and without the quality which the French call "cynisme," which does not mean cynicism, but ribaldry. . . . Tolstoy is reported to have said that Tchekov was a photographer. . . . But he has one quality which is difficult to find among photographers, and that is humour. His stories are frequently deliciously droll. They are also often full of pathos, and they invariably possess the peculiarly Russian quality of simplicity and unaffectedness. He never underlines his effects, he never nudges the reader's elbow. Yet there is a certain amount of truth in Tolstoy's criticism.'

A French writer, M. Hamon, has discovered that Mr. Bernard Shaw is 'a new Molière,' and in the **Nineteenth Century** for July he gives his reasons for thinking that the Anglo-Irish dramatist will as certainly influence French drama as Molière influenced the drama of Europe. 'The influence of Molière has been considerable on authors of all countries, and there seems little doubt that Bernard Shaw will likewise have a considerable influence on future French and other dramatists. . . . France, the country which gave the world Molière and Beaumarchais, will necessarily love Shaw, their intellectual son. The Frenchman, whilst laughing and *se dilatant la rate*, to use the Rabelaisian expression, will understand the bitterness and the justice of the criticism with which Bernard Shaw lashes society. . . . France is the boulevard of nations, the point of confluence where mingle the social rivers of all nationalities, and by this very fact it comprehends in a greater degree the general human elements which abound in our author's drama. . . . To sum up in one word, the dramatic work of Bernard Shaw is more French than English, although it was written in the English language.'

Mr. H. G. Wells's Socialism is still in process of evolution, and in the **Contemporary** for August, under the title 'My Socialism,' he gives a most interesting exposition of his present views. He rejects the current forms of Socialism—the 'philanthropic administrative Socialism' of the British ruling class, the class-hatred Socialism of revolt, and, not least, 'that future Socialism of the specialist' found typically in the teachings of the Fabian Society. Socialism to him is something like 'the awakening of a collective consciousness in humanity, a collective will and a collective mind, out of which finer individualities may arise for ever in a perpetual series of fresh endeavours and fresh achievements for the race.' The writer elaborates his ideas in great detail, and is specially insistent on the duty of each person, while co-operating with his fellows, to educate and train himself to the utmost limit of possibility; to make the most of himself and of his life; to make himself 'fine and perceiving and expressive.'

Hibbert Journal (July).—Prof. William James begins in this number a series of articles on *Pluralism and Religion*. The present instalment is not very impressive. He protests once more against the 'hollow, unreal God of scholastic theology' and the 'unintelligible pantheistic absolutist monster,' offering us instead 'the more living divine reality with which we may hope that empirical methods will more and more connect our imagination as the folds and reaches of life get more fully explored.' We understand Prof. James's indignation against the first two types of Deity, but do not find our minds much illumined by the alternative he proposes; at present his meaning is anything but clear. Sir Edward Russell provides a sociological article on *An Appeal to Those at the Top*, showing how impossible it is for the upper classes in and of themselves to provide 'human justice for those at the bottom.' He suggests that instead of listening to the 'pitiful pleadings of philanthropists' we should address ourselves to 'the duty of searching investigation and the obligation of State action.' Yet even then 'human justice' may prove to be not so easily manufactured! An excellent article on *The Problem of Immortality* is from the pen of Prof. Rudolph Eucken, indicating the surest ground for belief in personal immortality for those who do not accept the teaching of revelation. President D. S. Jordan discourses on *The Religion of the Sensible American*, but it is clear that the word 'sensible' has different meanings for different minds. Other articles in a varied and interesting table of contents are: *The Religionist and the Scientist*, by Rev. Johnston Ross; *Science and the Purpose of Life*, by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen; and *The Burden of Language in Religion: a Catholic Study*, by W. J. Williams.

