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THE ASHES OF ANCIENT BATTLES

The British and French in the Peninsula

A History of the Peninsular War. Vol. III. By PROF. OMAN. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press.)

IN Lisbon, on September 15 last, the foundation-stone of a great monument to commemorate the centenary of the escape of Portugal from the grasp of Napoleon was laid, and throughout the whole country the day was observed as a holiday. On August 30, 1808, the famous Convention of Cintra was signed, and a fortnight afterwards Junot and his army, with all their guns and baggage—the latter consisting chiefly of plunder—sailed from Lisbon in British transports for France. Behind the Convention of Cintra—and its explanation—was the short, stern, bloody fight of Vimiero, where for the first time Wellington met, and defeated, a French army. That battle was the opening note in the stormy orchestra of the Peninsular War: and it was the sharp logic of British bayonets at Vimiero which compelled Junot to accept the terms of the Convention. Public opinion in Great Britain itself, however, was furious with a treaty which allowed a beaten French general with his army loaded with plunder to sail back to France, in British transports, and under the convoy of British men-of-war; and

a court of inquiry questioned, meditated, and debated for six weeks over the terms of the Convention. Nobody was hanged or shot as the result of the proceedings of that court, but the person who owed to it the greatest debt of gratitude was Junot himself. 'I was going,' says Napoleon, 'to send Junot before a council of war, when, fortunately, the English tried their generals, and so saved me the pain of punishing an old friend.'

But Portugal does well to commemorate by a monument of long-enduring granite the Convention of Cintra. It saved her national existence. By the secret clauses of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon had arranged for the partition of the country, and Portugal would have disappeared from the list of nations. It was only rescued from extinction by the stroke of Wellington at Vimiero.

Meanwhile, in the realm of literature another memorial of the Peninsular War, on a huge scale, is being constructed by Professor Oman. The third volume of his History of that war has just been published, and carries the narrative to the point where Massena, even his stubborn will broken by hunger and hardship, began to fall back from the lines of Torres Vedras. That event was, no doubt, the turning-point in the Peninsular War. The slow, reluctant retreat of Massena's wasted battalions marked the beginning of an ebb in the red tide of war which practically never ceased until the last of the French armies was driven, wrecked and defeated, through the wild defiles of the Pyrenees. But if it takes three huge volumes, each of some 600 pages, to tell the story of the war from Vimiero to Santarem—an interval of less than three years, marked by no great sieges, and only three serious battles—Corunna, Talavera, and Busaco—how many volumes will be required to tell the story from Santarem to Bidassoa, a stretch of another three years, congested with such events as the sieges of Badajos, Ciudad Rodrigo, and San Sebastian, and filled with the thunders of battles like Fuentes d'Onore, Salamanca, Vittoria, &c.!

Professor Oman's history has some conspicuous merits. It is both ampler, and more accurate in detail, than any previous account of the struggle in the Peninsula. The military archives of Madrid and Paris, as well as of the Record Office in London, have been at Professor Oman's service, and he plainly has much of the plodding industry, the delight in dates and numbers, and in minute geographical accuracy of Carlyle's Dryasdust. But Professor Oman's work has also its visible defects. It is hardly technical enough to be of value to the professional soldier, and its style is not sufficiently easy and translucent to make it popular with the general reader. Professor Oman is first and last an Oxford man, and his prose smacks of the common-room; it lacks the clearness and the glow the man in the street loves. What can the puzzled reader think when he is told that Napoleon had fallen into an 'autolatrious' mood, and that he had 'a scheme for enfeoffing all the realms of the Continent'? What defect in the national habit or resources, again, will the average reader imagine is concealed under the cryptic statement that 'in poliorcetics the enemy was our superior'?

Professor Oman, no doubt, has a more philosophic temper than Napier, and is quite untouched by those passionate, and often unreasonable, prepossessions and hatreds which cloud Napier's fine vision, and sometimes make untrustworthy his magnificent history. Professor Oman recalls with a certain sly relish the story told by Napier himself that, when he heard of Napoleon's death at St. Helena, he 'flung himself on his sofa and wept for three hours.' Professor Oman, it is certain, would not have shed a tear over the dust of all the heroes recorded in human history; and his dry-eyed mood, no doubt, carries with it a certain clarity of vision. But the ardent and passionate fibre in Napier helps to explain the flame of eloquence which burns in his prose and makes it immortal. Only a man who himself feels profoundly can stir profound feeling in others. It needed a soldier whose blood had been shaken with all the stormy pulses of actual

battle to write the story of the charge of the Fusiliers at Albuera, or describe how the stormers fought and died on the great breach of Badajos.

Professor Oman is obstinately just; and all English historians have hitherto, he holds, been persistently unfair in their account of the part taken by the Spaniards themselves in the long struggle for the deliverance of their country from the iron clutch of Napoleon. So, to atone for that injustice, Professor Oman congests his pages, and distends his volumes, by minutely accurate accounts of the distracted performances of Spanish juntas, and the marches and defeats of Spanish armies. But the story thus offered is of unforgivable dryness; and, if assessed by its value as a contribution to the history of the actual deliverance of Spain from the French, is almost irrelevant.

Napier's method at this point is wiser than that of Professor Oman. It is natural, of course, to suspect his judgement, and even sometimes his accuracy, where Spanish generals are concerned; for Napier was a soldier by force of natural genius, and a gentleman by instinct and training; and in both characters the performances of the Spaniards were to him hateful. The strategy of Spanish generals filled him with scorn, the cruelty and disorder of Spanish guerillas shocked both his intellect and his conscience. The Spaniards, he says, 'developed more cruelty than courage, more violence than intrepidity, more personal hatred than enthusiasm.' From the point of view of sound history, who can doubt that Professor Oman is wrong and Napier is right? Napier's summary of the contribution made by the Spanish to their own deliverance is rhetorical in form, but is roughly accurate in fact. 'Manifestoes, decrees, boasts—like a cloud of canvas covering a rotten hull—made a gallant appearance, but real strength and firmness could nowhere be found.'

It would be absurd, of course, to deny that Spain did some considerable things on her own account in the war. At Baylen a French general and an army of 23,000 men were compelled to surrender. Dupont's soldiers, it is true,

were mere conscripts; his divisions were scattered, and were encumbered almost to the point of helplessness with booty. But the incident took place on July 19, 1808, only a month after Joseph had been crowned as King of Spain in Madrid; and the effect of it on the prestige of France, and on the plans of Napoleon, was deadly. The Spaniards, again, sustained with fierce and obstinate courage two remarkable sieges, those of Saragossa and Gerona. Their guerilla warfare, too, was a steady drain on French resources. As Lanfrey describes it: 'They captured our convoys, stopped our couriers, pillaged our dépôts, harassed our detachments, killed our wounded and our stragglers, in some cases disabled one-third of our effective soldiers before they reached their destination. In a word, they did more harm than all the Spanish armies united.' But the guerilla warfare would have burnt itself out in time. It was a mere skin irritation; a perpetual exasperation, no doubt, but not a mortal disease.

In the ashes of ancient battles no fire commonly stirs, but the appearance of a history of the Peninsular War on such a scale as that by Professor Oman is a striking proof of the enduring interest felt in that struggle. In no other war his race has ever waged does the average Englishman feel an interest at once so keen, so enduring, and so complacent; and it is easy to see why this is the case.

The war in the Peninsula, for one thing, has a curious and almost epical completeness about it. It is a story symmetrical and clear-cut as a drama by Aeschylus. It is set on an adequate stage, and against a background of earth-shaking events. The figures in it are worthy of the scale of the drama. Most wars, when set in the dry light of history, are found to be either ignoble in their origin, or blundering in their conduct, or inadequate in their results. But the war in the Peninsula, when set in the perspective of a century, is still seen to be undertaken for a sufficient cause, waged with adequate energy, and crowned with the achievement of sufficient results.

The typical Englishman has no real delight in warfare as a business. War disquiets his conscience by its slaughter and cruelty, and it affronts his common sense by its enormous waste. He is seldom quite satisfied as to the way the quarrel was either begun, or managed, or ended. But there is scanty reason for any such doubts as to the war in the Peninsula.

Its cause was sufficient. Napoleon had reached that stage in his career when he was an embodied menace to the peace of the world. 'I am not,' he said, 'the heir of Louis XIV. I am the heir of Charlemagne.' He was possessed by the idea of making himself the master of Europe; a monarch, to quote Professor Oman, 'whose writ should run alike at Paris and at Mainz, at Milan and at Hamburg, at Rome and at Barcelona'—to say nothing of London! He had overrun Italy, and overthrown in turn Austria, Prussia—the Prussia of Frederick the Great!—and Russia.

It is true that his power, like that of the mediaeval witch, ceased where it touched running water; for Trafalgar had been fought, and Great Britain was mistress of the sea. But since he could not reach England by the sword, Napoleon invented the Continental system, under which all the ports of the civilized world were to be shut against British trade, and Great Britain itself was to be starved into submission. Napoleon justified the seizure of Spain and of Portugal by the argument that it was necessary to the completion of the Continental system; but this was only a pretext. Spain was his helpless ally; its fleets, its armies, its treasury, were under his control. Portugal, although the ancient ally of England, had consented to shut its ports against the British flag, and to buy peace with a big subsidy. But Napoleon was determined to make both Spain and Portugal French provinces; and there is nothing in the history of diplomacy more deliberately treacherous than the negotiations, and the treaties, by which Napoleon gained possession of Spain and put a Bonaparte on its throne. The figures in the Spanish court

—the imbecile king, the shameless wife, the cowardly heir apparent, the Prime Minister—at once the paramour of the Queen and the evil genius of Spain—these may well be dismissed to the forgetfulness of contempt. But there remained the Spanish nation, 11,000,000 people, ignorant, divided, superstitious, but still a nation; a nation with an heroic history and capable of an heroic pride. How could the freedom of such a nation be made a matter of barter betwixt a senile King like Charles IV, and the ruthless and hungry ambition of Napoleon?

The Spanish nation broke into revolt—the first truly national rising against the spell of Napoleonic power. The rising in Spain, it is true, resembled nothing so much as a series of unrelated explosions, for each province acted as though it were itself the whole of Spain, and proclaimed war, and conducted it, on its own account. But still it was the genuine rising of a people. Great Britain was at that moment at war with Spain; British fleets were blockading Spanish ports, an expedition was on the point of sailing for the purpose of capturing Spanish colonies. But with a sure and wise instinct the revolting Spaniards made their appeal to the English people. It was the call of a nation preparing to fight for its freedom against Napoleon, addressed to the one free Power in Europe which still resisted the domination of Napoleon. And the British people, tired of doing all their land fighting by proxy, and of paying vast sums into the treasuries of foreign courts, with ignoble results, gladly linked themselves in comradeship with a people prepared, it was believed, to fight and suffer for its own existence. And when Spain became the field of battle, and the deliverance of Spain the reward of victory, for the first time the feeling of the masses in England came into complete agreement with the policy of English statesmanship.

Spain, it is to be noted, offered an ideal field of battle. It is, roughly, a huge square 500 miles on each face, washed on three sides by the sea, and isolated from the Continent generally by the grim barrier of the Pyrenees,

a mountain wall which stretches from San Sebastian, on the one sea, to Rosas on the other. This field suited both British policy and the British temper. It was a field on which Great Britain could fight its separate battle without being lost in the tangle of Continental armies; and the mastery of the sea gave England control of the entire coast on three fronts.

The geography of Spain, again, exactly suited Spanish methods of war. Professor Oman gives an admirable study of the military geography of the Peninsula. Spain, he says, 'resembles nothing so much as an inverted soup-plate.' It is a rough, high, central plateau surrounded by a flat rim; but the central plateau is corrugated—broken everywhere into isolated strips—by parallel hill ranges. Madrid is planted in the centre of the plateau, but it is a capital of an entirely artificial kind. It has no natural or geographical relationship with the rest of Spain, and it has every sort of natural disadvantage. It has been described as possessing 'the soil of the Sahara, the sun of Calcutta, the wind of Edinburgh, and the cold of the North Pole.' It may be added that Spain a hundred years ago was—and, indeed, still is—an almost roadless land; its rivers, except for a few miles from their mouths, are incapable of navigation.

The whole country was thus broken up into geographical areas that were almost completely isolated from each other. It had no natural capital. What roads existed ran, not along the valleys, but at right angles to them, and so offered a succession of defensible passes. The rivers were not helps to communication, but interruptions of it. It would be difficult to find a patch of the earth's surface worse provided with means of transit, or richer in positions of defence. It was a land where, according to an ancient proverb, large armies starve and small armies get beaten. Here, then, was a field planned, as if by Nature herself, for an inextinguishable guerilla warfare!

The geographical relation of Spain to France, again, is significant. A force issuing from the Pyrenees could

strike at the communications of French armies operating in Italy, Austria, or Prussia. And if the Peninsula, as a whole, is capable of being turned into a fortress, with the Pyrenees for its outer wall, against France, Portugal—a strip of coast 100 miles wide along the Atlantic seaboard—the western face of the great square of the Peninsula—might itself be described as the citadel of the fortress. It was this which made Wellington declare at the beginning of the war that, in any event, it would be possible to hold Portugal against all the forces of France.

The cause of the Peninsular War was good, the field was near and suitable; and fortune gave to England as its captain in this great conflict a great soldier. Up to this time, it must be remembered, the military reputation of Great Britain had sunk to the lowest ebb. On the sea her strength was predominant. Her sea-captains had won great victories; her flag flew almost unchallenged in all waters. It is nothing less than marvellous that a nation so feared in one realm should be so completely despised in another. Yet British soldiership had, as a matter of fact, fallen into contempt; and there was some justification for the contempt. The military record of Great Britain was made up of wasted expeditions, commanded by incapable generals—mere planless adventures that are yet the derisions of history. And the military reputation of Great Britain suffered the penalty of such performances. 'It became,' says Captain Lewis Butler, in his work, *Wellington's Operations in the Peninsula*, 'a kind of axiom that the Hessian and every other species of the riff-raff of Germany was superior to the Englishman in every soldier-like quality.' 'The British troops,' says Napier, 'were absurdly underrated in foreign countries and despised in their own. . . . The soldier was stigmatized as stupid, the officer ridiculed, and a British army coping with a French one for a single campaign was considered a chimera.'

Mankind, in a word, had almost ceased to take British soldiership seriously. The sea was the Englishman's

natural field. On the sea he was terrible. There was no arguing against St. Vincent, the Nile, and Trafalgar! But on land his performances were contemptible. It is true that in Egypt, under Abercrombie and Hutchison, a British army had achieved remarkable results. It is true, again, that at Maida, under Stuart, a slender line of British infantry had shattered into fragments solid French battalions. But the human memory is short. Egypt was looked upon as an accident, Maida was only a splutter of musketry fire in the Calabrian hills. The warlike genius of Napoleon was oppressing the imagination of the world; the halo of great victories—of Ulm, of Austerlitz, of Jena—played about French bayonets; and the notion that a British general, commanding British troops, could meet on equal terms a French army led by French generals was regarded as absurd. What else than contempt, indeed, did the muddled, petty, meaningless expeditions, wasted on a dozen shores, which represented the military performances of Great Britain, deserve?

But on the stage of the Peninsula the figure of Wellington emerges almost at once, one of the great soldiers of all history. It is true that the fight in the Peninsula began with a characteristic bit of stupidity. In the first battle fought, and during its very course, the unfortunate British army underwent three changes of command within twenty-four hours. Wellington began the fight at Vimiero; Sir Harry Burrard took command when it was nearly over; and Sir Hugh Dalrymple appeared on the scene the next morning and displaced Sir Harry Burrard. But smaller figures quickly disappeared, and Wellington's intellect—which, if it had the coldness of ice, had also its clarity—was left to shape the course of the campaigns of six years.

Wellington may be pronounced the one absolutely satisfactory soldier, and captain of soldiers, the British race has produced. He had no touch, it is true, of Nelson's fiery and emotional genius. He would not have put the telescope to his blind eye at Copenhagen; he never

regarded his generals, as Nelson looked on his captains, as 'a band of brothers'; and, dying, Wellington would have asked no Hardy in epaulettes to 'kiss him.' But he had a quality of sustained purpose, an iron ruthlessness of will, a mastery of tactics, and a vision for the whole landscape of war, which Nelson hardly possessed. The only other soldier in British history to be compared in genius to Wellington is Marlborough; but in loyalty, in singleness of purpose, in all the qualities of character, Wellington stands far above Marlborough.

Moore is the one soldier who, if Wellington had not lived, might have played a part almost as great as his in the Peninsula. In the power of stamping his personality on the individual soldier, on the character of a regiment, or of a division, Moore was indeed Wellington's superior. Moore's true monument is the famous Light Division—a type of soldiership almost as separate, and as famous, as Caesar's Tenth Legion or Cromwell's Ironsides. At the passage of the Coa, when even Craufurd lost his head —or was in a mood of mischief—it was the matchless discipline which Moore taught the regiments of the Light Division which saved the day. 'A phantom from Corunna,' to quote Napier, 'saved them.' But it may be doubted whether Moore, burdened with all Wellington's difficulties, political and military, could have fought Wellington's six campaigns. It is certain he would never have carried Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos with the fierce rush Wellington taught his stormers.

Wellington, no doubt, had his limitations, even as a general. He was an 'infantry' general, and never attempted the use either of guns or of cavalry on the scale, and with the effectiveness, of Napoleon. It is usual to say that he lacked Napoleon's fiery and relentless energy in the pursuit of a beaten army; and that perhaps is true. Wellington certainly lacked personal sympathy with his own soldiers and officers, and so had nothing of the magic power over their imagination which other great captains have possessed. But it must be remembered that Welling-

ton had to work with some very poor material, both among his officers and the men in the ranks. His correspondence is full of complaints, sometimes against officers who were forced on him, and more frequently against officers who were clamouring for permission to return home on private business. In a letter to the Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, Wellington observes: 'I have received your letter announcing the appointment of —— and —— to this army. The first I have generally understood to be a madman; I believe it is your opinion that the second is not very wise; the third will, I believe, be a useful man. . . . There are some in this army whom it is disreputable and quite unsafe to keep. . . . Really, when I reflect upon the characters and attainments of some of the general officers of this army, and consider that these are the persons on whom I am to rely to lead columns against the French generals, and who are to carry my instructions into execution, I tremble; and, as Lord Chesterfield said of the generals of his day, "I only hope that when the enemy reads the list of their names he trembles as I do."' Of general officers who were demanding leave to go to England on private business he complains bitterly and repeatedly; more than once half his divisional generals were absent. In January 1811, he writes: 'At this moment we have seven general officers gone, or going home; and, excepting myself, there is not one in the country who came out with the army, except General Alexander Campbell, who was all last winter in England.'

The comparative youth of the leading figures in the Peninsular War is remarkable. Youth might be expected in armies which were thrown up by a revolution; and it is not strange to find, say, Marmont a Marshal at thirty-five, and Soult commanding all the French forces in Spain at forty-five. But Wellington was only thirty-nine when he began his career in Spain. Cotton commanded the whole of the cavalry at thirty-seven; Fane and Pakenham were only thirty-five, and Napier (as Major) led the 43rd at Salamanca when he was only twenty-six.

Of his private soldiers Wellington more than once spoke in words that can hardly be forgiven, and which it is unnecessary to repeat. But the British soldier of the Peninsula, with all his splendid fighting gifts, had some tragical vices. We have only to remember the scenes which followed the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, of Badajos, of San Sebastian, to realize this. That discipline in the British army went to pieces during every retreat is proved by the experiences of both Moore and Wellington. Neither the magic of Moore's influence nor the energy of Wellington's iron will sufficed to maintain discipline when the British battalions were required to march with their backs turned on the enemy. The British private excels in the line of battle; but his character hardly survives the strain of long-continued retreat.

Victory, indeed, tried British discipline almost as much as retreat itself. After the magnificent day of Vittoria, Wellington writes to Lord Bathurst that his army 'was in the highest order, and, up to the day of battle, nothing could get on better; but victory,' he adds, 'has, as usual, annihilated all good order and discipline. The soldiers of the army have got among them about a million sterling of money. The night of the battle was passed by the soldiers in looking for plunder; the consequence was that they were incapable of marching in pursuit of the enemy. . . . I am convinced that we have now out of the ranks double the amount of our loss in the battle.' In the British soldier of Wellington's day there was a curious strain of childishness, as is proved by the contagion of unmeaning desertions which more than once swept through the ranks of the army. There were many desertions, for example, from the lines at Torres Vedras into Massena's starving battalions; there were many desertions, again—Wellington reports no less than 1,800—from the camps of the victorious British in the Pyrenees to Soult's oft-defeated conscripts.

And yet finer infantry in the actual front of battle than some, at least, of Wellington's regiments in the Peninsula never handled a musket. Where in the whole history of

war can be found examples of such daring—of valour at once stubborn and fierce—as on the hill at Talavera, in the mists and smoke of Albuera, or on the breaches of Badajos and San Sebastian? It is Foy, a Frenchman, who had often faced the volleys of an English line of battle, who records that 'the infantry is the best part of the British army. It is the "robur peditum," the expression applied by the Romans to the triarii of their legions.'

Wellington in the Peninsula made use of a quite new form of battle, and one which exactly suited the British temper. The Continental generals delighted in display. As a preparation for battle, horse, foot, and artillery were spread out in many-coloured parallelograms, all visible to the last man, on the slope of a range of hills, or on some vast plain. Who does not remember the magnificent and theatrical display of his army, as many-tinted as a rainbow, which Napoleon offered to the gaze of the unmoved British on the morning of Waterloo? But Wellington's plan was to conceal his strength. His brigades were hidden behind a hill crest, in a dip of the ground, or under the screen of the houses and hedges of a village. All the enemy saw was a fringe of skirmishers, a few scattered batteries of guns. But when the skirmishers were driven in, and the breathless French battalions had just reached, and perhaps imagined they had carried, the hostile position, then the long red line, steady and silent, suddenly broke into sight. In a moment it was edged with flame, and terrible with shattering volleys. 'At the end of the war,' says Professor Oman, 'the French marshals grew very chary of attacking any position where Wellington showed fight; for they never could tell whether they were opposed by a mere rearguard or by a whole army skilfully concealed.'

It is customary to say, again, that the secret of Wellington's success lay in the fact that while the French attacked in column he met them in line, and the far-stretching front of fire which broke from the line crushed the narrow front of the attacking columns. But this is hardly a sufficient account of the differences of method betwixt the two

armies; nor did Wellington invent the line as an answer to the attack of the column. It was used in Prussian tactics in the wars of Frederick. The French onfall in columns of companies, with a front of forty—or at most of eighty—men, with a depth of nine—or of eighteen—was really preceded by an attack in line, in the shape of a vast far-stretching spray of tirailleurs; and the French excelled in this skirmishing attack. They ran forward with great daring, and tormented, almost to the point of disorganization, the battalions of the enemy. Then the onfall of the solid columns usually proved irresistible.

Now Wellington met this preliminary attack of the French tirailleurs with an answering line of light infantry; and the fighting betwixt these two irregular lines was often fierce and bloody. At Barossa, for example, the covering screen of light troops lost fourteen out of twenty officers, and more than half its rank and file, and all this before the column and the line closed on each other. Wellington's plan was to hold off the French tirailleurs with his light infantry till the French columns were coming up to the charge. Then the British skirmishers ran back through the intervals of the regiments, and the slender red line and the deep and massive columns of the French met in the shock of the charge. And always the line crushed the column. As Professor Oman puts it, '800 men in the two-deep line which Wellington loved, could all use their muskets, and thus pour 800 bullets per volley into a French battalion of the same strength, which, from its narrow front, could only return at most 160.' The men in the centre of the French column invariably fired in the air. If the column tried to deploy, as each company struggled out from the mass, it was shattered by musketry fire. Foy himself, in his private journal, records that 'for a set battle of equal numbers on a limited front, the English infantry could always beat the French. I keep this opinion,' he adds, 'to myself; I have never divulged it.'

It must be added that the British had a better weapon than the French, and knew better how to use it. The old

Brown Bess carried spherical bullets, twelve to the pound. It was deadly within a range of 100 yards, and the coolness of the men enabled them to use it with destructive effect. The French musket was a smaller bore, carrying bullets weighing seventeen to the pound. It is easy to understand how the better musket, the heavier bullet, and the wider front of fire, completely overmastered the French columns.

It is not easy to put into arithmetic the cost of the Peninsular War. Wellington himself has packed the cost to France into brief and terrible compass. 'From first to last,' he says, 'Napoleon sent 600,000 men into Spain, and I know that not more than 100,000 went out in the shape of an army, and with the exception of Suchet's corps, these were without cannon or baggage or anything to enable them to act as an army.' The war certainly added £400,000,000 to the public debt of England. What it cost in life and suffering cannot be told. What were its achievements?

Wellington landed at Mondego Bay on August 1, 1808; he crossed the Bidassoa, and touched French soil on October 17, 1813. Betwixt those two dates lies a resounding story of battles, sieges, marches, and retreats not easy to parallel in history. The three great sieges of the Peninsula—Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and San Sebastian—for swiftness, audacity, and a certain concentrated intensity of sustained daring, must always be memorable. Napier has enshrined for all time in his deathless prose the blackness, the tumult, the obstinate and furious valour of the night-attack on Badajos. Wellington is sometimes criticized as being 'cold-blooded,' destitute of fire, &c.; but we have only to compare his leap on Ciudad Rodrigo with that of Massena to see with what fire—not to say fury—he could strike when his plans required it.

Massena captured the fortress in 1810; his force consisted of 50,000 men, with a covering army, under Kellerman, of 12,000. He took up his ground before the fortress on April 2; it surrendered on July 10; the

siege practically lasting over three months. When Wellington attacked Badajos in 1812, the fortress had been greatly strengthened, and he had a force scarcely half that of Massena. It was the winter time, the ground was thick with snow, the streams were frozen; yet Wellington calculated that he would do in twenty-four days what it took Massena three months to accomplish. That was a sufficiently audacious estimate! As a matter of fact, he invested the fortress on January 8, and carried it by storm on the night of the 19th. The siege lasted only eleven days; but it cost Wellington 1,300 killed and wounded, and two of his best generals, Craufurd and Mackinnon.

The story of San Sebastian is written in more bloody characters than even that of Badajos or Ciudad Rodrigo. Twice the storming parties were flung on the great breach, and once even their valour failed. For the second assault Wellington called for fifty volunteers from each of the fifteen regiments of the 1st, 4th, and Light Divisions—'men,' the call ran, 'who will show other troops how to mount a breach.' The whole three divisions volunteered; but the men of the 5th Division, who had failed at the first attack, were furious at the call for volunteers. Leith, who commanded the division, insisted that his men should lead the second attack; and there was some risk that the men of his regiment would fire on the volunteers from the other divisions if they had been given the lead. Of the 750 volunteers, every second man fell! Graham, who commanded the attack, it will be remembered, turned failure into victory by making the storming parties—when they failed to break through—fling themselves down on the slope of the breach, and during that pause in the fury of the assault, turning fifty heavy guns on the high curtain which overlooked both the breaches. For half an hour the British guns poured a stream of shot above the crouching and scattered fragments of the storming parties, till the defences were shattered. Then the firing ceased, the stormers leaped up, and San Sebastian was won.

The battles of the Peninsular campaign, again, have

memorable characteristics. Vimiero, measured by the forces employed, was hardly a fifth-rate battle; yet it achieved great results, and was marked by amazing fierceness in the British attack. Wellington himself, who had seen great battles in India, says of it, 'I have never seen such fighting.' Talavera is, in its incidents, one of the most picturesque and dramatic battles of history. What other battle has shown the spectacle of 10,000 infantry all running away at once before a few pistol shots? But the Spaniards—nearly the whole of Wellington's right wing—offered this spectacle before the fighting had even begun. Who can forget, again, the story of the leap of the French in the darkness, on the hill on Wellington's left, which formed the key of his position, a struggle in the dark in which nearly 2,000 men were killed and wounded; the reckless charge of the Guards in Wellington's centre, which nearly lost the battle; the wild ride of the 23rd Light Dragoons, a performance as heroic as that of Balaclava, and even a little more insane?

Napier has made Busaco and Albuera imperishable memories, but not even Napier can quite do justice to the dramatic features of the two days' fight at Fuentes d'Onore. War has not often seen a spectacle more picturesque than that offered when Wellington, at the crisis of the fight, swung back his right wing, and the Light Division, a tiny thread of squares, moved across the plain, with 5,000 French cavalry eddying about them, but not daring to charge home; the squares of bayonets lost to sight amid a forest of reckless, glittering sabres.

One tiny incident in the battle is unforgettable: Norman Ramsay and his battery of guns had been cut off—swallowed up, indeed—by the charge of an immense body of French cavalry. Then, as Napier tells the story, from the very centre of the huge body of charging cavalry, 'an English shout pealed high and clear, the mass was rent asunder, and Norman Ramsay burst forth, sword in hand, at the head of his battery; his horses, breathing fire, stretched like greyhounds along the plain, the guns

bounded behind them like things of no weight, and the mounted gunners followed close, with heads bent low, and pointed weapons, in desperate career.'

Salamanca, fought on July 22, 1812, is kept in memory by the epigram—a French epigram—which describes it as the battle in which Wellington 'beat 40,000 men in forty minutes.' His stroke at the gap suddenly disclosed in Marmont's line had the sudden swiftness of a rapier thrust, and was almost as deadly. But not less striking in that great battle was the gallant rally of the French, under Clausel, when Marmont, a defeated and wounded general, had been carried off the field. The French rearguard clung, it will be remembered, to what was known as the French Arapiles. Night had fallen, and against the black sky the unceasing musketry fire of the French resembled an eddying scribble of flame running up high into space. Grattan, of the 'Connaught Rangers,' says, indeed, that 'the whole hill seemed one vast sea of flame. Clinton's men looked as if they were attacking a burning mountain, the crater of which was defended by a barrier of shining steel.' An officer of the 32nd, who took part in the fight, and who afterwards stood in the firing line at Quatre Bras and at Waterloo, declares that at neither battle was the fire of the French equal in sustained fierceness to that from the French Arapiles at Salamanca. And yet the 6th Division carried the hill!

Vittoria has been described, with justice, as one of the decisive battles of the world, since it finally drove the French from Spain, and it was for Wellington a brilliant stroke of generalship. After Vittoria came the long and stubborn campaign in the Pyrenees, where Soult and Wellington contended together, and never in any campaign was there fiercer or more stubborn fighting.

Wellington's six campaigns in the Peninsula, in a word, are a great and memorable record; and which deserves greater praise, the skill of the leadership or the endurance and valour of the men in the ranks, is not easy to say. 'Those veterans,' says Napier, summing up their

deeds, 'had won nineteen pitched battles and innumerable combats; had made or sustained ten sieges, and taken four great fortresses; had twice expelled the French from Portugal, once from Spain; had penetrated France, and killed, wounded, or captured 200,000 enemies—leaving of their own number 40,000 dead, whose bones whiten the plains and mountains of the Peninsula.'

The Peninsular War, it may be added, did something more than save the national existence of both Portugal and Spain. It profoundly, if not decisively, influenced the whole issue of the struggle against Napoleon; and so it helped to decide the fate of Europe. Let us only imagine that the quarter of a million of French soldiers marching and fighting in Spain—all of them, during the later years of the struggle, hardy veterans—had been set in the battle line at Wagram, or at Borodino, or had taken part in the battle of nations at Dresden. It is reasonably certain that, in that case, Napoleon might have overthrown Russia; there would have been no tragical passage of the Beresina, no sixth coalition against France, and no entrance of the Allies into Paris. Napoleon, in a word, might have escaped both Elba and St. Helena, and have translated the wildest dreams of his ambition into sober fact.

Napoleon lost more than Spain at Vittoria; he lost Europe. Napoleon himself said at Dresden, 'But for Spain I should have been master of Europe.' At St. Helena he declared, 'The Spanish war destroyed me.' But the 'Spanish ulcer' would not have ruined Napoleon if to the distracted, planless, guerilla warfare of Spain there had not been added the genius of Wellington, the valour of British troops, and the resolute purpose of the British nation.

W. H. FITCHETT.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN WESLEYAN METHODISM

Minutes of Conference, 1908: Reports of Committees appointed by the Conference of 1907, and Resolutions of the Conference of 1908; pp. 105, 355, 574–590.

The Class-meeting Fellowship of Wesleyan Methodism. By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D. (London: Robert Culley. 1907.)

Church Membership: Scriptural Ideals and Methodist Rules. By the Rev. Wm. Bradfield. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 1907.)

THE writer remembers in his boyhood reading on the walls of Thirsk the advertisement that John Hickling was to preach in that town, the last-surviving of Wesley's Itinerants. Though he failed to see that venerable man, he has known familiarly a number of persons who had known many who had seen and heard and spoken with John Wesley. Two intervening links of acquaintanceship come between ourselves and the founders of Methodism; three such links connected them in turn with the Reformation and the beginnings of modern England. An easy arithmetical calculation carries us back from this point to the Christian era. But forty or fifty persons stand in historical sequence between the twentieth century and the days of the Son of Man. Could these be restored with memory unimpaired to the breathing world, like Moses and Elias when they talked with Jesus at His transfiguration, it would be possible to gather into a small room, and to make acquaintance with and question in a few hours, the whole line of the men through whom the faith of Christ has come down to us. Such cognizance would be no more than a summary of the actual course of things, a review of the means by which and the mode in

which the life of religion subsists among mankind. Scripture itself, the standard of tradition, is its product to begin with; the Bible is the transcript and testimony of a living experience of the things of God. Books are a telephone for the mighty voices of the past. The Spirit that giveth life dwells in and operates through the letter of God's Word; but that Word becomes communicative and quickening, for the most part, through the illuminating comment and companion witness of a personal Christianity. In the pages of Evangelists and Apostles we drink freshly from the divine fountain of the life that is in Christ; but that stream was not drawn off to fill the New Testament books; though often checked, diverted, affected with many a foreign and turbid element, it has flowed on in deepening fullness through all the generations to our own. 'Thou, therefore, my child,' said the dying Apostle to Timothy, 'be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus; and the things thou hast heard from me among many witnesses, these commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.' In virtue of such communion we hold the gospel of the world's salvation, transmitted from land to land and from age to age by the close-linked chain of Christian hearts.

Modern research goes to show that the original Church life was the pure expression of this principle. Primitive Christianity was nothing more, and nothing less, than a fellowship in the testimony of Jesus; its *ecclesiae* were so many assemblies of 'those in every place who called on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,' who loved each other as His brethren and bore themselves as comrades and fellow-soldiers in His warfare. This fact has been strikingly expressed by the eminent critic, Dr. Caspar R. Gregory, writing on *The Apostolic Age:*[1]

> The Christian Church is more than a book. Jesus was more than a word. He was the Life, and the Church is a living society, a living fellowship. There is something sublime

[1] *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, pp. 44, 45 (International Theological Library). T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

> in such a fellowship, that passes through the ages in a long tradition. Our connexion with Jesus, which reaches now over more than eighteen hundred years, does not rest upon the fact that He wrote something down, which one man after another has read and believed to this very day. . . . He *lived*, and He spoke. Christianity began with the joining of heart to heart. Eye looked into eye. The living voice struck upon the living ear. And it is precisely such a uniting of personalities, such an action of man upon man, that ever since Jesus spoke has effected the renewal of Christianity. . . . Christianity is an uninterrupted life.

What is true of the faith of Christ as a heritage from the past, holds equally for its maintenance in the present: 'the Church is a living society, a living fellowship.' The secret of its being is the immortality of Him who declared, 'Because I live, ye shall live also.' The Spirit who unites us with the Apostles and the confessors of every age, whose indwelling makes the receivers of Christ brethren to Him and to each other and partners in the wealth of His kingdom, binds us to all souls on earth that are lovers of our Lord. Forms of ministry and articles of belief, modes of worship and administration, are things subordinate to the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which is that Christian men should act as brethren and serve one another in love.

Methodism has based its Church-being explicitly upon this foundation. In the second paragraph of the famous 'Rules of Society,' the Wesleys describe their people as 'united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.' That is to say, spiritual lay-fellowship is the ground of Methodist Churchmanship. All else that goes to make up a Church is auxiliary, according to our creed, and instrumental to the pervasive spiritual intercourse which forms the vital tissue of the communion of Christ. The Methodist 'society' or the Quaker 'meeting,' we venture

to affirm, has through the last two centuries represented the New Testament *ecclesia* and *koinonia* (assembly and fellowship) in this vital respect more truly than did the venerable national fabric which bore the name in English speech of 'the Church.' The word *priest* hardly differs more from the original *presbyter* than *church* had travelled from the brotherly *ecclesia* of Apostolic days. It is true that the religious 'Societies' which sprang up in various quarters toward the end of the seventeenth century, made no pretension to be Churches; but they supplied, for many earnest souls, the fatal lack which characterized not only the Anglican, but in great part also the Nonconformist communities of that period. In his *Plain Account of the People called Methodists*, written in the year 1748, after defining what he understands by fellowship, John Wesley asks:

> But, alas, where is it to be found? Look east or west, north or south; name what parish you please: is this Christian fellowship there? Rather, are not the bulk of the parishioners a rope of sand? What Christian connexion is there between them? what intercourse in spiritual things? what watching over each other's souls? what bearing of one another's burdens? . . . The real truth is . . . we introduce Christian fellowship where it was utterly destroyed. And the fruits of it have been peace, joy, love, and zeal for every good word and work.

The great Society of the Wesleys emerged out of the movement towards religious fraternity to which we have referred, in its confluence with the mighty revival of evangelical preaching. Methodism was the expression of an irrepressible spiritual instinct; it was the reappearance of the spiritual socialism of the first Christianity. This new growth was bound either to be grafted upon the existing Church organism and to regenerate it, or to be extruded from it and compelled to take a separate course. The latter issue, which the Founders so earnestly deprecated, proved inevitable. The death of John Wesley revealed the chasm lying between Methodism and

Anglicanism. A large proportion of Methodist people were strangers to the offices of the Church of England, and felt no debt to her ministrations; many were repelled from her communion-table. Their conversion was due to Methodist preaching; their spiritual nurture had been received in the Methodist Society. They had no desire, and no need, to look elsewhere for the ordinances of grace. Methodism was to them *ipso facto* a Church of the living God; such John Wesley himself had, by word and deed, many times declared it to be. The local Societies through his skilful pastoral direction carried on for fifty years—the greatest episcopate the Church has witnessed since St. Paul's day—had been bound into a strong connexion, which loyally accepted the control of the 'Annual Conference' instituted by him; and the network of the Circuits, with their superintendents, travelling and local preachers, Class-leaders, and Quarterly Meetings, took the place for them of the old parochial and diocesan system.

To trace the course of Wesleyan Methodism from 1791 to 1908 would be a long story. So much as we have said seemed to be necessary, in order to show where our roots lie and what the principle is for which the Methodist Church stands. The two pamphlets placed at the head of this article, along with the *Minutes of Conference* for the current year, excellently illustrate the bearing of that principle on the present situation. The former comes from the pen of the venerable Nestor of our Church, whose wide knowledge and sympathies, whose statesmanlike grasp of affairs and commanding ability in speech and writing, have given him a unique influence in the councils of Methodism for a generation past. Mr. Bradfield speaks for the newer time, and gives strong and clear expression to its ways of thinking. Both write in vindication of the fellowship-basis of the Church; both are warm defenders of the Class Meeting, and of the Class Meeting test of membership—the younger man being, if possible, the more conservative, and at the same time the more argumentative, in this respect.

These writers, however, do not deal directly with the chronic difficulty, so much aggravated in recent times, which has compelled the Conference twice within little more than twenty years to reconsider its terms of communion. That difficulty is twofold: it consists (1) in the fact that a large proportion of those whose names stand upon our Class-books, and who are therefore duly recognized Church members, rarely or never attend the Class Meeting, and are practically out of fellowship; (2) it is alleged that there are many worthy Christian people worshipping in our Churches, contributing to our funds, wishful to join the Society and eligible for communion on every other ground, who will not come to the Class Meeting, especially when they see, or suppose, that this qualification is frequently of a nominal character. The former of these allegations no one disputes; the Conference of 1889 virtually sanctioned irregularity and encouraged an elastic application of the test, when it pronounced that 'there exists no rule which requires a minister to refuse a ticket [of membership] solely on the ground of irregular attendance at Class.' As to the extent to which the second statement holds good, opinions differ. The difficulty is part of 'the problem of the unattached Christian,' which, as Mr. Bradfield points out (pp. 5, 6), afflicts all Churches in the present temper of men's minds, and those most seriously which uphold an effective discipline: objections will be raised against any and every test of membership by men indisposed to 'submit one to another in the fear of Christ.' But this general, and very just, reflexion does not cover the facts of our own case.

The course of recent discussion is familiar to most of our readers. The memorable debate on the subject in the Representative Conference of 1907 resulted in the following resolutions (*Minutes* of 1907, p. 104):

1. The Conference is of opinion that the time is not ripe for legislation on this great question.
2. The Conference recognizes, however, the necessity for some better adjustment of existing conditions, and for the

provision of regulations that shall make our membership more uniform and definite, and remove the inequalities which exist in our present administration with regard to Church membership.

3. The Conference therefore appoints a Committee:
   (i) To consider how the Class Meeting and the Society Meeting may be rendered more effective, and may be better adapted to the needs of our people in the present day.
   (ii) To prepare a statement to accompany our Rules of Society, that shall clearly and adequately set forth the conditions, duties, and privileges of Church membership.

The Pastoral Session of the Conference endorsed these findings, and took parallel action.

Evidently the thought was not to be entertained of any fundamental change in the basis of Church membership; but the Conference wished to have that basis cleared, and the regulations grounded upon it made more effective and distinct. The statement called for in Resolution 3 (ii) above quoted, which was presented in all but identical form to the last Conference by the two Committees, was finally adopted in the Pastoral Session. This statement takes the shape of an exposition of the Methodist doctrine of the Church, leading up from the New Testament teaching as to the Body of Christ, through the conception of the Church Universal with its Ministry and Sacraments, to the origin and specific character of the Methodist communion, and the 'Rules of Society' which form its constitutional law. These latter are paraphrased in the language of to-day. It was encouraging, and a thing beyond the hopes of many, that so much could be said as the above document contains, with all but unanimous consent, upon the most radical and controversial questions in the history and theory of the Church. This manifesto will, at any rate, serve to show what we Methodists mean by 'the Church,' and what we stand for in our Church testimony.

The proposals drawn up by the Representative and Pastoral Committees (which proved here also to be nearly of one mind) in obedience to Resolution 3 (i) of the previous Conference, were full and elaborate. They contain an amount of labour which required, perhaps, longer deliberation and a more patient and gradual shaping than Committees consisting of busy men were able to give them in a single year, after digesting the detailed introductory statement. They deal comprehensively with the 'existing conditions' and anomalies of our Church membership, and offer a definite modification of the Class Meeting test. The 'conditions of membership' are disposed under three heads: (1) *Membership on Trial*, (2) *Entrance into Full Membership*, (3) *Privileges and Obligations of Membership*. The debate raised by the Report in the Representative Session of 1908 showed the Conference to be of divided, not to say of distracted mind; it declined (by a majority of some five to four) to accept the Report as it stands, while it expressed its 'hearty approval' of certain parts thereof 'without pronouncing on the other recommendations' it contained, finally directing that the whole scheme 'be submitted to the Synods for their judgement' (*Minutes*, 1908, pp. 106 and 355). This course was adopted 'in view of the grave issues which the question involves,' and with the desire to 'ascertain the mind of our people generally' before decision should be taken. Such a *referendum*, while it pays honour to the wisdom of the people, is liable to impair the influence of the Conference; the expedient indicates the extreme gravity of the crisis. The Synods have a difficult task laid upon them in helping the Conference to settle its mind.

The sections of the Report which the Conference has 'approved in general,' are, however, of great practical moment; their acceptance will considerably clear the ground. The approved paragraphs consist of Section III. 1 A, on the *Class Meeting* (including 'Adaptations'), and B (*a*) and (*b*), on the *Society Meeting*. The regulations proposed on the latter subject involve new legislation,

which in any case would have to be referred to the Synods; these are invited, therefore, first to pass judgement upon the reconstitution of the Society Meeting, then to 'make such suggestions on the Report as a whole as they deem fit' (*Minutes* p. 356). In fact, the entire Report is sent down to the Synods, which will be guided by the consideration that the Conference has 'adopted' the prefatory statement, and that it 'heartily approves' the proposals for restoring the Society Meeting—the paragraphs respecting the Class Meeting under III. 1 A, though valuable and full of interest, are in effect no more than declaratory. On Sections I. and II. of 'the Conditions,' covering the all-important matters of probation and entrance into full Church status, the Conference is silent; we do not remember that decided hostility was expressed in discussion to the proposals of the Committees under these heads, although they invite criticism both in matter and form.

The point of burning controversy in the Conference, and of sharp division in Committee, proved to be furnished by Section III. 2 (III. 4 of the Pastoral Report); it lay particularly in the sentence which runs thus in the two Reports (pp. 581, 590): 'Any member who, without sufficient reason, persistently absents himself both from the Class Meeting and the Society Meeting, shall be considered as having thereby excluded himself from Church membership' (Representative); 'Any member who, without sufficient reason, has absented himself both from the Class Meeting and the Society Meeting so long a time as twelve months, shall be considered as having thereby excluded himself from Church membership.' The two forms of statement alike insist upon the Church *meeting* as the test of membership; they agree in recognizing the Society Meeting along with the Class Meeting as possessing this character. They differ only as to the term of non-attendance that renders exclusion necessary, the one Committee drawing the line at *twelve months*, where the other speaks of *persistent neglect*. The language of the Pastoral Report conforms to the instruction of the Conference to frame

'regulations that shall make membership more uniform and definite, and remove inequalities' of administration (*Minutes*, 1907, p. 104). 'Persistent neglect,' though more emphatic, is a phrase equally elastic with the 'irregular attendance' which figured in the charge of the Conference of 1889 and has lent so much vagueness to our terms of membership. One feels the objections that lie against any hard and fast rule in such matters; but the evils of uncertainty are great, and we should not wonder to see the Synods press for a stricter regulation.

To the principle which the above rule in both its forms contains, we unequivocally subscribe. This axiom of Methodism is well expressed by Mr. Bradfield, when he writes (pp. 9, 31, 32):

> To require that Church members shall attend a meeting of the Church is surely not stretching overmuch our authority, nor going beyond the mind of Christ. . . . The Church of Jesus Christ means brotherly love and fellowship between the people who are actually able to come together in His name in any given locality; it means their common worship and witness, or it means nothing. For 'the Church' is essentially a meeting. The great promises of the New Testament, promises of the presence of Christ and of His authority, are made to those 'gathered together in His name.' And the power and blessings of the Church are realized when they are 'all together with one accord in one place.' . . . For us to give up the claim that the Church should meet, as a Church, apart from the world, where all the gifts of the members may be exercised for mutual edification, would be a calamitous retrogression.

Here, we are persuaded, is for us the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiae*. Strange to say, we have shrunk from the definite affirmation of the law which has run through the whole existence of our Church. The outstanding declaration on the subject in recent years has been the negative pronouncement of 1889, that 'there exists no rule which requires a minister to refuse a ticket [of

membership] solely on the ground of irregular attendance at Class' (see Simon's *Summary*, p. 8).

The proposals of 1908 lay it down for the first time in set terms that wilful and continued absence from the Church's meetings is separation from the Church—in the words of the Statement, that 'personal fellowship is incumbent upon all members of our Church' and 'none may be counted as discharged from this debt of love, save those who are debarred or disabled from attendance at the social means of grace.'

We are agreed, it seems, upon the principle, and it is well to have this unmistakably asserted; to apply it is another thing. Here the stone of stumbling and rock of offence rises in our way. The Committees of 1907–8 have not succeeded in removing it, any more than their predecessors; something has been done, if its position and dimensions are more clearly seen. The Class Meeting undoubtedly holds the field, as the regular and familiar mode of spiritual fellowship amongst Methodists, hallowed by long usage and by rich memories of blessing. Loyalty to the Class Meeting is strong in the Conference, especially amongst its trusted leaders and missioners; and the sentiment prevails with the large majority of our earnest people. This is a reassuring fact; the heart of Methodism is sound. At the same time, when a Committee is called upon to provide 'uniform and definite' regulations adjusted to 'existing conditions,' it is bound to deal with things as they are. If the Church expects definite local fellowship from all its members, it must offer that fellowship in practicable forms. Does the Class Meeting as we know it, does it everywhere, approximately fulfil this requirement? We have met with no well-informed person who will answer the question in the affirmative; with very few who would be prepared to say to all would-be Methodists, making no exception and with the worst as well as the best Class Meetings in view, 'You must regularly attend some available Class Meeting, or we shall put you out of Society.'

The facts disclosed by inquiry into the state of the Class Meeting throughout the Connexion weighed heavily on the judgement of the Committees. 'Irregular attendance' at Class, in every degree up to the vanishing point, has long been sanctioned—the Conference of 1889 deliberately admitted this—and is matter in some quarters of immemorial usage. More than this, a printed official report lies before us, drawn from examination of a certain District probably neither worse nor better in this respect than others, showing that in eleven out of thirteen reporting Circuits during a certain recent quarter thirty-two per cent. of the Church members enrolled in Class-books made no attendance whatever at the meetings which were held, and that beside these close upon eighteen per cent. of the Circuit membership belonged to 'classes which do not meet!' In these eleven sample Circuits one-fourth of the Classes (110 out of 403), it appears, hold no meeting at all; and half of the recognized membership is reported to be non-attending. Making every allowance for necessary absences through distance, business, and infirmity, these are disquieting figures, and indicate a wide 'forsaking of the assembling of ourselves together.' But these are amongst the 'existing conditions' of which we are seeking a 'better adjustment.' The Conference cannot require Church members to attend Classes that never meet, nor content itself with such fellowship as this!

What have the Committees done in face of the dilemma? They have attempted two things. First, in their paragraph on 'Adaptations of the Class Meeting' (III. 1 A; expressed with less detail in the Pastoral Report), they seek to adjust it in every possible sense to 'the needs, opportunities, and character of our people,' advising the utmost liberty in circumstances of time and place, and in the conduct of the meeting, that is consistent with its purpose 'to foster a holy Christian fellowship.' But they have not supposed that this suggestion meets the needs of the situation; after all it is no more than pious advice, and encouragement to make use of a freedom already

existing, which has often been used with good effect. They have, further, remembered that behind the Class and its meetings there is the Society, the mother and matrix of the Class Meeting and the proper local Church of Methodism. They have drawn up a plan for the reconstitution of the Society Meeting, which the Conference 'heartily approves.' Moreover, in the terms of the clause already quoted (III. 2, or 4), they have associated the Society Meeting with the Class Meeting as conjoint modes of fellowship, unitedly giving Church status to those attending them 'with reasonable frequency.' The Class being, as the 'Rules' say, a 'smaller company' within the Society and belonging thereto as a part to the whole, it is the natural and constitutional resort to fall back upon the gathering of the Society, where the Class Meeting is inefficient or in abeyance. The Conference of 1907 declined to sanction an absentee membership; it virtually pronounced that people 'in Society' must be willing to associate, that meeting one's brethren is of the essence of our Church life. To secure universal attendance at the Class Meeting is impossible. The Committee adopted what seems to us to have been the one course open to it, in providing that those who cannot attend their Class or have no Class Meeting to attend, shall, at any rate, join hands in the gathering of the Society, which is, in fact, the local *ecclesia*, the assembly of Christ's people in the given place. Within such a Society each Methodist holds his membership, and to it he is properly responsible. Where Classes do not meet, or their constituents fail to appear except by name upon a Class-book, it is possible for the minister in gathering the Society round him to recall its members to a sense of their Church standing and duties, to bring them into touch with each other and to resuscitate the dormant fellowship. If any spark of Methodist brotherhood and loyalty is still burning, such a challenge will not be in vain. So, we think, our Founder would have acted. It was the *Societies* that John Wesley habitually met in his rounds; for 'the Society—Meeting, Giving

Thanks, Praying, Parting' (alas, these titles have disappeared from the 'Methodist Hymn Book'!)—Charles Wesley wrote our immortal Fellowship hymns. A great fund of power and of blessing awaits us in the renewed meetings of the Society, if they be turned to full account.

Important as it is to guard the door and maintain the fence of Christ's fold, to make that fold a home for the flock, a place of shelter and nurture and communion, is more important still. Debate turns too much on the fold-fencing, too little on the fold-furnishing. The latter, rather than the former, was our Lord's prime care. He would have 'wheat and tares grow together till the harvest,' rather than see the wheat injured by the uprooting of the tares in impatient discipline; He suffered a Judas in the Apostolate, until the time came for him to 'go' by his own will 'to his own place.' In the light of this example all measures must be judged which would un-church any who claim a place within the Christian Society. We insist on fellowship; we must give to 'fellowship' a generous and practicable interpretation. The Methodist rule has the advantage of being self-acting: 'the far greater number,' said John Wesley respecting those who left the Society, 'exclude themselves by utterly forsaking us'; the formula of exclusion now proposed runs in like terms, when it says that any one who 'persistently (or, for twelve months) absents himself' from his brethren's company 'shall be considered to have thereby excluded himself from Church membership.' Whatever becomes of this disciplinary part of the Committee's plan, its constructive part will surely stand, and may grow to much. The failure to maintain and develop the Society Meeting has proved, in our estimate, the most unfortunate turn in the ecclesiastical history of Methodism. It is true that 'Society Meetings,' which were held every Sunday evening in early Methodism, figure in our official regulations and occupy a page and a half in Simon's *Summary* (pp. 27, 28); but for long they have been rare and casual occurrences—gatherings summoned only when the pastor wished to give some con-

fidential homily to his people. Even so, they are of peculiar value; the writer can recall some such occasions in his youth which, along with the Lovefeast and Covenant Service (these are properly Society Meetings), enabled him better than anything else he had witnessed to recall the primitive *ecclesia* and awakened in him the sense of a common being and a common responsibility to Christ, a single soul and will, pervading the Church. The Class Meeting, be it ever so good, cannot suffice for this great purpose; it wears of necessity a semi-private and voluntary aspect, and fails to nourish a Church-consciousness. Its members become deeply interested in each other, and devoted to their leader; but the tie is mainly personal—they 'belong to Mr. So-and-so's Class,' too often knowing and caring little about the Church beyond this. How should they care for the Church of God when perhaps they never see it, when they have no means of knowing it and no part in its concerns, when the local Church seldom or never meets in its distinctive capacity and 'the Society' is a mere name to those composing it? Here, we believe, lies one cause of the low esteem of Church membership in the eyes of many Methodists; for this reason, amongst others, our constituency is unstable, and by tens of thousands people lightly enter and lightly leave our fold. We gather, but we fail to keep. We require a broader basis of membership than the Class Meeting affords, and other ties of Church life than those it creates, endeared and strong in a multitude of instances as these are. With the Class Meeting for more intimate heart-communion and the Society Meeting for larger comradeship and fuller responsibility, we should have an ideal provision for Christian fellowship. These should be parts of one economy. To make them rivals is the last thing to be desired. How to re-establish the Society without weakening the Class, is a problem vital to our future. The patience of more than one or two years may be required to solve it.

The lapse of the Society is especially to be lamented, because this has gone to efface the correspondence between

our Churches and those of Apostolic days. St. Paul writes, in his First Epistle to Corinth, 'to the assembly of God that is in Corinth, men sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all those that call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ in every place.' At Corinth, and in each town of the province where the gospel had taken root, the sum of the declared believers gathering statedly in 'the fellowship of God's Son Jesus Christ,' forms to the Apostle's eyes 'the Church' there existing. Meeting in such assembly and 'with one accord, with one mouth, glorifying the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' Christian believers 'receive one another to the glory of God' (Rom. xv. 5–7). The meeting of the Christian Society in Corinth constitutes the court in which sentence of discipline is pronounced by the Apostle (1 Cor. v. 3, 4); here 'the name' and 'the power of the Lord Jesus' are invoked with their due and full effect. Dealing with the disorders that had attached to the holding of the Lord's Supper in the same community, it is the assembled body of the Church—the Society Meeting—that he takes to task: 'when you come together to the same spot,' he writes, 'it is not to eat the Lord's Supper, for it is his own supper that each of you is in haste to eat' (1 Cor. xi. 17 ff.). This was a Church supper, of which the Sacrament formed the concluding rite. The odious abuse reveals the use of the primitive feast. Chapters xii.–xiv. of the same writing vividly illustrate the proceedings of these earliest assemblies of the Pauline Churches—full of zest and freedom, while they were stained by strange excesses. They disclose a religious life of an intensely social and communicative nature, a Church whose members throw all their energy and talent into the common stock. The endowments of individual Christians are regarded and are used as the property, not of their several possessors, but of the commonwealth, even as the hands or eyes appertain to the bodily frame; this spiritual commonwealth forms, in the immediate sense, the Society of Christ united at the given place and time. The Apostle knows of no Christian life

that is not exercised in fellowship; and he knows of no fellowship that does not find its home and its habitual resort in 'the assembly' of those who 'in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.' It was to such a Church in its collective capacity—though marred by sad faults and containing members unworthy of their name—that St. Paul addressed the sublime apostrophe, 'Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?' (1 Cor. iii. 9). Spiritual lay-fellowship supplied the tissue and texture of the original Christian Society, and that Society formed an organic unity in each of its local centres. In view of the New Testament history and the Apostolic precedents, we earnestly endorse the sentences of the double Report (III. B), introductory to the Section upon the Society Meeting:

> In addition to the Class Meeting, which provides for more intimate fellowship and oversight, the Society Meeting has from the beginning been an integral part of the organization of Methodism. The Society consists of all the members at each local centre, and constitutes the Church in that place. Regular meetings of the Society are needful for the realization of a common Church life.

The Society Meeting outlined in the Committees' Reports, it should be well observed, will be the *Society's* Meeting—a people's assembly—conducted, but not monopolized, by the pastor, with spiritual fellowship and fraternization for its chief aim. The routine business assigned to it is only such as is necessary for the Society to constitute itself and to know its own members, and with good arrangement may be briefly transacted, and if necessary distributed over several meetings.

The references made to the Sacraments in the Reports before us may excite dissatisfaction from different sides. It will seem that more should have been said upon them, or less. Amongst the 'Privileges and Obligations of Church Membership' these divine rites hold with us a sacred and obligatory place, as in the rest of Christendom.

The mere length of the sentences referring to them, as compared with those devoted, for instance, to the Class Meeting, is no criterion of relative importance. The 'Statement' affirms, in its relevant paragraph, the doctrine of the Methodist standards upon this subject. In the 'Conditions' the duty of coming to the Lord's Table is pressed in the most urgent language short of absolute compulsion. Such has always been the tone of our prescriptions in regard to this Sacrament: the 'Rules of Society' put down 'the Supper of the Lord' as amongst the things whose observance is 'expected of all who desire to continue in these Societies'; in other instructions the Conference 'tenderly beseeches all members of Society' (Simon's *Summary*, p. 32) to the same effect. The Committees were not at liberty, had they wished it, to overstep this line and to turn entreaty into peremptory command. They place this topic at the close of the regulations upon fellowship, since the sacramental tokens supply the crown of Christian communion; in like sequence 'the breaking of bread' follows 'the Apostles' teaching and fellowship' in the great enumeration of Acts ii. 42. The Committees provide—under the *fifth* (not the *first*, as one might expect) of their 'Conditions of Entrance into Full Membership'—for the case of adult persons admitted to the Church 'who have not' previously 'been baptized.' A corresponding instruction should, we think, be given to parents, under the head of 'obligations,' to present their children to the Lord in baptism: the 'Statement' speaks of baptism as 'the Sacrament of entrance into the household of faith,' adding that 'from the earliest times it has been administered to little children.'

Our history places us in a certain embarrassment on these questions. In the 'Rules of Society' the Wesleys say not one word about baptism: they were not legislating for a complete Church; they presumed that their people generally had been baptized in infancy. 'The Supper of the Lord' is named incidentally, along with 'family and private prayer,' 'searching the Scripture' and 'fasting,'

amongst the general 'ordinances of God' binding upon Christians. This mere allusion is very far from representing the views of John or Charles Wesley upon the two Sacraments, or the attitude of the early Methodists towards them. From the beginning, however, there have been Methodists of Baptist persuasion as to the Sacraments, and some few holding more or less explicitly Quaker sentiments. On the other side, there is a certain vein of 'high' sacramentarian feeling, combined with evangelical faith and divorced from sacerdotalism, which has the right to claim Wesleyan sanction. The Church has been tolerant in both directions; any precision that would narrow our bounds of communion on this account is to be deprecated, and would violate 'existing conditions.'

We have never, indeed, allowed the Covenant Signs to displace the Covenant of Christ, nor consented with those who would make baptized persons members of Christ's Church in virtue of the *opus operatum* and regard the Lord's Supper as the sum of Christian fellowship. Dr. Rigg speaks for all Methodism when he says (pp. 23, 24):

> The fact is that the Lord's Supper is not at all the *test*, but the *seal* and *token* of Church membership. Our Methodist master-poet defines this very exactly:
>
> The *badge* and *token* this,
> The sure confirming *seal*,
> That He is ours and we are His,
> The servants of His will.
>
> . . . Unless every man may come to the Lord's Table who pleases, there must be some preliminary condition by which the fitness of postulants for the Holy Sacrament may be ascertained and declared. Accordingly, every Church has, at least in theory, its own test or condition. . . . Nothing can be more consistent or defensible than the position assumed by Methodism, namely, that the ordinary condition of access . . . is, and ought to be, active Church fellowship in the way of the Class Meeting, coupled with a consistent Christian life.

Those who deny our right to require any fellowship

beyond the ritual communion, forget that the original Lord's Supper meant much more than the Eucharist. The Sacrament crowned the Supper; it sealed a long-tried fellowship and union of hearts not only between the Lord and His chosen, but amongst the fellow-communicants—approved 'disciples' and such as to be known before all the world as men 'who loved each other,' whose unity had its pattern in that subsisting between the Eternal Father and Son (John xvii. 21–23). Such guests, and no others, the Master of the feast invited to His Table. The intercourse around that table—the conversation of chapters xiii.–xvii. in St. John's Gospel—was integral with the Last Supper of Jesus. Accordingly, the primitive sacrament was no isolated act; it formed the close of an evening's social meal accompanying the meeting of the Society, in which Christ's friends held 'fellowship one with another,' while His 'blood cleansed them from all sin.' The broken bread and the cup of blessing took their binding force from the living brotherhood which they attested. To appropriate them on another footing is a desecration; it is to detach the seal from the Divine document, to claim the privilege, while one ignores the contents and terms, of the covenant of grace.

The Committees on Church membership have done a year's work that will bear solid fruit, in the parts of their findings which the Conference has 'adopted' or 'heartily approved,'—in the reasoned affirmation of Methodist Churchmanship, the exposition of the 'Rules of Society,' the readjustment of the Class Meeting, and the restoration and development of the Society Meeting. Though the signs are not favourable for any immediate and generally satisfying redefinition of the test of membership, we dare not despair of a solution. The Church cannot put the task aside again; she must not weary of the labour it entails. The Spirit of truth will not refuse to guide us, if we keep His unity and in brotherly love submit our differences to His controlling and reconciling judgement.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK DRAMA

The Religious Teachers of Greece. By JAMES ADAM, Litt.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1908.)

TO judge of the influence of any teaching on a people we must know something of the previous attitude of their minds, of their early training, must know what creed they believed, or at least accepted, how far hopes based on it stimulated, or fears restrained them, how far appeals to it had practical effect in dealings between state and state, between man and man, and how far their religious convictions were sincere enough to touch their purses. When *we* think of the doctrines, sanctions, and obligations of religion, we contemplate them as transmitted in sacred writings, as crystallized in the creeds, ordinances, and ritual of a Church, as enforced by the teaching, the promises, the threatenings of its ministers. The Greek's religion had no such associations. His first introduction to theology would be in the fairy-tale form of myth and legend, as told in the nursery. The foundations of his belief were laid at school, where, for Catechism and Bible readings, he was put through a course of Homer and Hesiod. We learn from Plato, Dr. Adam reminds us, that:

> Poetic anthologies were sometimes made with the object of instilling the wisdom of the poets into the youthful mind; and it is to a later anthology of this kind, the anthology of Stobaeus, that we owe many of the finest fragments of the Greek dramatists. The poets who played the chief rôle in the education of the young were Homer, Hesiod, and the so-called gnomic poets, particularly Theognis. How thoroughly they were assimilated may be seen from the frequency with which these poets, and especially Homer, are quoted and alluded to throughout the whole

> history of Greek literature. 'Most men who had an opinion to defend,' says Grote, 'rejoiced to be able to support or enforce it by some passages of Homer, well or ill explained—just as texts of the Bible are quoted in modern times' (p. 11). . . . 'It is true to say that certain views of the Deity, and certain versions of the legends about the Gods and heroes, enjoyed an exceptional authority such as may justify us in designating them as orthodox, in a certain qualified sense of the term, and in this restricted meaning of the word it is Homer and Hesiod who are the representatives of Greek orthodoxy' (p. 7). . . . 'The modern reader is so accustomed to look on Homer as a poet and nothing more that it is difficult for him to realize that Homer was also a great religious teacher whose representations of the Godhead and his attributes had a practical influence on the lives and conduct of the Greeks' (p. 9).

And it may be claimed for this education that in practical effect it was sound; for, just as the Christian draws inspiration to good from the Psalms, but no inspiration to evil from the moral lapses of David, so the young Greek, taught to draw no lessons for his own conduct from the actions of the Gods in epic poetry (as of beings whose omnipotent irresponsibility set them outside any standards of human conduct), learnt from it the rudiments of the broadest and deepest lessons of religion—as where, in the sentence, 'All men stand in need of the Gods,' the poet, as Dr. Adam says:

> Gives expression not only to the universality of the religious instinct, but also to the foundation on which religion everywhere rests, man's consciousness of dependence on a personality or personalities higher than his own. For the religion of Homer in particular this saying should be regarded as an authoritative text or motto; for by far the most striking and characteristic feature in his faith is the extent to which both man and nature are conceived as dependent on the heavenly powers (p. 22).

He learnt that:

> It is to the Gods that we owe not only the goods of body and external goods, beauty and health, prosperity and fame and wealth, but also the goods of soul, courage and wisdom and righteousness; there is, in short, no blessing of which they are not the cause (p. 41).

He learnt that the Gods are ever watchful to punish sin, and especially presumptuous sins. Homer's poems

> Abound in lessons of piety, moderation, and truth; the virtues of family, social, and political life, friendship and charity, consideration for the rights of others, chivalry and courage, are embodied in many imperishable examples (p. 66).

Hesiod read to him lessons of honesty and industry, sang how the blessings of peace come to the just, and pointed to the sleepless watch of the all-seeing ones:

> For thrice ten thousand servants of Zeus, immortal, fly
> O'er the all-sustaining earth, watching men that be born but to die;
> Over deeds of justice and deeds of iniquity watching, they go
> Shrouded in veils of mist over all the earth to and fro.
> And Justice the Maiden is Daughter of Zeus: she is glorified
> And is honoured by all the Gods in Olympus' halls which abide;
> And when any by wrongful accusing insulteth her majesty,
> Straightway she seateth herself by Father Zeus on high,
> And she telleth the thoughts of unrighteous men, that the people may pay
> For the reckless sins of their kings, who from straight paths turn them away
> To wrest the right in their judgements, whose purposes ruinward stray.

Just as at school the boy's theology was indissolubly bound up with instruction in elocution, in literature, in the elements of all manly virtues, so, on leaving school, his religious faith and practice were bound up with his social and political life. Wherever he went, he passed among altars, temples, and statues of divinities; in the home, their presence was recognized at every turn; his dwelling had its altar to Zeus in the courtyard, and its special household

deities; he undertook no enterprise without first consulting their will with prayer and sacrifice. And what he did as an individual, he did in his corporate capacity as a citizen.

> National assemblies and military expeditions were inaugurated by public prayers: treaties between states and contracts between individuals were confirmed by oath; the vengeance of the gods was invoked upon infringers of them: the whole of corporate life, in short, social and political, was so embraced and bathed in an idealizing element of ritual that the secular and religious aspects of the State must have been as inseparable to a Greek in idea as we know them to have been in constitution (Dickenson, *Greek View of Life*, p. 11).
>
> To the ancient world it never occurred that the State was 'profane,' nor would the distinction between Church and State have been intelligible to the Greeks. Religious worship and ritual were inwrought into the texture of their political and social life. The Greek city was invested with a sacred character from the outset; it was the chosen home of protecting Gods, the embodiment of the moral law, the visible expression of those ideal interests which were symbolized by the popular religion (Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 69).

It follows, then, that the Greek's religion, so far as it went, was the atmosphere of his life; and just as in Christian countries the vast majority of the adherents of the various Churches remain unaffected by the 'advanced thinking' and 'higher criticism' of the hour, so these Athenians were content to stand fast in the old ways, shutting their eyes to difficulties and inconsistencies in their creed, and satisfied to live their religion, without questioning too curiously into its basis or its accretions. Philosophers might theorize about origins, and first causes, and explanations of the mysteries of being; but for the average Greek their voices cried in the wilderness: he was haunted by immemorial traditions, stirred by instincts inherited from races whose very names he knew not, enwrapped in the atmosphere of a social world in which religion was as

much an inseparable part of life as the nerves are of the body—and this a religion not of Sundays, or of Churches, or of sacred books, but of every day and hour, of the home as much as of the temple, of all legend and all literature, a religion from time to time kindled into splendour and realism by national festival and sacrifice, a religion whose yoke was easy, whose burden was light, in that it brought with it no pangs of introspection, no agonies of moral yearning, no stings of conscience, no crushing sense of sin, no terrors of the law. If it met no deeper needs of the soul, at least it did not create them; if it uttered no invitation to the weary and heavy-laden, it did not add to the burden of this world the burden of the world to come; if it brought no hint of regeneration to human hearts, it did not beget unrest within those hearts by revealing to them their desperate corruption. It enjoined reverence and humility toward the Gods, justice between man and man; but the motions of the heart, the promptings of the senses, the impulses of the passions, were held in check mainly by social conventions, by the public opinion of each community. This was, indeed, much less lax than the examples set by the divinities of Homer and Hesiod. But we must not therefore jump to the conclusion that the Greek did not believe in his Gods and Goddesses, because in the only 'inspired records' available they appeared as beings who might, indeed, be feared, but hardly trusted, and but seldom respected. He knew, as well as we do, that these representations were the offspring of the imaginations of poets who wrote in what he regarded as historical times. Hesiod was no further off than Milton is from us, and, whatever date scholars may finally assign to Homer (be he one or many), he was for the men of Aeschylus' day not more remote than Chaucer is for us, and may have been regarded as being as near as Shakespeare. An adult Greek, if put through a serious 'divinity examination,' would admit that he believed as little in the details of these poetic visions as we do in Milton's account of the heavenly councils and the war between the angels.

But it is a long step from this to conclude that he regarded the Gods, or any of them, as non-existent. *We* are so accustomed to look upon them as the mere creatures of a fairy-tale, that literary critics are continually assuming that the Greeks also did not take their Gods seriously, that their fundamental beliefs, interwoven as they were with all their social and national life, could be easily overthrown when a dramatist or a philosopher set in strong relief the absurdity or the unworthiness of some of the embroidery laid by an epic poet on 'traditions of their fathers, old as time.' Even philosophers were not practical sceptics. With respect to the uncertain future, as Dr. Adam well puts it:

> The whole of this side of things, Socrates believed, the Gods had reserved for themselves, and denied to human reason; but we are not on that account to leave it out of consideration altogether. Our duty in such matters is to consult the Gods through the appointed channels of communication—that is, by means of oracles and the diviner's art. 'About things which are hidden,' he would say, 'we ought to inquire of the Gods by divination; for the Gods grant signs to those to whom they are gracious.' It follows that 'no one who wishes to manage a house or city with success, no one aspiring to guide the helm of the State aright, can afford to dispense with aid from above' (p. 337).

Pleaders in the law courts and statesmen before popular assemblies appealed with confidence to the popular faith. Thus, Andocides, accused of impiously violating the Mysteries, says, 'My accusers would have you believe that the Gods have brought me safely hither over the seas that I might be condemned by you. But I, gentlemen of the jury, do not think thus of the Gods: if they felt that I had wronged them, when they had caught me in the midst of dangers they would have avenged themselves on me. Then my person, my life, my property, were all at their mercy, yet they preserved me.' So Nicias, when his army was in desperate straits in Sicily, is reported by

Thucydides as quoting the punctilious religious observances of his past life, as an argument to inspire his soldiers with the belief that the Gods will help them in their extremity. As to the mass of the people, their faith was, in the heyday of philosophical scepticism, quite capable of being roused to fanaticism.

> The laws against impiety (says Prof. Campbell) were maintained in their full strength, and men suspected of irreligious acts were virtually excommunicated. They could not assist at any sacred function, such as the Eleusinian Mysteries, except at the peril of their lives. This bore hardly upon those who in their early youth had been led by the champions of enlightenment to mock at sacred things, but who, as they advanced in years, felt the need of religious sympathy and the support of those common acts of worship which their fathers had shared, and in which those most near and dear to them profoundly believed. The danger of impiety was, of course, greatly aggravated by the fact that in the popular belief the very existence and safety of the state, the growth of the harvest and of the vintage, the fertility and soundness of the race, depended upon the right performance of certain acts of worship. Thus the spirit of fanaticism, when once awakened, was ruinous to all who defied it, and the danger was greatest in moments of popular excitement; for example, at that great moment, the turning point of the Athenian fortunes, when the ill-fated expedition, so brilliant at the outset, was on the point of sailing for Sicily. Then came the mutilation of the Hermae and the panic that followed. Although some features of that strange incident must ever remain obscure, the attentive study of what is known of it is essential to a right understanding of the general condition of thought and feeling with reference to religion in the later years of the fifth century—the last decade but one before the death of Socrates (*Religion in Greek Literature*, p. 297–8).

So again we find, as Mr. Rouse has shown so fully in his *Greek Votive Offerings*, that the temples were, through generation after generation, filled with tokens of recognition of the power of every known deity to bless and

save, with memorials of answers to prayer, with thank-offerings for restored health, for success in war, in hunting, in husbandry, in lawsuits, in athletic contests, in trade and manufacture, in all possible relations of life. Nay, even the philosopher and the dramatic poet, as a brilliant thinker has said,

> Came not to destroy, but to fulfil; not to annihilate, but to transform the popular theology. Such an intention, strange as it may appear to us with our rigid creeds, we shall see to be natural enough to the Greek mind, when we remember that the material of their religion was not a set of propositions, but a more or less indeterminate body of traditions capable of being presented in the most various forms as the genius and taste of individual poets might direct. And we find, in fact, that the most religious poets of Greece, those even who were most innocent of any intention to innovate on popular beliefs, did nevertheless unconsciously tend to transform, in accordance with their own conceptions, the whole structure of the Homeric theology (Dickenson, *The Greek View of Life*, p. 49–50).

In Greece, as everywhere else, we find that the basis of religious influence is, not social expediency or obligations, but supernatural sanctions. The former an individual may (through power, wealth, or secrecy) think he may override or evade; against the latter he can never feel secure, if he retains any lurking belief at all. Hence it is to these that the final appeal is made by poets and by all who have influenced the general public. The philosopher appeals to men by the higher nature within them, the poet and the prophet by the stronger existences above them. And never in all the history of literature had poets so magnificent an opportunity of preaching righteousness, of justifying the ways of Heaven to men, of commending to their hearers whatsoever things are holy, pure, and eternally true; and never has a more noble use been made of that opportunity than by the great masters whose works have come down to us.

The opportunity was great in the hallowed dignity of

its attendant circumstances. It was not staled by familiarity; it came but once a year. Dramatic representation was no private venture; it was the crowning element of a great national religious rite: those who took part in it were, for the occasion, the consecrated servants of a God, and by his protection overshadowed. In front of the stage from which the actors spoke, and in the midst of the space in which the chorus moved, was his altar. The theatre stood on consecrated ground; it was a national temple, and the chosen dramatists were the national preachers; and so, in Dr. Adam's words, 'the representation of a tragedy was, in a true and proper sense, an act of public worship rendered by the state to one of its Gods.' But it was not Athens and her people alone who took part in this great religious festival, nor they alone whom the voice of the poet reached. The Greater Dionysia, the festival of which the tragedies were the living heart, was held in early spring, when deputies from other Greek communities thronged to Athens. The envoys of the subject-allies who had brought their tribute were there; ambassadors from all Hellene cities had places of honour assigned them, the members of the League of Delos, every one of name and standing in lands where the tongue of Greece was heard, was a guest in the city through those glorious days; and so these plays were declaimed and chanted, not to Athens only, but to all Ionia and to Greater Hellas.

The opportunity was great in the character of the audiences for whom these dramas were composed. Think what must have been the intellectual calibre of the thousands on thousands who made up that vast array, who could sit hour after hour, day after day, attentive to, keenly appreciative of, poetry which trod levels above which the brightest intellects of after ages have not climbed. Think what must have been the moral seriousness of a people who, not for a few years, but through generation after generation, followed the inspired thinkers who explored the deepest problems of humanity, of destiny, of sin and suffering, of

hearers who responded to appeals to all that was noblest in them, to their fear of Heaven, to their reverence for sanctities, to their respect for the eternal laws of justice, to their grasp of high ideals. Bear in mind that they not only endured to listen to these things, but stamped them with enthusiastic approval by popular acclamation, so that these dramas had with the general public a success more universal and more permanent than that gained by the most popular novels of our day. May we not be tempted to wonder, as we remember how 'dramatic successes' are obtained in these times, whether the most civilized races of earth have, in twenty-three centuries, really made much progress in the things that matter most to the growth of humanity?

It is not a little significant that it was to Aeschylus and Sophocles, in far greater measure than to Euripides, that the audiences awarded those hall-marks of supreme approval, the First Prizes. The two former took the old beliefs as they found them; they silently veiled or remoulded their grosser features, and purified and spiritualized what was of the essence of their faith, and so brought home to men its eternal lessons. Euripides voiced the unrest of faith, the strange doubts and obstinate questionings that disquieted thinking men: hence, though he became far more widely, perhaps more enduringly popular, men seemed to feel instinctively that, however much they might *like* him, they must not take on them to endorse his iconoclasm by setting on it the seal of national preference. It was glorious poetry; it stirred the human brotherhood within them; it opened the well-springs of sympathy and pity; it spoke out the thoughts that strove for utterance everywhere in such inspired music that the voice of honest doubt seemed as the whisper of an angel—yet—yet, the occasion was a great religious festival founded on the old unquestioning beliefs, and to crown the poet who shook the foundations of the simple faith of common men was a thing they could rarely bring themselves to do. And so it is Aeschylus and Sophocles who remain pre-eminent as

the great religious teachers who found for men light and leading in the old ways, and drew from the old creed spiritual and moral lessons which reveal to us how much of gold was mingled with the dross.

> It is (says Dr. Adam) Sophocles who represents the climax of this movement on the part of Greek poetry: more than any other Greek poet, he seems to lay hold of whatever there is of divine and imperishable in the traditional faith of Greece, and consecrates it for all time in those incomparable dramas, which are the most perfect embodiment of the Hellenic genius at its best (p. 19).

Hence it is from Aeschylus and Sophocles that we propose now to gather instances of the religious teaching of the Greek drama, more especially as in a previous issue[1] we have somewhat fully shown how Euripides arrayed himself on the same side, though he did not always fight with the same weapons.