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—The one leading article in this number is on *The Heresy of the Phrygians*, by Dr. H. J. Lawlor. Its aim is to show the marked distinction between Montan-

ism as it was originally at the time of its rise in Phrygia, and the same movement as represented by Tertullian and those who were influenced by him in North Africa. Our information is necessarily drawn chiefly from the eloquent Latin Father, but enough evidence is forthcoming to enable scholars to discriminate between the later developments of Montanist doctrine and the utterances of Montanus and the two attendant prophetesses, Maximilla and Prisca, in the obscure Phrygian villages whence this remarkable movement sprang. On the two subjects of prophecy and asceticism the Montanists of Africa, in the early part of the third century, had dropped the more extravagant tenets which had found a congenial soil for growth in Phrygia. Dr. Lawlor's scholarly article will be found useful by the student, and singularly enough an article on the same subject appears in the current number of the American Journal of Theology, which compares the doctrine of the spiritual Franciscans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with their predecessors in the second.

Amongst the *Notes and Studies* this quarter will be found a long and careful study of the Leonine Sacramentary by Mr. Martin Rule, *Contributions to the Criticism of Zmaragdus's 'Expositio libri Comitis,'* by Prof. Souter of Oxford, and a note on the date of Nestorius's death by Mr. Bethune-Baker, whose volume on Nestorianism was recently issued by the Cambridge University Press. The two studies which we have found most interesting are the one on the parallels between the Lucan and the Johannine writings, and a discussion of the meaning of Luke xxii. 15, 16, by Prof. Burkitt. Critics are ready enough to mark discrepancies and contrasts in Scripture, but the underlying points of contact between St. Luke and St. John are most instructive. Mr. St. John Thackeray contributes an interesting page or two on the modes adopted in the LXX for rendering the Hebrew Infinitive Absolute.

Amongst the Reviews occurs a very severe criticism of Dr. C. R. Gregory's recent volume on the Canon, which is pronounced to be 'merely misleading' as an introduction to the study of the Canon. We are bound to say that the writer, Rev. A. E. Brooke, was warranted in pointing out certain serious flaws in Dr. Gregory's method and diction, but he hardly justifies so sweeping an indictment. The whole subject of the Canon of the New Testament needs elucidation. It is not easy to say what was implied in 'Canonicity' during the process of canon-forming in the second century.

The Expositor (July and August).—Prof. G. Adam Smith contributes two articles to these numbers, giving an account of a recent volume by Herr Alois Musil, which he says will long serve as an authority on the land of Moab. Till lately the topography and antiquities of Moab were very little known. Herr Musil's long residence in the country and careful scientific exploration of it have provided a fund of information of which Dr. Adam Smith gives a useful summary. Two articles are by Prof. J. B. Mayor on

the Helvidian *versus* the Epiphanian hypothesis concerning the brethren of our Lord. The author's views on this subject are well known from his articles in the *Dictionary of the Bible* and his volume on the Epistle of James; he here deals with recent articles and literature. Prof. Margoliouth's account of *Recent Exposition of Isaiah liii* is anything but satisfactory. He thinks that 'it is only archaeological discovery from which the ultimate confirmation of any hypothesis can be hoped.' Surely not a very satisfying answer to the question, 'Of whom speaketh the prophet this?' Prof. Eerdmans of Leiden writes to show that there is no proof of the theory that a period of nomad life preceded the settled life of the Hebrews in Canaan; hence laws dealing with agriculture are not necessarily of a later origin. Other articles are: *John the Baptist and his Message*, by Rev. E. F. Scott; a seventh instalment of Prof. Orr's valuable articles on *The Resurrection of Jesus*, and two articles entitled *Lexical Notes from the Papyri*, by Prof. J. H. Moulton and Dr. George Milligan. These it is impossible to summarize, but their cumulative value is very great.