Aeschylus starts with the fundamental assumption that the accepted theology is so far true that no satisfactory substitute (neither the visionary's dream of a 'Supreme Intelligence,' nor the philosopher's fancy of a 'Measureless Vortex') has been, or can be, conceived. Yet, while never questioning the popular creed, he, unconsciously as it were, transforms, or rather, transfigures it; he presents it simplified and harmonized. The conflicts, jealousies, and intrigues of gods recede out of sight; the Olympians become an ordered hierarchy, whose personal elements are ever subject to, and sometimes merged in, the supreme Zeus, whose will is Justice and Fate, whose chief attribute is Retributive Vengeance, yet whose chosen name is the Saviour. In his conception of the Supreme God we seek in vain the anthropomorphism of the old epics: once, indeed, in an isolated fragment, we find the poet identifying him with the Soul of the Universe:

> Zeus is the ether, Zeus the earth, Zeus heaven;
> Yea, Zeus is all, and what is above all (frag. 379).

[1] October, 1904.

But in all extant plays he stops short on the threshold of speculation; for him the revealed Name suffices; all that lies behind that name is embodied in the attributes of Zeus, and these are manifested by his dealings with man:

> Zeus—whate'er 'Zeus' expresseth of His essence—
> If the name please him on the lips of prayer,
> With this name on my lips I seek his presence,
> Knowing none else I may with him compare.
>
> Yea, though I ponder, in the balance laying
> All else, no help save Zeus alone I find,
> If I would cast aside the burden weighing,
> All to no profit, ever on my mind.
>
> (*Agam.* 160 sq.)

He is First Cause of all things:

> Ah, 'twas done as He willed
> Who is First Cause of all!
> When is purpose fulfilled
> Of man, save as thrall
> Of Zeus?—what thing of all these did not He foreordain to befall?
>
> (*Agam.* 1468 sq.)

His purposes and acts are inscrutable:

> That ancient saying declared aright—
> 'The purpose of Zeus no searcher may trace.'
> To him all lieth bare in his own fierce light,
> Though he shroud it wholly in blackness of night
> From the prying eyes of the earth-born race.
>
> The thing that Zeus by his nod hath decreed,
> Though ye wrestle therewith, it shall ne'er be o'erthrown;
> For through tangled ways and shadowy lead
> The paths of the purpose that none may impede,
> By no eye to be scanned, by no wisdom known.
>
> (*Suppliants*, 85 sq.)

He is King of kings, omnipotent:

> Hear, thou whose thoughts are from times eternal,
> Zeus, blesser and blessèd, Creator supernal!
> Thou art throned where the lordship of none thou obeyest:
> Beneath no stronger thy sceptre thou swayest:

None sitteth on high unto whom thou, brooking
His rule, art with reverence upward looking:
What purpose soever thy spirit conceiveth,
The deed as the word thine hand achieveth.

(*Suppliants*, 593 sq.)

His great attribute is Righteousness, which is manifested to men as Retributive Justice. Not that the poet, as Dr. Adam well points out, 'ignores the beneficent aspects of Justice.' If Zeus is the punisher of sin, he is also the rewarder of virtue:

He holds the balance true, apportioning
To men their fruits of righteousness or sin.

(*Supp.* 403–4.)

So, again:

They whose straight path righteousness prepares,
Fair is their lot, and goodly issue theirs.

(*Agam.* 761–2.)

But for one passage of this kind in Aeschylus (he continues) there are probably ten or more which proclaim the penalties of sin; and that which gives its great distinguishing feature to Aeschylean drama is the unique and almost appalling emphasis with which the poet dwells upon this theme. He is above all things the prophet of retributive justice, calling to his fellows to be just and pious: for human action is irrevocable, and sin must ever be expiated by suffering (p. 145).

To this end Zeus's justice is sleeplessly vigilant:

Justice is watching, to humble
The haughty: her swift dooms smite
Some at midnoon; some stumble
On the marches of darkness and light
Ere the pangs long evaded, that followed
Aye, turn their bliss unto gall:
Some—have they escaped? They are swallowed
In night that ends all!

(*Choëphoroe*, 61 sq.)

The stroke of justice is, of course, provoked by sin; but it is significant of the wide sweep of the moral purpose

of these poets, that the sins which they hold up before their audiences as bringing down fearful retribution were not the peccadilloes of life, the sins of thoughtlessness or weakness, which may indeed sap the moral fibre of the sinner, but do not inflict their consequences on the community: it was the sins which undermine society, those by which the transgressor is exalted, so that men are tempted to say, 'How doth God know, and is there knowledge in the Most High?' These are the sins of wealth and pride and power, the sins of those for whom law and public opinion have no terrors, the presumptuous sins of arrogance. Now, here we may note how the religious influence of the drama was enhanced by its choice of personages, the heroes and heroines of the heroic age, children of Gods, princes who were above law, warriors who were too strong for law, whose crimes and violences were amenable to no jurisdiction but that of divine justice, or to the decrees of that Fate which overrules the very Gods. Hence, in these plays the sinner stands unabsolved before the bar of Heaven, he has made expiation to no earthly tribunal; and so for the audience the lesson of individual responsibility is sharply drawn. This is the true ethical value of what is called the ideal (rather, the heroic) treatment.

Now, as the sons reaped the fruit of the lawlessness of their fathers in heritage of wealth and power, so it seemed in men's eyes only righteous that they should also reap the curse that clung to it. Hence, since, till the end of the age of the despots, pre-eminent prosperity was generally gained by trampling on the liberties and rights of others, the doctrine of the 'Jealousy of the Gods' arose, the axiom that prosperity in itself brought a Nemesis of doom; and on this Herodotus insists throughout his history. But Aeschylus, with clearer insight, distinguishes. In his view, the divine resentment has for its object, not the prosperity, but the sin, so that the 'Envy of the Gods' is only an expression for the divine Nemesis when directed against those in whom prosperity has engendered pride.

This is evident, not only from the pervading spirit of his drama, but also from the deliberate protest which he makes against this doctrine, in one of those relatively few places where he expressly challenges popular beliefs:

A saying of old—once known of all for wisdom's own—
Thus to men crieth:
'Great weal to fullness grown reaps even as it hath sown,
Nor childless dieth;
Yea, fair prosperity
Aye bears for man one fated child of her womb, the unsated
Vampire Misery.'
But I alone stand, holding, as none other,
That Sin it is, the godless *act*, that bears
Spawn like itself, foul offspring of foul mother:
But they whose straight path righteousness prepares,
Fair is their lot, and goodly issue theirs.
(*Agam.* 750 sq.)

And though, through the overpowering pressure of the supernatural in his plays, he has seemed a fatalist, yet here too he proclaims no doctrine of inevitable doom. As Prof. Butcher has pointed out:

> Not actual guilt, but the tendency to guilt is inherited. A man is master of his own fate; he may foster the tendency, or he may resist it. An act of will is necessary to wake the curse into life. The chain of crime may at any point be broken, though the poet rather exhibits, for the most part, the natural continuity of guilt; that, as crime engenders crime in the individual heart, so in a house the guilt of the fathers tends to lead the children into new guilt, and to extend itself over a whole race (*Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 116–7).

Thus, a king who hesitates to protect the oppressed, is warned:

Know, whatsoe'er your sentence, yonder
Stern justice waits: your sins one day
Such measure as ye mete shall pay.
Thou on Zeus' sentence therefore ponder,
And let the right have sway.
(*Suppliants*, 434 sq.)

But such as choose the evil do the Gods thrust onward to destruction. They send on them Atê, the Spirit of Infatuation:

God sendeth strong delusions, and what mortal may evade them?
And who with foot light-leaping may spring clear of the snare?
For Atê smiles, alluring men, until she hath betrayed them
Amidst her net: none breaks its meshes, once entangled there.
(*Persians*, 93 sq.)

And again:

For proud presumption's flower hath fruit
Infatuate sin, whose harvest is all tears.
(*Pers.* 752–3.)

Yet is man haled as with a chain,
By Atê's craft-resistless child,
Temptation, into sin beguiled.
What cure avails?—all, all are vain.
(*Agam.* 385 sq.)

For the sinner who has gone thus far there is no place for forgiveness:

And no God heareth when he prays:
Nay, but the very God to whom
He kneeleth, him spurns to his doom
Who walketh in injustice' ways.
(*Agam.* 396 sq.)

The warning is urged with the more terrible emphasis, in that, though for the tainted family there may be expiation, albeit hardly won, the presumptuous sinner himself must abide the vendetta of God and man:

'Ever the tongue of hate shall the tongue of hate requite:
Aye for the stroke of murder the stroke of murder shall smite:—'
Justice exacting her dues cries ringing-voiced this law.
'Doers must suffer'—so sayeth the immemorial saw.
(*Choëph.* 309 sq.)

A Law saith, 'Murder-drops of blood-libation
On earth spilt, cry for blood in expiation.'

The Avenging Sprite shrieks, hastening Havoc on,
Which brings from graves of men dead long agone
Ruin to crown the work of ruin done.
(*Choëph.* 400 sq.)

The Erinyes, the avengers of unnatural sin, foretell the future judgement:

So shall all else that have transgressed,
Have sinned against a God, a guest,
Or parents, mark how each receives
The dues of sins that Justice gives.
For Hades 'neath the earth waits every soul,
A mighty judge who watcheth to enscroll
All sins on his eternal memory's roll.
(*Eumenides*, 269 sq.)

Law abideth everlasting: cunning are we and unfailing
Workers of its sentence, awful sin-recorders: unavailing
With us is prayer.
Onward ever press we, hasting to perform an office lacking
Honour, worship—yea, unlawful for the gods Olympian—tracking
Paths of despair
Down through sunless darkness sloping: stumbling blindly, blindly groping,
Sinners unbereft of sight, sinners death-bereft of light
Wander there.
(*Eumenides*, 381 sq.)

They mock at the overlate remorse of the transgressor:

He, shrieking forth his prayer
To heavens that hear not, there
'Mid whirlpits of despair,
Hellward descendeth.
God laughs at him, to see
His helpless agony—
Fool, who made boast, 'O'er me
No doom impendeth!'
(*Eumenides*, 558 sq.)

Hence, fear of judgement to come is a wholesome power on the earth:

'Tis good that Fear yet lingering midst the nations
Somewhere should watch man's soul
Throned in the conscience, good that tribulations
Should teach men self-control.

(*Eumenides*, 517 sq.)

In none of these passages (remarks Dr. Adam) is there any hint that divine justice has regard to the interests of the criminal, but the poet more than once expresses the milder and more Sophoclean belief, that suffering is the way by which God leads men into knowledge (p. 155):

Zeus unto men the path of wisdom showeth:
This as the law of life doth he ordain—
'From suffering's root the flower instruction groweth.'
We sleep—but our heart waketh, seeth pain
Dropping from memory's wine-press; so is given
Wisdom to scholars loth to understand:[1]
The Gods from thrones of majesty in heaven
Must force their boon into the unwilling hand.

(*Agam.* 175 sq.)

We have noted above how the poet speaks of retribution as acting through the judgements inflicted by the rulers of the underworld: it may also act through the power of the wronged dead to assist their living avenger:

My son, the spirit of the slain
No ravening jaws of death-bale fire
Destroy: he flasheth forth again,
Long after, lightnings of his ire.
Over the dead the keen is pealed;
And lo, his murderer stands revealed.
When fathers foully butchered die,
The wail for justice, shrilling high,
Follows the track of wrong to exact the penalty.

(*Choëph.* 324 sq.)

The great incantation-chant in the *Choëphoroe* is an expansion of the thought that 'men betrayed are mighty, and great are the wrongfully dead': it is one thrilling

[1] Compare *Job* xxxiii. 14.

appeal to the shade of Agamemnon to help his children to avenge him on his murderers.

> If (says Dr. Adam) we ask what is the peculiar claim of Aeschylus to be regarded as a great moral and religious teacher, our reply, I think, must be, that more emphatically, perhaps, than any other ancient writer, he proclaims the government of the world by justice. . . . The predominant feature of Aeschylean tragedy was the extraordinary power displayed by the poet in grappling with the deepest problems of religion and life, such as the origin and propagation of sin, together with its effects on the individual, the family, and the state. More effectively, perhaps, than any other ancient poet, except Euripides, he makes us realize the contending forces that determine the destiny of man; and his own profound belief in the righteousness of Zeus hardly suffices to dispel in us the doubts which he awakens. In Sophocles, on the other hand, though he is by no means unconscious of the discordant elements in human life and destiny, the prevailing note is one of reconciliation, harmony, and peace (pp. 161, 163).

Dr. Adam says that of all the great Greek poets, Sophocles is, perhaps, the most religious. We can accept this view if we apply it in the strict etymological sense of the word, and look on religion as a constraining and restraining force, actuated, indeed, by belief, but working, not from without through fear, but within from the conscience, so that the εὐσέβεια of Sophocles has in a sense made of the man 'a new creature.' He questions no more than Aeschylus the existence of the Gods of tradition, nor yet their righteousness, and remains as untroubled as any average devout Athenian by the inconsistencies on which the philosophers lay such stress. But he has removed them farther off; their conflicting personalities are merged in a 'stream of tendency which makes for righteousness.'

'He seems,' says Dr. Adam, 'to have extended his outlook to the whole movement of human destiny, and to have seen therein the fulfilment of a single harmonious purpose, which is none other than the will of Zeus.' For

him, so far as control over human affairs is concerned, the Godhead is One. So strongly did he convey this impression to early Christian writers, that we find them attributing to him a fragment which, though modern scholars reject it as spurious, is yet significant as embodying the impression he made upon those who had access to far more of his writings than are now extant:

> One God there is in truth: he framed high heaven,
> Wide earth, the sea's dim depths, the mighty winds.
> But men, with hearts by error aimless-driven,
> Have reared, to comfort sorrow-burdened minds,
> False gods of stone or wood, or statues golden
> Or carved of ivory! 'Behold,' man cries,
> 'I am godfearing!' after he hath holden
> Vain festivals to these with sacrifice.

For him Zeus is the Eternal, the Most High:

> Zeus, what proud deeds that man hath wrought thy power can override?—
> That power which Sleep o'ermastereth not, who snareth all beside,
> Nor heaven's years that tireless race: aged never by their flight,
> Thou dwellest 'mid the glory-space, Olympus' splendour-light.
> (*Antigone*, 603 sq.)

He is the one stay and hope of the oppressed:

> Take heart, my child, take heart! Throned in the sky
> Still mighty is Zeus: his eye
> Far-looketh o'er the world, and ruleth it,
> To him do thou commit
> Thy soul-embittering wrong.
> (*Electra*, 173 sq.)

Human happiness and suffering alike contribute to the harmony of his providential plan:

> My daughter, I praise not this thy despair—
> In reverence I speak, yet I needs must reprove thee—
> It beseems not to kill with the canker of care
> All the patience of hope. Let this thought move thee:

The Son of Kronos, the King who doth reign
Over all, did never for mortals ordain
The law of a life exempt from pain;
But to all men gladness in turn and sadness
Come, even as the Bear with his great lights seven
Ever sweepeth his circle out through the heaven.
(*Trachiniae*, 136 sq.)

The precept, 'Be ye merciful, even as your Father in Heaven is merciful,' is anticipated in Sophocles:

Yet, ah yet, even by Zeus enthroned doth sit
Mercy for all sins; therefore let her stand,
Father, by thee!
(*Oed. Col.* 1267 sq.)

His righteousness is manifested in Law, and this not the law of statutes or ordinances of men, but that written on men's hearts:

May Fate bestow on me the meed
Of utter-reverent purity,
That wholly pure my thoughts may be,
And wholly pure my every deed!
Purity's stablished statutes tread
Empyreal heights: their birth thrilled through
The skies up to the stainless blue:
Their father is the Heaven far-spread.
No mortal parentage was theirs;
They shall not know oblivion's night;
In them abides the Highest's might
Whose deathless strength no time outwears.
(*Oed. Tyr.* 863 sq.)

These divinely appointed principles (says Dr. Adam) are represented by Sophocles as of prior obligation to every human law; and he has illustrated and enforced their paramount claims on our allegiance in what is perhaps the most beautiful and affecting of all his plays, the *Antigone*. The whole action of that drama turns upon the idea of a conflict between the law of God and the law of man. The rival principles come into the sharpest possible collision, with tragic consequences to the chief actors on both sides; but the poet leaves us in no doubt as to the path where Duty points (p. 166).

Thus he makes Antigone justify her defiance of a human ordinance:

> 'Twas never Zeus, I ween, proclaimed this thing,
> Nor Justice, co-mate with the Nether Gods;
> Not she ordained men such unnatural laws!
> Nor deemed I that thine edict had such force,
> That thou, who art a mortal, couldst o'erride
> The unwritten and unswerving laws of Heaven.
> Not of to-day and yesterday they are,
> But everlasting: none can date their birth.
> Was I to fear the wrath of any man,
> And brave Heaven's vengeance for defying these?
> (*Ant.* 450 sq.)

Thus this poet proclaims a new doctrine—which, had he developed it to its logical issues, as the Puritans did, would have been revolutionary—the doctrine of individual responsibility to God. It follows that not public expediency, not *force majeure*, not social custom, no, nor fate nor heredity, may be urged in justification of lapses from right. For Sophocles' view of sin differs from that of Aeschylus; in the latter sin is partly the work of fate, partly of heredity; only in the third degree is the actual sinner accountable, though he bears all the penalty. But in Sophocles the sinner is wholly to blame, as sinning against knowledge and unconstrained. Hence, as a natural corollary, he distinguishes between involuntary transgression and actual guilt, between the wrong and the wrong intention. As St. Paul says, 'So now it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me,' so Sophocles says:

> In sin without intention is no guilt (frag. 604).

The whole play of the *Oedipus at Colonus*, coming as a sequel to *Oedipus the King*, is designed to enforce the doctrine that the most atrocious acts, if not wilfully committed (nay, even though they be not, in our sense, repented of, since Oedipus, with almost his last breath, actually justifies himself for killing his father), are compatible with reconciliation with Heaven, and final peace.

It is significant that in Sophocles neither Oedipus, who has killed his father in ignorance of the relationship, nor Orestes, who has killed his mother in obedience to an oracle, is pursued by the avenging Erinyes. Hence, while it is natural for Aeschylus to represent all suffering as the penalty of sin, Sophocles brings divine justice into line with the facts of life by insisting that the most grievous sufferings are compatible with the innocence of the victim. The whole play of the *Antigone* is a development of this view. So the verdict on Deianeira, through whose act her lord Herakles dies a death of fire, is:

> One word sums all—she erred, with good intent.
> (*Trachiniae*, 1136.)

Again, while suffering affords no presumption of sin, and therefore is not necessarily to be regarded as punishment, it follows that the good man who suffers ought not to murmur against Heaven, as though his sufferings were penal and undeserved. As Christ said, 'Neither did this man sin, nor his parents, but that the works of God might be manifested in him,' so the Greek poet recognizes that into the great harmony of the universe there may enter what may seem dissonances to those who can hear it but in part, and that which is felt here as evil may be among the all things that are working together for good. He illustrates the thought by the example of Philoctetes:

> If aught I know of Heaven's intent,
> From Heaven were those first sorrows sent;
> So now in friendless pain he pines
> Full surely by some God's designs,
> Lest his god-given resistless bow
> Should all too soon lay Ilium low,
> Ere comes the hour when this, 'tis writ,
> Shall hurl her down destruction's pit.
> (*Philoctetes*, 191 sq.)

Even when penal suffering is impending, there is in Sophocles, for errors of human weakness, space for repentance:

Hereby, my son, be warned. To err is still
The common frailty of all humankind:
But, when we err, not senseless that man is,
Nor all unblest, who in his fall doth heal
The wrong, and is not fixed in stubbornness.
(*Antig.* 1023 sq.)

The sin that does make man an outcast from the mercy of Heaven and from the sympathy of man is that which is born of presumption:

He is an outcast, whose presumptuous daring
Moves him to be with sin confederate bound:
Never abiding by my hearth, nor sharing
Thoughts of my soul, be such transgressor found!
(*Ant.* 370 sq.)

On such is visited the judicial blindness of delusive hopes:

Hope—'tis a bird whose wandering wings to some bring strength and trust;
False lures to many a man it brings of hollow-hearted lust;
He sees not Doom, the Gods' sleuth-hound, that follows ever nigher,
Till crumbles 'neath his feet the ground into a gulf of fire.
The ancient sage in wisdom spake, 'Evil for good that man will take,
Whose soul the mocking Gods beguile to tread in ruin's way:
Safe fares he for a little while—then the net traps the prey.'
(*Ant.* 615 sq.)

Sophocles, above all poets, seemed to his contemporaries to have enjoyed an ideal life. In the words of the epigram of Phrynichus:

Happy was Sophocles: many days were his
Crowned with Heaven's blessing, with all poet-skill;
His hand wrote many noble tragedies;
His end was peace; his life had known no ill.

To him, if to any man, life must have seemed worth living. Yet, in that great swan-song of his, what is his verdict on it all?—vanity and vexation of spirit!

What man soever craves a longer space
To live, because his life's one little race
  Contents him not, he cleaves to folly's side:
I see the mask of folly on his face.

For length of days shall bring thee no more gain
Of joy, but plunge thee deeper into pain.
  Pleasure?—thine eyes a vanished phantom seek,
If thou beyond thy fitting term attain.

Then—then draws nigh the last impartial friend,
When marriage-hymns, nor dance, nor lyres attend
  The Doom of Hades dawning up thy sky,
With Death for morning-star—and there an end.

Never to have been born—aye, that were best!
But, once set forth upon life's hopeless quest
  Of happiness, thy better part is this,
That, whence thou cam'st, thou soon return—to rest.
(*Oed. Col.* 1211 sq.)

As for the great hereafter, he shared with others shadowy hopes of reunion with those loved on earth. Their clearest expression is found in the words of Antigone:

Yet do I go in sure and certain hope
Of welcome from my sire, welcome from thee,
Mother, from thee dear welcome, brother mine!
(*Ant.* 897 sq.)

Through longer space
My dead ones must I pleasure, than the living,
For there shall I lie ever.
(*Ant.* 74 sq.)

Hardly less characteristic, perhaps (says Dr. Adam), is the suggestion of immortality in the lines which, more than any other single passage, express the religious teaching of Sophoclean drama:

Remember this, to reverence the Gods;
Since all things else stand second in the eyes
Of Zeus. When men die, dies not fear of God:
Live they, or die they, this shall perish not.
(*Philoct.* 1440 sq.)

ARTHUR S. WAY.

JERUSALEM ANCIENT AND MODERN

Jerusalem. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D. Two vols. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1908.)

Ancient Jerusalem. By SELAH MERRILL. (Fleming H. Revell Company. 1908.)

Jerusalem. By DR. E. W. G. MASTERMAN. (In *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*) (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1907.)

NO city of the world and no city of history gathers round it so many sacred associations as Jerusalem. It is only under the idealizing impulse of a patriotic enthusiasm that the Psalmist can call it 'beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth.' It is not to be named in the same breath with Edinburgh, Florence, Athens, Constantinople, or Rome for beauty of situation. Nor does it attain to the high antiquity of the mighty cities which have been dug up during the last sixty or seventy years from the soil of Babylonia and Egypt, many millenniums old. Yet from the days of Melchizedek and Abraham, through the eras of David and Solomon, of Hezekiah and Isaiah, of Ezra and Nehemiah, of Judas Maccabaeus and his gallant brothers, to the days of Christ, and thence through apostolic times, through the period of Constantine, through Moslem invasion, through the Crusades, and through Turkish domination to the present day, Jerusalem has had a crowded history, and more hearts turn to it as the Sacred City of the world than to any other under the sun.

To the Jew, Jerusalem is the city hallowed above all others by the patriarchs, kings, and righteous men of his nation—the place which more than any other gathers into a focus God's gracious revelations of Himself to His people and to the world. Even to this day it is the

centre of his dearest hopes, for wherever throughout the world the Jewish people keep the solemnities of their great Day of Atonement, they shout as they bring the observance to a close, 'Next year in Jerusalem.' To the Moslems it is the Holy City where stood the throne of David and the temple of Solomon, the object of pilgrimage and the place of prayer, where the Prophet ascended to heaven, and where men will be gathered in the day of resurrection. To the Christian it is consecrated above all by memories of the God-man, who visited its ancient temple, trod its streets, preached to its multitudes, instituted the Last Supper in one of its homes, was condemned by its religious chiefs, and crucified on Golgotha without its walls, was buried and rose again from Joseph's tomb. In the Garden of Gethsemane close by, He endured the agony and bloody sweat; at Bethany, two miles distant, He raised Lazarus from the dead, and proclaimed Himself the Resurrection and the Life; and from Olivet, with the city full in view, He took His departure at last to heaven.

Jerusalem by situation and surroundings is a mountain city. It occupies a site about 2,500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean, on a ridge of the great central range which forms the backbone of Palestine. The ridge on which the city stands breaks up here into two fingers or spurs, the western higher and more spacious, the eastern lower and more limited, with a valley, now rendered shallow by accumulations of *débris*, running between them, known as the Tyropoeon. The city must always have been a place of great strength. On its western, southern, and eastern sides, it presents to an invader steep and almost inaccessible ramparts of natural defence. The northern side is comparatively level, and alone offers scope for the extension of the city, or for the near approach of an enemy. Titus, Pompey, the Egyptian and Syrian kings, and the armies of Babylon and Assyria, all approached the city from the north. With its wall, encircling what represents the ancient city, still without a break, and rising to a height of thirty or forty feet,

Jerusalem, seated on its hills, has even now a look of regal dignity. It is seen to great advantage from the heights south of the city rising from the Wady-en-Nar, though the ordinary tourist has seldom time for this. But from the summit of the Mount of Olives, or from the spot on the Bethany road, where the city most likely burst upon the view of Jesus on the occasion of His triumphal entry, the view is singularly impressive. From the latter point it is seen lying with a slope towards the south-east, girt with the wall on all its sides, and with its houses and mosques and domes and towers compactly built together. There is now, it is true, a new Jerusalem outside the walls to the west and more particularly to the north, which has considerably altered the appearance of the city within the last twenty years.

Not only was Jerusalem in former times a place of great strength, it must always have been difficult of access to an invading force. It lay, as Dr. George Adam Smith well points out, remote from the great trade routes and military highways of the Eastern world. It was along the Maritime Plain of Palestine that armies from the North and even from the East, as a rule, would advance. There are now forty miles of railway from Jaffa, a distance which the train covers in about four and a half hours. It was through the very pass which the railway traverses to reach the plateau that the Philistines would go up to the Plain of Rephaim on the edge of which the railway-station of Jerusalem stands. But the old carriage road through the pass of Bethhoron gives a better idea of the difficulties to be surmounted by an invader, for Bethhoron itself was the scene of many battles. Ascending from the Mediterranean through the plain of Sharon from the port of Jaffa, the traveller has the mountain ridges of Ephraim and Judah like moated walls rising before him, and as he goes down into the valleys and again climbs the heights, always though slowly ascending, he realizes the difficulties which the Crusaders experienced on their way to the Holy City. There are many points at which an invader

could be effectually held in check, and there are any number of natural fortresses which have to be scaled before Jerusalem could be reached and attacked. It is in this feature of the situation that we have the explanation of the words of the Psalmist, 'As the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so the Lord is round about His people from henceforth even for ever' (Ps. cxxv. 2).

Visitors are often disappointed with the first view of the Holy City. They are sometimes grievously disappointed with a first visit, and require a second or a third to take in the fascination, and rise to a due appreciation of its marvellous associations and history. Yet there can be few who even at the first glimpse of the city do not feel impressed by a certain majesty and dignity which belong to its very site, and few who are not ready to acknowledge that it is at least unique among the cities of the world. As the visitor at nightfall sets foot within the walls on attaining the long-cherished goal of his pilgrimage, he is met by much that is strange to Western ideas and to preconceived notions of his own. And, perhaps, nothing will seem more strange at first than the great silence which, with the early sunset and the rapidly descending darkness, falls upon the city. All work and business are ended, the unlighted thoroughfares are deserted, the pilgrims have sought their khans and hospices, and everywhere silence reigns, till the voice of the muezzin, with the first streaks of dawn, calls tremulous and clear from the minarets to the slumbering multitudes, 'Prayer is better than sleep. There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is His prophet.'

It is at Easter that Jerusalem has its largest concourse of visitors; Jews, to keep the Passover within the walls of the city of their fathers, and Christians to witness the ceremonies in remembrance of the Resurrection in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Of these the most conspicuous is the Holy Fire of the Greek Celebration, attended by thousands belonging to the Orthodox Greek Communion, and by multitudes besides, who crowd the vener-

able sanctuary in every part. It is for these spectacles and observances that travelling facilities are offered by the numerous tourist agencies. But the disadvantages and inconveniences caused by the crowds at that season are great. Pentecost, which comes some weeks later, offers far greater advantages for leisurely and reverential study of the city and its holy places and surroundings. It is still observed by Jews 'out of every nation under heaven' —from Russia, Central Asia, and the other side of the Atlantic. On the two days of the Feast, besides the Sabbath, all business in the Jewish quarter is suspended, and crowds of gaily dressed Jews in families and in parties spend the day on the outskirts of the city, some of them exploring such memorials as the Tombs of the Kings, and others stretched under the olive-trees at the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat and rejoicing in the warm, bright sunshine. At Jerusalem, 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, the heat is not excessive in May and the first weeks of June, and visitors can do a good deal of sight-seeing without serious risk to health. They can then have the choice of the best rooms in hotels and *pensions* at moderate tariffs, the pick of the native guides, and the advantage of the leisure of consuls and missionaries and other residents, who are always so willing to impart of their stores of historical and antiquarian lore.

Dr. Masterman, in the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, gives an excellent compendious survey, and shows himself familiar with the problems, which he has studied on the spot. Extravagant estimates are still made as to the population of Jerusalem, just as exaggerated statements are to be found in Josephus and other ancient writers. Dr. Masterman's estimate is one which would command the assent of those who have the best means of knowing. 'The total population of the city,' he says, 'cannot have been large, and the numbers given by Josephus and Tacitus are manifestly exaggerated. The present permanent population of Jerusalem, which covers a considerably larger area than the city in the time of

Christ, is about 65,000. However closely the people were packed in the ancient city, it is hardly possible that there could have been so many as this; and many put the estimate at one-half this number. At the time of the Passover, when numbers were encamped on the Mount of Olives and at other spots around, it is possible to believe that the population may have been considerably higher than that of to-day' (*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, i. 857).

The work of the late Dr. Selah Merrill on *Ancient Jerusalem* is a veritable storehouse of materials relating to the history, the site, the walls, the public buildings and monuments, the water supply, and social condition of the city during the period closing with the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple by Titus in 70 A.D. There are frequent glances backwards as far as Nehemiah; and there are necessarily copious references to sites and streets and public buildings of the city to-day, and many illuminating passages describing modern conditions and changes out of the author's reminiscences extending over thirty or more years. The title-page states that Dr. Merrill has been sixteen years American consul in Jerusalem. In that responsible office he has been to visitors from all parts of the world a most helpful exponent of the antiquities of the city—not confining his courtesies to his American fellow countrymen, but making all and sundry his debtors. In Jerusalem exploration and excavation he has been a fellow labourer with the late Sir Charles Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, the late German architect Schiek, and others, and has been cognizant of their views. Along with the two first named of these authorities, he mentions Dr. George Adam Smith in the dedication of the volume as a warm personal friend and fellow worker. It is peculiarly instructive to read the two works together and compare the views—quite as often divergent as otherwise—which they severally express on disputed sites. Whilst Dr. G. A. Smith's two volumes bristle with footnotes and constant references to authorities, Dr. Merrill's

work is entirely without footnotes or bibliographical details. Dr. Smith furnishes the reader with a goodly number of excellent photographs and plans and maps, but Dr. Merrill's work is profusely illustrated with beautifully executed photographs, and its lucidity and attractiveness enhanced by over fifty plans. Books on Jerusalem, Dr. Merrill somewhat caustically observes, multiply, but of authorities there are few. His chief authority apart from the Bible is Josephus, whose accuracy and veracity as a historian have manifestly impressed him. Besides these literary sources, he has studied the ground, examined the levels, observed and recorded the variations of surface, visiting, in some cases repeatedly, every elevated point—minarets, housetops, churches, synagogues—which could afford any help in understanding the contour of the city. 'I have conversed freely,' he adds, 'with many persons, compared notes with different investigators, discussed views and theories with those who appeared to be competent in these matters, and I have lived to put the notes and observations into definite form, hoping they may be of service.' Truly a modest claim, and one does not read far before one feels that Dr. Merrill does not overrate his title to be heard.

Dr. Merrill in his opening chapters describes the advance of Titus to prosecute the siege of Jerusalem early in 70 A.D. He defines the situation of Scopus, where the Roman commander first pitched his camp, and lucidly sets forth, according to his observations and judgement, the course of the third, or Agrippa's, wall. In his plans relative to the commencement of the siege, he shows the disposition of the Roman legions around the city. One of these was the renowned Tenth Legion. Early in the siege its camp was pitched on the Mount of Olives, on the very spot where the Russian convent now stands, as is proved by the tiles bearing the legionary stamp, Leg. X. FR., found when the convent was being built. When the city had been taken, Titus left the Tenth Legion as a garrison among the ruins, instead of sending it back

to the Euphrates Valley where it had won renown. The position of their new camp is defined by Josephus as having a portion of the west wall left by Titus to serve as a protection to the garrison. That the location is correct has been proved again by the discovery of tiles, and more strikingly by the find of the shaft of a column bearing an inscription in honour of the Augustan legate, Marcus Junius Maximus. The monument shows that it was erected by the Tenth Legion. The piece of the column with the inscription now forms the pedestal of an ornamental street lamp, in the court just outside the door of the Grand New Hotel, and close to the place where it was found when the foundations of the hotel were being prepared. Titus left standing in the captured city Herod's three great towers, Hippieus, Phasael, and Mariamne, and it was in close proximity to them that the legionary camp was established. As the old site of Hippicus is just within the wall close to the Jaffa gate, the visitor the moment he sets foot within the city is in the midst of memorials carrying him back to the time of Christ.

Much attention is devoted by Dr. Merrill to the course of the ancient walls, and possibly his investigations, together with those of Dr. George Adam Smith, are the most authoritative we at present possess. His chapter on 'Rock and Quarries about Jerusalem' is singularly instructive and convincing. He feels that his prolonged study and repeated examination of the stonework entitle him to speak with confidence when he classifies sections of the present wall according to the character of the stones, and even assigns the stones to the period to which they belong. In this connexion he exhibits a plan showing where Hebrew stones still exist in large numbers; and not content with this, he has provided a number of exquisitely reproduced photographs, which make his readers take the place of spectators, able to judge of the various characters of the stones for themselves. He shows a portion of the present north wall, where the majority of the stones

belong to the Hebrew period, and where the bottom layer is in its original position, and of great antiquity.

His study of the walls has, however, a very practical bearing upon the question, which is of perennial interest, as to the place of the crucifixion and burial of Christ. The trend of opinion of recent years has been away from what was called Gordon's Calvary and the Garden Tomb, and back to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The difficulty about the acceptance of the latter site is that it is within the city, whereas Jesus suffered 'without the gate,' and 'in the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre.' If it could be shown that the second wall of Jerusalem, which was at that time the outer wall of the city, ran inside of the area covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, then much of the difficulty would be removed. Ruins, and even remains of walls, have recently been found in the neighbourhood, and claims of great antiquity have been made on their behalf. Whatever these may have been Dr. Merrill is confident that they cannot have belonged to a city wall, and his own line of the second wall follows a course which still leaves the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre within the city. In his chapter entitled 'Basilica,' in which he refers to the silence of Eusebius on the subject of Golgotha and the tomb of Christ, he expresses himself on this subject in wise and weighty words: 'As to the preservation of Joseph's tomb, it is beyond human reason and experience to suppose that anything remained intact after the wild ruin of 70 A.D., or that of 135 A.D., to say nothing of the unnumbered commotions, attended with the destruction of life and property, which visited Jerusalem during the three centuries between A.D. 30 and A.D. 330.' On this question Dr. George Adam Smith is practically in agreement with Dr. Merrill. 'The question of the second wall,' he says, 'involves that of the site of Calvary and the Sepulchre of our Lord. It may disappoint some readers that I offer no conclusion as to this. But after twenty-seven years'

study of the evidence, I am unable to feel that a conclusion one way or other is yet possible, or perhaps ever will be possible.' This is the finding also of the late Rev. Dr. Thomson of the *Land and the Book*, of the late Sir Charles Wilson, and many others of the foremost authorities; and although some will grieve to lose the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and others to be deprived of the Garden Tomb, the evidence in the meantime admits of no other conclusion.

To many it will be a disappointment to learn on Dr. Merrill's authority that the Royal Quarries, near the Damascus Gate, were not the source from which the stones of Solomon's Temple were taken. It has been maintained, since these extraordinary subterranean quarries were discovered, that here Hiram's masons and stone-squarers prepared the stones, so that 'there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building' (1 Kings vi. 7). The tradition that these quarries supplied the stone Dr. Merrill pronounces 'pure fiction.' A comparison of the large stones still left in the remains of the temple wall with the rock in the caverns, seems to confirm his view. The rock in the quarries is partly *kakouli*, a white, soft, easily cut stone, but chiefly *meleki*, stone a degree harder; whilst all the original large stones in the wall of the temple area are some variety of *misseh*—a hard and durable stone, which takes a good polish. This is conclusive against what was a favourite identification.

An interesting question which has a bearing upon the Gospel narrative is raised by Dr. Merrill—whether the procurators of Judaea, of whom Pontius Pilate is best known to us, had a palace of their own in Jerusalem. There was in the time of Christ no lack of palaces. There was the palace of Herod the Great, that of the Asmonean family occupied at the last by Herod Agrippa II and Bernice; those of Helena, Grapte, Monobazus, and the high-priest; and the military palace in the Tower of Antonia. The procurators were wont to reside at

Caesarea, and only visited Jerusalem at the time of the great annual feasts of the Jews, when disturbances arose which the procurator had to quell. Whilst Dr. Merrill gives no dogmatic finding on the subject, he evidently considers it likely that the procurators had no palace, but occupied quarters in the Castle of Antonia, where were the barracks of the Roman legion in occupation. He illustrates the subject by a reference to modern practice. 'Of the ten or more nations represented in Jerusalem by consuls at the present time (1903), only two own a consular residence, and until recently there has been but one. The terms of service here are usually brief; these officers do not wish to buy houses for themselves, even if they were able, for they might have to leave them immediately, and the respective Governments do not purchase houses for them. Still the consuls reside in Jerusalem, which the procurators did not pretend to do.'

The Castle of Antonia, which is one of the undisputed sites of the Holy City, and is now occupied by a Turkish garrison, has associations with the history of St. Paul and with the Passion of our Lord. If Antonia was the official head quarters of the Roman procurators when they had occasion to visit Jerusalem, then it was 'the praetorium' where Jesus was condemned by Pilate, where He was mocked and spit upon by the Roman soldiery, and from which He was led forth to crucifixion. Some scholars, including Dr. Schürer and Professor Sanday, think that it was rather at Herod's palace that these things took place, but the Castle of Antonia was more likely the scene of those closing acts in the awful tragedy of the Cross.

On one of the great questions of disputed site, Dr. Merrill's views are energetically at variance with those of Dr. George Adam Smith—the exact location of Mount Zion. The two views are clearly stated by Dr. Smith in the sixth chapter of his first volume. The opinion received from the time of Josephus and held generally till a few years ago, is that the south-west hill 'was not only an integral part of the city from before the

days of David, but contained also the citadel he captured from the Jebusites, and remained the centre of political and military power under the kings of Judah.' The opposite view is that Zion and the city of David 'lay on the east hill on the part called Ophel, just above the Virgin's Spring; that Mount Zion came to be the equivalent in the Old Testament of the Temple Mount; that the location of the city of David by the present Jaffa gate was due to an error by Josephus, and that there is no trace of the name Zion being applied to the south-west hill till we come some way down the line of Christian tradition.' The latter view, as Dr. Smith shows in his sketch of the history of opinion on the subject, has been adopted by many of the most competent authorities, and is maintained by himself with a wealth of modern knowledge and biblical scholarship, which it is not easy to resist. When, however, it is claimed, as it sometimes is, though not by Dr. Smith, that this view has entirely won the day, this is just a way that some advocates of novel theories have of speaking when a certain amount of support or certain great names have been gained for them. The strong point of the supporters of the new view is that the east hill alone has a living spring in the Virgin's Fountain to serve for a water supply, and that here the primitive occupants would fix their abode and rear their protecting fortress. The west hill, or Zion, has no such spring, and is therefore less likely to have been the site of the Jebusite stronghold. Still, the force of this argument is weakened by the twofold consideration that fortresses and ancient towns are found which have had no command of spring water, and that remains of rock-hewn cisterns have been found on Zion. And there is the consideration that the very name Zion, or Sion, in the judgement of the old lexicographers and etymologists meant 'dry places,' and although Dr. Smith seeks another etymology and considers that it may mean 'protuberance,' and so 'fort' or 'citadel,' he fails to convince. It is, however, impossible here to reproduce the discussion on the one side or the

other. Dr. Merrill's facts and reasoning go far to disprove the east hill theory of Zion; and he contends that Zion, the city of David, Millo, and Acra were one and the same place. He seems to be more successful in the destructive part of his argument than in the constructive, where it is not easy to follow him. Between the two disputants, who write with ample knowledge and great cogency, there will be some, perhaps many, convinced by neither, who will still be content with the old view, and identify Mount Zion with the south-west hill.

Whilst Dr. George Adam Smith's massive and scholarly volume, which received appreciative notice in the July issue of this REVIEW, will for years to come be the standard work on the topography and economics and history of ancient Jerusalem down to the time of its destruction by Titus, no part of the work is more to be admired than the treatment of the 'economics and politics' in the first volume. This is ground which Dr. Smith has already traversed in his volumes on *Isaiah* and *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*.

Only on one subject under this head is there room to dwell. It is the subject of water. 'Preliminary to war, worship, trade, and every kind of art,' says Dr. Smith, 'woven through them all and—on those high and thirsty rocks—more constant than any, was the struggle for water.' Jerusalem, throughout its whole history, has been, and is to this day, very much a waterless city. There is probably only the one spring—the Virgin's Fountain—within its entire circuit, and Dr. Merrill insists strongly that the supply from this source must always have been meagre. The Pool of Siloam is fed from it by an underground tunnel, most likely constructed, as the Siloam inscription discovered in 1880 seems to indicate, in the reign of Hezekiah. The pools of upper and lower Gihon still exist to the west of the city, and to the former of these, the Birket Mamilla, Dr. Merrill thinks that the water gathered from the wide slopes and hillsides to the west and north-west of the city must have flowed. There

are the Pools of Hezekiah, Bethesda and others, with cisterns built by private citizens or connected with public buildings, to store the rains which fall in the season. But there are four months, May, June, July, and August, when not a drop of rain falls. Many a summer water has to be bought at famine prices. The supplies thus furnished are obtained from peasants, who bring it in from the country villages, sometimes at a considerable distance, in waterskins. This lack of water must always have offered to the inhabitants and to their rulers a problem of serious concern. Miles away among the hills of Judah are the huge pools said to have been built by Solomon, which are to this day the admiration of visitors; but the aqueducts which were led with great engineering skill along the sides of the intervening hills to the city and the temple, are now largely in ruins. And not only is the city itself so waterless, but the hills of the Judaean wilderness, which close in upon it from the south and the east, are destitute of springs, indeed are bare and desolate as if blasted by the curse of God. The sunshine, which for months together beats down upon those stony and unproductive hillsides from a cloudless sky, burns up every green thing, and gives nothing back but a blinding and intolerable glare. In these features lie the beauty and force of the invitation, 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money and without price.' So, too, the Vision of the Holy Waters in Ezekiel is thoroughly understood on the spot. To Ezekiel, who was priest as well as prophet, as he had fulfilled the duties of his office, and looked forth from the temple platform upon the desert stretching south and east towards the Dead Sea, that scene of sterility and desolation must have been very familiar. A transformation which would clothe those wastes with life and verdure, which would fill the rugged gorges of Hinnom and the Kedron around the city with shady groves and gurgling streams, which would even sweeten the bitter waters of the Dead Sea and make them the

abode of living things, would be to Ezekiel and his fellow exiles in Babylon the most grateful that could be conceived.

Not only is water a scarce commodity, but the materials for fuel are not apparent. Hewers of wood and drawers of water are alike indispensable to the domestic life of the people, not to speak of industries or manufactures which contribute so much to refinement and comfort. There are olive and fig trees in increasing abundance, but of timber within a considerable area around the Holy City there is a rapidly diminishing supply, and consequently a growing scarcity even of charcoal for cooking purposes among the poor. No doubt petroleum is largely in use in the homes of the well-to-do, and in such industries as exist. And coal is now more easily conveyed to the city, since the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway was opened. But in the present condition of the harbour of Jaffa, the unloading of coaling vessels is a perilous and expensive business. The merchants of the city, Greeks, and others, are not without enterprise, and now that Jerusalem, like other cities of the Turkish Empire, comes under the new constitution, energy will find greater encouragement and the investment of capital a surer return.

Of the present-day inhabitants of Jerusalem much might be written. The Moslem population appears to be stationary, and little touched by the progress of the modern world. The Jews have increased within the last twenty years, till now they must be more than half of the whole population. They have established prosperous colonies to the north and west of the city, and they have resumed the use of the ancient biblical Hebrew in many circles as their spoken tongue. Zionism is strong among them, and as far as Jaffa westwards, and Hebron and even Beersheba southwards, there are Jewish banks for its promotion. There are still numbers, however, who do no work, but live and use their wits upon the benevolence of their co-religionists in Europe. The Christians and the Moslems divide the non-Jewish population in about equal numbers between them. But Christianity, in the city of

its baptism on the day of Pentecost, is far from lovely. Oriental Christianity especially appears wholly impotent for the moral and spiritual regeneration of the people. There are Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Syrian patriarchs, and any number of archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries of old historic churches and sects. But brotherly love is grievously lacking. The Roman Catholics and the Orthodox Greek Christians live at almost deadly feud. No wonder that spiritual power is absent. It is reckoned that in all there are about 5,000 'religious people' in Jerusalem—the dignitaries just mentioned, the clergy who conduct the numerous services, the members of the various orders of monks and nuns engaged in teaching, in works of charity and the like, and those who take part in processions of various kinds, and those who are devoted to prayer and meditation, and are perhaps absolutely secluded from their fellows, who either never see the face of man, or never exchange a word with a human being. Despite this vast agency, a large proportion of the native population live in a condition of ignorance and degradation, which is deplorable. Another Pentecost is needed to bring together the separated fragments, to draw the dry bones together, to put sinews and flesh upon them as in Ezekiel's vision, and then to put breath into them that they may stand up upon their feet an exceeding great army and a mighty force for the kingdom of God. And yet there are bright spots to those who care to see—the beautiful hospital and medical mission of the London Jews Society, the first medical mission hospital instituted anywhere; the St. George's Training College for rearing up native evangelical clergy, under the immediate care of Bishop Blyth; the schools of the Church Missionary Society and the London Jews Society; the Lutheran Church, and the Kaiserswerth Deaconesses; and last, but not least, Christ Church on Mount Zion, where Presbyterians and Nonconformists from both sides of the Atlantic join in refreshing worship with their brethren of the Church of England.

What of the future of Jerusalem? The prophets do not lift the veil to show clearly its wonderful destiny. But great as has been its glory in the past, greater, we believe, is the glory that is to come. 'What strange pictures of royal grandeur,' says Dr. Merrill, 'of military display, of famine, of suffering and death are presented to our gaze as the solemn pageant of thirty centuries moves by! Truly this is the most interesting city on the globe. Its tragic and thrilling history is now ended; its glory has passed, its millions of dead are silent, and are remembered no more, and its old walls, which have so long absorbed our attention, are fast crumbling away. But Olivet, from the east, noble, stately, beautiful, as it catches the morning and evening light, tirelessly watching over this sacred dust and these inspiring ruins, reminds us of scenes and events which once took place on its summit, and which kindle in our minds the uplifting hope that at last war and strife will cease, righteousness become the law of nations and of men, and the earth be filled with the glory of its King.'

THOMAS NICOL.

POLITICS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

WHEN the heads of the leading American universities met in Washington a few years ago to draw up a scheme of suggestions for the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships, their first resolution was a unanimous recommendation that politics should be ignored in making the awards. That such a resolution should be thought necessary casts an interesting sidelight on the normal relation of politics to education in the United States. The English teacher is often tempted to envy the American for his freedom from the ecclesiastical complications which mar the efficiency of our educational system; but the American teacher, in his turn, would have good reason for congratulating English schools on their independence of the party 'machine.'

At a first glance American education would appear to be further removed than English from the strife of parties. It demands scarcely any attention either at the White House or at the Capitol. It is never an issue either at Presidential or at Congressional elections. There are no speculations in the press as to the 'educational policy' of prominent politicians. Congress has passed no important measure affecting national education since, by the Morrill Act of 1862, it apportioned among the States and Territories ten million acres of land for the benefit of agricultural and mechanical colleges. The autonomy of the several States relieves the Federal Congress of the burden of educational legislation which so sorely taxes the British Parliament, except as regards the schools of the District of Columbia, the Territories, and the over-sea colonies. The Congressman, then, has no educational 'lobbyist' to pacify unless it be an occasional partisan of certain local interests of the City of Washington itself. So, too, there is no American 'Whitehall' to which a submissive nation

looks for codes. Officially, education is recognized only as a 'Bureau' forming one section of the Department of the Interior. Its head is not a Cabinet Minister, but a Commissioner, whose services in the collection and distribution of information are, indeed, of the highest value, but whose control is limited to the disbursement of the Morrill land grants and the management of the educational affairs of Alaska. The administration of education in the remaining places for which Congress directly legislates is distributed among other Government offices—the War Department, for instance, being the educational authority as regards the Philippines.

On the whole, then, education and Federal politics have no concern with one another. Let us now turn our attention to the States. The English reader needs, perhaps, to be reminded not only that the American State is a much larger unit in size and population than an English county, but that a State Government is essentially different from a County Council in that its powers are not delegated but inherent. Each State may have precisely what educational legislation and administration it likes, provided that it does not come into conflict with the Federal Constitution. That Constitution contains not the slightest direct reference to education, and practically the only restraint upon the States in this connexion is a limitation as to methods of taxation. Accordingly, in international comparisons we should not set Westminster by the side of Washington, but should think of the various State capitals, in each of which complete authority over public education is exercised by a State Legislature modified by the Governor's veto. This wide jurisdiction affords ample opportunity for the mixture of education and politics both in legislation and in the appointment of administrative officers.

In almost every State there is either a State University or some institution of higher industrial education enjoying the benefit of the Morrill grant and under public control. Whether its governing body is mainly appointed by the State Governor or elected by popular vote—that is to say,

by a party caucus—the atmosphere in which it deliberates is far from being purely academic. Even the head of the University faculty often finds it difficult to maintain a serenely neutral position. In the beginning of 1904 there was trouble in Nebraska on the acceptance by the University Regents, or governing body, of a gift from Mr. Rockefeiler, and the Chancellor, Dr. E. B. Andrews, was severely criticized in the Omaha papers for his action in the matter. Now, this was the explanation offered by an evidently well-informed special correspondent of the New York *Evening Post:*

> The reason for this attack upon Chancellor Andrews appears to be political revenge. Nebraska Bryanism is apparently trying to punish the man whom a board of regents, supposedly in sympathy with it, elected in 1900, but who, it feels, has forsaken it. . . . A faction of the Fusionists got disgruntled because the Chancellor failed to live up to what they regarded as his bounden duty—drag the University into politics by ousting Republicans among the faculty and employees. . . . The Chancellor did not commit his capital offence, however, until about a year ago, when, in a class-room lecture, he referred to the recent enormous yearly output of gold as contrary to the geologists' prophecy, which had led all economists, himself among the number, astray. For declining to give the assurance that he would vote for free silver if the question came up again, Populist and Democratic papers have never forgiven him. Of their first opportunity since then for hitting back they are now taking advantage.

A little later in the same year the *New York Tribune* reported that the resignation of the President of the University of Iowa was demanded by the Governor of that State on the ground that he had been employing 'improper lobbying methods.' It was alleged that in the last two Legislatures 'the University lobby was in alliance with the Consolidated Railroad lobby for mutual benefit, the railroads helping the University get appropriations, and the University lining up its friends to help the railroads.' In February 1905 it was generally stated in the press that

the President of the University of South Dakota was being forced to retire. He had been appointed, it was said, by a board of Populist regents, against the wish of the Republican machine, and the subsequent election of a Republican Legislature had made his position untenable. It would need an intimate acquaintance with the political conditions of the three States above mentioned to enable one to pronounce on the correctness of these representations—the fact that each of the Presidents assailed is still in office tells us no more, of course, than that they received stronger backing than their assailants—but the publication from time to time, in newspapers of the highest reputation, of such items of University news is sufficient evidence that the State Universities are not remote from the contentions of party politics. The statements occasionally made by responsible educational leaders support this conclusion. In an elaborate address given by Dr. E. J. James, now President of Illinois University, at his inauguration as President of North Western University in 1902, it was admitted that instances had occurred of the 'malign influence' of politics upon the control of State Universities, and it was further incidentally mentioned that the president of such a university 'must know how to impress the Legislature'—a statement of no little significance to those who are aware by what means State Legislatures are most effectively impressed.

Universities and colleges established by private endowment have fewer points of contact with the State Government. In almost all States they are entirely or partly exempt from taxation, and in certain instances they receive subventions. The striking novel, *Aliens*, by Mrs. Mary Tappan Wright, daughter of a university president and wife of a university professor, shows how a university not under public control may yet suffer a considerable impairment of its independence through the necessity, for financial reasons, of keeping on good terms with the dominant party in the State.

As far as primary and secondary education is con-

cerned the authority of the State is mainly exercised through an official usually entitled the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. His functions are largely those of a chief inspector. Whether directly elected by the people, or appointed by the State Board, he is a nominee of a Republican or Democratic convention. In some of the most important States men have been appointed to this office whose previous career has been entirely political. Even New York State within the present century has enjoyed the services of a State Superintendent who entered its Education Department as Deputy Superintendent straight from an apprenticeship of eight years in Assembly and Congress, and who, it was commonly believed, continued to show his devotion to his party by levying contributions to its campaign funds upon the Normal School Principals within his domain.

The educational legislation of the States is mainly non-partisan. Laws making school attendance compulsory, establishing the minimum scholastic qualifications of teachers, and laying down certain conditions to be observed by the local educational authorities, do not arouse the fighting instincts of either Republican or Democrat, nor do they offer any tempting opportunity to the 'spoilsman.' A curious exception is the direct control sometimes exercised over the historical teaching in both colleges and schools. As a rule the Legislature pays no further attention to the text-books in use than by providing how often it shall be permissible for the State or local boards of education to change them.[1] But sometimes the strength

[1] It may be of interest to quote from a speech delivered early in 1905 in the Senate of Indiana during the discussion of a proposal, ultimately carried by forty-one votes to four, to limit the change of text-books to intervals of ten years, with certain exceptions. 'Every year or two,' said one Senator, 'the farmers of the State have to buy new school-books. Why is this? There is no change in mathematics, no change in the history of our country. If an arithmetic is good for one year it is good for fifty years. We never had perpetrated on the State of Indiana a poorer arithmetic than that adopted a year ago. The frequent changes in our school-books are made to feed the graft of school-book concerns.

of popular feeling finds expression in a definite enactment. The orthodox faith on certain disputed questions of recent naval history, closely associated with political controversy, is stoutly upheld by the decrees of the State Legislatures in Louisiana and Mississippi, if not elsewhere, that no historical text-books should be used within their schools which did not give Rear-Admiral Schley full credit for the victory at Santiago. Kansas unluckily recorded in its text-books as sober history the alleged exploit of its hero son, Funston, in swimming a Philippine river under fire ahead of his regiment, and when the story and the heroism were afterwards exploded, felt itself compelled to rescind its earlier resolution. In the south the powerful association of 'United Confederate Veterans' has a standing 'history committee,' whose duty it is to see that in every State below the Mason and Dixon line the public authorities exclude from the schools all American histories that 'fail to give a truthful recital of the principles for which the Confederate soldier fought.' Fiske's well-known American history is among those placed for this reason on the *index expurgatorius*. The Confederate reunion of 1904 decided, *à propos* of a recent newspaper discussion affecting an incident in the early career of General Miles, that all future histories should be required to show that Jefferson Davis after his surrender was 'cruelly treated and unnecessarily shackled.' A vehement concern for the exact representation of comparatively ancient history is shown by the zeal of more than one Legislature to prevent any bowdlerization of 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' In the original version, written in 1814 by an American who was at the time a prisoner on board a British ship and was watching the bombardment of an American fort, occurred the following strenuous lines:

That is the only reason for their being made.' To make this suggested explanation more intelligible it should be said that constant complaints are made of the active lobbying carried on by what is known as the Book Trust.

> And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
> That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
> A home and a country should leave us no more?
> Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
> No refuge could save the hireling and slave
> From the terrors of flight or the gloom of the grave.

In the course of time this verse came to be thought an anachronism, and there was consequently substituted for it an amendment free from anti-British sentiment. Not long ago, however, the State of Indiana suddenly awoke to a sense of the outrage thus perpetrated upon patriotic feeling, and its Legislature unanimously passed the following resolution:

> Whereas, in certain school-books circulated for use in the public schools of the State the national anthem, 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' has been changed and mutilated to suit the whims and caprices of certain critics; and
> Whereas, the immortal verses of Francis Scott Key are dear to the American heart, and should be for ever enshrined in the hearts of the American people and the children of our schools, and their noble sentiments inculcated into the rising generation; therefore, be it
> Resolved: By the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that none of the text-books alluded to, which contain the mutilated version of the national anthem, be permitted to be used or to circulate in the public schools of Indiana, and that the State Board of Education is hereby instructed to take proper action in the matter to prevent the use of such books in the public schools of this State.

This decision was quoted with approval by the New York *Freeman's Journal* as 'an effective way of dealing with the Anglo-maniac would-be emasculators of American history,' and there was shortly afterwards introduced into the New York Legislature a bill on the same lines, providing that any official authorizing the expurgation of the song should be held to have thereby violated his oath of office. In more than one State the permission or prohibi-

tion of Greek letter fraternities in the colleges has been one of the questions at issue in political campaigns, the complaint having been made that these societies introduce a system of aristocracy and caste offensive to pure democracy. For less obvious reasons political objection was taken in Kansas a few years ago to the wearing of cap and gown by university professors. 'The farmers out in my section of the State,' said a candidate for the Speakership of the House of Representatives, 'will not stand for petticoat government of the State University.'

Party strife affects the daily work of education more directly in local than in State administration. The body which controls the schools of a city or a district is constituted by different methods in various parts of the country, but whether elected *ad hoc* by the people, or appointed by the mayor or the common council or the judges, or composed by some such 'fancy' scheme as that formerly in vogue in Philadelphia—where there was exercised a quadruple authority of mayor, city councils, board of education and sectional boards—it can seldom afford to act independently of party considerations. Few cities appear to be entirely content with their own method: where the board is elected one hears frequent suggestions that political influence might possibly be 'eliminated' if the authority were appointed, and cities with an appointed board are often found aspiring after the purer administration which they imagine an elective system would introduce. In the autumn of 1904 there were simultaneously reported agitations in Chicago and Boston for a change of plan—in Chicago from the appointive to the elective system, and in Boston in an exactly opposite direction. Where the mayor appoints the board, he thereby enjoys an opportunity of paying some of the political debts incurred in his own election. Where the citizens elect it, they find it practically convenient to be guided by the 'tickets' drawn up by the Republican and Democratic caucuses and conventions. In the latter case it is the 'party boss' who profits by the chance of recognizing

the services of old friends and laying new ones under an obligation.

The most important office in a local school administration is that of the school superintendent or school commissioner, as he is variously called. Sometimes he is directly elected by a straight party contest on the 'spoils' system; more often he holds this post by appointment of the local school board. He is practically the expert adviser of that board on the educational side. His powers vary, it has been truly said, from those of a chief clerk to those of an autocrat. As a rule, the authority definitely committed to him is not great, and his ability to secure the adoption of his plans depends mainly upon his personal influence. If he should happen to arouse political prejudice this influence is naturally weakened, and his tenure of office is likely to be shortened without ceremony. Instances could easily be given of superintendents in important cities who have been 'broken' for holding political opinions that were locally unpopular, or for refusing to subordinate educational efficiency to party interests. Almost equally edifying are those cases in which such removals have been narrowly averted. In *The Political Science Quarterly* for September 1904, Mr. S. P. Orth writes of a city of 50,000 inhabitants where the school superintendent discharged a teacher because of inefficiency. This teacher happened to be a relative of one of the trade union leaders, who at once started a systematic agitation and succeeded in capturing the 'machine' of one of the political parties. The election of a school board pledged to oust the superintendent was only prevented by the polling of an unusually heavy vote by the women electors.

As a rule, political influence on the appointment and dismissal of teachers is exercised indirectly through party control of the school superintendent. If they are so disposed, however, the party 'bosses' are able to ensure, by more immediate methods, that the teachers shall be of the right colour. The most flagrant scandals of recent years were exposed at Philadelphia in 1903, when four school

directors, after remaining nearly a year under indictment, were convicted of selling appointments to places on the teaching staff. Three women teachers testified that they had paid $120 each for an appointment, and a school principal, i.e. head master, stated that promotion had been offered him for a fee of $1,000. One of the ward leaders frankly declared that the qualifications he required of applicants for positions were three in number: 'first, that the applicant be able to teach; second, that she live in the ward; and, third, that the least she could do would be to have her male friends and relatives support the organization which would provide her with the means of earning a livelihood.' At the municipal election last preceding this trial all the men teachers in Philadelphia were called upon to contribute a percentage of their salary to the Republican campaign fund, most of them finding the words 'two per cent.' pencilled in blue at the top of the circular sent them. An equal contribution was also made by several of the women teachers. The superintendent of schools was himself assessed at six per cent. In a detailed account of Philadelphia school affairs which appeared in the *New York Tribune* of March 29, 1903, a local 'boss' was quoted as offering the following justification of the prevailing system:

> Why shouldn't the teacher pay his assessment? If tomorrow there were a vacancy in a school in my ward, my house would be besieged by applicants who were ready to promise anything in return for my support. They are glad enough to get the support of the 'machine'; why shouldn't they support it? I have a city place, and I pay; the clerks and the workmen in city employ pay; the 'machine' got them their place; what is the difference?

The results upon the quality of the teaching staff of the city schools may easily be imagined. The school principals complained that they had to carry 'dead wood' through the appointment and promotion of poor teachers for political reasons. (The politicians, by the way, ingeni-

ously contend that, as all teachers are alike certificated, it cannot matter which of them is selected for any particular appointment.) The subordinates, owing their position to the influence of the 'boss,' resented the authority of the principal; the children were quick to realize the situation, and discipline was soon at an end. No doubt the Philadelphia scandals are an extreme instance of political domination. But that the evil, in varying degrees, is widespread may be inferred from the fact that one of the reasons ordinarily given in defence of the American plan of preferring women teachers to men is that the risks of political influence in the schools are thereby diminished.

But political control not merely tends to lower the standard of personal efficiency in the teaching staff, it also hampers the work of competent teachers by making the proper equipment of the schools a matter of less importance than the satisfaction of political clients. In this respect Philadelphia again deserves the distinction of being quoted as the 'horrible example.' The conviction of the school directors gave a wholesome warning, for the time at any rate, that the blackmailing of teachers was inexpedient. Suppressed in this direction the mischief of political control broke out in other forms, until at last it became intolerable. More than a year after the conviction before mentioned there appeared in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* an appeal to the citizens, signed by a large number of school principals and teachers. Emboldened by the independence they had gained through the previous disclosures, they ventured to denounce existing conditions as making efficient education impossible. It was pointed out that in the Seventh Ward, for instance, a neighbourhood which did not require a new school was about to obtain a costly building at the expense of localities which needed increased accommodation, the reason being that a local politician wanted something for his constituents. Complaint was made of the serious physical risks to which hundreds of teachers and thousands of children were exposed through dilapidated school buildings, broken-down

and dangerous heating plants, and overcrowded classrooms. Inadequate 'appropriations' had even made it necessary to accept voluntary contributions of thousands of dollars' worth of text-books and other supplies from business firms. By the side of such a tale of grievances a complaint made in Brooklyn at about the same time seems trivial indeed, though the trouble was doubtless irritating enough to those who suffered from it. In that city the school principals rashly attempted to abolish the use of feather dusters in school cleaning. It was an insanitary method, they said, filling the air with dust. The school janitors, however, protested against the reform, and their political influence carried such weight with the authorities that the feather dusters were restored.

Earlier in this article illustrations were given of the control directly exercised by State Legislatures on the curriculum and the selection of text-books. Where the choice is not already anticipated by the State Legislature the local bodies take an even greater delight in determining such matters. Here the bane of politics is chiefly felt through the incompetence of the men whom party conflicts have placed upon the boards or the committees of the boards. In one instance instruction in cooking and sewing was unintentionally banished from the girls' schools of a city because the school superintendent had unwisely put these subjects down on his list as 'domestic economy,' and nobody on the board knew what the term meant. It is alleged by writers in the American educational press that men are sometimes placed on school-book committees who can scarcely read with intelligence the books submitted to their censorship, and who, indeed, can scarcely write their own names. 'I should think a city exceptionally fortunate,' says Dr. Eliot, the President of Harvard, 'whose sub-committee on school-books consisted of a banker's clerk, a blacksmith and a wholesale grocer, none of which estimable callings can be said to fit a man for the difficult function of selecting text-books for schools.' The rumours of 'graft' that are so often heard in connexion

with State legislation in this matter are also frequent in discussions of the action of these boards and committees. The suspicions as to the sources of influence in adopting manuals are so general that when, a few years ago, proposals were made for the introduction into schools of the teaching of morality 'with suitable text-books,' the writer of the summary of educational events in a well-known American quarterly sarcastically expressed the hope that there might turn out to be 'nothing unethical' in this provision.

In any consideration of the place of politics in American education it must not be overlooked that the study of politics itself forms part of the training of the American school-boy. Under the name of 'civics' it appears as a definite subject in the curriculum of all well-equipped public high schools. Not long before leaving England Mr. Choate commiserated us on the absence from our educational system of any such preparation for the duties of public life. In the cultivation of the emotion of patriotism the schools of the United States are conspicuously successful, as the celebration of the national holidays sufficiently indicates. But American children are quick-witted enough to gather from daily observation no little information about certain phases of the problem of government on which the manuals of 'civics' are silent. Those only who can establish the exact ratio, in educational value, between precept and example are competent to gauge the comparative effectiveness, as a training for the responsibilities of citizenship, of formal class instruction on the one hand and object-lessons in the working of the 'machine' on the other: they alone can estimate how far the minds of the pupils are likely to be influenced by the noble political ideals of the text-books and how far by the revelation of what the community really expects and allows in political practice.

HERBERT W. HORWILL.

THE CHRIST OF DOGMA AND THE JESUS OF THE GOSPELS

THE title of this article is intended to challenge attention to a difficulty which exists for many religiously-minded persons who are either indifferent or hostile to official and orthodox Christianity, and who, out of a good conscience, have been alienated from the fellowship of the faith.

The theologian of a certain type will at once declare that the title involves a distinction without a difference. But when he goes out into the market-place, and gets into touch with the religious thoughts and experiences of the men he meets there, the difference between the Christ of dogma and the Jesus of the Gospels will be found to constitute one of their main practical difficulties, demanding the most careful and direct handling. The Jesus of the Gospels appeals to them with great power and with an indefinable spell. His genuineness and spontaneity; His naturalness and humanness; the simplicity of His teaching; His power to transfigure human life with a marvellous gift of spiritual romance; His intense sympathy; the high ideals He holds up before us; His wonderful teaching about God and God's love and all that follows from it—the breaking of the power of sin over us, the assurance of God's readiness to forgive His repentant children, the happy fellowship of love to which God will admit the humblest of mankind, the vision of a redeemed humanity, —these elements give to the Jesus of the Gospels a mystery, a power, an inexhaustibleness, an attractiveness, a redeeming influence in the lives of those who really come into familiar intercourse with Him which is just as great to-day as it was nineteen hundred years ago.

Can the same be said about the Christ of dogma, i.e. Jesus as He is represented in the creeds and theology of

the Church? There we have not so much a simple human personality as a metaphysical abstraction; the Jesus of history isolated from actuality and held in a kind of intellectual vacuum; the pivot of a philosophy. The Christ of dogma is more a revelation of the minds of the framers of dogma and the exhibition of the historical development of the Christian conscience than a portrayal of the Saviour of men Himself; a revelation of precious worth to the Church, but not to be compared with, and least of all substituted for, the portrayal of Jesus in the Gospels.

To come at all near to the Christ of dogma one has to learn a new language, which is emphatically neither the language of our common life nor of the gospel story. The man who has not learned this language and is not trained to enter into the discussion of subtle metaphysical problems does not and cannot really come near to Him, he only sees Him from afar, and has to take Him for granted on the authority of philosophers, theologians, or the Church. If you put Jesus, say, as He appears in St. Mark's Gospel, side by side with the Christ as He appears, say, in the Athanasian Creed, and then declare there is no difference between the two, one begins to wonder whether words have lost their meaning.

I wish to guard myself against being misunderstood. I am far from desiring to show any disrespect for, or lack of appreciation of, the work of Christian theologians and philosophers. Theirs is a very necessary work and quite inevitable. One might with as much or as little reason decry the work of the chemist or the biologist. Christian theology is to Jesus what biology is to the facts of physical life. Nor do I wish to be understood as passing any judgement on the conclusions of theology about Jesus; those conclusions differ among themselves as widely as the poles are far apart. There are a good many people who declare that they reject the Christ of dogma. What they really mean is that they reject a given theological view of Jesus, while their own view is, at least, just as much a matter of metaphysics as the view they reject.

The aim of the writer is not at all to depreciate the value of theological science or the findings of schools of theology. He seeks to give expression to a feeling which exists in the common mind in respect to the difference suggested in the title of this article; to insist that this difference needs vital recognition in the presentation of the gospel as the power of God unto salvation; to indicate how the recognition of this difference will affect the working of the gospel as a redemptive force in human experience, and with entire diffidence to suggest to our theological experts that the channels of redeeming grace should be kept free from a great deal which, however 'alluvial' for the purposes of spiritual culture, tends to impede the onrush of the stream of life which flows from Jesus to the unsophisticated soul of the would-be disciple.

In studying the gospel as a redeeming force we find that actually in experience it is the Jesus of the Gospels and not the Christ of dogma that is our Saviour and Lord; it is faith in the Jesus of the Gospels that is saving faith, and that makes us Christians. It is living faith in, and fellowship with, the Jesus of the Gospels that saves us, rather than the acceptance of certain interpretations of Jesus as expressed in the Christ of dogma. The atmosphere of religious thought needs to be cleared of the confusion that exists between the essential saving power of the Jesus of the Gospels and the Christ of dogma. The average man is asking, 'To whom shall we go?' and he cannot get a satisfactory answer. He has his own instinctive promptings, but these seem to be discounted by the attitude of some teachers. One has only to listen to the average sermon, or to read the books of representative religious writers, to realize the need for some explicit statement on this issue. On the one hand we hear in the simplest and often most sweetly reasonable and gracious words the exhortation to trust in Jesus as our Saviour, to look to Him for the realization of all our dreams, the satisfaction of all the deep hunger of the soul for life; but on the other hand, perhaps, just as Jesus is working His miracle of grace in the soul

we are told that 'to be a Christian' we must believe this or that doctrine, which, however logical as a deduction from the gospel, is none the less an intellectual interpretation of Jesus and His work. Will our official leaders tell us plainly whether Jesus as He stands revealed in the great threefold story does 'suffice' to show us the Father and to bring the prodigal children home to the Father's house, or is it also necessary that we must see Jesus in doctrine and creed before we can see God in Jesus? Is the mystic and soul-ravishing vision of the Father's face, after all, a matter of logic and metaphysics? Can Jesus only reveal the Father to us as He is seconded by the efforts of theologian and creed-maker? If in experience we realize the deep truth that Jesus died to save us, is it essential that, added to that experience, we must also believe in some theological explanation of the method by which that saving process is effected?

Before we can appreciate spiritually the significance of His declaration that 'The Father is in Me,' is it necessary that we should hold the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity? The Athanasian Creed puts the matter with delightful directness, a directness which, however, it soon forsakes. It tells us plainly that 'he that would be saved' must believe certain metaphysical propositions about Jesus which it proceeds to enunciate, and so that there shall be no mistake it goes on to say that unless we do believe them we shall 'without doubt perish everlastingly.' When we come to read the things, belief of which 'without doubt' is necessary to our salvation, we find that equally 'without doubt' they are things which are simply incomprehensible to nine out of ten (at a low estimate) average people. This Creed stands as an example (extreme, perhaps) of the tendency to put the emphasis about salvation in the wrong place; to make the acceptance of certain dogmas about Jesus of more importance and more vital for discipleship than a living faith in, and a loving fellowship with, and a loyal obedience to, Jesus of the gospel story.

Father Tyrrell (surely one of the most heroic figures

in the world of religious thought to-day), in his essay on 'Theologism,'[1] endeavours in an original and ingenious way to account for the coming into being of the Athanasian Creed, and to describe its function. He says, 'For myself, till better instructed, I must regard these propositions not as having metaphysical but merely protective value; as reasserting the prophetic utterance of the apostolic revelation which presents us with one God and three Divine Persons—a Father, a Son, and a Spirit—utterances that would be contradictory were they metaphysical and not merely prophetical and symbolic; which possess an imaginative and devotional and practical value; which dimly foreshadow a truth that defies definition, yet excludes Unitarianism, Arianism, Tritheism, Sabellianism, and every similar impertinence of metaphysical curiosity. It is not as theological but as anti-theological that the Creed has a protective value. It pulverizes every attempt at a rationalistic and literal explanation of purely prophetic utterances.' It would seem that the Creed came into being as a praiseworthy endeavour to defeat the impertinent curiosity of rationalists in their attempt to analyse the mystery of the 'apostolic revelation.' Those who were concerned to accomplish this defeat achieved their purpose by the simple device of queering the trail. They surrounded the 'apostolic revelation' with such a thick cloud of 'prophetical and symbolic utterances' as very successfully to mystify any who may enter its 'protective' maze. This is ingenious, but it is hardly convincing. For some of us it would be difficult to discover anything 'imaginative,' 'devotional,' or 'practical' in the phrases of the Creed. It has across its face the hall-mark of the metaphysician. Its every line witnesses to the deliberate attempt of its framers at 'a rationalistic and literal explanation' of the revelation of God in Jesus. It is not so much a notice-board warning off the trespassing intellect from the holy ground of that revelation as the monument of the colossal

[1] *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, pp. 308–354.

failure of the intellect to define what Father Tyrrell rightly says defies definition. It is the classic and outstanding instance of the attempt to substitute the Christ of dogma for the Jesus of the Gospels; and the persistent retention of the Creed by the Church on the one hand, and the attitude of half-contemptful, half-impatient indifference assumed toward it by the average man on the other hand, is in itself a very good indication of the disharmony which exists between the Church and the average man in regard to the relative value for discipleship of the Christ of dogma and the Jesus of the Gospels.

One is sometimes driven to wonder how far Jesus would recognize His gospel in some modern presentations of it. The Church has, century after century, added here a little and there a little to the original gospel; not consciously adding, but developing, as we now say, ideas which the Church considered to be involved in the original gospel, explicating its implications. And the product of this process of development has come to be regarded as an essential part of the original, and of equal importance and authority. Development, we all know, is necessary to life; but we do need to claim liberty to inquire whether the authoritative developments are valid, whether they are really implicated in the original source. And when all is said there comes upon the modern man the very strong feeling that these developments, even though they may appeal to his rationalizing instinct, have not the same vital, *saving* power. Let him accept all the orthodox creeds that have ever been 'developed,' it is the living, actual fellowship with the Jesus of the Gospels that saves him from the power of sin, that awakens the slumbering divinity within him, and by the gracious power of His redeeming passion makes him a new creature. One cannot help remembering that Jesus exercised this power long before the creeds came into existence, that long before these developments came to be elaborated He and His gospel were, in deed and in truth, 'the power of God unto salvation' for myriads of earnest and sincere souls. A Christian sainthood and

Christian heroism unsurpassed in later ages glorify the story of the Church long before she began her work of developing the metaphysical implications of Jesus and His message. Jesus was the Saviour long before the Christ of dogma came into being. And as to-day we see how helpless often the Church's dogmatic Christ is in face of the world's sin and sorrow, we cannot help looking back with longing hearts to the ancient days when Jesus wrought His miracles of redemption, the days when the harlots and the publicans, the Magdalens and the Matthews, were drawn in crowds to gather about Him, and found in Him and His words the hope and joy and peace of their souls.

It is the attempt to impose the theological Christ upon the absolute acceptance of the average man that has done as much as anything to drive him away from the Church and out of sympathy with official Christianity. One may venture to affirm that the sceptical antagonism to Christianity to-day is antagonism to the Christ of dogma, and not to the Jesus of the Gospels. The hostile critics of the Christian faith have no quarrel with Jesus. Many of them who loudly protest their rejection of Christianity feel in their hearts the magical spell of His matchless personality. In quiet, meditative moments, when they stand apart for a little while from the hurly-burly of the battlefield, His gracious invitation, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest; take My yoke upon you and learn of Me,' wakes strange sympathetic echoes and formless yearnings in their souls; their hearts are touched with the radiant message of the everlasting Love as they read it in the simple language of the evangel. Then some theological expert comes along and insists that all this counts for nothing, and less than nothing, unless they are also willing to go to the theologian and the creed-makers and take *their* yoke upon them. So the spell of Jesus is broken before it can achieve its work, and the old hostility flares up with intenser heat.

This substitution of the Christ of dogma for the Jesus of the Gospels works disaster in another direction. There

are not a few who are willing to accept the Christ of dogma as the saving centre of their faith, not because they understand or feel, but because the great teachers of the Church tell them that such an acceptance is the essential factor in the process of redemption. So they lose touch with the Jesus of the Gospels. *He* is not at all a power in their lives; their Christian discipleship becomes a hard, mechanical, barren thing; their lives are never fructified by the fertilizing spirit of Jesus the Saviour. We hear a great deal about the loss in these days of the spiritual dynamic of the Christian Church. What else is to be expected when the Church substitutes the Christ of her theologians for that Jesus of the Gospels, who first called her into being, and by whose divine Spirit all her noblest achievements have been won?

With many of us, more or less, and in a measure unconsciously, we have been told so often and with such emphasis that it is not enough to be in living and effective fellowship with the Jesus of the Gospels, not enough in simple faith to submit ourselves to Him, and try to follow in the footsteps of His most holy life; we must *also* hold this or that dogma about Him, or we shall 'without doubt perish everlastingly,' that we are almost half inclined to believe it, or, at least, the fear, the shadow of it haunts us and sends a chill to our hearts, especially when the dogma to be held is something which, try as we will to respond, makes no effective appeal to us. It clouds for us the warm sunshine of the love of Jesus and mars the simple joyousness of our fellowship with Him.

It seems, to those who know him, that the modern man, though alienated from orthodox Christianity, is crying out for some great reassuring word; something that shall make him realize that whatever his difficulties about the Christ of dogma may be, they do not matter so long as he is linked by faith with the Jesus of the Gospels, trying to make his own the spirit of Jesus, trying to know God as Jesus revealed Him, trying to trust and serve God in the daily life as Jesus trusted and served Him, in His beautiful,

childlike, simple way; something that shall make him feel that the secret of a happy, holy life is won when he yields himself in faith to Jesus and follows in His footsteps.