The Expository Times (July and August).—The Editor's notes of Recent Exposition range from Dr. Hort's fragment on the Apocalypse, and M'Neill's commentary on Exodus to Dr. Rendel Harris's addresses on Aaron's Breastplate. Dr. H. A. Kennedy contributes two articles, in which he seeks to show the influence of Isaiah and the doctrine of the suffering servant upon the mind of our Lord, and his conviction that His Messianic career must end in death. The analysis of Christ's sayings and the apparent references in them to the Old Testament is very interesting, but, as Dr. Kennedy frankly admits, there are 'elements of profound importance in the self-consciousness of Jesus which wholly elude all attempts at analysis.' The very phrase, 'self-consciousness of Jesus,' which is German rather than English, indicates a point of view that many prefer not to occupy. Two articles by Rev. John Dickie, entitled *Modern Positive Theology*, give an interesting account of Prof. Seeberg as a 'mediating' theologian. His lectures on *Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion* have just been translated into English, and these articles should be read as an illuminating introduction to them. Dr. J. S. Banks's account of *The Argument from Experience* is good, but too short. Other papers in these numbers are by Dr. Moffatt on Harnack's *Acts*, Prof. Sayce on the *Archaeology of Genesis*, a review by Dr. Kelman of Dr. Dykes's *Christian Minister and his Duties*, and a discussion of the character of Saul, by J. C. Gregory, B.Sc.

The Church Quarterly is a strong and varied number. The opening paper on *The Lambeth Conference and the Union of the Churches* maintains that in view of the proposed union between Anglicans and Presbyterians in Australia, a great service of penitence and reconciliation is needed, and an extension of the commission amongst those religious bodies for their new work, which should be

'accompanied by a proper and regular laying on of hands. In no case would it be a new Ordination nor would it be a hypothetical Ordination. It would be simply an extension and regularization of the commission already given.' Mr. Egerton continues his study of Socialism. He claims that Ethical Individualism is the true alternative to Socialism. Dean Robinson's sketch of *Simon Langham, Abbot of Westminster*, is full of fresh matter as to the Abbey, and there is a useful paper on *The Theology of the Keswick Convention*.

Primitive Methodist Quarterly (July).—Twelve longer articles make up the present number, together with the excellent reviews by Dr. Peake and the editor. The first is on *The Differentia of Socialism*. The writer does not preserve throughout his article the same meaning of the much abused word 'Socialism,' but he is unquestionably right in saying that the great political question of to-day is 'the condition of the people question.' An examination of Mr. E. Gosse's *Father and Son* is entitled *Diagnosis of a Dying Puritanism*. Mr. H. W. Clark surveys in a dozen pages the general character of English literature in the nineteenth century. Dr. Powicke's article on *The White Stone, or the Method of Mysticism*, leads to the conclusion that 'every real Christian is a mystic, and the reason why most of us are less deeply initiated than some others is that we are not Christian enough.' Dr. George Matheson's Life well deserves the sympathetic appreciation it receives from Mr. B. A. Barber. The brief article on *Pragmatism* criticizes the indeterminateness by which that philosophy is characterized, but commends its insistence on the place in philosophy and religion of the purposive will of the individual. (Prof. Eucken's name is twice misspelled.) A vigorous article commends with emphasis the Licensing Bill of 1908, and holds that its defenders are 'privileged to take part in the last strong assaults upon the entrenchments of the Drink Monopoly.' Altogether an excellent number of this Review.

AMERICAN

Bibliotheca Sacra.—Prof. Louis Miskovsky of Oberlin contributes to the July number an instructive account of *The Unitas Fratrum*, or the Moravian Church. 'Its type of piety, manifesting both a wholesome seriousness and a sane realism, its quiet but effective aggressiveness, its unflinching heroism during a century and a half of ceaseless persecution, its persistence and revival after apparent extermination, are facts which impress even the cursory student of its history.' An interesting historical sketch leads up to the main question: What is the secret of the remarkable vitality and power of this unique Church? Prof. Miskovsky's reply is that apart from the fact that the *Unitas Fratrum* was 'built upon purely evangelical doctrines, being in reality a Reformed Church before the Reformation,' its success is due to 'its thorough organization and its mainten-

ance of the strictest moral discipline of all its adherents.' The vitality of the Moravian Church, as a regenerating and missionary force in the world, cannot be attributed to its theological achievements. 'The Reformed and Lutheran Churches produced profounder theologies,' and the same missionary spirit pervades this Church whether, as on the Continent, it adheres to the Lutheran symbols, or as in England and in America to the Reformed. 'The great lesson which the *Unitas Fratrum* has to teach our age is the value and need of well-regulated ecclesiastical government—better order and stricter discipline in our Churches. Of doctrines and machinery we have plenty; the one thing needful is life nurtured by wholesome discipline in the spirit of the Gospel of Christ.'