Looking into our own spiritual experience, are we not justified in declaring that no one ever becomes 'a child of God and an inheritor of the kingdom of God' by participation in any external rites, or by the intellectual acceptance of any doctrinal conclusions? These are effects and not causes. It is really difficult to imagine that mere belief of the Athanasian or any other creed ever saved any soul from sin or sorrow, or brought to any one the transfigured life. It is Jesus, His wonderful words, His radiant life, His pure and gentle spirit, the redeeming influence of His sacrifice of Himself for love's sake—it is all this that brings peace and joy, hope, purity, inspiration, and the power of a deathless life to the simplest soul that lives with Him in the fellowship of faith.

And as soon as we realize that it is Jesus of the Gospels around whom our faith, discipleship, and Christian life centre, there are certain thoughts which come into the mind with almost the power and surprise of a new revelation.

How simple a thing discipleship becomes! As simple as the gospel story itself, as simple as the human heart, as simple as the life of childhood. Jesus likened it to that. It *is* the life of childhood; the fulfilment of the child's relation to the great and loving Father whom Jesus knew and whom He revealed to us. It needs no subtle power of mind, no training in metaphysics, no process of theological analysis.

How personal a thing it is! The relation of the disciple to Jesus, which lies at the root of Christian faith, is a personal relation. The whole essence of discipleship lies in this linking of the individual man with the individual Jesus; the penetration and suffusion of the spirit of the individual by the spirit of Jesus. It is with a personality we have to deal, and not with an intellectual abstraction from whom the warm human personality has been drained out. It is as our nature comes into contact with His that

the saving power streams out from Him to us, like some energizing, spiritual, electric essence, and irradiates the whole man.

How mysterious a thing discipleship becomes when we remember that its secret lies in the play and power of one personality upon another! Its very simplicity makes it mysterious. All the simplest things, the elemental things, lie nearest to the heart of mystery. The frail harebell on its fairy-like stem, how simple, yet how mysterious! The love of a little child, how simple, yet how mysterious! The power of the love and life of Jesus upon our heart and life, its redemptive power, how simple, yet how mysterious! We know not by what strange alchemy it is achieved, but we do know that when a man yields himself to the spell of His personality He transmutes the common life into something compared with which purest gold is but dross and tinsel. There is more of mystery in the saving influence of Jesus upon the human soul than in the subtlest theological dogma ever framed; the one is the mystery of light, the other is, often enough, the mystery of the darkness of ignorance.

How free a thing discipleship becomes! Jesus does not demand the annihilation of the self; He quickens, develops, intensifies selfhood. He does not limit the scope of individuality, He enlarges it. The presentation of the Christ of dogma is sometimes only the excuse to imprison the spirit of the disciple within the triangular walls of a logical syllogism. Where the spirit of Jesus is, there is the fullest liberty in both the intellectual and spiritual spheres. If a man is effectually possessed by the spirit of Jesus, you can, with utmost confidence, 'loose him and let him go' to think his own thoughts and fashion his life in terms of the possessing spirit. Catholicism repudiates the charge of spiritual tyranny, and emphatically declares that its sons are free. But the freedom of the Catholic is like the freedom of a creature securely tethered to his stake and unable to move beyond the prescribed radius.

The freedom of him who lives in fellowship with the

Jesus of the Gospels is the freedom of the strong-winged bird which, however far it may travel over wide horizons, feels, at its farthest flight, the pull of the nest. The centripetal attraction of Jesus is always sufficient to hold in perfect adjustment the centrifugal orbit of the soul that is centred in Him. If one lives in vital union with Him, the results of freedom as expressed in the total sum of life's activities and actualities will always be spiritually rich. It is in the *reality* of the union that the secret lies, and of which one needs to be assured.

And how difficult a thing discipleship becomes! It is easy for the average man to accept the Christ of dogma on the terms upon which He is offered. All his thinking is done for him, if he so wills it; what he has to do is merely to acquiesce in the result. It is a transaction and nothing else, and in the transaction the Church has been so eager to swell the number of her converts that she has cheapened the terms of discipleship. One may almost describe the action of those who delude people into a discipleship which demands nothing more from the disciple than a formal acceptance of a creed or participation in a rite, as approaching a spiritual crime. The cheapening of discipleship, the soulless religion of formal Christians, has been one of the results of the supremacy of the Christ of dogma. When the centre of gravity of discipleship is shifted from the Christ of dogma to the Jesus of the Gospels, it becomes not a transaction but a growth, not an acceptance of something but an assimilation of something. It is not a momentary act, but a continuous process.

So I would plead for a return to the Jesus of the gospel story as the redeeming Saviour, as the centre of gravity of our Christian faith and discipleship; the Jesus who lived and taught and died in Palestine nineteen hundred years ago, and who lives to-day in the hearts and rules in the lives of all who love Him. It is by faith in, and fellowship with, and loyalty to Him that manhood will reach its finest flower of perfection.

BENJAMIN A. MILLARD.

THE LONDON GILDS

The Gilds and Companies of London. By GEORGE UNWIN, Lecturer on Economic History in the University of Edinburgh. (London: Methuen & Co.)

THIS book, written primarily for the antiquary and scholar, is yet full of interest for the general reader. It seems almost exhaustive, teeming with references to all kinds of obscure authorities. To criticize such a volume would need an expert. It is an easier and more pleasant work to glean from its pages some account of the London Gilds.

Probably to most of us the Gild is of the very essence of Cockneydom. Do not their stately halls stand with proud eminence in the City? Are not the City Fathers, in robes and dignities, the representatives of these great companies? Is not the Lord Mayor's Show a very glorious display of the Gilds, Skinners or Spectacle-makers, Goldsmiths or Fishmongers? And the schools and great charities of London, are they not the proud memorials of the beneficence of its Gilds?

In the midst of such associations it comes almost as a shock to find that the Gild is by no means ours only. China has its Gilds all over its vast Empire. 'In all the crowded and busy cities that float their wares down the Yang-tse-kiang, and in the remotest parts of Manchuria, the halls of the Gilds are not only as much renowned for their hospitality as are those of the London companies; they still preserve in full activity many of those economic functions of which the halls of the companies were the centre in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. And the Chinese Gild is by no means a mere survival rooted in the soil. Wherever the ubiquitous Chinaman goes he takes the Gild with him. The laundry man of San Francisco, the cabinet maker of Melbourne or Sidney, preserves in

his native organization a power of cohesion that enables him to smile at the ineffectual devices of the Western factory legislators, with his notions of a minimum wage. In India the trade castes assume all the forms of Gild organization. . . . They fix piecework rates, insist on holidays, prohibit overtime, and devote their entrance fees and fines to feasting and friendly benefits. . . . The Mohammedan tradition traces the Byzantine Gilds beyond the days of the Prophet (who was himself a member of the Gild of Merchants) to the time of Noah, the patron of carpenters and shipbuilders, and of Adam, the patron of the bakers. Eve presides over the washerwomen, Cain over the butchers and gravediggers, Elijah over the furriers, Joseph over the watch and clockmakers, whilst sailors have their choice between the seven sleepers of Ephesus and the prophet Jonah.'

But there is an essential difference between these Gilds of the East and the West. 'The Gilds of the East are alive, whilst the Gilds of the West are dead. The Gilds of the West are dead because they have performed the most useful of their functions; they have helped to build up a social structure by which they have been superseded. . . . The Gilds of the West expired in giving birth to progress.'

This brings us to what is the most important part that the Gilds have played in the history of England. The glory and strength of our modern life lies in its great middle class. Looking back to feudal times we see two classes, and two only—the lord and the serf. Between them lay a great gulf, deep and impassable. To bridge this gulf, to transform the workmen into bodies administering their own affairs and governing their towns, was most largely the work of the Gilds. The town made the nation and the Gild made the town.

In a striking paragraph Mr. Unwin points out that it is for want of towns and of those middle classes that only centuries of towns can produce that Russia finds it so difficult to become a free nation.

Green gives us an incident which admirably illustrates how the enterprise of town corporations secured some of the commonest liberties of the people—liberties without which we should not think life worth living. 'It chanced,' says a charter of Leicester, 'that two kinsmen, Nicholas and Geoffrey, waged a duel to settle the ownership of a piece of land. They fought from the first to the ninth hour. Then one standing on the brink of a pit and about to fall therein, the other cried, "Take care of the pit," and thus saved his kinsman's life. Thereat so much clamour was made that the earl sent forth to inquire as to its cause. Then the townsmen, being moved with pity, made a covenant with the earl to pay threepence yearly for each house in the High Street that had a gable, in order that henceforth they should have the right of trial by jury.'

The lords were ever quick to perceive that the growing forces which tended to exalt the people endangered their own lordship, a jealousy which, perhaps, is not wholly extinct to-day. It is not many years since a large farmer in Somerset told me that he remembered some time in the 'fifties' how a farm labourer came to the Parish Church in a black coat instead of the old-fashioned smock frock. The next day the rector called together the leading men of the parish and indignantly declared, 'This is the beginning of the French Revolution! This man is breaking down our social distinctions. He must go.' The man had to go and seek elsewhere a larger freedom. The freedom that was impossible to a poor man in the country was made possible only by these voluntary associations in the towns.

This incident, however, does not for a moment illustrate the relation of the Church to the Gilds. This is a point to be carefully noted. 'We know that by the middle of the ninth century the clergy of the Diocese of Rheims superintended the formation of religious Gilds essentially the same as those which underlay every form of social and economic organization. The bishops were not at this time a mere part of the framework of feudalism. They

supplied a vital link between an imperial authority and the growing element of self-government in towns. In this intermediate position lay their opportunity.'

We must not think of the Gilds in their earlier phases as only or mainly existing for the interest of some particular trade. In Anglo-Saxon times we have evidence of Gilds formed to supplement the tie of kinship and to afford mutual protection. There was the London 'Frith Gild,' an organization whose main object was the putting down of theft. 'The duties of members with regard to the pursuit of thieves were carefully defined. Those who had horses were to follow the thief over the border, and those who had no horses were to work for the absent till their return. Members who had lost property and could show that it had been stolen, might claim compensation at a fixed rate from the common fund. . . . When a member died, his Gild brethren were each to give a loaf for his soul, and to sing, or get sung, fifty masses within thirty days.'

To-day the Gild is but an interesting memorial of what was at one time a very real and great power. 'There were three ways in which a craft could turn its powers of self-government to account. (1) By controlling the import and export of wares. (2) By limiting its own numbers. (3) By a secret agreement about prices. The power to seize defective goods could easily be turned into a weapon against the foreign competitor. Defective foreign caps, gloves, and pouches were solemnly consigned to the flames in Cheap opposite the end of Soper Lane. The carcases of two bullocks, said to have died of disease, were burnt under the nose of the pilloried foreign butcher (a native of West Ham) in the Stocks Market.' In 1298 the cutlers seized a hundred and a half of knives belonging to Hugh of Limerick as being foreign knives. In 1341 the mercers were empowered to seize the silk kerchiefs, the Aylsham thread, and the linen cloth for sale by the men of Norfolk.

Amongst these trade jealousies and this exclusiveness it is delightful to come upon so merry and lighthearted a fraternity as that of the *Feste du Pui* of the fourteenth century.

It belongs to that period of London history when the city's trade was largely in the hands of foreigners, so that the Mayor of Bordeaux in 1275 could become Mayor of London in 1280. The *Feste du Pui* was founded 'to the honour of God, of Madame St. Mary, and all saints of both sexes, and to the honour of our lord the King, and of all the barons of the land, for the safeguarding of loyal friendship, and to the end that the City of London may be renowned for all good things in all good places, and that good fellowship, peace, honour, gentleness, cheerful mirth and kindly affection may be duly maintained.' The special feature of the fraternity was its yearly feast, when a crown was awarded to the best song. The body of the hall was to be simply decorated with leaves and rushes, and upon the seat of the singers alone was cloth of gold to be bestowed. Very delightful is the reason given for the exclusion of ladies from the feast. It was in order that 'they might learn to honour, cherish, and commend all ladies as much in their absence as in their presence.' Here, too, as in every fraternity, there are the social and religious obligations, 'The yearly mass in St. Helen's Priory, the maintenance of a light in St. Martin-le-Grand, the common box with several keys, the provision for poor members, the payment of a special chaplain to sing masses for the souls of deceased members, and finally, when funds were forthcoming, the building of a chapel for this purpose, the Guildhall Chapel of St. Mary.'

The religious object of the Gild is so constant and prominent that the fraternity has been described as a *Co-operative Chantry*. The part occupied by chantries in the religious life of the middle ages was greater than can be easily realized. The majority of the clergy, says Bishop Stubbs, had 'neither cure of souls nor duty of preaching; their spiritual work was simply to say masses for the dead.' The Gild was often a parish Friendly Society. The fraternity of St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre's Church ordains that, 'if any brother or sister fall into poverty by way of robbery, or accident, or fire, or by any other misfortune,

not through his own fault, and he have not wherewith to live or help himself, he shall every week have fourteen pence.'

The Fishmongers were the most orthodox of trades. Their Mayor, Hamo de Chigwell, was discovered at a moment of extreme peril to be in Holy Orders, and was taken under the protection of the bishop. A long series of early wills show them to have been the most munificent donors to religious objects of all the citizens of London. Half-a-dozen riverside churches were endowed and rebuilt by their bequests for the maintenance of chantries. Perhaps the most romantic incident is that of the Gild of the Tailors' sending forth a representative, one Henry de Ryall, not to take orders, but as a vicarious pilgrim to represent them in his adoration at the holy places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

We find the fellowship of the Yeomen Officers—the police constables of their day—ordaining that, 'Every one that sweareth or blasphemeth by God our Heavenly Father, or by His blessed Son Jesus, or by His bitter passion which He suffered for mankind, or by His precious blood which He shed for the sins of the whole world, or by His Blessed Mother, St. Mary, shall forfeit and pay sixpence or else a pound of wax to the light' maintained by the Gild in Austin Friars. They actually fixed a fine—a heavy one for those days—of three shillings and fourpence for the offence of going out before the sermon when in attendance on the Sheriffs at St. Paul's.

Nor on its business side was the spirit of the Gild a purely selfish one. It would be difficult to think of anything more admirable than this account of the Gild of Physicians. In the first year of Henry VI Gilbert Kymer, Rector of Medicine in the City of London, appeared with the two surveyors of the faculty of physic and the two masters of the craft of surgery before the Mayor, to ask for their professional organization. Their rules were to insure that all practitioners should be duly qualified, if possible, by a university training. They were to provide a hall where disputation in philosophy and medicine could be

regularly carried on. No physician was to take upon himself any cure, 'desperate or deadly,' without showing it within two or three days to the Rector or one of the surveyors, that a professional consultation might be held. No surgeon was to make any cutting or cauterization which might result in death or maiming, without similar notice. Any sick man needing professional help, but too poor to pay for it, might have it by applying to the Rector. No physician was to charge excessive fees, but to fix them in accordance with the power of the sick man. A body composed of two physicians, two surgeons, and two apothecaries was to search all shops for 'false or sophisticated medicines,' and to pour all quack remedies into the gutter.

We find early in the fourteenth century a Gild of the London Rectors. Its main objects were to protect the interests of its members as beneficed clergy against the dishonesty or negligence of their curates (who also possessed a Gild), against the greed of apparitors, the injustice of Archdeacons, the encroachments of the Friars, and the evil effects of slanderous charges and of their own internal dissensions. On the festival of the Saint to which each member's church was dedicated, all the other members were to attend that church, and each was to make an offering of not less than a penny. There was the usual provision for attendance at a funeral and for supplying lights, and each was to say thirty masses for the deceased member. No curate or parish clerk who had left one of the members on bad terms was to be installed by any of the others. The oath tendered to a curate on taking service bound him under conditions as strict as those laid upon a journeyman in a craft. In a typical case of the year 1304 the chaplain was to have twenty shillings a year, and whatever legacies he could get out of the parishioners, but he was not to keep back any of the oblations or wax money. His hours of attendance were carefully defined. If he happened to be out of the parish when Curfew sounded, he must hasten back with all speed and sleep there at night. He must not stir up strife against the Rector, and

must report all that he saw and heard that might turn to his Rector's disadvantage. The Rectors were not to go to law with each other, but to submit all disputes to the wardens. And upon all solemn occasions of meeting they were to be habited in a seemly dress—an over-garment of white fur and a black under-garment—that they might be distinguished from non-members as the sheep from the goats.

It is difficult to think of a London where the Watermen were all that omnibuses and cabs are to us of to-day. The roads were bad, and cabs unknown. London lay along its river front on both sides of the Thames. To us, familiar with the ceaseless roar of traffic and the more recent hooting of the motor-car, there comes a feeling of envy when we think of the delightful leisure and stillness that must have reigned over the city when the Watermen had things all their own way. They claimed to be the most numerous company in London—forty thousand, one account says. They were well organized, and possessed a powerful spokesman in Taylor the Water Poet, who, for twenty years, in prose and verse fulminated against the upstart '*hellcart coaches*'—as they called the new hackney coaches. The Globe, the Rose, and the Swan Theatres were on the Southwark side of the Thames, and the Watermen petitioned the Privy Council that, for the sake of their large families, and in the interests of the upkeep of the Navy, no theatre might be allowed in Middlesex within four miles of the City. The players poured ridicule on the petition, suggesting that the Royal Exchange, Paul's Walk, and Moorfields should be removed to the south side of the river for the benefit of the Watermen. Bacon delighted the Water Poet by declaring that, 'in so far as public weal was to be regarded before pastimes, or a serviceable decaying multitude before a handful of particular men, or profit before pleasure, so far was the Watermen's suit to be preferred before the players'.'

We heartily thank Mr. Unwin for this valuable contribution to 'The Antiquary's Books.'

MARK GUY PEARSE.

Notes and Discussions

THE CHURCHES AND PARTY POLITICS

THE 'Nonconformist Minister' who wrote an article on Nonconformity and Politics in the *Fortnightly Review*, last January, and has since published a book on the subject, has fluttered many ecclesiastical dovecotes. Some might prefer to say that he has stirred up a nest of political hornets. He has, at all events, called forth a shower of eager replies, vehemently challenging his positions that the Nonconformist Churches have 'betrayed their trust,' are 'recreant to their vows,' and that they are not 'in the way of making saints—that is a secret they have somehow lost.' Approval of the book has been expressed by a few, notably by Dr. Forsyth, who is a host in himself, and many of the quiet in the land have rejoiced over the appearance of this protest, without expressing themselves in the newspapers. But the large majority of his fellow-churchmen seem to view the writer as a traitor in their camp.

With the controversy as a controversy we are not concerned. But no one can doubt that the issues raised are vital, and that it is quite time some of them were determined. They concern those who do, as well as those who do not, belong to the Established Church of this country. It is the interests of the Church of Christ that are at stake, if the energies which ought to be devoted to making Christians are in serious danger of being diverted to secondary objects, whether it be the passing of bills through the legislature, or the reconstruction of the social order, or the provision of amusements for young people on church premises. It will, however, be matter of great regret if questions of this kind are discussed in a mere partisan spirit. Some leading men (in Church, as well as State) are never satisfied till there is a fight forward. Their spirits rise with the prospect of a fray, and they estimate vitality by the ability to enjoy fisticuffs. Evolution by antagonism is one mode of progress, but within the Church of Christ it is surely not the best.

The aims of 'Nonconformist Minister' are excellent, but he

has in some respects a weak case. He cannot deny that Nonconformists, in their origin, were bound to take political action to secure their very existence. He admits that now they are quite in order in working for Disestablishment. He is prepared to allow, or even to urge, that individual Church members should take part in political life as citizens. He is well aware that the clergy of the Church of England are politically active, especially upon some questions—such as religious education in primary schools—which touch very nearly the interests of Nonconformists. He knows that the Education Act of 1902 roused strong indignation amongst Dissenters, and stirred many to political action who had previously held aloof from party strife. He is well aware that a large part of modern legislation is social rather than political (if such a distinction be permissible), that it touches morals very nearly, and that earnest religious men cannot be silent or inactive when measures vitally affecting the moral character of the body politic are trembling in the balance. Yet he would draw—if he could—a hard and fast line between religious and moral interests on the one hand, and State action on the other, reserving the former alone for the consideration of the Churches in their corporate capacity. The answer is, that if the Churches are alive it cannot be done. The solidarity of life is too complete. These complex interests are too closely bound up together for any artificial dividing line to be drawn between them. The 'moral witness of the Church on social and economical subjects' for which the Bishop of Birmingham contended recently in Convocation bears in many directions on national policy. In the future, even more than in the past, it will be seen that life is one, and that religion, if it is to do its work rightly, must permeate and sway the whole.

But who that knows anything of the life of modern Churches will deny that in spirit this protest is most timely and greatly needed? It is not a question of principle, but of emphasis. Granted that religious life must begin from within and be influential without, 'take root downward and bear fruit upward,' on what aspects of religion does stress need chiefly to be laid to-day? Is the interest in spiritual things so excessive that Churches must in very despair urge their members to bear in mind outward and material considerations, the business, and politics, and amusements which rightly form a part of their complex existence? Or is it rather a question whether there is inward driving force enough to accomplish one tithe of what

the Churches of to-day are striving to do—force, that is, of so deeply spiritual and earnestly Christian a kind that all things shall be done in a Christian way, and so done that the kingdom of Christ, not any of the kingdoms of this world, shall prevail?

By 'corporate action of the Church' we may, perhaps, understand the utterances of ministers in the pulpit, the speeches made on Church platforms, and the resolutions passed at Church meetings. Judging by these evidences, who can question that the centre of gravity, if we may so speak, of modern Church life is rapidly passing from the region of the spiritual to the worldly, and from the distinctively religious to the ethical, social, and political aspects of current questions? Is the pulpit the place, and is Sunday the day, for discussing modes of political action on which good Christians may very well differ? The interest of the younger ministry tends largely in the direction of the external, the 'practical (so-called), the excitements of public life, the clash and conflict in which those who strive and cry, and cause their voices to be heard in the street, are eulogized as the men of real force. Concentration upon the sources of spiritual life is dubbed 'Quietism,' or 'Pietism,' or 'Individualism,' and is disparaged as futile in comparison with the promotion of social and political reform. Only a certain amount of time—to take the lowest ground—is available for the minister in his addresses and for Church members in their meetings. If it is bestowed upon one object, it is necessarily withdrawn from others. The fund of spiritual energy is low enough at the best; if it is spent in one direction, it must be diminished in another, and the reserve may soon disappear. If attention be concentrated upon the spiritual, 'other things' will follow, but the process cannot be reversed.

But this is not the chief danger. The ideal suffers. As 'Nonconformist Minister' puts it, 'The Church exists for the sake of spiritual ideals, for the sake of making character, of inspiring and creating goodness.' Or, as Dr. Forsyth more evangelically expresses it, 'The Church exists for the gospel of the manifold grace of God in Jesus Christ the Saviour, for the sake of making that living and penitent faith which works out into all love, goodness, and character.' We have omitted from both extracts the word 'solely,' both writers contending that the Church exists solely for the objects named. That is the point at issue between them and some of their fellow Christians. But if all Christians can admit that the Church does exist

mainly for these high objects, can any question that in these days there is serious danger lest the first things should not be kept first, but that matters of twentieth-rate importance for the Church—however important to the politician—are being thrust into the front rank? Politicians—on both sides—are only too glad to capture Church organizations for their own purposes. How many preachers and members to-day seem to keep their zeal to be spent upon political, social, and economical reform, whilst they seldom speak, or with bated breath and faltering voice, on the deepest truths of the gospel and the inner spiritual life? 'At home in politics, but at sea in Christ,' says Dr. Forsyth; that is a serious charge to make against any Christian. If it be true of a minister, it is fatal.

We are no pessimists. Spiritual life in the Churches is neither dead nor dying. But those who seek the true welfare of Christendom—who believe that in the Church of Christ as a whole, not in one extreme section of it, lies the hope of the world—will be increasingly anxious that the things which our Lord Himself put first and the Apostles kept first in primitive Christian experience, should maintain their absolute supremacy in these days, lest the light of life should fail and the salt of the earth lose its savour. For if even the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned?

W. T. Davison.

THE EASTER FAITH

When lectures on Christian Apologetics have been, by special request, delivered three times in Leipzig, and frequently in other German towns, they deserve to be published; moreover, they have established their claim to be carefully studied. The booklet[1] containing these lectures is entitled *Christianity and Science*. Its author proves himself competent to deal thoroughly and lucidly with the Christian idea of God as affected respectively by (1) modern Cosmology, (2) modern Biology, (3) modern Psychology. Having shown in the first three lectures that Christian Theism is consistent with the facts of modern

[1] *Christentum und Wissenschaft.* Von Gerhard Hilbert. M. 2. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

science, Pfarrer Hilbert proceeds, in the next three lectures, to examine critically the historic faith concerning (4) the Person, (5) the Work, and (6) the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The most recent literature on these subjects is referred to; but, for reasons assigned, the claim of the 'religious-historical' school to the exclusive use of the term 'scientific' is disallowed. A fair specimen of Hilbert's style and method is furnished in the last lecture, which has for its theme, 'The Resurrection of Jesus Christ.'

At the outset 'the modern man' is reminded that it is unscientific to say, before investigating the evidence, that there is no resurrection from the dead. Even the Agnostic, if he is consistent, will be anxious to ascertain what are the historic facts, what philosophy has to say, and what weight ought to be given to ethical and religious consideration. From these three points of view the fundamental question of Christianity, 'Is Christ risen?' is approached.

1. The historian asks: 'Have we the reports of eye-witnesses?' and the answer is, 'No.' There was no human witness of our Lord's rising from the tomb. But it is sufficient that the Risen Saviour appeared to disciples who have told us what they saw and what He said. The variations and apparent discrepancies in the narratives are frankly acknowledged. But it is maintained that only a childish naïveté would, for this reason, reject them as entirely untrustworthy. The jurist and the historian are better qualified to pronounce judgement on this question than 'the theologian who, in his study, lives remote from the world.' Prof. von Liszt made an experiment with students of criminal law. He arranged that there should be a dispute, ending with a revolver-shot. 'Out of these unquestionably competent and entirely disinterested witnesses not one correctly reported what happened. The smallest number of mistakes was four! Some errors were incredible. One ascribed the strongest expression in the dispute to a gentleman who took no part in it.' It was also asserted, without any truth, that he who fired the revolver retreated to the wall before seizing the weapon, &c. A scientific judgement must, therefore, remember what a jurist never forgets, namely, that when witnesses agree in all details, their agreement suggests either that they are in collusion, or that they have compared notes. In like manner, Droysen the historian emphasizes, in his text-book, the fact that 'historical material is never

complete.' It is well known how many mistakes there are in Bismarck's account of the battle of Sedan. Hilbert concludes that seeming discrepancies do not shake the credibility of the 'decisive fact' that many witnesses saw the Risen Saviour.

Good use is, however, made of St. Paul's list of Christ's appearances (1 Cor. xv. 3–8), to show that the oldest tradition records appearances both in Jerusalem and in Galilee. To impale readers of the Gospels on the horns of the dilemma: Did the Risen Saviour manifest Himself in Galilee or in Jerusalem? is to raise a false issue. The difficulties involved in all hypotheses which strive to account for the Apostles' belief in Christ's resurrection, whilst denying the fact, are clearly brought out. This section closes with a forceful plea for the necessity of linking this unique event with the history—prior and subsequent—of this unique Person. 'He made His disciples not independent, but ever more dependent on Himself. . . . Was this short-sighted policy? No; for He knew that He would be with them all the days, even unto the end of the world. He is the Saviour of the world, and yet He limits His ministry to Israel. . . . Gradually He confines Himself to yet more narrow circles, but He never relaxes His world-embracing claims. What is the explanation? There is but *one;* He knew that He would rise to a world-wide activity.' Then follows an excellent summary of the argument that the history of Christianity is an absolute riddle, unless it be true that Jesus lives.

2. Attempts, in the interests of materialistic views of the world, to discredit the historic evidence are next considered. Many assume that it is enough to say: 'Never has a dead man risen; it is contrary to all experience, and to the laws of nature.' Falling back on the proof given in a previous chapter that 'the human spirit is not derived from the material world,' Hilbert argues that there is no scientific reason compelling us to deny the possibility of the spirit's survival of the decay of the body. 'As it came from another world, it may pass to another world.' It is further maintained that neither historically nor philosophically is anything gained by adopting the theory that it was the spirit of Jesus that was seen by His disciples, but that His body did not rise. The historian is confronted by the witness of those who are trustworthy, and by the empty grave; the philosopher knows that the survival of pure spirit is, to the modern mind, more unthinkable than resurrection in a spiritual body. As regards the final difficulty—the glorifying or spiritual-

izing of the body of Jesus—Hilbert says that we must get rid of what Von Hartmann calls 'the superstition of the substantiality of matter,' and trust the teachings of modern science, which asserts that matter is 'localized energy.' Energy is not material, but spiritual. If, therefore, the matter of our body must ultimately be classed as spiritual, 'why may it not be still further spiritualized, dematerialized, glorified?' That the spirit can exert influence upon matter, psychology has been driven to admit. Hence, on these and other grounds, 'the unbiassed modern Agnostic must admit that the resurrection of Jesus Christ is scientifically credible.'

3. Credibility is one thing, but reality is another thing. The resurrection of Jesus is a miracle, and to convince us that it really happened, it must be seen to fit into the divine purpose in the world. Briefly stated, Hilbert's position is that 'without it there is no guarantee that life has an abiding purpose, and that the moral personality will persist.' Of what avail is increasing control of Nature's laws, when science leaves man helpless in the presence of temptation? Buddhism and Pessimism, by their negations, prove that only as a personal spirit does man retain his abiding worth as a moral personality. But if on Calvary a moral personality, 'stainlessly pure, and infinitely strong in unselfish love,' falls a victim to unrighteous hate and is annihilated by death, what hope is there that any human spirit will survive, howsoever great its moral worth? It would seem to be a postulate of our moral and religious consciousness that, if in Jesus Christ the moral ideal was realized, He must triumph over sin and death. 'If Jesus rose from the dead, His spirit freed itself from the grip of material laws, and compelled them to be its servants. The personality of Jesus triumphed over the impersonal world—that is preeminently the significance of His bodily resurrection. . . . Thus, His resurrection is the sure guarantee alike of the salvation of our moral personality and of the final victory of the moral world-order by the power of God.'

Summing up his able and well-sustained argument, Hilbert says that for the truth of the Easter message, 'Christ is risen,' there is credible historical evidence, that on scientific grounds the resurrection of Jesus from the dead cannot be pronounced impossible, and that the facts of the personal, moral, and religious life are strongly confirmatory of its reality. Nevertheless, for abiding personal certainty one thing will always be

essential, and that is personal experience. It is for moral reasons that the Risen Lord cannot manifest Himself to all with irresistible demonstration that He is alive for evermore. The setting up of the kingdom of God upon earth means the salvation of the moral personality; therefore, the decision for Christ must not be an enforced, but a moral decision. Those who affect to regard faith as unworthy of the scientific mind are told, in the words of Wundt, that 'the newest philosophy does not aim at transmuting faith into knowledge, but at establishing the necessity of faith.' In the last resort it is unscientific to ignore or to underestimate the significance of the fact that, throughout the ages, personal experience has been to countless multitudes the infallible proof that Jesus lives.

J. G. TASKER.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

THE *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, published by the Clarendon Press in two large volumes, will afford much food for theologians and scholars in all parts of the world. The late M. Jean Réville, of Paris, was the prime mover in the institution of these Congresses, and he was much missed at Oxford. The first Congress was held at Paris during the Exposition of 1900; the second at Basle in 1904. Oxford had a special right to act as host to the third Congress, for Jowett long ago pointed out the great value of the study of the religions of the world, and was, in his last years, engaged on an essay upon the subject which was never finished. Max Müller did much to familiarize scholars with the study of comparative religion, and the Oxford University Press has issued fifty sacred books of the East.

Dr. Tylor's work in the field of anthropology has also rendered eminent service to the cause. Sir A. C. Lyall, in his presidential address, dwelt upon Christianity and Islam as the religions of the West, Buddhism and Hinduism as the religions of the East. The religion of the Roman Empire was falling into multitudinous confusion when Christianity arose—'an austere, exclusive faith, with its army of saints, ascetics, and unflinching martyrs, proclaiming worship to be due to one God

only, and sternly refusing to acknowledge the divinity of the Emperor.' The struggle was severe, but the spiritual and moral forces of Christianity triumphed. When the empire fell the Church knit the Western races together. Then it had to face a prolonged contrast with Islam, which generated fierce fanaticism on both sides. It became a recognized opinion, both in Christianity and Islam, that 'the State was bound to enforce orthodoxy; conversion and the suppression or expulsion of heretics were public duties.' In India the fortunes of Buddhism and Brahmanism have never been linked to those of the ruling power; but in China Buddhism was alternately persecuted and protected, expelled and restored, by Imperial decree. Sir A. C. Lyall thinks our British-Indian position of complete religious neutrality is unique among Asiatic governments, and almost unknown in Europe. There is much to think about in this address; but it is when we turn to the section dealing with 'Religions of the Lower Culture' that we find how fruitful the Congress really was. No department of anthropology has proved more fascinating than the study of such religious beliefs and practices. Prof. Tylor here led the way, and his method has been approved by later study. Dr. Frazer has made special study of the relations between magic and religion. In Mexico Dr. Preuss finds many vigorous remains of the old paganism, even among the superficially Christianized peoples. All the papers in this section tempt quotation. Mr. Spilsbury's account of the 'Religious Beliefs of the Principal Native Tribes of South America' is the result of over thirty years' residence and travel among them, supplemented by constant research among the old writings of the Jesuit Fathers and heroes of the Conquest. It is generally acknowledged that the conception of one great Spirit, the Creator of all things, was universally spread among the aboriginal tribes of South America. Worship was of the most elementary form, the hope of immortality was general, and 'myths of the deluge are abundant, but all have special local features, which are a proof of their authenticity.'

To the section on 'Religions of India and Iran' Dr. James H. Moulton contributed a paper on 'Syncretism in Religion as Illustrated in the History of Parsism.' The three main types of Avestan texts answer broadly to the three forces which have joined in the making of Parsism. The characteristics of Magian religion are traced out with a master's ease, and the features of Parsism, which we may assign to Zarathushtra himself, are

thus reached. Dr. Moulton credits the reformer with those features of Parsism which turn away from Aryan nature-cultus towards a highly abstract and spiritual religious atmosphere. His reform was, in Darius's day, probably confined almost exclusively to the Court circles. The section on the 'Religions of the Greeks and Romans' has a paper on 'Bird and Pillar Worship in Connexion with Ouranian Divinities,' by Miss Jane E. Harrison. In Minoan days there was a public cultus of birds with regular established ritual. Five full-page illustrations make this paper of special interest. Dr. Sanday presided over the section which discussed 'The Christian Religion,' and surveyed the literature of the subject during the last four years. That general view will be of great service to students. Dr. Loofs, in a paper on 'Christ's Descent into Hell,' traces back the history of the descent-idea from our own time to the Middle Ages, then to the 'Gospel of Nicodemus,' about the fourth century. From that point he is able to work back to the second half of the second century. Prof. Loofs is convinced that the Epistle to the Hebrews is aware of the descent-idea in xi. 39, 'They without us should not be made perfect'; and xii. 22 sq., where the Holy of Holies has evidently been opened to Old Testament saints by Christ. Dr. Loofs thinks that 'the statements of the epistle become richer and clearer if we do not exclude the idea that Christ, through His descent to Hades and His ascent thence, prepared both for the Old Testament saints and for Christians the way to eternal life.' We have given some faint conception of the riches of these two volumes. Theology is a new science to-day; and if every subject is canvassed freely we have no reason to doubt that faith will emerge triumphant from all tests that are applied to it.

ALLEGORY IN SCRIPTURE

THE application of the allegorizing method to Scripture is at present greatly discounted among readers and commentators. It is difficult for us to believe that it reigned almost without challenge or rival from the earliest Christian days down to the time of the Reformation. The supremacy of the plain historical method is now assured, and rightly so. The cause of the

revolution that has taken place is to be found partly in the development of the historical spirit and partly in the abuse of allegorical methods. The article on the subject by Dr. Massie in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary* gives the modern estimate. An old essay by the commentator, Hermann Olshausen, on the 'deeper sense' of Scripture goes somewhat more fully into the subject. While the former writer differentiates allegory from its related ideas, such as type and parable, the latter treats the question in a wider sense. We must distinguish between moral and spiritual applications which teachers and expositors are at liberty to make for themselves, and similar applications which we are justified in attributing to the writers of Scripture. It is the latter aspect of the method which Olshausen seeks to defend and illustrate.

The origin of the method is older than Christianity. It was recognized and used extensively in the days of Christ among the Jews both of Egypt and Palestine. The former are represented by the great Jewish scholar Philo, and by Aristobulus two centuries earlier. The allegory of Palestinian Judaism, described by Josephus and the high-priest Eleazar, is embodied in the vast literature of the Cabbala and Talmud, which although post-Christian in form is pre-Christian in matter. The method was also applied by the Greeks to Homer and Hesiod. Some have derived the Jewish system from Greece; but this is out of the question. Jews would not learn from pagans. All these writers are not inventing a new method, but simply using one already existing, whose beginning is lost in mists of antiquity. Allegory was never born, it grew; and there is no more to be said about cause and origin. The Christian Fathers, from Justin, Clement, Origen downwards, simply borrowed from the Jews.

The Scripture use cannot be dismissed by a curt reference to a single passage in Paul. It is pervasive and characteristic of Scripture in Old and New Testament alike. Correspondence between the natural and the spiritual, between type and antitype, between preparation and fulfilment, is everywhere assumed. The parables assume that the material is a prophetic symbol of the spiritual. The earliest religious teaching is necessarily by symbol and rite. In the Old Testament circumcision, sacrifice, the law written on tables of stone, are examples in point. Such objects as Zion, Jerusalem, Israel, Jacob, are idealized. The nation of Israel is treated as a type of the

kingdom of God on earth. The 78th Psalm views the history of Israel as a picture of God's dealing with nations generally. 'I will open my mouth in a parable, I will utter dark sayings of old.' Abraham, Melchizedek, and especially David, are types of things to come. In the New Testament the Epistle to the Hebrews and Revelation are full of the allegorical idea. But not these only. There are more references of the kind in the other Epistles and the Gospels than is commonly supposed. The underlying assumption is that the old dispensation was throughout, as a whole and in detail, a figure of the new. The second Adam corresponds in a reverse way to the first. That Jesus Himself used the ancient Scripture in this sense is clear from Luke xxiv. 27, as well as elsewhere (see John v. 46). The Passover also is a plain example. In this state of things the Old Testament can never lose its value for Christians. We can only understand the New from the Old. Augustine says well, 'Novum Testamentum latet in Vetere, Vetus patet in Novo.'

Olshausen points the contrast between the sober, restrained use of allegory in Scripture and the wild extravagance too often found in the Jewish, and even in the Christian, use. In the former case the real, historical sense is always held fast, the allegorical application is according to law and order, the aim is moral instruction and improvement. In all these respects the practice elsewhere is very different. The following are some of the moral lessons taught in the grand style. Israel nationally and individually represents the normal relation of mankind and individuals to God; it represents God's purpose concerning all and the issues of that purpose. The relation between Israel and its enemies on the whole is a type of the conflict always going on between the world's good and evil. A similar parallel is drawn between Israel and Christ. Israel was called God's Son, a destiny which it was far from realizing nationally or individually. Christ is the perfect Son. 'But are we, then, to regard the history of all nations and all great men in the same light? Certainly. The principle is universally true. The difference is in the realization. The chief point is, that of the Jewish nation only we have a connected account, composed by God-enlightened men who had the spiritual discernment to see the hand of God in all the leadings of the nation. Without such a divine narrative we could not understand the Jewish history as a type of humanity, and Christ, and every individual; with such a conception the histories of all nations would receive

a higher spiritual interpretation.' The symbolic character of the Jewish ritual is also set forth in Scripture with similar clearness and restraint.

If old preachers and expositors went too far in the use of type and allegory, moderns have, perhaps, erred as much in the opposite direction, and so lost an effective means of instruction. To treat the two parts of Scripture as independent and almost antagonistic systems is essentially mistaken. The Old is superseded by the New, as youth is superseded by age, spring by summer. Christ came not to abolish, but to fulfil.

J. S. BANKS.

A MOHAMMEDAN EXPOSITION OF SUFEEISM

SUFEEISM consists essentially in giving up oneself constantly to devotional exercises, in living solely for God, in abandoning all the frivolous attractions of the world, in disregarding the ordinary aims of men—pleasures, riches and honours—and finally in separating oneself from society for the sake of practising devotion to God. This way of life was extremely common among the companions of the Prophet and the early Moslems. But when in the second century of Islam and the succeeding centuries the desire for worldly wealth had spread, and ordinary men allowed themselves to be drawn into the current of a dissipated and worldly life, the persons who gave themselves up to piety were distinguished by the name of 'Sufis,' or aspirants to Sufeeism.

The most probable derivation is from 'suf' (wool), for, as a rule, Sufis wear woollen garments to distinguish themselves from the crowd, who love gaudy attire.

For an intelligent being possessed of a body, thought is the joint product of the perception of events which happen from without, and of the emotions to which they give rise within, and is that quality which distinguishes man from animals. These emotions proceed one from another; just as knowledge is born of arguments, joy and sadness spring from the perception of that which causes grief or pleasure. Similarly with the disciple of the spiritual life in the warfare which he wages with himself, and in his devotional exercises. Every struggle

which he has with his passions produces in him a state resulting from this struggle. This state is either a disposition to piety which, strengthening by repetition, becomes for him a 'station' (*maqâm*), or merely an emotion which he undergoes, such as joy, merriment, &c.

The disciple of the spiritual life continues to rise from one station to another, till he arrives at the knowledge of the Divine Unity and of God, the necessary condition for obtaining felicity, conformably to the saying of the Prophet: 'Whosoever dies while confessing that there is no God but God, shall enter Paradise.'

Progress through these different stages is gradual. They have as their common foundation obedience and sincerity of intention; faith precedes and accompanies them, and from them proceed the emotions and qualities, the transient and permanent modifications of the soul; these emotions and qualities go on producing others in a perpetual progression which finally arrives at the station of the knowledge of the Unity of God. The disciple of the spiritual life needs to demand an account of his soul in all its actions, and to keep an attentive eye on the most hidden recesses of his heart; for actions must necessarily produce results, and whatever evil is in results betokens a corresponding evil in actions.

There are but a few persons who imitate the Sufis in this practice of self-examination, for negligence and indifference in this respect are almost universal. Pious men who have not risen to this class (the mystics) only aim at fulfilling the works commanded by the law in all the completeness laid down by the science of jurisprudence. But the mystics examine scrupulously the results of these works, the effects and impressions which they produce upon the soul. For this purpose they use whatever rays of divine illumination may have reached them while in a state of ecstasy, with the object of assuring themselves whether their actions are exempt or not from some defect. The essence of their system is this practice of obliging the soul often to render an account of its actions and of what it has left undone. It also consists in the development of those gifts of discrimination and ecstasy which are born out of struggles with natural inclinations, and which then become for the disciple stations of progress.

The Sufis possess some rules of conduct peculiar to themselves, and make use of certain technical expressions. Of these

Ghazzali has treated in *Ihya-ul-ulum* ('Revival of the Religious Sciences'). He speaks of the laws regulating devotion, he explains the rules and customs of the Sufis and the technical terms which they use. Thus the system of the Sufis, which was at first only a special way of carrying on worship, and the laws of which were only handed on by example and tradition, was methodized and reduced to writing, like the exegesis of the Koran, the Traditions, Jurisprudence, and so forth.

This spiritual combat and this habit of meditation are usually followed by a lifting of the veils of sense, and by the perception of certain worlds which form part of the 'things of God' (knowledge of which He has reserved for Himself). The sensual man can have no perception of such things.

Disentanglement from the things of sense and consequent perception of invisible things takes place when the spirit, giving up the uses of exterior senses, only uses interior ones; in this state the emotions proceeding from the former grow feebler, while those which proceed from the spirit grow stronger; the spirit dominates, and its vigour is renewed.

Now, the practice of meditation contributes materially to this result. It is the nourishment by which the spirit grows. Such growth continues till what was the knowledge of One absent becomes the consciousness of One present, and the veils of sense being lifted, the soul enjoys the fullness of the faculties which belong to it in virtue of its essence, i. e. perception. On this plane it becomes capable of receiving divine grace and knowledge granted by the Deity. Finally its nature as regards the real knowledge of things as they are, approaches the loftiest heaven, the heaven of angelic beings.

This disentanglement from things of sense takes place oftenest in men who practise the spiritual combat, and thus they arrive at a perception of the real nature of things such as is impossible to any beside themselves. Similarly they often know of events before they arrive; and by the power of their prayers and their spiritual force, they hold sway over inferior beings who are obliged to obey them.

The greatest of the mystics do not boast of this disentanglement from things of sense and this rule over inferior creatures; unless they have received an order to do so, they reveal nothing of what they have learnt of the real nature of things. These supernatural workings are painful, and when they experience them they ask God for deliverance.

The companions of the Prophet also practised this spiritual warfare; like the mystics, they were overwhelmed with these tokens of divine favour such as the power to walk on the water, to pass through fire without being burnt, to receive their food in miraculous ways, but they did not attach great importance to them. Abu-bekr, Omar, and Ali were distinguished by a great number of these supernatural gifts, and their manner of viewing them was followed by the mystics who succeeded them.

But among the moderns there are men who have set great store by obtaining this disentanglement from things of sense, and by speaking of the mysteries discovered when this veil is removed. To reach this goal they have had recourse to different methods of asceticism in which the intellectual soul is nourished by meditation to the utmost of its capacity, and enjoys in its fullness the faculty of perception which constitutes its essence. According to them, when a man has arrived at this point, his perception comprehends all existence and the real nature of things without a veil, from the throne of God to the smallest drops of rain. Ghazzali describes the ascetic practices which are necessary to arrive at this state.

This condition of disentanglement from the things of sense is only held to be perfect when it springs from right dispositions. For there are, as a matter of fact, persons who profess to live in retirement and to fast without possessing right dispositions; such are sorcerers, Christians, and others who practise ascetic exercises. We may illustrate this by the image of a well-polished mirror. According as its surface is convex or concave, the object reflected in it is distorted from its real shape; if, on the contrary, the mirror has a plane surface, the object is reflected exactly as it is. Now, what a plane surface is for the mirror, a right disposition is for the soul, as regards the impressions it receives from without.

C. FIELD.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

Codex Taurinensis. Transcribed and collated by Rev. W. O. Oesterley, D.D. (Frowde. 4*s*. net.)

THE MS. of the Greek version of the Twelve Prophets, known as Codex Y, is preserved in Turin, and has not thus far been reproduced and edited. Dr. Oesterley has performed a public service in preparing it for the use of scholars, and the Oxford University Press has issued it in its usual wellnigh perfect style. The value of the Codex lies in this, that it is the earliest known MS. of the minor prophets in the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint. Valuable readings are found in Lucian's recension, which show—in the judgement of Dr. Driver and other eminent scholars—that he had access to a Hebrew original superior in many respects to the existing Massoretic text. That means, of course, that by the aid of this recension we are enabled to solve some of the difficulties arising from unquestionable corruptions in the received text of the Old Testament. Material for this purpose is scanty enough. The history of the text of the LXX needs to be still further elucidated before it can be fully utilized in textual criticism. This work has to be done a step at a time. One such step is taken by the publication of the volume before us, which will enable scholars to examine and discuss the special readings of a hitherto uncollated MS. Dr. Oesterley has done his work with care and skill. He gives a full account of Codex Y, which has unfortunately been damaged both by fire and by water, but which is still legible in three-fourths of its contents. The *Apparatus Criticus* includes citations not only from the leading uncials, but also from all the Lucianic MSS. at present known, the old Latin texts, and sundry hexaplaric readings. A large part of the material has already been published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, but all who are engaged in biblical

research will know how to value the addition to their libraries of this useful volume and admirable specimen of English scholarship and enterprise.

Jesus: Seven Questions. By Dr. J. Warschauer. (James Clarke & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

In his modest Preface the author 'trusts that while all the questions treated in the compass of this volume form the subject of controversy, he may have succeeded, even when expressing dissent from the views of others, in steering clear of that asperity from which theological writings unfortunately are not always free.' The ideal thus sketched is fully attained in the pages which follow. It is not too much to say that if the writings of the pastor of the City Temple had been characterized by the chasteness of style and unfailing courtesy which mark Dr. Warschauer's writing, 'The New Theology' would have had immeasurably greater chance of being thoughtfully considered, even where it could by no means be finally accepted. The seven questions concerning Jesus proposed by the writer of this volume are as follows: 'Son of man or Son of God?—Was He sinless?—Did He work miracles?—Had He power to forgive sins?—Is belief in Him necessary to salvation?—Did He rise from the dead?—Did He die for us?' And the general reply is best summarized in his own words. 'We reaffirm emphatically that He is indeed the Son of God, the very image of His substance, God manifest in the flesh; that He was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin; we believe that no tale of wonder told concerning Him can do more than shadow forth His true and incomparable grandeur; that He had power to forgive sins; that we are saved by belief in Him; that the grave could not hold Him, but that He manifested Himself to His own again; and that He set the crown upon His earthly mission by dying for us men. "Greater love hath no man."—Thus all the questionings of our restless age, faced fearlessly, do but serve to set forth the undimmed splendour of the Christ of God, establishing anew, and more firmly than ever, His title to be the Son, the Revealer, the Mediator, the Example, the Saviour—Himself the glorious Gospel of the Blessed God.' If such a finding is added to the avowal in the Preface, that 'when modern criticism and modern thought have obtained a full hearing, the essential verities of our faith

—the divinity of our Lord, the incarnation of God in Him, and the atonement of God and man through Him—remain not only unshaken, but more firmly established than ever,' it would seem to the ordinary reader that the 'new movement,' of which our author is one of the most distinguished advocates, is scarcely new at all. Are not all these, it may well be asked, the very essentials for which the Evangelical Churches, at all events, have ever stood? To which query but one answer is possible, however much we may desire to echo and perpetuate this author's constant courtesy. They are not what they seem. The words are the same, but the significance is different. We welcome the book, and indeed are not a little thankful that such a volume should in these days be sent forth into the conflicting crowd of modern religious and anti-religious publications. We may freely acknowledge that it constitutes a real gospel, but it is certainly not that presentation of the Christian faith which is conveyed by the term Evangelical—understanding it even in the latest and most careful definition. We may make here no detailed criticism; out of many possible considerations it is enough to suggest one simple test. Does this modern statement of the gospel find any place for the doctrine of the Trinity? It does not. In the whole of the volume before us there is no single reference either to the Person and work of the Holy Spirit, or to the conception of a Trinity in the divine nature. The eighth question, therefore, which has to be faced in regard to Jesus, not considered here, is whether He, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, together constitute the true triune God, or whether after all Arius was right? That query is at least as real, as applicable, as important, as any of these seven, and upon its answer must turn our judgement as to whether this gospel is or is not the same as Paul preached and John endorsed. Even if we accepted our author's dictum that the writer of the Fourth Gospel 'has not written—he never intended to write—a history, as history is understood by us,' yet his 'commentary on the Synoptic Gospels' has to be reckoned with. And much as we admire the real scholarship, the beautiful spirit, the truly Christian fervour, which characterize these pages, we cannot concede that the writer does justice even to the material he accepts. This volume, for all its thoughtful attractiveness, gives us a Christ who, in spite of all protests to the contrary, is none other than that of cultured Unitarianism. In such hands as those of Dr. Warschauer such a con-

ception may be restated and pronounced 'Christo-centric,' but we must still go on to assert that this is not the Jesus Christ of the New Testament.

Dictionary of the Bible. (T. & T. Clark. 20s. net.)

This new *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by Dr. James Hastings, so well known by his other great dictionaries, assisted by Dr. John A. Selbie, Dr. John C. Lambert, and Dr. Shailer Mathews, Professor of Theology and Dean of the Divinity School in the University of Chicago, supplies a deeply felt need. It comprises 992 pages of matter, well printed, in double columns. The publishers' note very clearly and accurately states the design and scope of the work. It is 'entirely distinct from the five-volume dictionary. It is complete in one volume. The articles are new. Some of the authors are the same as in the large dictionary, but they have not written on the same subjects. It is not based on any other dictionary, but is a wholly new and original work. The articles are signed by their authors. This is the first time that all the articles in a single-volume dictionary of the Bible have been committed to specialists, and bear their signatures, as in the largest dictionaries.'

The names of the contributors guarantee the value of the work to Bible students. We can only mention a few of them: Dr. J. S. Banks, Dr. W. T. Davison, Dr. G. G. Findlay, Dr. R. W. Moss, Dr. J. H. Moulton, Rev. W. J. Moulton, M.A., Dr. J. G. Tasker, Dr. S. R. Driver, Dr. Garvie, Professor S. W. Green, M.A., Dr. H. M. Gwatkin, Dr. D. S. Margoliouth, Dr. A. H. Sayce, Dr. W. H. Griffith Thomas. There are over ninety other contributors, all of whom are well chosen for the work they were selected to do.

The articles are not of excessive brevity—twenty-four pages are allowed to the article on Israel; twenty-three pages to the article on Jesus Christ; and half that number to a further article on the Person of Christ. The names given above and those upon the list of contributors are abreast of the best scholarship of the day, and none of them take up an extreme position on either side. For this reason we can commend the work to those who are unable to follow those who are termed 'very advanced' scholars. There are four good maps. We have examined the work under various 'headings,' and have

found it marked by great freshness, force, and life. We strongly commend it to our readers as a work of permanent utility.

Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity justified in the Mind of Christ. By James Denney, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

In his latest work Prof. Denney, like a skilful general, displays complete familiarity with the tactics of the rationalistic foes of the Christian faith, and concentrates his powerful arguments on those positions which have recently been most vigorously attacked. In Book I he asks: 'What is the place of Christ in New Testament faith?' In his reply he brings out clearly and convincingly the unity which underlies undeniable differences. 'We feel how potent the unity must be which can hold all this variety together.' A candid and searching investigation amply justifies the conclusion: 'there is really such a thing as a self-consistent New Testament, and a self-consistent Christian religion.'

The question of paramount importance in modern controversies is raised in Book II: 'Does Jesus, as He is revealed to us in history, justify the Christian religion as we have had it exhibited to us in the New Testament?' The answer involves an inquiry into the trustworthiness of the evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus, but Dr. Denney's most valuable contribution to the elucidation of his great theme is his detailed study of the earliest sources of our knowledge of the Mind of Christ. In regard to some details of exposition we are not in full accord with his view, but such slight disagreements do not affect our high estimate of the section on 'The self-revelation of Jesus.' It is a much needed and most effective proof that in the mind of Christ it is possible to vindicate the Christian faith.

The Background of the Gospels; or, Judaism in the Period between the Old and New Testaments. By William Fairweather, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 8*s.* net.)

Mr. Fairweather has done some careful and scholarly work on the history and literature of the period between the Testaments. In this volume he is not concerned with the narration of events, though the vital significance of the Maccabaean

struggle leads him in that case to enter into details; his object is to trace developments and tendencies, and to paint the background of the picture which forms a setting for the gospel. After a preliminary chapter, in which the fundamental characteristics of Judaism are discussed, the features it assumed in Palestine are described, with an obvious and partially successful effort to distinguish between the forms assumed at different periods. To the apocalyptic movement, as a phenomenon of cardinal importance, a couple of illuminating chapters are given. And finally Alexandrian Judaism is noted as of exceptional interest in relation to Hellenistic culture; and the reader is disposed to regret that in this case also Mr. Fairweather has not neglected his rule of dispensing with historical details.

Our author is a recognized authority on the subject with which he deals; and he writes with an expert's knowledge of the particulars and an expert's simplicity and clearness. The book will delight a reader who is innocent of all technicalities, and a student will find it rich and worthy of close study. On several points there is room for a difference of opinion, and it is likely that some of the writer's views will not entirely commend themselves. These concern such vexed questions as the dates of the Psalms and the Apocalyptic books, of Daniel and the pseudo-Aristeas, the method of administration adopted by the Sanhedrin, and the like. Of the extent to which Persian influence poured through the channel of Babylonia, too much is probably made. The strength of the protests against dualism in the later prophets is an evidence of the existence in Judaism of the germ at least of that form of thought, and its introduction may well have taken place at a much earlier time. Nor is it likely that Philo was indebted to Persia for his devotion to such views, which could reach him better from another quarter. As to Egypt, little or no use is made of such evidences of Jewish thought and practice as can be found in the inscriptions and papyri. There is a good sketch of the Essenes, whose influence was felt, however, in orthodox as well as Gnostic circles after the fall of Jerusalem. The usefulness of the book is increased by the provision of such apparatus as a student delights in—an adequate analytical table of contents, a bibliography arranged approximately in chronological order, an appendix of valuable notes, and a series of three indexes.

Modernism. The Jowett Lectures, 1908. By Paul Sabatier. Translated by C. A. Miles. (T. F. Unwin. 5*s*. net.)

These lectures have the charm of all M. Sabatier's writing. The melodious language, the felicitous illustration, the chivalrous defence of men who have to bear condemnation and reproach in their quest of truth, all lend peculiar interest to this apologia. There is another question as to which the lecturer is silent. How far are Loisy and those who share his views faithful to the vital truths of Christianity? On that side something must be said for Leo X and those who act with him, but M. Sabatier puts the case for the Modernists very persuasively, and will win much sympathy for the movement. He regards Modernism as an awakening. 'Had it occurred amid Protestant surroundings it would have taken the form of individual conversions and regenerations, but occurring amid Catholic surroundings it has taken the form of an intense need for communion—communion with the past by exegetical and historical study, communion with the present by a new apologetic and democratic endeavour, and communion with the future which men are striving to prepare.' The lecturer regards Leo X as perhaps the most obstinate pope, the least capable of being influenced, that Rome has known for a century. M. Sabatier thinks that 'the Modernist Catholic destroys nothing and gives up nothing; he accepts everything and makes it live.' There is something in the Church which is about to die, something which is about to start into new life. The Modernist believes in the unlimited progress of religious institutions, as did those who designed the great mediaeval cathedrals. He is persuaded that religion and the Church will be purified by the new movement, and gain stronger hold on the mind and conscience of the world. The lectures are followed by the two Encyclical Letters, the Petition from a group of French Catholics to the Pope, and the decree of the Inquisition. The Introduction, based on M. Loisy's volume of Letters, is of special importance.

A Commentary on the Holy Bible. By various writers. Edited by the Rev. J. R. Dummelow, M.A. Complete in one volume, with general articles and maps. (Macmillan & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This is the most satisfactory and complete one-volume com-

mentary on the whole Bible that we know. No set of English and American scholars has ever before been enlisted in the preparation of such a work, and it is an honour to Methodism to see the names of Dr. Davison, Dr. Findlay, Mr. Lofthouse, Mr. Wilfrid Moulton, and Dr. Peake among the contributors. We have tested the work at many places, and found more light on difficult passages than any similar volume gives. Preachers and teachers will find the notes stimulating and helpful. As an introduction to the *Commentary*, 150 pages are given to history and literature between the Old and New Testaments, the Synoptic Problem, and such subjects as the Resurrection, the Atonement, Inspiration, and the Elements of Religion. These scholarly articles add much to the value of the work. If a Bible student were limited to one volume he would be wise to choose this. New light from all sources has been welcomed, whilst opinions of an extreme or precarious kind have been avoided. The volume contains nearly 1,300 pages, but it is easy to handle, and the type is specially clear. The text is not printed, so that there is ample room for notes and other matter.

Luke the Physician, and other Studies in the History of Religion. By W. M. Ramsay, Kt., Hon. D.C.L., &c. With thirty-eight illustrations. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s*.)

In Sir W. M. Ramsay's opinion, the 'vice of the nineteenth century,' which mars much of its New Testament criticism, is too exclusive consideration of words. His own writings are free from this vice, and in this handsome volume he shows once more that 'Lukan criticism keeps right only when the study of words is constantly controlled and directed by the observation of facts and realities.' The papers which are here republished are on themes of permanent interest, and the value of the original articles has been enhanced by modifications and enlargements. A series of essays on 'The Church of Lycaonia in the Fourth Century' reveals the importance of the numerous early Christian inscriptions as 'evidence for the development of Christianity in its earliest Anatolian seat.' Some interesting epitaphs are translated. A bishop is described as 'a friend to all men,' a presbyter as one 'who shone a star among the churches of God,' a priest as 'a man who on account of gentleness gained glory'; perhaps justice has not been done

to a certain Gregory by the rendering of some 'hardly intelligible' lines: 'a man who was a care to God through joyousness.' Attention may be directed to the following noteworthy articles: 'The Peasant God' shows that in Asia Minor 'religion led the way and fixed the rules for the creation of agriculture; and it has degenerated along with the agriculture and civilization of the land'; 'The Date and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews' leads up to the conclusion that the Epistle was sent in A.D. 59 from the Church in Caesarea to the Jewish party of the Church in Jerusalem; 'this implies that the writer, practically speaking, was Philip, the deacon, and that the plan of composing such a letter had been discussed beforehand with Paul'; 'St. Paul's use of Metaphors from Greek and Roman Life' contains suggestions which expository preachers will find helpful.

The Acts of the Apostles. By Adolf Harnack. Translated by the Rev. J. R. Wilkinson, M.A. (Williams & Norgate. 6s.)

Dr. Harnack here develops the position taken in *Luke the Physician.* After searching examination of the Acts of the Apostles he is astonished that critics do not treat Luke with more respect. The very fact that he sets himself to explain the origin of the mission to the Gentiles 'shows an amount of historical insight which claims the highest appreciation.' He has confined himself to the theme thus marked out, and 'the seeming gaps in his narrative become no gaps for us so soon as we realize the task he set himself.' In the second part of the Acts Luke's object is to bring the gospel to Rome. He sets St. Paul and his work in their true nobility and grandeur. Professor Harnack closes his introduction with the significant words: 'In an age wherein critical hypotheses, once upon a time not unfruitful, have hardened themselves into dogmas, and when, if an attempt is made to defend a book against prejudice, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation, scornful remarks are made about "special pleading," it is not superfluous to declare that the method which is here employed is influenced by no prepossession of any kind. It is, of course, disgraceful that the circumstances of criticism at the present day make such a declaration necessary.' St. Luke's work has 'been here accorded the position of credit which is its rightful due.' It is significant that the translator, who had formerly pronounced it

unscientific to suppose that Acts ii. was written by a companion of St. Paul who knew the real nature of the phenomenon of 'speaking with tongues,' has himself been converted by Dr. Harnack's noble and searching investigation.

Fellowship in the Life Eternal. An Exposition of the Epistles of St. John. By G. G. Findlay, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

It is impossible in a brief notice to do justice to the masterly exposition with which Dr. Findlay has enriched the Christian Church. In the very title of his volume he has set forth that which has baffled the search of many a student of the First Epistle—its unity. 'Fellowship in the Life Eternal' is the glowing centre round which the apostle groups his thoughts. And what thoughts they are! The nature of God; the fact and effect of sin; the answering manifestation of love; the propitiation, in which love's divinest effect is seen; the knowledge of God which means communion with Him, and the deepening of that communion into sonship, until sin becomes 'unnatural in God's child,' and the divinity of love is seen in its perfection in human brotherliness,—such are but a few of the thoughts which Dr. Findlay brings out of this treasure-house to which he holds the key. With each of these he deals with the keen discrimination of a scholar, and with a spiritual insight which declares him the true interpreter of St. John. No student of the Scriptures can afford to be without this book, in which the exegesis is as true as the theology is profound. To the preacher it will bring 'new founts of inspiration,' and to every devout mind that searches into the inner meaning of words which 'are spirit and life' it will reveal the deep things of God. Those students are happy indeed who sit at the feet of such a teacher, and we rejoice that now this rich, true thought is brought within the reach of many others, who with grateful hearts will gather round the same master in Israel.

The Tests of Life. A study of the First Epistle of St. John, being the Kerr Lectures for 1909. By the Rev. Robert Law, B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Law's method of exposition differs from that adopted by other writers on this epistle, in that he has grouped together 'the passages bearing upon a common theme.' His

work is really an able and instructive treatment of the theology of this epistle, and his chapters bear such headings as 'The Doctrine of God as Righteousness and Love,' 'The Doctrine of Propitiation,' 'The Doctrine of Assurance,' &c. The method has distinct advantages, and its attendant disadvantages are to a large extent overcome by admirable exegetical notes. Mr. Law finds that 'the subject-matter of the epistle consists mainly in the presentation, from various points of view, of three crucial characteristics of all that is genuinely Christian —Righteousness, Love, and true Belief.' Of especial excellence are the chapters which expound St. John's teaching on the Person and Work of Christ. In a few instances we should prefer a different interpretation, but of Mr. Law's Kerr Lectures, as a whole, we can speak with hearty commendation. His exposition is scholarly, luminous, evangelical and edifying.

The Religion of the Common Man. By Sir Henry Wrixon, K.C. (Macmillan. 3*s.* net.)

The question of the existence of God is no longer confined to philosophers and theologians, 'but has been brought down among the crowd, is ventilated in cheap literature, and debated by popular speakers at Sunday gatherings in the parks.' Sir Henry Wrixon sets himself to record the reflections and conclusions of a man of average intellect and ordinary information, as he muses upon such problems. He holds that if 'the universal voice of human supplication to Heaven, poured forth in continuing succession from age to age, from civilization to civilization, like one great constant prayer from the race of man to its Creator,' has 'no real object to justify or explain it,' then our existence here must be declared to be not merely perplexing, but unmeaning and futile. The common man sees in the wonders of creation, in the working of instinct and intellect, and in the moral sense of man that there is an intelligence behind all these things which is God. History, as Sir Henry shows in his fifth chapter, supports this conclusion, and the great majority of the thinkers of the race confirm it. The difficulties raised by the existence of evil are wisely handled, and the whole treatment will be reassuring to minds that have been exercised by such questions. Sir Henry Wrixon's argument will prepare the way for that Christian truth which is needed to crown it.

The Spirit of Christ in Common Life. By Charles Bigg, D.D. (Longmans. 6*s.* net.)

These addresses and sermons have been selected and edited by the Dean of Christ Church, with an introduction by the Bishop of Oxford. Dr. Paget's tribute prepares us for a volume of unusual charm. He says that the power of Dr. Bigg's preaching at Oxford was felt and acknowledged by many who are not apt, in most matters, to judge alike. Undergraduates and choristers 'found themselves listening with strange interest, and some surprise, to a preacher who did not seem to be thinking much about any of them, who was simply bent upon his own thoughts, and yet set them all thinking.' The seven addresses given at Cuddesdon College, at a retreat for Oxford tutors, are a survey of 'The Trials and Blessings of a Scholar's Life.' The next two deal with 'Blessings and Trials of a Country Parson' in a refreshing and stimulating way. There are four ordination addresses delivered at Farnham Castle, and nearly twenty sermons. Each has its own note of distinction, and all are the work of a strong, sagacious, and devout Christian thinker.

Christianity and other Religions. By S. R. Driver, D.D. and W. Sanday, D.D. (Longmans & Co., 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Three sermons preached in Christ Church Cathedral in the weeks preceding the Congress for the History of Religion. The old view of the Christian religion as a circle of light amid the darkness of the world 'was not really capable of being fitted into any large and comprehensive scheme of Divine Providence.' Dr. Sanday shows that we should be 'prepared to find that there are many more connecting links than we have been apt to suppose between Christianity' and other religions. Dr. Driver dwells on the beliefs and practices common to various religions in a suggestive and impressive way. The sermons may justly be described as illuminating.

Epochs in the Life of Jesus. By A. T. Robertson, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Robertson is Professor of New Testament Interpretation in a Baptist seminary in Kentucky, and has for twenty years been training ministers. He feels that his theme is exhaustless, and has not burdened his pages with authorities, but striven to call attention 'to the movement and climacteric power in

the career of Christ.' If the reader can thus 'realize' Jesus, he will find the Gospels luminous with fresh light. He divides his subject into eight chapters: 'The Messianic Consciousness of Jesus; The First Appeal of Jesus; The New Departure; The Galilean Campaign; The Special Training of the Twelve; The Attack upon Jerusalem; The Answer of Jerusalem; The Final Triumph of Jesus.' Dr. Robertson writes as one who feels that it is irrational to attempt any merely human explanation of Jesus. He is both orthodox and evangelical. His book has caught a glow from its subject, and will deepen faith and reverent love in all who read it.

The Fullness of Christ. By E. S. Talbot, D.D. (Macmillan. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Other World. By W. Garrett Horder. (Macmillan. 3*s.* net.)

God's Message Through Modern Doubt. By E. Aldom French. (Duckworth. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Work of Christ. By F. Warburton Lewis. (Culley. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

University Sermons. By Hugh Black. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

The Sermons of Henry Smith. Edited by John Brown, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The tendencies of our times require a religion which is 'simply, broadly, and comprehensively human,' and Dr. Talbot shows how Christianity justifies itself by its power to act as centre of the world's life. Its one aim is 'the perfect union of the divine and the human, of God and man.' The first sermon, 'Christus Consummator,' brings out the fact that the influence of Jesus Christ is the salient fact in the world of to-day. He takes a central place alike in life and knowledge, honouring truth and goodness wherever found. The little volume will bear reading again and again, and with every fresh perusal faith in Christ will grow deeper and hope for the world will become stronger.

Mr. Horder's sermons appeal strongly to those who think deeply about the future life. We are often cordially in agreement with his teaching, but we cannot follow him when he

speaks of some aspects of reward and punishment beyond the grave, or where he adopts the Rev. Henry Latham's view as to the grave-wrappings left in our Lord's tomb. Still, this is a frank, reverent, and suggestive discussion of a subject surrounded by mystery.

Mr. Aldom French will take high rank as a true and forcible preacher by his first volume. He loses no time in getting into his subject, he deals honestly with its difficulties, he has a fine gift of illustration, and he is always helpful to sincere seekers after truth, and to those who are perplexed by the problems of pain and bereavement. The titles of the sermons are striking, the style is strong and clear, the themes are those with which the modern pulpit is bound to deal if it would reach out a helping hand to the doubting and the troubled.

As a rule the present reviewer cannot pretend to be enamoured of published sermons. The volumes which appear rarely possess that touch of distinction which alone seems to justify their publication. From time to time, however, we meet with the exception. Mr. Warburton Lewis's book is the exception. These sermons are sermons to be read and pondered. The preacher has his own message. He looks at life with a free vision, and our hearts as well as our minds are blessed as we endeavour to see with him. There is insight here and brave thought and, above all, reverence. By all means buy this book. Mr. Lewis has done well to publish it, and many will do well to study it.

Professor Black's sermons need no commendation. They stand apart, with their own peculiar charm and method and power. Their author is known to two great publics as a writer with a rare gift of insight, matched with a fine power of exposition, and this volume will quite maintain, if it does not enhance, his already great reputation. The sermons are not exactly popular—they are too full of thought for that—but they are illuminating, enriching, subduing. Great phases of life and conduct are held in a clear light which is both bright and steady: their real inwardness is revealed, and the application of truth to conduct is both close-fitting and searching. The book is full of fine thinking, suffused with delicate and noble feeling, and has great messages to the mind, the heart, and the life.

Henry Smith was lecturer at St. Clement Danes from 1587 to 1590, and Fuller says: 'He was commonly called the silver-tongued preacher, and that was but one metal below St. Chry-

sostom himself. His church was so crowded with auditors that persons of good quality brought their own pews with them, I mean their legs, to stand thereupon in the alleys.' We do not wonder at the preacher's hold on London as we read these finely phrased, pointed, practical sermons. That on 'The Wedding Garment' is very crisp in style, and 'A Preparative to Marriage' might be read with profit by all engaged couples.

The New Testament, by Dr. J. Agar Beet (Culley, 1*s.* 6*d.* net). In this little book Dr. Beet employs his clear and forcible style to give his readers a general introduction, within the briefest limits, to the several books of the New Testament. He begins with the 'four great epistles' of Paul, summing up their external authority and their internal characteristics; he then passes on to the other Pauline letters, the Synoptic Gospels, with the Acts, the Johannine writings, and the remaining Catholic epistles, and he ends by considering the question of the substantial correctness of the text of the New Testament. The result is to find in these books the explanation why the 'young man, murdered almost before he had reached his prime,' has gained the lowly and trustful homage of millions. This volume may be heartily recommended to local preachers and Sunday-school teachers to whom Dr. Beet has already rendered valuable service. We understand that he is preparing a similar volume on the Old Testament.

The Century Bible. Isaiah. Vol. II. Edited by Rev. O. C. Whitehouse, M.A., D.D. (Jack. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Given the critical standpoint of this excellent series, the present volume well deserves to rank with the many great expositions of a great prophetic book. A Trito-Isaiah takes its place beside the Deutero-Isaiah, including the last eleven chapters. The date of the new Isaiah is post-exilian, and the style shows evident signs of dependence on the second Isaiah. The critical position is most marked in the treatment of the 'servant' question. The servant is the nation of Israel, or the pious nucleus of the nation, suffering for sinners of the Gentiles and for sinful Israel. The personal references in the New Testament, and Christian interpreters down to Rosenmüller's day, are roundly described as wrong. It is not easy to see why the Jewish rabbis of the Middle Ages with their prejudices are to be preferred even to New Testament writers. Still, we

are told 'The fulfilment of the great ideal of the suffering servant, expressed in Isa. xlix. 6, and liii., finally passed from Judaism to Christ and Christianity.' The introductions are excellent in fullness and clearness. The accounts of the missionary influence of the Jews, on pages 40 and 44, scarcely agree.

The Vulgate the Source of False Doctrines. By Rev. Prof. G. Henslow. (Williams & Norgate. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Prof. Henslow's object is to show that the Vulgate supplied most of the terms required in the early centuries for doctrinal conceptions, that these terms did not convey the precise meanings of the Greek originals, and that disastrous consequences have followed. But instead of keeping to his subject and writing philologically, he finds cases where the error is not due to incorrect translation but to false conception; and sometimes he allows himself to make the same blunder. From the scientific study of words he declines into a mere polemic, neither impartial nor well-informed, as is seen, for instance, in his discussion of redemption or in his injustice to the revivalists of the last century. A better knowledge of Methodist theology also would have prevented him from misrepresenting their views on conversion. The book, however, contains much that is suggestive, and directs a reader afresh to a line of study which it would be profitable to follow.

The Wisdom of Solomon. With introduction and notes. By the Rev. J. A. F. Gregg, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 2*s.* 6*d.* net). Mr. Gregg thinks that no date satisfies the general requirements of this book so well as about 125–120 B.C. Dean Plumptre was inclined to place its composition after Christ, on the ground of its indebtedness to Philo, but closer examination shows that the writer is not an advanced Alexandrian like Philo, but an orthodox Jew. There is no Messianic hope in the book, though two passages have a glorious future outlook. Immortality is of a purely ethical kind, and the resurrection of the body is not suggested. Both introduction and notes are of great value.

The Atonement. By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The value of this volume is not to be estimated by its size

and price. To many minds it will be one of its chief recommendations that Dr. Stalker has felt 'the difficulties inherent in the view' of the Atonement which he expounds with both wisdom and felicity. The three lectures, now printed as the response to 'an external call'—to the givers of which we are deeply grateful—are entitled respectively: 'The New Testament Situation,' 'The Old Testament Preparation,' and 'The Modern Justification.' Each is a masterly treatment of its theme—discriminating, mature, and lucid. Dr. Stalker so states this great doctrine as to bring it 'home to the intelligence of human beings with a sense of welcome and gratification.' Unquestionably there are signs of 'a revived interest' in the doctrine; these lectures not only 'add volume to the current' flowing in this direction, but also define its boundaries if it is not to waste itself in shallows.

God, Prayer, and the Mystery of Pain. By Dr. Frank Ballard. (Culley. 6*d.* net.)

This booklet is Part II of *The People's Religious Difficulties*. It is complete in itself, and contains answers to nearly 200 questions asked at open conferences. Many of the questions present, in very slightly varied forms, the same difficulty. Dr. Ballard's skill is displayed in adapting his replies to the tone of the inquirer. He is sympathetic and frank. His own statements of the Christian solution of the problems dealt with are terse and comprehensive.

Christ's Teaching concerning the Last Things, and Other Papers. By the late William Caven, D.D., LL.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

Principal Caven, who died nearly five years ago, was 'the most conspicuous figure' in Canadian Presbyterianism. He was a careful expositor, and the important themes he treats are handled with fullness of knowledge and sobriety of judgement.

Prayer, by the Rev. A. E. Balch, M.A. (Culley, 1*s.* net). This little book deals wisely and helpfully with many problems as to prayer. It is the work of a devout and clear thinker, who has learned to regard prayer not as 'a machine to make God do what we want,' but as 'the progressive discipline of our life in communion with God.' The argument is powerfully worked out, and apt illustrations give it force and impressiveness.

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

Lollardy and the Reformation in England. An Historical Survey. By James Gairdner, C.B., Author of *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Mary.* Two vols. (Macmillan & Co. £1 1*s.* net.)

DR. GAIRDNER is one of our leading English historians. Few writers have a more detailed knowledge of the reigns of the Tudors, and he writes, therefore, with an authority which cannot be gainsaid. For this very reason we regret exceedingly that he should have devoted his great powers to the bringing out of a work which shows bias and unscholarly prejudice on almost every page.

With Dr. Gairdner's general attitude of scepticism and distrust of the usually accepted Protestant versions of the English Reformation we are in perfect sympathy. No words can express our dislike of historians who have whitewashed a mean tyrant like Henry, or who have neglected to point out the disasters to English life produced by the wholesale pillage of monasteries, guilds, and schools indulged in by that king and the swarm of nobles that made up the rapacious court of his son. But for the Reformation there would have been, as Mr. Leach has shown us, hundreds of nobly endowed schools and foundations—most of whose revenues have disappeared into the pockets of men who have appropriated for themselves the remaining foundations like Eton, with its income of £30,000 a year, intended for a different class. But justice to the old does not mean injustice to the new. To aver that the outcry against the monasteries was mostly a trumped-up business of greedy politicians does not mean that we shall sneer at the men who held different religious ideals from those of Rome. The first quality of an historian should be scrupulous fairness, and a desire to apprehend the standpoints of opposing forces.

But it is precisely unfairness of which Dr. Gairdner is guilty. He never, of course, misleads in facts with the deliberateness of

which Froude was guilty. It is in his adjectives and general tone that he shows his bias. We will take an instance or two. In Vol. I, p. 121, he writes a short page on John Hus, strongly marked by his usual bias. Hus, he tells us, caused the 'withdrawal of thousands of Germans' to Leipzig, &c. Now, if Hus had been a Romanist pure and simple Dr. Gairdner would have looked up his facts. A study of the *Matriculation Rolls of the University of Leipsig*, published by Erler, would have reduced his 'thousands' to 45 masters and 369 undergraduates. Putting the summer and winter sessions together the entrances at Leipzig were but 507. On the next page the reader is left to infer that Hus never received a safe-conduct from Sigismund, while the whole question of the fairness of his trial is dismissed with the remark that 'no trial is fair in the eyes of those who dispute the authority of the tribunal.' On the next page we are told that the Council of Constance passed a decree in favour of what Dr. Gairdner tells us was 'the ancient practice' of the Church, of communion in one kind. As Gratian's *Decretum* (P. II, Dist. ii, c. 12) shows, communion in both kinds was still the custom in the twelfth century.