The American Journal of Theology (July).—Quite unintentionally, of course, three out of the four chief articles in this number point to the undermining of three main apologetic arguments, as they are usually presented, for the truth of Christianity. Prof. G. A. Coe answers the question: 'What does modern psychology permit us to believe in respect to regeneration?' by denying the contrast usually alleged to exist between the natural and the regenerate mind and refusing to admit discontinuity between the natural and the regenerate state. He also seeks to show that the argument, usually based upon the Christian experience of regeneration, is not a sound one. Prof. F. H. Foster, in investigating the function of New Testament miracles, undertakes to prove that the 'mighty works' of Christ and the Apostles were not intended to authenticate their mission, or introduce their doctrine to favourable notice, that miracles never did and never can attest a revelation, and, therefore, all modern apologies based on the miraculous are worse than useless. Prof. K. Fullerton deals with prophecy, and is much more moderate and reasonable in his contention that the argument from prophecy needs to be reformulated. The writer does not exhibit the anti-supernaturalistic bias which is characteristic of the other two articles, but he urges—as we judge, very properly—that the admission even of Calvin's principles of exegesis would put an end to certain untenable arguments from prophecy which some unwise apologists have put forward. Dr. D. S. Muzzey of New York writes with fullness of knowledge upon the relation between the Montanism of the second century and the teaching of those stricter Franciscans of the fourteenth century known as 'Spirituals.' He points out the elements of prophetic and ascetic enthusiasm common to both movements, but denies that the Franciscans can properly be classed with Montanists, whether of the earlier or the late type. The followers of Francis had a far higher and purer idea of Christianity, and a loftier standard of conduct than the Montanists, as they had a far nobler teacher and guide to follow in the Christ-like founder of their order.

The Reviews in this number are, as usual, very full and instructive. We observe amongst the rest a discriminating appreciation of Rev. J. Scott Lidgett's last work, *The Christian Religion*.

The Princeton Theological Review (July).—Dr. B. B. Warfield continues his interesting account of *The Westminster Assembly and its Work*. He has accumulated a large amount of information on the subject not easily accessible, and we do not know where else to find so good a summary of this particular period of ecclesiastical history as Dr. Warfield provides in these articles, already reaching the dimensions of a small book. Prof. Geo. S. Patton, under the title *Beyond Good and Evil*, describes and criticizes the teaching of Nietzsche. Prof. James Lindsay of Kilmarnock shows the importance of modern psychological studies in their bearing upon religion. The last of the four articles which practically constitute the present number is encumbered with a long title, *The Determination of Religious Value the Ultimate Problem of the Higher Criticism*, but it well deserves study. Dr. M'Pheeters has put his finger upon the most important feature in modern discussions about the Bible. We are glad to note among the Reviews an appreciation of Mr. Scott Lidgett's volume on *The Christian Religion*.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville, Ky., July).—Dr. Dargan is well known as one of the chief authorities in America on Homiletics, and his *Study of Homiletical Theory*, with which this number opens, is full of interesting historical notes on the sermonizing of the Middle Ages. Prof. Dawson Walker of Durham discusses St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, but he does not incline to the current fashionable theory that the four last chapters are a fragment of the earlier painful letter written by the Apostle. Other articles in the number are entitled: *Christian Mysticism a Testimony to the Spirit*, by C. J. Hawkins, and *What View of the Atonement is of Most Value for the Devotional Life?* by Prof. J. S. Gubelman.