Or take another page (Vol. I, p. 67), the record of the heroic John Badby, a tailor, not of Evesham, as Dr. Gairdner wrongly informs us, but of Kemerton, a Gloucestershire village that was a great centre of Lollardy. The whole narrative is not only absolutely unsympathetic, but goes out of its way to put things in the worst light. But 'poor tailors' seem to be always beneath Dr. Gairdner's pity—this is reserved for Roman priests or university dons—as we may see from his unfair treatment of 'little Bilney.' Or, again, on p. 51, in the case of Sawtre, where is Dr. Gairdner's authority for stating that 'the concurrence of Parliament was obtained' for the burning of Sawtre, whose conduct, by the way, according to Dr. Gairdner, 'was insolent in the extreme'? The writ for his burning was issued on February 26; he was burned on March 2, and the Act of Parliament is dated March 10. For the idea of a special Act for Sawtre Dr. Gairdner has no authority whatever; it was a mere surmise of Stubbs which Maitland showed to be unwarranted. The Act was passed eight days after Sawtre was burned! If Dr. Gairdner's sympathies had not been biassed he would not so easily have accepted this perversion of facts. But we ceased to wonder at anything when (Vol. II, p. 243) we found Dr. Gairdner informing us that the Church was not

responsible for the burning of heretics; that was 'only done by the order of the civil power'! Technically, of course, Dr. Gairdner is correct; but the whole thing was one of the most monstrous figments which ever deluded an historian, as Dr. C. H. Lee's exhaustive works on the Inquisition have shown.

We have selected a few passages only out of the many that we have marked as absolutely biassed, and in consequence misleading. An accurate history of the Reformation is a crying need—but Dr. Gairdner has not supplied that which is lacking. It needs a writer of broader sympathies, with more ability to discern the good that lies in opposed opinions, and who will overcome his prejudices against 'tailors' and others daring to have opinions of their own, which brought them into conflict with that 'authority' to which, however corrupt, Dr. Gairdner seems at all times willing to bow.

The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries. By Adolf Harnack. Translated and edited by James Moffatt, D.D. Second, enlarged and revised edition. Two vols. (Williams & Norgate. 25*s.* net.)

Dr. Harnack's volumes made a great impression when they were first published in 1902. Till their appearance no monograph had been devoted to the mission and spread of the Christian religion during the first three centuries of our era. In Dr. Harnack's hands the subject becomes fascinating. We see how Christianity inherited part of her missionary zeal from Judaism, and watch the new faith breaking down walls of partition between nations and winning thousands of converts where the more exclusive religion had only been able to attract hundreds. No historian has shown more clearly that it was by the preaching and practice of love that the apostles and their successors triumphed. The whole subject is treated with a wealth of detail which makes it profoundly interesting and instructive. Constantine was led to recognize the new religion because it had conquered his whole empire. We do not find ourselves in agreement with the historian when he expresses his judgement that our Lord never uttered the Great Commission. That is a serious blot in the history; but apart from a few points of this kind the work is inspiring. In 1906 Dr. Harnack issued his second edition, revised with the utmost care.

and enlarged by ten extra sheets. A still greater boon was the eleven coloured maps then added. From this German edition, which is practically a new work, Dr. Moffatt has prepared his translation. It gives English readers easy access to the perfected form of a masterpiece of enduring value. 'Indefatigable missionary activity' was regarded as essential for an apostle, and the whole Church shared that spirit. It is a real aid to faith and zeal to study such a record as this.

The Greek and Eastern Churches. By Walter F. Adeney, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 12*s*.)

This is a notable addition to the *International Theological Library*. Other volumes have dealt with the first three centuries of our era, so that Dr. Adeney only needs to take a rapid survey of that period viewed from the standpoint of the East. The fourth century is the most important epoch in the whole history of Eastern Christendom. In his first chapters Dr. Adeney is on somewhat familiar ground. When he reaches the Mohammedan period we have an illuminating study of the causes for the spread of that faith and the lessons it taught Christendom. After the momentous schism between East and West we watch the mighty conquest of Russia by the Greek Church. The sections dealing with the Russian Church, the Syrian and Armenian, the Coptic and Abyssinian Churches, are of extraordinary interest and present importance. No single volume we know gives so comprehensive a view of the history of these Communions, and Dr. Adeney's careful lists of authorities will be much appreciated by those who have to work in these fields. His whole volume exhibits breadth of view and a fine judicial temper. It is a work for which students will be increasingly grateful.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., and A. R. Waller, M.A. Vol. III, Renascence and Reformation. (Cambridge University Press. 9*s*. net.)

This *History* appeals both to the general reader and to the student. The narrative is free from troublesome technicalities, whilst the full bibliography to each chapter is a valuable guide for those who wish to work in any particular field. The interest of the present volume is, perhaps, greater than that of either

of its predecessors. The scholars to whom the twenty chapters have been entrusted have entered thoroughly into the plan of the editors, so that it would be impossible to find a page that it is not a pleasure to read. Dr. Lindsay is on familiar ground in his chapter on 'Englishmen and the Classical Renascence.' His picture of Colet is very attractive. 'He was among the earliest Englishmen of his generation to believe that the Bible in the vernacular ought to be in the hands of the people, and he would not have indulged in the disparagement and angry comment with which More greeted the remarkably accurate translation of the New Testament by William Tyndale.' In 'Reformation Literature' Prof. Whitney makes special reference to Cranmer, whose letters and writings show that he represents faithfully much of the mind of the English Reformation. There is also a striking estimate of Latimer's preaching, and of Tyndale's pamphlets and biblical translation. The Rev. R. H. Benson's brief chapter on 'The Dissolution of the Religious Houses' points out that the destruction of books was almost incredibly enormous; homes of study were also lost, and the education of children suffered greatly. Yet the gain was at least as much as the loss. The scholastic method had done its work, and no more progress was to be made along those lines for the present. The *History* will do much to foster a genuine interest in our literature. It is from first to last delightful reading.

The Maid of France. Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne D'Arc. By Andrew Lang. With portraits. (Longmans & Co. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Lang is a convinced believer in the purity and lofty patriotism of the girl who saved France and died a martyr. Jeanne's own countryman, M. Anatole France, regards her 'voices' as hallucinations, and thinks that she was indoctrinated by priests and statesmen, of whom she was the tool and puppet. He admits that she helped to save Orleans, but holds that the English lost France through their own bad fortune rather than through Jeanne's exploits. Mr. Lang will not hear of such attempts to belittle 'this glory of her sex.' He has no difficulty in showing that M. France rejects Jeanne's evidence where it appears to him to be improbable. He has himself examined the documents and verified every statement made in his book with

the greatest care. Jeanne's veracity is above suspicion, and in dark days she showed herself the bravest of the brave. Fear of the stake seems to have made her repeat some form of abjuration to save her life, but she asserted afterwards: 'If I were to say that God did not send me I would condemn myself, for true it is that God sent me.' From that position she never wavered. Her last word at the stake was 'JESUS!' Then her head drooped, and the tragedy was finished. This book is not merely delightful reading, but bears evidence on every page of the greatest care and research. The Maid of France has at last found a worthy champion.

Ten Personal Studies. With ten portraits. By Wilfrid Ward. (Longmans & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Ward's studies appeal to men of all churches and schools. The finest of them is the 'apologia' for Mr. Balfour and his Fabian policy in regard to the fiscal question. This Mr. Ward deems to be an extraordinary achievement. Opinion is hopelessly divided on that matter, but every one will feel the power of Mr. Ward's analysis of the situation. His paper on 'Delane, Hutton, and Knowles' pays tribute to the ability and independence of the famous editor of *The Times*, and to the unswerving rectitude and high principle with which Hutton did his work for thirty-five years as a great teacher. Of him and of Sir James Knowles Mr. Ward gives some personal reminiscences of special interest. Knowles made *The Nineteenth Century* a platform for all competing opinions, and he won a triumphant success. Mr. Ward writes not only as a philosopher and a theologian, but as a man of affairs. He shows that 'if Manning was essentially the success of the moment in the Catholic Church, ever before the public eye, ever carrying through the schemes he initiated, and yet left comparatively little that was valuable as a permanent contribution either to thought or to the well-being of the community, in Newman the parts were reversed. He was emphatically the recluse, the apparent failure of the moment, the man of the future.' This is a book which will furnish much food for thought and discussion.

The Bishop of Bristol's *Alcuin of York* (S.P.C.K., 5*s.*) is based on lectures delivered in Bristol Cathedral in 1907 and 1908. It gives an account of the great scholar drawn from a life written by a monk of Ferrieres between 823 and 829, and

quotes many illuminating passages from Alcuin's letters, of which, in 1100, the library at Malmesbury possessed an important collection. Dr. Browne has lavished his learning and research upon a congenial subject. No one who wishes to know England in the eighth century can afford to overlook this most enjoyable book. Some excellent illustrations add much to its value.

Lord Haliburton. A Memoir of his Public Service. By J. B. Atlay. (Smith, Elder & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is not a biography so much as a record of the official life of one of the most eminent and able of our public servants. Lord Haliburton's father was the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, better known as 'Sam Slick,' the inventor of American humour. The son was born in Nova Scotia in 1832, and did valuable work in the Commissariat Department of our army in the Crimea, where he showed exceptional capacity. He was appointed Assistant Director of Supplies and Transports, and soon effected reforms which reduced expenditure by £68,000 per annum, without in any way retrenching the pay or allowances or the comfort of the soldier. He won the special thanks of Lord Wolseley for the manner in which the army was fed during the Nile campaign of 1884–5. He extracted every ounce of work from those who served under him, but 'was one of those who, by a happy dispensation of providence, simply *cannot* lose their temper.' As Permanent Under-Secretary of State for War he had a great opportunity, and his ability and rectitude won the grateful recognition of all who worked with him. Mr. Atlay's volume is a worthy tribute to a man of the highest character and capacity.

Percy: Prelate and Poet. By Alice C. C. Gaussen. (Smith, Elder & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Sir Walter Scott attributed his first inspiration to Percy's *Reliques*. He read the book often, and with more enthusiasm than any other. No authoritative Life of the bishop has ever been written, so that this volume is sure of its place and its welcome from all lovers of ballad poetry. Thomas Percy was born at Bridgnorth in 1729 in a large and stately sixteenth-century mansion which still stands in the Cartway. His grandfather was a grocer in the town, but Thomas Percy proved that he belonged to the family of the ancient Earls of Northumberland, and showed their direct descent from the Emperor

Charlemagne. In 'early youth' Percy found a 'scrubby, shabby paper book lying dirty on the floor under a bureau in the parlour of Humphrey Pitt, of Shifnal in Shropshire.' This collection of old ballads led to the publication of his famous *Reliques* in 1765. He was then Vicar of Easton Maudit in Northamptonshire. The enthusiasm for the old ballads quickly spread among all classes, and through his work Percy was introduced to Sir Hugh Smithson, afterwards Duke of Northumberland. Of him and his family Miss Gaussen gives much pleasant information. The bishop's portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, makes a very fine frontispiece to her volume, and there is a beautiful likeness of Jonathan Swift in his college days, besides portraits of Mrs. Percy, Sir Hugh Smithson, and other illustrations.

William Morris. By Alfred Noyes. (Macmillan. 2*s.* net.)

Mr. Noyes regards Morris as in all things a poet—in words, in tapestry, in Socialism. By keeping that aspect prominent he has preserved a unity of impression in this thought-provoking study. The critiques of Morris's poetry will not be accepted by all readers, and his devotion to Tennyson is somewhat obtrusive. But the book is alive throughout. The sailor-like bluntness of Morris, his child-like tempers, his enthusiasms for beautiful things, all are here. Kelmscott Manor was 'a home of exquisite peace and joy' for twenty-five years. 'As others love the race of men through their lovers or their children, so I love the earth through that small space of it.' The beauty of Mr. Noyes' prose may be judged from one sentence. 'The very worst of his writings bears upon it the unmistakable hall-mark of the artist; the poorest of his singing-robes will have some gold feather clinging to it that shows what paradisal floor it lately swept.' This is certainly a book to meditate upon, as well as to read and enjoy.

Mr. Gladstone at Oxford, 1890. By C. R. L. F. With illustrations. (Smith, Elder & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This chronicle of a week spent by Mr. Gladstone at All Souls, of which he was Honorary Fellow, has a rare attraction. The way in which he disarmed political opponents who had hesitated whether they should even meet him is delicious, and the old statesman, who had retained his catholic affection for books and his love for Oxford, appears in the most alluring

light. He made a few mistakes as to the men among whom he mixed, but these only added to the gaiety of the visit. He struck 'F.' as the 'finest gentleman' he had ever met. There was no touch of affectation about him, and the way in which his innate conservatism came out was often laughable. His personal magnetism gave the company at All Souls some conception of his influence as leader of a party. He thought Christianity a greater force in English politics than it was in his early days, though the manner of its expression had changed; for him Socialism had no attractions He agreed with 'W. R. A.' that Southey's *Life of Wesley* stood next to Boswell's *Johnson*. His talk ranged over all manner of subjects, and there was none that he did not adorn. This little book will certainly claim a place beside Lord Morley's masterpiece.

Blackstick Papers. By Lady Ritchie. With portraits. (Smith, Elder & Co. 6*s*. net.)

We can promise any one an hour or two of pure pleasure over Lady Ritchie's papers. She has adopted her father's 'Fairy Blackstick,' who loved old books, young people, rings, roses, &c., and we are whisked through the famous literary and social circles of the past two generations, getting to love Mrs. Gaskell and to delight in Mary and Agnes Berry. We see George Sand at Nohant in her ripening old age. 'Her outlook grew wider as time passed over her head; those unforgotten eyes of hers never lost their brightness, but they look up and around instead of downwards. How sound and to be trusted was her judgement when it was no longer overthrown by the gust of egotistic passion!' The genial giant, 'Jacob Omnium,' is here, and Tourguénieff, with his 'leonine head set nobly on wide shoulders.' Not the least charming of the papers is that on Joachim, and the pages on Bewick make one hungry for more about the engraver and the north country which he loved. Every sketch has its own enchantment. We really get into the presence of those celebrities of the past, and we are loth to leave it.

George Brown, D.D. Pioneer-Missionary and Explorer. An autobiography. With one hundred and eleven illustrations and map. (Hodder & Stoughton. 15*s*. net.)

Dr. Brown was born in Barnard Castle, where his father was a noted public man and a Unitarian preacher of the type

of Channing and Martineau. His son's love of adventure led him to choose a sailor's life; and at last he found his way to New Zealand, and in 1860 was appointed Methodist missionary in Samoa. For fifteen years Dr. Brown led an exciting life voyaging round his stormy, rock-bound island. The changed lives of some of his members showed that the mission was bearing good fruit. In 1874 he proposed the establishment of a mission in New Britain, and visited the colonies to win support for the scheme. Some of the native ministers and students in Fiji nobly volunteered to face the perils of the new mission. Dr. Brown and his band of helpers reached New Britain in August 1875, and after a year's encouraging toil he returned to Sydney for a brief furlough. Many interesting particulars are given as to the customs of the people. In 1877 he was back again in New Britain. The murder of a native minister and three teachers, in April 1878, led Dr. Brown to carry out a punitive expedition, which taught the savages a memorable lesson. His action was much canvassed at the time, but events have proved that it was wise and merciful. In 1887 Dr. Brown was appointed General Secretary of Missions by the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and remained in office till April 1908. No living man has done more for the spread of the gospel in the South Seas than Dr. Brown, and this story of his labours will be studied with growing interest. It is full of moving adventures which reveal, despite the writer's modesty, the figure of a true missionary hero.

The Life of James Robertson, D.D. By Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor). (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.)

Dr. Robertson was Superintendent of Presbyterian Missions in Canada from 1881 to 1902. He was born at the village of Dull, in the Tay valley, and went with his family to Ontario in 1855. After training in Toronto and Princeton he held two pastorates, and then was appointed to found mission churches in the vast wonderland of the West. He had a genius for begging, and his strong conviction and dour pertinacity won many a victory in his encounters with merchants and railway magnates. It is the story of a strong man's devotion to a pressing duty, and scores of settlements owe their opportunities for worship to Dr. Robertson's apostolic labours.

The Life of James Stewart, D.D., M.D. With forty-two illustrations and two maps. By James Wells, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5*s*. net.)

Stewart of Lovedale is one of the great missionary names of our generation. The noble Scotchman formed a link between Livingstone and the latter workers who have devoted themselves to the salvation of Africa. He was born in Edinburgh in 1831, and as a lad of fifteen, when ploughing on his father's farm, made the resolve, 'God helping me, I will be a missionary.' In 1857 Livingstone's travels produced a profound impression upon his mind, and he resolved to do his utmost to plant a mission in the districts opened up by the great explorer. In 1861 he sailed for Cape Town with Mrs. Livingstone, and, when she died of fever in April 1862, became her husband's constant companion. It was not till 1867 that he found his sphere at Lovedale, 700 miles north-east of Cape Town. There he set himself 'to uplift the native by touching him at every point, instructing him in all the arts of civilized life, and fitting him for all Christian duties.' He taught the people to pay fees for training their children, and turned the station into a hive of industry. In 1873 he founded another mission at Blythswood, among the Fingoes, and next year, on visiting Scotland, launched the project for the great mission at Livingstonia, which has become one of the marvels of modern missions. The wild Angoni now evangelize the villages which they used to raid. Dr. Stewart took rank as an empire-builder when Livingstonia led to the addition of North-eastern Rhodesia to our empire. He died at Lovedale on December 21, 1905. He was a real incarnation of energy, a man of visions who had strength and tenacity which enabled him to turn them into beneficent realities. This is a book which makes one realize the glory of a consecrated life.

Heroes of our Indian Empire. By Henry Morris. Two vols. (Christian Literature Society for India. 4*s*.)

These sketches are admirable summaries of many standard biographies. They are full enough to present vivid portraits, yet compact enough to be read easily by busy men. The fourteen heroes are Sir T. Munro, Sir John Malcolm, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord Metcalfe, James Thomason, Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir James Outram, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir

Donald F. McLeod, Charles Grant, Sir W. Jones, Reginald Heber, Sir Arthur Cotton, Sir M. Monier-Williams. India is much in evidence to-day, and these well-written and wisely selected lives will show with what devotion her people have been served by some of the noblest Englishmen. The record makes one proud of his countrymen.

Old Times and Friends. By Rev. E. L. H. Tew, M.A. (Winchester: Warren & Sons. 5*s*.)

Mr. Tew is rector of Upham, and for a quarter of a century was vicar of Winchester. He has many good stories to tell of the clergy whom he has known and of his parishioners in East Yorkshire and in Hants, and he tells them well. He supplies many little touches for which students of the Oxford Movement will thank him. When his father became rector of Patching there was not a note of music in the service there or at the neighbouring village of Clapham. Then two hymns were introduced—Ken's morning hymn was sung at eleven and his evening hymn at three, even though it were a broiling day in July or August. The second hymn was taken out of Tate and Brady—'the first three and the last verses' quite irrespective of sense. An amusing account is given of the barrel-organ at Patching, which the curate of Clapham could not manage. 'The organ groaned, shrieked, and whistled; people tried to sing, but had to give up the attempt, the clerk sat down and bent his head in the vain endeavour to keep his shoulders from shaking, his example being followed by most of the congregation. At last the curate left the instrument to itself, and marched boldly out to his usual seat.' Mr. Tew is a strong Churchman, and some of his stories will not be palatable to Nonconformists; but there is much to enjoy in his record.

Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round, 1734 *to* 1784. Memorials compiled by J. W. Laycock. (Keighley. Wadsworth & Co. 4*s*. net.)

Methodism is the fruit of heroism; of heroic toil, endurance, sacrifice. Such is the key-note and the teaching of this stirring and informing book. The 'Round' described extended from Birstall in the south to Whitehaven, Workington, and Cockermouth in the north, and from Bacup and Preston in the west to Pateley Bridge in the east; thus covering a large part of the three counties of York, Lancaster, and Cumberland; and

the 'heroes' whose achievements are here for the first time adequately celebrated are such men as William Grimshaw, the famous Methodist vicar of Haworth, and John Nelson, the mason-minister of undying fame. The Wesleys often appear upon the scene, and, less frequently, Ingham, Whitefield, and the Countess of Huntingdon; and much light is thrown upon the spirit and the methods of these pioneers and agents in the great awakening. Of their helpers and associates, such as William Darney, John Bennet, and David Taylor, we get more than glimpses; while of 'Grimshaw's Men,' such as Jonathan Maskew and Paul Greenwood, and of many of the better-known early Methodist preachers, we learn much that it is well for us to know. In gathering his materials Mr. Laycock has spent many years and travelled many hundreds of miles, neglecting no possible source of information, and counting no toil or pains too great to rescue from oblivion records of inestimable worth. He has also had access to unpublished material at the Book Room; his volume is enriched with numerous unpublished letters from Grimshaw, Nelson and others, now in the possession of Mr. George Stampe, of Grimsby; and, most precious document of all, the Haworth Round and Keighley Circuit Book, dating from 1748 and, until 1762, in Grimshaw's handwriting, has been constantly beneath the author's eyes. From this ancient record, probably the earliest Circuit Book in existence, Mr. Laycock has collected many items relating to Methodist organization and finance indispensable to the historian and vastly entertaining to the general reader. In cordially commending this most valuable volume, may we plead with its accomplished and devoted author for at least a few of the products of his camera, and for an index in the next edition of the names and places mentioned in his admirable work?

Mr. Frowde publishes for the British Academy the address on *Milton as a Historian*, by C. H. Frith, and *A Consideration of Macaulay's Comparison of Dante and Milton*, by W. J. Courthope (1*s.* net each), delivered at the Tercentenary. Prof. Frith shows that Milton's treatment of the Arthurian legend is practically that of a scientific historian. Prof. Courthope considers Macaulay does injustice to Dante in treating him as a foil to set off the superior moral excellence of Milton. It is a discriminating study of the two great masters which does equal justice to them both.

Messrs. Bell & Sons have published a new edition of the late Dr. Lupton's *Life of John Colet*, D.D. (8*s*. 6*d*. net). Colet began to found St. Paul's School in 1509, so that the four hundredth anniversary of St. Paul's School is a fitting moment for the reappearance of this valuable biography. It describes Colet's scholarship, his lectures at Oxford, his friendship with Erasmus, and his retirement to the Carthusian monastery at Sheen. And Dr. Lupton makes the whole story delightful reading. Not the least interesting part is the Appendix, which contains Colet's 'Statutes of St. Paul's School,' his 'Cathechyzon,' and a sermon preached before Convocation. Colet is recognized as one of the noblest men of his time, and we are glad to welcome a new edition of the best and fullest biography of him that has ever been published.

Messrs. Macmillan have included Prof. Raleigh's *Shakespeare* (4*s*. net) in their Eversley Series. Many will be glad to have this neat edition of the finest study of our great dramatist which we have ever read. Every page furnishes some happy sentehce which lingers in the memory. Here are two chosen at random. 'The tradition of geniality clings to his name like a faded perfume.' 'Every one was more himself for being in the company of Shakespeare.'

Saint Gilbert. The Story of Gilbert White and Selborne, by J. C. Wright (Stock, 2*s*. 6*d*.) is just the book that lovers of White will be thankful to have in their hand when they go on pilgrimage to the village on which he has conferred lasting fame. Mr. Wright knows his subject, and gives some excellent photographs. It is a very bright book.

Almoners of the King. By Thomas Durley. (Culley, 2*s*. 6*d*.) These life sketches of Mr. Solomon Jevons and Miss Elizabeth James beautifully illustrate the joy and blessing of giving. The keen business man and the retiring and delicate lady were princely benefactors of the work for children under the care of Dr. Stephenson and Dr. Arthur Gregory. Mr. Durley has had a delightful task, and he has done it in a way that will prove infectious. Many illustrations add to the charm of this deeply interesting record.

Messrs. Longmans send us John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography* in a beautiful edition (3*s*. 6*d*. net), with G. F. Watts's portrait of Mill as frontispiece, and in an edition with paper covers (6*d*. net). It is one of the books that every student of English literature and philosophy ought to read.

GENERAL

Assisi of Saint Francis. By Mrs. Robert Goff. Illustrated by Colonel R. Goff. Together with the Influence of the Franciscan Legend on Italian Art, by J. Kerr-Lawson, with reproductions after the old masters. (Chatto & Windus. 20*s.* net.)

The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi. Translated from the Italian by T. W. Arnold, M.A. With a note by Dr. Guido Biagi. (Chatto & Windus. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Colonel and Mrs. Goff have laid lovers of St. Francis under a great debt by their sumptuous volume. Assisi before the saint's birth and in the eleventh century is described in two chapters, then the biography is simply told by the aid of Thomas of Celano's two *Lives* and the *Legends of the Three Companions*. We trace the gay youth up to his conversion and through his life of poverty and love, till death sealed his sacrifice. The old story loses none of its charm in Mrs. Goff's hands, and she supplements the record with a description of the canonization, the building of the basilica, and the later history of the city. An appendix gives a detailed account of modern Assisi, with the church of St. Francesco and the public buildings. By the aid of these pages and the plan a reader can construct the whole scene as he sits by his own fireside. Mr. Kerr-Lawson shows how the personality of St. Francis and the story of his life entered into the field of art as 'a great and stimulating theme, whose untold possibilities of beauty and romance evoked the bravest efforts of the painters of Italy.' Colonel Goff's illustrations have extraordinary charm, and some of the coloured pictures are exquisite. As a companion volume, the new edition of Prof. Arnold's translation of the *Fioretti* has been revised and augmented. The translation is made more attractive by reproductions of the quaint illustrations in a parchment MS. of the fourteenth century which is preserved in Florence. They certainly make this an unrivalled edition of *The Little Flowers of St. Francis.*

The Life of the Spirit: an Introduction to Philosophy. By Rudolf Eucken, Professor of Philosophy in Jena. (Williams & Norgate. 5s.)

This book must not be classed with the ordinary Introductions to Philosophy. It is rather a philosophy of the history of philosophy as an attempt to penetrate into the vital centres of thought. Parts are critical of the failures from Greek to modern times to solve the problems of truth and happiness, of change and permanence, of the relation between the outer world and the inner. But the main object is constructive; and the author pleads for a philosophy of spiritual life, as alone capable of reducing the universe to an intelligible unity. The spirituality in man must 'be thrown into relief, purified, and turned to account for the further development of the whole.' In the elaboration of such a philosophy a beginning is made with fundamental conceptions on both the metaphysical and the moral sides; and a fuller treatment will be awaited with interest. So far Christianity is viewed chiefly as a system of thought in which sensuous elements came unfortunately to be overvalued. When the writer begins to fall back upon the Johannine and Pauline teaching, he will see the incorrectness of the conclusion that the God of Christianity 'is not so much indwelling in the world as superior to it.' The real fact is that Christianity rightly understood appeals to that very elemental spirituality which Prof. Eucken reverences, and finds in it both a revelation of God and a point of sure contact with him. The professor ennobles the significance of philosophy by directing it to a worthy subject of study; and the next thing to do is to elicit the witness to the theistic conception of immanence in man and to the ethical goal of perfection.

Missions in State and Church: Sermons and Addresses. By P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The New Horoscope of Missions. By James S. Dennis, D.D. (F. H. Revell. 3s. 6d. net.)

The Gospel in the Psalms. By G. T. Manley, M.A. (Church Missionary Society. 1s. net.)

Dr. Forsyth's volume is a happy sign of the times. The Church at home is gaining loftier views of its duty to the whole

world, and looks on its missionaries as the heroes of the Cross. There is one pathetic touch in the penetrative sermon on 'The Fatherhood of Death.' 'I cannot remember since boyhood passing a day without pain; but I think my life a piece of disheartening self-indulgence when I read missionary biography, and track its quavering red line of apostolic succession from the beginning until now. It is a past with a promise. That cannot be in vain.' Each sermon and address is laden with rich thought and full of mighty confidence in 'Christ, the holy will of God, the Saviour, and the world-Saviour.' Old truths are set in a new light, and the whole Christian horizon is enlarged. 'The missionary history of the Church is Christ's slow entrance on the right which He set up once for all in His cross.' No one lays more stress on prayer than Dr. Forsyth, but he doubts if increased prayer is a sufficient remedy for the way in which we are failing to meet the needs of the world. 'We seem to need a gospel that stirs prayer, and puts urgency and prevalence into it, and is over us always as a shaping power of responsibility, inspiration, and rebuke.' The volume closes with the sermon on Ezekiel's vision of The Valley of Dry Bones. It is headed 'Holy Christian Empire,' and those who heard it preached in Great Queen Street Chapel will understand how it crowns these noble appeals and arguments.

Dr. Dennis's four lectures are 'A new World-Consciousness; Strategic Aspects of the Missionary Outlook; A new Cloud of Witnesses; Fresh Annals of the Kingdom.' There is an appendix on 'The Message of Christianity to other Religions.' No one knows the subject of missions more thoroughly than Dr. Dennis. God's wonderful working in the world has filled him with strong confidence. Mighty issues hang upon the action taken by the Church at home. The witness from without is growing more decisive in favour of missions, and they are winning more fully than ever the admiring sympathy and loving support of the Church of Christ.

Mr. Manley's studies are intended for missionary bands and Bible classes. Suggestions are given as to the conduct of such classes, and much good material is supplied for six weeks' work, with questions, programmes, &c. It is just the book to stimulate and guide missionary students.

The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas. By Edward Westermarck, Ph.D. In two volumes. Vol. II. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 14*s.* net.)

This handsome volume of 850 pages completes the great undertaking to which Dr. Westermarck has devoted many years of laborious and scholarly research. He has collected and arranged with great skill all the available evidence regarding the nature of men's moral judgements. The list of authorities quoted fills seventy-eight pages, and includes at least 2,500 books or articles in many languages.

In Vol. II the chief subjects of investigation are the 'Right of Property,' 'The Regard for Truth,' 'The Origin and Development of the Altruistic Sentiment,' 'Suicide,' 'Restrictions in Diet,' 'Asceticism,' 'Marriage and Kindred Themes,' 'Regard for the Lower Animals and for the Dead,' 'Cannibalism,' and 'The Gods as Guardians of Morality.' No student of ethics, psychology, sociology, or comparative religion can afford to neglect this erudite and comprehensive treatment of these vast questions. Dr. Westermarck's power of condensation is as remarkable as the attractiveness of his style. Recognition of the value of his contribution to the history of morals is, however, compatible with the conviction that the facts adduced do not warrant the inference that 'in its relation to morality, religion will be increasingly restricted to emphasizing ordinary moral rules, and less preoccupied with inculcating special duties to the deity.' The Christian religion will not cease to emphasize the first and great commandment, in order that men may realize their obligation to fulfil the second, which is like unto it. Dr. Westermarck sometimes fails to do justice to the 'inwardness' of Christian ethics. Agreeing with him that 'in moral education example plays a more important part than precept,' we should attach greater significance than he does to the influence of the example of Christ.

Social Psychology. By William McDougall, M.A., M.B., M.Sc. (Methuen. 5*s.* net.)

The book forms a valuable reinforcement of a side of psychology which has not hitherto been given the attention its promise merits. The discussion is conducted carefully, and the implications of most topics are realized with no lack of insight. The chapter on volition reveals a determinist, but

whilst justifiably protesting against the popular argument that, by destroying free will, the logical ground of punishment is destroyed, he does not seem to realize that the belief in free will rests on deeper grounds. The protest against psychology being biassed by moral needs is technically correct, but it is certain that no psychological explanations, however reasoned, will stand permanently unless they satisfy not merely one part of, but all the requirements of, man's nature. It is here that determinism fails. It is significant that the index shows 'reproach,' 'resentment,' 'respect,' 'responsibility,' 'revenge,' 'reverence,' but not remorse. Determinism finds this an inconvenient fact, but surely it calls for treatment.

The chapter on religion gives evidence of painful inability to see anything but the anthropological and physical science standpoint. How any one, apparently so utterly unconscious of the whole trend of modern religious philosophy, can think it sufficient to offer his opinion on religion from the view-point of the dogmatic scientist of a generation ago is astonishing. Apart, however, from these exceptions, and there he is upon his own ground of scientific psychology, the writer is an interesting and stimulating companion, and will merit the attention of sociological students.

Realities and Ideals. By Frederic Harrison. (Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Frederick Harrison is a fascinating essayist. Whatever subject he touches, and the range is surprisingly wide, he illumines, and it is hard to decide whether his thoughts, always fresh and stimulating, or his style, always trenchant and sparkling, is the greater source of attraction in this fourth volume of his *Positivist Synthesis*. The present reviewer read *The Philosophy of Common Sense* with little sympathy, *National and Social Problems* proved more to his taste, but *Realities and Ideals* have kept him out of bed at nights, and left him absorbed in perusing model essays on modern topics till a shiver showed him that the fire had burnt out more quickly than his interest.

To say this is not to forget that Mr. Harrison's views have far too distinct a shape to fit every one's mental pockets, but his pen pleases where his reasoning displeases, and one cannot be seriously angry when even the most tender toes of one's theories are trodden on so charmingly. So, for the sake of

his prose, his positivism, a theory which to some minds is no more inspiring than the prospectus of a limited company, is pardoned, and for the sake of his style, we read his contradictions of our cherished convictions with the same approval which most of us are human enough to accord to that which is 'just what I think.' As the last page is turned down, one is inclined to adopt Charles Lamb's suggestion, and to 'return thanks' after a good meal—of reading.

Highways and Byways in Surrey. By Eric Parker. With Illustrations by Hugh Thomson. (Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Mr. Parker leaves the Surrey of Southwark and Lambeth to historians and antiquarians. He is concerned with the beauties of the county, with the glorious panorama to be seen from the Hog's Back, and with the flowers of the Fold district which he loves. Mr. Parker begins his wanderings at Farnham, where the old castle stands nobly on a hill. Here we see the house where Cobbett was born, and make our first acquaintance with his *Rural Rides*, which give unrivalled descriptions of Surrey scenery. Mr. Parker is enthusiastic about Guildford High Street—'the most delightful street in the south of England.' The downland round Newlands Corner is for him 'the loveliest spot in Surrey.' We can say nothing stronger in favour of the book than that it will satisfy even those who regard Surrey as one of the most charming counties in England, and that Mr. Thomson's selection of subjects is as happy as the skill with which his pencil has been made to serve as colleague to Mr. Parker's pen.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have issued a series of half-crown reprints of their *Illustrated Handbooks of Art History of All Ages and Countries.* They are edited by Sir E. J. Poynter, P.R.A., and Prof. Roger Smith, F.R.I.B.A. Two volumes are devoted to architecture, two to sculpture, four to painting, classic and Italian, Spanish and French, German, Flemish, and Dutch, English and American. A ninth volume is on water-colour painting in England. The books are half-bound, in neat covers, with as many as from seventy to eighty illustrations in some volumes. The writers are carefully selected experts. The *Handbooks* appeal not only to artists, but to all lovers of pictures, sculpture, and architecture.

They ought to be in every public library. We know nothing like them for completeness and sustained interest.

Aeschylus in English Verse. Part III. By A. S. Way, D.Lit. (Macmillan. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

With this volume, containing the *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroe*, and *Eumenides*, Dr. Way concludes his translation of the dramas of Aeschylus. The superb trio of plays dealing with the woes of the house of Atreus is a work calculated to test to the full a translator's powers. Dr. Way successfully challenges comparison with any of his predecessors, and fully maintains the high reputation achieved by his previous versions of some of the great Greek classics. The English reader who is ignorant of Greek may rest assured that he will find here a faithful presentation of the original, while he will have the joy of perusing verse which is strong, rich, and sonorous. The translator possesses undeniable gifts of rhyme as well as striking powers of lyrical taste and style—a combination which enables him skilfully to surmount the difficulties and obscurities of the choruses. Above all, he has caught the true spirit and genius of Aeschylus, and reproduced the poet's austere purity, his massive and powerful treatment of sin and its inevitable doom, and the sombre grandeur of his religious dogmas, not less impressive because of their obvious limitations. In rendering this imperishable trilogy of crime, vengeance, and reconciliation with so much dignity and power, Dr. Way has accomplished another triumph. We venture to predict that he who for the first time reads the *Agamemnon*—and what student of literature can afford to neglect it?—will inevitably be carried on to the completion of the cycle of dramas by the sheer charm of this version.

Messrs. Macmillan publish a third edition of Jowett's *Republic of Plato* in two neat pocket volumes (3*s.* 6*d.* net per volume). A few headlines have been altered where necessary through the changed pagination, and the index has been simplified. 'The marginal analyses have been sacrificed; but reference to the Greek text has been facilitated by the insertion of the sections, as well as the pages, of Stephanus.' Jowett's work is above praise, and this is an ideal edition as to type and paper and general compactness.

Mr. Frowde has added *The Works in Prose and Verse of Charles and Mary Lamb* (2 vols., 2*s.* each) to his Oxford

editions. They are astonishingly cheap. One volume has 910 pages, the other 870. Portraits of Lamb at the age of thirty and fifty-one form the frontispieces. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson has edited the volumes with unfailing care and ample knowledge. The bibliographical list itself makes the edition essential to students, and the extended note on the 'Growth of the Body of Collected Works' is a mine of information.

The Poems of A. C. Benson (Lane, 5*s.* net) have been selected from six earlier volumes, so that they may be assumed to represent his matured thought about many problems which perplex us all. For this poet life is the discipline of the soul, the opportunity for growing conformity to the mind of God. All is well if He approves. 'I can endure Thy bitterest decrees If certain of Thy love.' The lowliest sphere is sacred. 'The Charcoal Burner' has his vision in the silent glade. Some pieces have national interest. Queen Victoria is hailed as

Dear mother of our myriad race,

who fareth forth, after her gracious years of service, to prove

The last, best victory of Love.

Mr. Gladstone in some noble verses is described as the hero of Eton, and two beautiful pieces are devoted to Thomas Gray. The nature studies are scarcely less arresting than the problem pieces. 'Evensong' is a dainty comparison of the thrush's melody with that of human psalm and canticle; 'The Robin and the Credence' describes the little songster's sacrament on Christmas morn. Two verses 'In that Day' are a mighty sermon on Absalom's ambition and his doom. 'Gaston de Faix' is the hero of an exquisite sonnet. Each piece has its own grace of phrase, its own burst of melody, but it is as a set of meditations on the designs of God, on the peace of obedience, on the victory of faith, that the volume will be most prized by those who love and follow after all that is highest and best.

Towards the Uplands (Frowde, 5*s.* net) is Mr. Lloyd Mifflin's tenth volume, but though he has written five or six hundred sonnets, the American dreamer is still hoping, even against hope, to produce at least one sonnet that shall have no defect. His portrait helps us to understand his quest of perfection, and we turn his pages with growing respect as the

patient art of the poet stands revealed. There is true poetry and fine art in every poem.

Select Poems of William Barnes (Frowde, *2s.* 6*d.* net). No one was so competent to make this selection from the poems of William Barnes as Thomas Hardy. He knew the Dorset dialect when it was spoken as it appears in this volume. Now the old words are ridiculed and pushed into holes and corners, or die out and leave no synonyms. Those who delight in rugged dialect will have added pleasure in reading these poems, and even if they are sometimes puzzled by strange words, Mr. Hardy's explanations will assist them to appreciate 'their delicate ability to express the doings, joys, and jests, troubles, sorrows, needs, and sicknesses of life in the rural world as elsewhere.' His poetry is a wonderful mirror which reveals the life of husbandman and hamleteer, and helps us to understand their hopes and sorrows and the joys which brighten their existence. All is so fresh and natural that we want to be off to Dorset and see it for ourselves. Such a selection will attract many new readers to Barnes's poetry, and they will have growing delight in his company.

London Visions (Elkin Mathews, *2s.* 6*d.* net). Mr. Laurence Binyon has collected these *Visions* from two volumes which he published in 1895 and 1898. Other pieces are added, some now first printed. They are strong, living transcripts of things around us, and the poet's heart is in them as well as his eyes. There is no padding, every word conveys its message and enshrines its memory. We watch the seasons revolve, 'Red Night,' with its scenes, passes before us. We look down on London's sleepers. Sometimes a pair of vigorous verses, like a fine etching, give the portrait of 'The Paralytic,' sometimes we find ourselves in 'Deptford' and 'Trafalgar Square.' This is a little book of verse, but there is much rich material in it, and it is shaped and fused by a master craftsman.