The Methodist Review (New York, July-August).—President Buttz of Drew Seminary, in dealing with the Reunion of Evangelical Christendom, anticipates 'early and assured success' for the proposal to unite the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches in Canada, and considers this the 'most important Church movement in modern Church history.' Dr. Parkes Cadman, well known in this country, gives a very interesting account of a Methodist saint, Mr. William Owen of Old Park in Shropshire. An article on *Suggestions for Pastoral Visiting* is followed by another on *The Ideal Preacher*. The editor of this Review is always careful to provide good pabulum for ministers, for Prof. Tipple of Drew also discourses on *Pilgrim's Progress, a Book for Preachers*. Other articles are on *J. C. Shairp, John Milton*, and *Thomas Carlyle*. Mr. Horwill discusses the Government Licensing Bill under the title, *The Saloon in English Politics*.

The Methodist Review (Nashville, July).—The organ of the Methodist Church South very appropriately devotes the first article in this number to the memory of the late Bishop Tigert—a great

and sore loss, still deeply felt. L. H. Hough describes sympathetically the life and teaching of Dr. Dale of Birmingham. We confess to being 'offended' in the scriptural sense by the title and subject of the article on *The Absence of Humor in Jesus*. A paper by R. S. Smith on *Methodism's Duty to the Southern Negro* asks whether co-operation between the two great sister Churches of Methodism in America is visionary. Every decade is happily bringing those Churches nearer together. Bishop Hendrix's article on *The Migrating Nations* shows how the American Continent has become the pathway of the nations, and that the Churches ought to rise to the height of a great evangelistic opportunity.

FOREIGN

Theologische Rundschau.—The first article in the July number is an attempt to estimate the practical value for the expositor of Scripture of modern methods of critical study. The writer, Dr. Baltzer, begins by insisting that scientific investigation of the Bible, as an historical source, must be free from all assumptions. The influence which the Bible has exerted must, however, be taken into account at the close of the purely critical inquiry into the nature of its contents. A more thorough knowledge of what it is in itself will heighten and not lessen our appreciation of the results it has accomplished. The practical expositor is greatly indebted to the scientific exegete, on the results of whose labours he should gratefully build.

It is acknowledged that the expositor comes to the Bible with certain expectations; his object in using it is to strengthen faith. But these expectations ought not to be regarded as depending for their validity upon traditional views of the authenticity of any particular writing. Nor should the expositor test the value of scientific exegesis by its confirmation, or otherwise, of the meaning he desired to find in the text he is studying. In the words of Scripture there is not only doctrine, but life; in practical exposition it is essential to remember this great truth. The Bible has been so written as to be effective in imparting spiritual life. However we may formulate our theories of its inspiration, its effects prove that it is the word of truth.

Dr. Baltzer proceeds to show that scientific exegesis of Scripture cannot fail to have a practical bearing, provided only that it deals with the Bible as it really is. The exegete does sometimes lose himself in learned details, or in wordy controversies. But if he falls into this error, he fails to accomplish his principal task. Scientific exegesis is the handmaid of historical research. Its aim is to set religious truth in relation to contemporary life and thought. In so far as it succeeds in doing this, its results are of the utmost value to the practical expositor, inasmuch as they enable him to distinguish between the treasure he is seeking and mere ballast.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 15, Dr. Schürer writes in terms of high appreciation of Dr. George Adam Smith's *Jerusalem*. As compared with fifty years ago, the topography of the Holy City rests upon an entirely different basis, owing to the success which has attended the work of excavation. In his 'comprehensive work' Dr. Smith is said to have used the new material, thus made available, 'with extraordinary skill, but also—and this I desire specially to emphasize—with cautious judgement.'

In regard to the course of the third northern wall it deserves to be noted that last year, in a review of Kummel's work, Dr. Schürer expressed his agreement with Paton's view that its position was further north than the present wall. Recently in the *Revue biblique* Vincent has given reasons for rejecting Paton's conclusions, and Dr. Schürer acknowledges that the scale now inclines towards the opinion accepted by Dr. G. A. Smith, and that, in all probability, the third northern wall followed the course of the existing wall.