Seen from the Hill and Other Verses, by Helen W. Gibson (Culley, *1s.*). The sacred mount of God is the hill from which the writer views life. Strong faith and great resignation blend with tender love of home and children. Many will be stronger to bear life's burdens as they read these pages.

Puritan Pansies, by Claud Field (Headley Brothers, *2s.* net). There is true poetry and strong thought in this little volume.

Mr. Field's translations from the Persian have special interest. His lines do not always move quite easily, but they dwell on the deep things of life and will appeal strongly to Christian thinkers.

Flashes from the Orient, by John Hazlehurst (Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1*s.* 6*d.*), is a second volume of his *Thousand and One Mornings with Poesy*. These little poems are full of the praise of summer, and will apeal strongly to all who love sunshine and birds and Sabbath-morning peace.

Philomela and other Poems. By Leonard A. Compton-Rickett. (Elkin Mathews. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The old Greek story of the sisters who were metamorphosed into birds gives Mr. Compton-Rickett his theme. He works it out with much skill and beauty into a lyrical drama in five acts. There is a brooding sadness around the tale, which opens with the morning after Philomela's marriage. As she rises from the couch the birds sing to her of her lost sister, and the tragedy of her fate begins to dawn upon her mind. The husband whom she loves has changed her elder sister, whom he had previously married, into a swallow in order that he might win Philomela. Nothing can lift the cloud from such a subject, but the poetry is musical and has many suggestive and felicitous lines and passages. It is a study of character as well as a poem. The short pieces treat high themes in the same graceful fashion.

Mathilde. A Play. By Adolphus A. Jack. (Constable. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The scene of this play is the Court of Ferrara in the sixteenth century, and Mathilde, the Duke's niece and heiress, is the heroine. Pride and high spirits bear the girl up in her trying position, and after her uncle has been poisoned she marries the regent, whom she had rejected with some disdain when he first declared his love. There are some strong situations in the play, and Mr. Jack makes the best of them, though the story is somewhat vague and lacks brightness. There is no waste of words, and the phrasing is often very happy.

Towards the Light. (Kegan Paul. 1*s.*)

This mystic poem was translated from the Swedish by Princess Karadja. A disenchanted sensualist kills his body,

only to find that his thinking self is more alive than ever. It is a striking conception and vigorously worked out.

The Franciscan. By Almund Trevosso. (Unwin Bros. 1*s.* net.)

This is graceful and melodious poetry, and the Franciscan's story touches some tender chords. He has lived in court and camp till he meets St. Francis and devotes his life to the salvation of 'the infidel.' Love tempts him to turn aside from the path of sacrifice, and though we almost wish that he had yielded, we admire his devotion and self-sacrifice, though he and Lady Marguerite are wellnigh heart-broken. The story interests us right through, and that is no small tribute to such a poem.

Mr. Frowde publishes a neat shilling edition of *Hymns by Horatius Bonar*, with a brief history of some of the hymns by his son, H. N. Bonar. It is tastefully got up, and will be treasured by all lovers of Bonar's hymns.

The Battle of the Books. By Jonathan Swift; with selections from the literature of the Phalaris Controversy. Edited by A. Guthkelch, M.A. (Chatto & Windus. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume of *The King's Classics* is wonderfully cheap and extremely well edited. An introduction of sixty-four pages gives a full account of the famous controversy which led to Swift's book. Extracts are added from Sir William Temple's 'Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning' which are well worth study as a distinguished Englishman's comparison between the work of his own century and that of Greece. Every one who is interested in ancient and modern learning will find the book a treasure-house of good things.

The Confessions of Al Ghassali have just been added to the *Wisdom of the East* series (Murray, 1*s.* net). The translation, by the Rev. Claud Field, M.A., introduces English readers for the first time to the learned Professor of Theology in Bagdad, who was born in 1058, and attained such a reputation that Mohammedans sometimes said: 'If all the books of Islam were destroyed, it would be but a slight loss provided Al Ghazzali's work on the *Revivification of the Sciences of Religion* were preserved.' His *Confessions* show how the great scholar, who

had three hundred students in his classes, at last realized that he 'was only actuated by a vain desire of honour and reputation.' He thus began his long quest for God. Leaving his family, he betook himself to Syria, thinking only of self-improvement and discipline. He lived a solitary life in the mosque at Damascus, secluded himself in the Sanctuary of the Rock at Jerusalem, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and at last found rest for his soul among the Sufis. It is a touching story, and Mr. Field's mastery of the language is evident in his graceful translation.

Victories of the Engineer, by Archibald Williams (Nelson & Sons, 3*s.* 6*d.*), is one of the most instructive and entertaining books for boys that we have met. It will be quite as much appreciated by older readers, and will give them an insight into the construction of railroads, bridges, canals, harbours, ships, and such works as the great dam at Assuan. The description of the building of the *Mauretania* and of her engines will be greatly appreciated, and so will the account of the Dover harbour works. The book is full of splendid illustrations, and every page records some victory of trained brains and wonder-working machinery.

The Cambridge County Geographies (Cambridge University Press, 1*s.* 6*d.*) are exactly what schools need to interest children in their own county. The volumes on Surrey, Kent, and Essex, by George F. Bosworth, F.R.G.S., describe the general characteristics, size, shape, and boundaries of the counties, their rivers, hills, geology and soil, natural history, &c., in a way that makes learning a pleasure. Well-selected illustrations add greatly to the interest of books, which are bound to become more popular as they are known and used. Nothing seems to have been overlooked. It would well repay every Englishman to read the little volume on his own county.

The Cambridge University Press has included Cobbett's *Rural Rides* (1*s.* 4*d.*) in its *English Literature for Schools*. The selection has been made with excellent taste by J. H. Lobban, Lecturer in English Literature at Birkbeck College. Cobbett never wrote anything more delightful than his *Rural Rides*, and its best things are in this charming volume.

Mothers in Council, by Ellen McDougall (Culley, 2*s.* 6*d.*). Lady McDougall's 'Talks for Mothers' Meetings' are the best we have seen. They are full of wise hints on cooking,

ventilation, the care of a house, and of children. The blessing of the Day of Rest is alluringly set forth, and mothers are taught to take an interest in the salvation of the world as well as in their own homes. Some delicate subjects are handled with much discrimination, and Lady McDougall spreads a larger vision before the eyes of simple folk. The book itself is a happy education in the best things.

Aloes and Palms, by Joan Haworth (Culley, 1*s.* 6*d.* net). These sketches of village life in South India give a wonderfully clear idea of the influence of a mission hospital, and the way in which the patients are helped and drawn to Christ. Miss Haworth styles herself the 'resident,' and her description of the jatré, a mixture of fair and religious festival, enables us almost to see the crowds with our own eyes. That indeed is the charm of this unpretentious little book. It brims over with good sense and sympathy with young and old.

Araminta, by J. C. Snaith (Smith, Elder & Co., 6*s.*) is the grand-daughter of the Duchess of Dorset, immortalized by Gainsborough, and when she comes from her father's country parsonage to live with her aunt, the worldly Lady Crewkerne, she seems to be the duchess returned to life. The glory of her daffodil hair and her lovely face and figure appeal wonderfully to the Earl of Cheriton, but though he is tempted to make her his countess, he decides to play the part of her fairy godfather, and makes her happy with the clever portrait-painter whom, as a child, she had promised to marry. The characters are all alive, and the book, despite occasional vulgarity, is full of good spirits and good nature. Araminta has a heart of gold, though she is simple almost beyond belief. Her sister Muffin has more spirit, and we hope Mr. Snaith will give us a book about her before long.

Dr. Neale's stories for children are still eagerly read, though some of them were published sixty years ago. He tried to make the heroic days of St. Cyprian and Perpetua live again, and drew out the lessons which young readers may learn from their steadfastness. He was steeped in Church history, and brought a poet's insight and imaginative force to his work. In *The Farm of Aptonga* (2*s.*) Cyprian is the chief figure; in *The Egyptian Wanderers* (2*s.*) we have an exciting story of adventure and deliverance in the tenth persecution; *Tales of Christian Heroism* (1*s.* 6*d.*), *Lent Legends* (1*s.* 6*d.*),

Deeds of Faith, *Tales of Christian Endurance*, *The Followers of the Lord* (1*s.* each) are drawn chiefly from Church history, though some are stories of latter centuries. They are published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and are exceedingly cheap and well illustrated.

The Brownie's Box, by Florence Bone (R.T.S., 1*s.* 6*d.*). A dainty story of an Indian missionary's girl and her missionary box. The Brownie is a lovable little maid who does a great work in the English village where she stays with her uncle.

The Wounds of a Friend, by Dora G. McChesney (Smith, Elder & Co., 6*s.*), is a story of Virginian colonists in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It is powerfully written, but its appeal is scarcely to those who like a story that ends well. Captain Tremayne's conduct towards his friend at the beginning of the tale is hard to understand, but when he allows a broken and half-maddened man to be beheaded as a traitor we lose patience. The sea fights between Spanish and English vessels are lurid, and the procession of the great galleons of the defeated Armada past the coast of Ireland acts on us like a spell. Many problems of conduct are worked out in a masterly style.

Mr. Lane has added *The Fool of Quality*, by Henry Brooke (two vols., 2*s.* net), to his *New Pocket Library*. The little volumes, in their crimson covers, are very attractive, the type is clear, and there is a useful biographical note by Francis Coutts. John Wesley published an abridgement of the book, which he strongly commended because 'it perpetually aims at inspiring and increasing every right affection, at the instilling gratitude to God, and benevolence to man.' Like books of its day it is lavish in sentiment, but it has no horrors, and benevolence and constancy always have their reward. Many will want to secure this tasteful edition.

Spun-Yarn, by C. J. O. Sanders (Culley, 1*s.* net). Ten stories of sailors and sailors' wives, written by one who knows and loves them. They have a touch of reality and more than a touch of pathos. Such a little book will win many friends for the Seamen's Mission, in whose interest it has been written.

Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co. have issued a new edition of Sir Leslie Stephen's *Hours in a Library* (three vols., 3*s.* 6*d.* net per vol.). The force and freshness of the estimates of Defoe, Macaulay, Gray and his school have long been recognized, and

every lover of books will find the hours spent among them with Sir Leslie Stephen a real education in taste and knowledge. The range covered is extensive, and each study is marked by robust sense and wide sympathy. The first paper on Defoe's novels represents Robinson Crusoe as the typical John Bull, as sturdy and self-composed in a desert island as though he were in Cheapside. 'He meets a savage and at once annexes him, and preaches him such a sermon as he had heard from the exemplary Dr. Doddridge.' It is illuminating and thought-provoking throughout.

London Diocese Book for 1909 (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 6*d.* net). Prebendary Nash has edited this comprehensive manual with extreme care, and every one who consults it will be deeply impressed by the varied activities of the Church of England. It is an invaluable handbook.

Immortality. By E. E. Holmes. (Longmans. 5*s.*)

Canon Holmes writes for devout laymen, and they will certainly enjoy his discussion of this supreme subject. His chapter on 'Immortality and Psychology' leads to the conclusion that we know too little 'to build up any conclusive theory, or belief, upon foundations that are, to scientific, and even psychological, experts, still insecure.' Prayers for the dead are not forbidden in the Church of England, but the quotation from a Jesuit priest, with which the chapter closes, will show the perils which beset the practice. Another section which is not congenial to us is headed, 'The Pain of Paradise'; but where we differ from the writer we are strongly interested in his views, and grateful for a well-reasoned defence of the Christian doctrine of immortality.

The twenty-first edition of Hill's *Alphabetical and Chronological Arrangement* (Culley, 2*s.* 6*d.* net) has just been prepared by Dr. Waller, with the help of the Rev. Arthur Triggs. It gives the circuits in which every living Wesleyan Methodist preacher has travelled, a list of Presidents and Secretaries of the Conference, and of all ministers who have died in the work. In this edition, the college in which ministers were trained first appears. The interest of these outline biographies grows as one studies them, and members of other Churches will be glad to have their attention called to a book which every Methodist finds to be essential. Dr. Waller has done his work with characteristic accuracy and promptness.

The Conversion of John Wesley (F. Griffiths, 6*d.* net) is a wonderful study, and the late Rev. Richard Green has told it in a way that will stir many hearts. It is written with characteristic grace of style and full knowledge of the documents, and the Rev. T. F. Lockyer pays a charming tribute to his greatly loved friend in his Introduction.

Beside the Red Mountain (Culley, 1*s.* 6*d.* net) is a description of 'Toils and Triumphs in a Chinese City,' by Kingston De Gruchè. The eight full-page illustrations are exceptionally good, and the story of Mr. Somers and his bride gives a lively set of pictures of Chinese life and missionary work. It is a sparkling book.

Social Ideals (Culley, 6*d.* net) gives a striking address on 'Working Men and Gambling,' by Will Crooks, M.P., a valuable study of 'The Socialism of John Wesley,' and papers on 'Trade Unionism,' 'Unemployment,' 'Christianity and our Wages System,' 'Christianity and the Problem of Poverty.' Every writer is an expert, and these condensed and closely reasoned papers will be of great service to all who wish to study the social problems of the day.

One and All Gardening for 1909 (2*d.*) will attract and help gardeners in many ways. It is edited with ample knowledge by Mr. Greening.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

To some the most interesting article in the **Quarterly** (January-March) will be Prof. Dicey's luminous and exhaustive examination of *Woman Suffrage*. Others will turn to *A New Departure in English Poetry*, in which Mr. Henry Newbolt describes *The Dynasts*, by Mr. Thomas Hardy, and will be pleased to find that, while hailing this vast historical pageant as the dawn of a new day in English poetry, in the course of which a succession of younger adventurers will be encouraged to 'set sail for the El Dorado from which Mr. Hardy has brought back so rich a treasure,' the writer does not fail to indicate the weak points in *The Dynasts* from the standpoint of the philosopher. 'Why,' acutely asks his not unsympathetic critic, 'has Mr. Hardy given the name of "Will" to that which never wills, or where does he find a place for "Chance" in his clock-work universe, or how did man's evolution come to depart so far from evolutionary law as to result in the acquisition of an "unneeded" faculty?' Still others will fix their eye on the Poet Laureate's comparison and contrast between *Milton and Dante*, and will note his illustration of the attitude of the two great poets towards the more 'romantic' sex; his pictures of the youth and manhood, first of Milton, then of Dante, the former full of sprightliness sobering into gravity, the latter full of gravity, if not of severity, throughout; in both he notes an entire lack of humour; and he ends with a comparison, not favourable to the English poem, between the 'Divina Commedia' and 'Paradise Lost.' Most of our readers, however, because of its biblical interest, will probably be attracted and instructed by Dr. Weigall's *Religion and Empire in Ancient Egypt*, in which there is a remarkable account of the Pharaoh Akhnaton, whose body was found in 1907, after 3,000 years of sepulture, and in whose reign the worship of Amen was replaced by the worship of Aton—a religion, says the writer, 'which marks the first point in the study of advanced human thought.' Among the inscriptions of the period there are many hymns and poems, some of them attributed to Akhnaton, which remind us strangely of our Psalms. Here, for instance, is part of his great 'Hymn to the Sun,' which takes us at once to Psalm civ.: 'How manifold are Thy works! they are hidden from before us, O Thou sole God, whose powers no other possesseth; Thou didst create the earth according to Thy desire. . . . When Thou settest . . . the world is in darkness like

the dead. . . . Every lion cometh forth from his den; all serpents sting. Bright is the earth when Thou risest . . . the darkness is banished. The (people of) Egypt . . . awake and stand upon their feet . . . then in all the world they do their work. The ships sail up and down the river . . . the fish leap up before Thee, and Thy rays are in the midst of the great sea.' The whole article is full of valuable information for archaeologists and for students of comparative religion.

The brightest paper in the **Edinburgh** (January–March) is devoted to *Henry Irving*, who 'brought greatness back to the English stage.' Early in Irving's career, George Henry Lewes said, 'In twenty years he will be at the head of the English stage'; to which George Eliot replied: 'He is there, I think, already.' According to the writer, Irving was 'far from the type of a great actor—a Sonnenthal or a Macready, with strong, mobile features, well-formed limbs, and the imposing brow that Tragedy has brushed with her wing. He was tall and gaunt of frame, with hawk nose, chin slightly bull-dog, sloping forehead, and smallish eyes; notable only . . . for his profound melancholy.' Despite these physical drawbacks, he achieved a notable success as an actor, and a still more remarkable success as a proprietor and manager. We owe to him 'the greater vogue of Shakespeare, the greater attention to correct equipment, the greater beauty of the scenery' of the stage. His influence on acting has been mixed: 'on the one hand he taught it to be rich, reflective, clever, picturesque; on the other to be directed too much to the individual part and the individual scene, too little to the play as a whole, and to be deplorably halting and slow.' 'We may prize the memory of his genius'—so ends this fine critical appreciation—'without attempting to minimize his defects.' Perhaps the most valuable article in the number is *Biological Problems of To-day*, in which, *à propos* the fiftieth anniversary of *The Origin of Species* and the Darwin centenary, the writer sets forth and discusses the new ideas which have arisen on the subject of evolution since Darwin's day. The latter part of the paper is of special importance to students of social science and social reform. The manifold evils likely to arise 'when the country is governed by men ignorant of the most elementary principles of the science of life' are pointed out, and many a warning note is struck. 'Unless the humility which science teaches can be quickly infused into the people,'—so the writer ends—'Nature will lightly sweep us off the face of the earth as an obdurate and disobedient race.'

The Dublin Review (January–March).—Dr. William Barry discusses *The Censorship of Fiction*, starting from Milton's plea for unlicensed printing, in the *Areopagitica*, and touching on Plato's plea for censorship, in the second *Book of the Republic*, but dealing chiefly with present-day proposals. Dr. Barry does not think a censorship of fiction feasible or in all respects desirable, but advocates the strengthening of the law against improper literature, private and combined effort to put the law in force, and hearty support of the Social Purity

Crusade. It is an impassioned appeal to parents, teachers, and all well-wishers of England; about whose future the writer is seriously alarmed. 'Luxurious America is rotting before our eyes. England, serious at heart . . . is becoming a portent of frivolity. Christian or Pagan—which will it be in another generation?' In *Shooting Niagara—and After*, forty-two years ago, Carlyle predicted that all the Churches would have lost their hold of the people in half a century. The writer thinks that things are looking in that direction, and concludes that 'If literature be a symptom, we are destined to struggle for our faith in the furnace seven times heated of a pagan democracy.'

The appointment of the Rev. W. B. Selbie to Mansfield College in succession to Dr. Fairbairn gives special interest to his article in the February **Contemporary**—*Historic Fact and Christian Doctrine.* The article is directed mainly against those who are disposed to substitute the living Christ for the Christ of history. The teaching of Ritschl and his followers, of Loisy and his school, and lastly of the Pragmatists, is subjected to searching, kindly criticism, and the new principal shows himself keenly alive to the fact that 'the tendency to divorce religious experience and thought from fact and history is one that has to be combated at every point.' He fully recognizes the service of the modern schools of theology and philosophy to religious thought and life, but earnestly contends for the validity of the historical facts on which the Christian religion rests and out of which it sprang. The same number contains an excellent appreciation of Edgar Allan Poe as the founder of Symbolism, by Mr. Edmund Gosse. 'The cardinal importance of Poe as a poet,' writes Mr. Gosse, 'is that he restored to poetry a primitive faculty of which civilization seemed successfully to have deprived her. He rejected the direct expression of positive things, and he insisted upon mystery and symbol. He endeavoured to clothe unfathomable thoughts and shadowy images in melody that was like the wind wandering over the strings of an Æolian harp. . . . He was the pioneer of a school which has spread its influence to the confines of the civilized world, and is now revolutionizing literature.'

Hibbert Journal (January).—Two articles deal directly, and others indirectly, with what is known as psychical research. Mr. Gerald Balfour gives a critical account of communications from the world beyond, purporting to come from the late F. W. Myers. Prof. Graham, describing another similar set of phenomena, concludes that 'Myers himself is voluntarily staying near us for the sake of the service of our faith.' Dr. H. R. Marshall in *Psychotherapeutics and Religion* criticizes severely the claims of Christian Science, especially as put forward in the movement in Emmanuel Church, Boston, under Dr. MacComb. An article that has occasioned more comment than it deserves is by the Rev. R. Roberts, who describes himself as 'Congregational Minister, late chairman of the Bradford Education Committee.' It is entitled *Jesus or Christ?* and challenges the

claims of orthodox theology to identify the Ideal Christ with the historical Jesus. But there is nothing new in the argument, and the article is only notable as showing how frankly Unitarian a 'Congregational' minister may be. Miss Vida Scudder, in discussing *The Social Conscience of the Future*, contends that humanity is quite capable of rising to the extremely high altruistic standard required by a Socialistic state, and that the necessary discipline would be very wholesome for the present generation. Prof. William James, the eminent psychologist, gives a favourable description of Fechner's view that the earth is a conscious Being. It is quite clear that this number of the 'Hibbert' provides abundant food for thought, for we have only named half the articles it contains.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—Two long articles, covering seventy pages between them, deserve careful reading. The first is a continuation of Mr. C. H. Turner's discussion of the *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. In this part he deals with the Four Gospels. He points out that 'there is absolutely no trace anywhere, from the time that the conception of the canon matured at all, of any inclination either to add another to the Canonical Four or to omit any one of them.' He also shows that 'the saner sort of criticism' has practically established that each and all of these had been written before the end of the first century; St. Mark about A.D. 65, St. Matthew about A.D. 80, St. Luke 80–90, St. John A.D. 90–100, St. Mark, and possibly St. Luke, in Rome, St. John in Ephesus, St. Matthew in Palestine. By the middle of the second century these 'came to be regarded as constituting a single *corpus*, a collection of the Church's authoritative records of her Founder's life on earth.' The second article, by Sir H. Howorth, is marked by no little learning, and is intended to disparage the mode of judging of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments among the later reformers of the sixteenth century. In a previous article the subject was begun, and the moral which the writer seeks to point is that the reformers were inconsistent in that they partly accepted the canon recognized by the Catholic Church, partly tended to correct it by 'individual illumination.' The subject is too large to discuss here, but it must be said that Sir H. Howorth does not sufficiently admit the evidence of the Hebrew Canon and Jerome's advocacy of it, so far as the discussion on the Apocrypha is concerned. Among the reviews the Rev. C. H. Richards writes a very interesting notice of Dr. J. H. Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*.

The Primitive Methodist Quarterly (January).—Dr. Forsyth's volume on *Positive Preaching and Modern Mind* forms the subject of an article by G. P. Maynard, who criticizes some of the positions taken up in that able and stimulating book. These concern Dr. Forsyth's epigrammatical mode of expression rather than the substance of his lectures. The author would unquestionably

agree with his critic in the statement that 'the Cross must not be overshadowed even by ethical interests, which can only be secured on the basis of love revealed and realized. The Cross is the expression of God's *love*.' Amongst the personal articles we find one on *Stewart of Lovedale*, by E. W. Smith, another on *Arthur C. Benson*, by J. W. Clifford, M.A., and another by Joseph Ritson on *Grenfell of Labrador*, 'a great medical missionary.' Two articles of a denominational character but possessing general interest are Mr. S. Horton's on *The Old and the New Primitive Methodism*, and the continuation of the Rev. C. M'Kechnie's *Notes of My Life*. We observe one article is by a Wesleyan Methodist minister, the Rev. W. Ernest Beet, M.A., who discusses the Churchmanship of Cardinal Wolsey with historical knowledge and insight. Prof. Peake's notices of *Current Literature* are, as usual, interesting and informing.

The Expositor (Jan., Feb., March).—Sir W. Ramsay contributes to both these numbers. In the former he writes an appreciative critique of Dr. Milligan's *Thessalonians*, in the latter he discusses a very interesting question—the 'sources' on which St. Luke may be supposed to have drawn in writing Acts i.–xii. The article is not finished, but the evidence points partly to oral tradition current in the primitive Church, partly to documents of an early period utilized and combined by St. Luke as a skilled historian. In the January number Principal Garvie describes *The Pauline Doctrine of Christ*, Prof. Barnes discusses *The Relation between the David of 'Samuel' and the David of 'Chronicles,'* and a very interesting article by Prof. Denney deals with *Jesus' Estimate of John the Baptist*. In the course of it a suggestive exposition is given of the crucial passage, Matt. xi. 12–15. In the January number the Rev. John Ross contributes a note on *ἁρπάζουσιν in the New Testament*, advocating the passive meaning of the word, and thereby evoking a reply in the February number from the veteran Dr. J. B. Mayor, whose discussion of the point in his *Commentary on James* v. 16 is almost conclusive. Dr. Charles, replying to Dr. Plummer, contends for the dependence of the New Testament on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, notably in the high conception of the doctrine of Forgiveness as set forth in the Testament of God. We imagine, however, that the last word has not yet been spoken on this question. Perhaps the most interesting article in the February number is that by Prof. H. R. Mackintosh on *The Unio-Mystica as a Theological Conception*. It will repay careful study as a thoughtful contribution to biblical theology.

The March number includes a continuation of Prof. Deissmann's account of *Primitive Christianity and the Lower Classes*, also of Principal Garvie's able exposition of Pauline doctrine, and Sir W. Ramsay's most interesting inquiry into the authorities used by St. Luke in Acts i.–xii. The new Oriel Professor of Biblical Interpretation, Dr. G. A. Cooke, publishes his inaugural address. We

earnestly hope it may soon be followed up by a course of lectures on the lines indicated.

The Expository Times (January-February).—Dr. Sanday continues his discussion of *The Bearing of Criticism upon the Gospel History* dealing chiefly with the Fourth Gospel. Professor Kennedy writes on *The Position of the Courts in Herod's Temple*, and Prof. Banks reviews Steinbeck's work on *The Consciousness of Jesus as unfolded in the Synoptic Gospels*. Most of the space in the January number is taken up with very short articles and notes, which, however, are full of interest. Besides those of the Editor a number of *Contributions and Comments*, by Mrs. Gibson, Dr. Moffatt, Dr. Milligan and others are very suggestive.

In the February number Dr. Whitehouse raises some important questions concerning *The Aramaic Papyri recently discovered at Syene*. Rev. J. Dickie brings to a close his interesting articles on *Modern Positive Theology*. These have appeared at intervals in such piecemeal fashion that it is to be feared their value as a connected whole may be lost sight of. Other articles are *The Symbolism of the Parables*, by the Rev. R. M. Lithgow, and further notes by Dr. Kelman on *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and a sheaf of *Contributions and Comments*, by Dr. Nestle, Mrs. Lewis and other eminent writers.

Dr. Garvie's address on *The Development of Religious Consciousness*, delivered at the Oxford Congress of Religions, is far more than worth the price of the March number. Rev. J. M. Shaw furnishes a good account of *The Religious-Historical Movement in German Theology*.

The Church Quarterly (January).—Sir Thomas Raleigh's paper, *The Mind of the East*, is an attempt to study the Eastern mind. He thinks that where West and East are at variance, there are faults on both sides. Our safety lies in disregarding all that is said by party men for party purposes. The English rulers in the East must be learners before they aspire to be teachers. The articles on *Presbyterianism and Reunion*, *Causes and Remedies of Unemployment*, and *The Dearth of Clergy* are of great value and interest.

AMERICAN.

Harvard Theological Review.—The January number begins the second year of this new and able American Quarterly. Writing from the pragmatist point of view, Prof. John E. Boodin, of the University of Kansas, vindicates *The Reality of Religious Ideals*. 'The truest and most objective religious ideal is that which can furnish the completest and fullest satisfaction of the demands and longings of evolving humanity.' The argument that Christianity cannot claim exemption from this test of 'the completest ministry to human nature' leads up to the conclusion that 'inasmuch as the personality of Jesus answers all our demands for personal goodness, as no other

historic individual does—fulfils them not only relatively but completely—we must acknowledge Him as divine in a unique way.' An article on *The Recent Literature upon the Resurrection of Christ*, by Prof. Ryder of Andover, is clear in its exposition of rival hypotheses, but attributes too much to 'the mental and spiritual condition of the witnesses.' Writing on *The Influence of Christianity upon the Roman Empire*, Dr. McGiffert shows himself quite sufficiently 'alive to its defects,' but recognizes that 'its victory was fairly earned by sheer superiority.' Dr. F. G. Peabody contributes a suggestive paper on *New Testament Eschatology and New Testament Ethics*. To those who would apply 'the key of eschatology' to the moral ideas of Christ, Dr. Peabody rightly says that the ethics of the gospel are designed for this world; they are not 'interim-ethics appropriate for those who looked for some great catastrophe.' Our Lord did not view nature and human life 'with the pensive indifference of one whose heart is elsewhere.'

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The January number opens with a thoughtful article on *Immortality*, by Dr. John Bascom. Its main positions are that 'the doctrine of a distinct purpose, of pure thought, as lying at the centre of the world—the doctrine of theism—is a guarantee of immortality,' and that 'the grounds of belief and the sense of reality are greatly altered when a future life is guaranteed to us in extension of an ethical life, which has become to us the sum and substance of being.' It is well said that 'the two assertions of Paul cannot fall apart: to live is Christ, to die is gain. . . . There is a sense in which we know all that we are capable of knowing. If we would know more, we must be more.' A succinct account of Kant's *Philosophy of Religion* is given by a Scottish writer, Dr. James Lindsay; and the *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* are continued by a sturdy opponent of the Wellhausen school—Harold M. Wilner, LL.B., Lincoln's Inn, London.

The American Journal of Theology.—The January number of this ably conducted periodical is even more valuable than usual. There is much in almost every one of the five leading articles which provokes dissent in our minds, but all deserve careful study. They are: *Was Jesus or Paul the Founder of Christianity?* by Dr. M'Giffert; *A Positive Method for an Evangelical Theology*, by Prof. Shailer Mathews; *The Problem of Natural Evil and its Solution by Christianity*, by Dr. H. W. Wright, of Lake Forest University; Prof. B. W. Bacon's *Criticism of Harnack on the Lukan Narrative*, and *The Psychological Nature of Religion*, by a writer unknown to us, Prof. J. H. Leuba. Dr. M'Giffert is not disposed to give in to the current fashion of describing St. Paul as the real founder of Christianity, but he admits that the Church movement was started and the institution established by others than Christ Himself, and he asserts that 'in most of its principles and beliefs and practices the influence of others has been controlling.' Prof. Bacon seeks to impose an inter-

pretation upon 'Acts' which would largely neutralize Harnack's vindication of its Lukan authorship, but the acuteness and ability which Dr. Bacon here, as always, shows, is in our opinion not matched by equal soundness of judgement. These five longer articles constitute but a part of the value of a number which teems with interest and information useful to the biblical and theological student.

The Princeton Theological Review (January).—An address on 'Jewish Parties in the Fifth Century before Christ,' delivered by Prof. Oscar Boyd at Princeton Seminary, is here reprinted. It presents the most recent knowledge on the subject in a popular and interesting style. The chief article in the number, extending to more than fifty pages, discusses the question whether Calvin was 'an Epigone of the Middle Ages or an Imitator of Modern Times.' It is translated from the French of Prof. E. Doumergue, and contains a vindication of Calvinism as a movement which 'breaking with Romanism and Pelagianism, to reascend to St. Paul, to the Christianity of the Gospel and of Christ, closed the Middle Ages and opened modern times.' We fear that few besides enthusiastic Calvinists will master all its details. The *Reviews of Books* are able and thorough.

The Methodist Review (New York, January-February).—Dr. Tipple's account of the late Bishop Andrews does no more than justice in its high eulogium of one of the finest spirits in the Methodist Episcopal Church of modern times. Dr. C. J. Little's *Value of the Hellenic Spirit in American Life* is scholarly and inculcates some important and much-needed practical lessons. Dr. Mudge in *Methodist Men of Mark* finds so many distinguished Methodists deserving mention that some of his pages are little more than lists of names. There is an interesting account of John Woolman, who is somewhat curiously styled 'An Explosive Quaker.'

The Methodist Review (Nashville, January).—Two articles in this number deal with ministerial education, one being entitled *The Case of the Denominational College*, the other *Ministerial Education in the Methodist Episcopal Church South*. Both are instructive to readers in this country as written from a transatlantic point of view. A kindred subject is discussed by J. E. M'Culloch of the Methodist Training School, under the heading *The Crisis and the Need in the Methodist Episcopal Church South*. We cannot admire the title or the method of the article on *The Temperament of Jesus*. Perhaps the most useful pages in the number are those which describe *The Best Books for New Testament Study from the Standpoint of the Preacher*, by Prof. Votaw of Chicago University.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville, January).—The latest issue of this (Baptist) Review contains the following articles: *The Old Faith and the New Philosophy*, by Prof. C. S. Gardner; *The Stundists*, by Dr. Franklin Johnson; *A Fourfold View of the Lord's*

Supper, by Rev. C. E. Dobbs; ***A Study of Southern Baptist Home Missions,*** by Rev. V. J. Masters; ***Personality in Religion,*** by Rev. James Buchanan; ***The Three Prophetic Days,*** by Rev. O. L. Hailey; and last, but certainly not least valuable, an opening lecture by Prof. Iverach of Aberdeen, entitled ***Caesar or Christ?***

FOREIGN.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—Dr. Otto Kirn of Leipzig contributes a thoughtful article to the October number. His purpose is to show the inadequacy of every 'View of the World' that fails to recognize the importance of religion. The difference between 'a view of the world' (***Weltanschauung***) and 'knowledge of the world' (***Weltwissen***) is pointed out. Knowledge of the world may be acquired from, and imparted to, others; but in every view of the world there is a personal element. Both the word 'world-view' and the thought it embodies are modern. The word expresses the desire for encyclopaedic knowledge characteristic of the era of 'Illumination' (***Aufklärung***); but if it claims to include the universe in its survey, it also reflects the ideal of the romantic period, inasmuch as a personal view of the world involves intellectual activity of a higher order than the acquirement of varied learning. When the Renaissance, Romanticism and Critical Philosophy had done their work, the modern mind discerned that its aim must be to gain a 'world-view.' In Schleiermacher's writings Dr. Kirn finds the earliest use of a kindred word (***Weltansicht***).

There is a sense in which man has always striven to look at the world from the point of view of his own personal interests. But, as Dr. Kirn explains in a clear historical summary, at first the material of human experience was limited and thought was in its infancy. Hence arose ***mythological*** interpretations of natural phenomena, and on the imperfections of this view of the world as well as on those of the ***physical*** and ***metaphysical*** respectively the article touches wisely. Christianity added, as it were, another dimension to the world; it deepened men's conceptions of personal life. It was concerned rather with true 'views of life' than with 'views of the world,' and it insisted on the pre-eminence of the ***moral and religious*** aspects of life.

In the Christian era there have, however, been different views of the world. The Aristotelian view was the result of an attempt to combine the subjective idealism of faith with the objective idealism of ancient philosophy. From this system of thought Mysticism was a reaction, for religion can never forget that it springs from a deeper source than the desire to give a rational account of the world. At the Reformation men's thoughts were concentrated on the experience of salvation and interest in the construction of cosmologies declined. But Dr. Kirn argues that the reformers took up the right attitude towards competing scientific or philosophic views of

the world. 'At the centre of his personal life united to God by faith, the Christian is free lord of all things, including the domain of secular knowledge.' Hence Christian faith can live on friendly terms with the Copernican astronomy and with biblical criticism. The Christian view of the world results from the co-operation of science and faith; what is essential is that each should be faithful to its own special task.

In the rest of his article Dr. Kirn shows that science alone cannot guide us to a sufficiently comprehensive 'world-view.' Moral judgements must be taken into account; character as well as knowledge must contribute to the solution of the problem. Apart from religion the convictions that the spiritual has a higher value for man than the material, and that the good must ultimately triumph, would be mere postulates. Religion alone can speak with certainty of the existence of a Higher Power and of the good purpose of His will. Religious experience requires the inclusion of new facts in any satisfactory view of the world. The religious man knows that the moral ideal is not his own creation, but the expression of the divine will. 'To ignore facts and to deny ideals is, in the judgement of faith, equally irreligious.'

The first two articles in the January number treat, with conspicuous ability, but from different points of view, the problem briefly summarized in the title of Dr. Martin Schulze's paper on *God and the World*. His main thesis is 'God and the world are not separate, but they are also not to be merged in one.' The danger of the pantheistic tendencies in modern thought is clearly shown. The safeguard is found in the conception of divine and human personality. The difficulty of speaking of the eternal God as possessing consciousness, will, emotion and thought is recognized; in human personality, for example, self-consciousness develops. But Dr. Schulze finds a solution of the problem in an affirmative answer to his own question: 'No objection is raised when we call God super*human;* why should we not also call Him super*personal?*' Pfarrer Ernst writes on *The Historical and Metaphysical Element in Christianity*, and contrasts Fichte's disparagement of history with Ritschl's disparagement of metaphysics. He is at pains to show that the doctrine of the Immanence of God is not Pantheism; his reply to those who use the formula *deus sive natura*, identifying God and the world, is that such a view of God and the world is irreconcilable with the Christian religion, which assumes the possibility of a personal relation between God and man. 'Pantheism says: mount or sink into the universe which is God (*Gott Universum*); Theism says: with God against the whole universe.' Freshness of thought and vigour of expression characterize Dr. Adolf Mayer's paper on *Immortality*. It is a conclusive answer to the materialist. Self-consciousness is shown to differ from memory, imagination and reason. 'These grow or dwindle with the body. . . . But self-consciousness (the feeling that I am I) is an experience of the young child, is not extinguished in dreams and remains

until our latest breath.' Therefore, for these and other reasons, Dr. Mayer argues that even the materialist must grant that 'the emergence of self-consciousness in a system of material elements and energies is such a marvel that it is impossible to say beforehand that this marvel can never happen again.'

Other articles in a first-rate number of this most readable journal are on *Scientific and Religious Dogmatism*, by the Editor, *Artistic Feeling in Religious Paintings*, and *The Modern Religious Movement in France*. The annual subscription is only 6*s*.

Theologische Rundschau.—Dr. Bousset contributes a comprehensive survey of the literature dealing with *The Unity of the Fourth Gospel*. The article extends over two numbers (January–February), and is valuable as a critical estimate of the chief attempts made during the last half century to solve the literary problem involved. Of parts of Wendt's work high appreciation is expressed, but he erroneously suggested that a collection of our Lord's discourses was the basis of the Fourth Gospel. Much attention is given to Wellhausen's recent work (1907) and to the critical comments made upon it by E. Schwarz. In brief it may be said that Wellhausen's more ambitious analysis claims to distinguish between the document which was basal and more recent additions and revisions. Schwarz is content with marking some passages as doubtful, and it is instructive to note that a scholar of such liberal tendencies as Dr. Bousset should pronounce Wellhausen's so-called results 'premature,' and should express doubts as to whether the time will ever come when it will be possible to make such an analysis as is attempted. The most helpful portions of this able article for those who hold to the Johannine authorship is that which deals with the relation of the Fourth Gospel to the synoptics. Special attention is given to the traces of the influence of St. Luke's writings. Granting the difficulty of the Johannine problem, we fail to see that its solution is simplified by ascribing the Fourth Gospel to various members of the Johannine school.

Another article extending over the same two numbers is by Prof. Rolffs on *Ethics*. Von der Goltz's work on *The Basis of Christian Social Ethics* is highly commended. Its aim is to show that a system of Christian ethics necessitates an elementary treatment of sociology. On the one hand, the foundation truths of the Christian religion have a social aspect, as e. g. the command to love God and our neighbours, the conception of sin as a personal and social evil, the Christian idea of redemption and of the kingdom of God. On the other hand, Christianity is called to adjust the interests of the individual and of society; history also proves that the Christian Church has exerted great influence in the social sphere. The work, as a whole, is approved as a successful attempt to appreciate justly the phenomena of social life, and to show that in the moralization of society divine as well as natural factors must be taken into account.