Dr. Schürer regrets that in the section which treats of *Economics* and of *Politics* Dr. G. A. Smith has imposed upon himself unnecessary restrictions. 'It is everywhere evident that it would have been easy for him to enrich his descriptions with more abundant details.' Agreement is expressed with the chapter on *The Multitude*, in which the author dwells on 'the fact to which hitherto too little attention has been given, that in Jerusalem, even in the Herodian-Roman age, assemblies of the people were held which appear to have been more than mere tumultuous gatherings of a mob.'

Of Book III, which deals with the *History*, Dr. Schürer says that it reveals, like the author's previous books, a 'master in Old Testament research.' Especial praise is given to the full and admirable account of the influence of Hellenism in Judaea before the Maccabaean revolt. Surprise is expressed that Dr. G. A. Smith has omitted the narrative of the Jewish War (A.D. 66–70), inasmuch as the title promises that the *History* is to be brought down to A.D. 70. It is true that these were years of destruction rather than of building; 'nevertheless, the story of the war raises many topographical questions.' A most commendatory notice closes with hearty admiration of the plans, maps and indexes, and with thanks for the *donum superadditum*, namely, 'the very beautiful photographs of the remarkable ruins of Arak-el-Emir in the East Jordan country.'

Religion und Geisteskultur.—In the July number there is an article of general interest on *The Modern Religious Movement in Italy*, by Count Salvadori of Pisa. This nobleman is also a University lecturer and a Doctor of Divinity; his handling of the subject shows that he is thoroughly familiar with the history of the Papacy as well as with contemporary movements of thought both within and without the Roman Catholic Church. The Modernists of to-day cannot, he maintains, be regarded as the successors of

the Catholic Reformers of the first half of the nineteenth century, who sought to reconcile philosophy with the doctrines of the Church, but did not attack authoritative dogma.

The reason why the Vatican cannot adopt the policy of Gamaliel in its dealings with the Modernists is clearly pointed out. The Roman Catholic Church claims to be the sole guardian of eternal truth, the only depositary of the divine will. Hence it cannot, without stultifying itself, grant to its members the right to discuss doctrine. The incompatibility of Modernism with *Roman* Catholicism is manifest; the Papacy requires absolute submission to its authority and unconditional respect for the dogmas of the Church. To be a Roman Catholic in faith and to accept Modernist principles of philosophical and historical criticism is impossible.

Count Salvadori's keen perception of the logical contradictions involved in the Modernists' position does not, however, make him unmindful of that which is admirable in the ideal they are striving to realize. They would fain reconcile traditional doctrine with modern thought and with the social aspirations of the new age. They would harmonize the truths of revelation and the truths of reason, and in order to accomplish this they would go behind ecclesiastical dogma to the teaching of Christ. They cry to the Roman Catholic Church: 'Enlarge the place of thy tent; . . . lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes'; but the far-reaching reforms implied in a response to this appeal are impossible in a Church which has 'often so far forgotten the spirit of the Gospel as to become the exact opposite of pure, original Christianity.'

Other Churches, it is true, have sometimes rendered themselves liable to the same condemnatory indictment. 'But,' says Count Salvadori, 'they have never claimed to be infallible.' The reform of the *Roman* Catholic Church is an impossibility; it boasts that its dogmas may be added to, but that they cannot be altered. A truly Catholic Church cannot exist until the meaning of the name of the *Roman* Catholic Church has been forgotten.

In the **Revue des Deux Mondes** for August 15 M. de Wyzewa has a delightful paper on *A Danish Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, by the Danish poet, Johannes Joergensen, which has recently been translated into German and published by Koesel of Munich. It is the first time for centuries, he says, that a Catholic poet has endeavoured to resuscitate the life and work of 'the patron saint of all the poets.' The paper is both descriptive and critical, the Danish being compared throughout with the French Life, by Paul Sabatier. No work of religious history has produced so deep and durable an impression in France, says the writer, as Sabatier's since Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, with which he compares it. But, in some respects, he does not think it equal to Joergensen's. The two are complementary, the former being full of facts, the latter rich in life, and 'revealing more fully the heart of the marvellous man whose figure and whose actions are perfectly set forth by Sabatier.'