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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

APRIL 1911

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE AND DISEASE

Eddyism, miscalled 'Christian Science.' A Delusion and a Snare. By F. BALLARD, D.D., M.A., B.Sc. (C. H. Kelly.)

Medicine and the Church. Edited by GEOFFREY RHODES. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.)

The Truth and Error of Christian Science. By M. CARTA STURGE. (John Murray.)

Christian Science, the Faith and its Founder. By LYMAN P. POWELL. (G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

The Faith and Works of Christian Science. By STEPHEN PAGET. (Macmillan & Co.)

The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science. By GEORGINE MILMINE. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

AMERICA has given the world many remarkable evidences of the exuberance and vigour of its youth, but in the whole course of its history it has exhibited nothing more extraordinary than the movement known as 'Christian Science.' A generation ago Christian Science was unheard of. To-day it numbers its adherents by hundreds of thousands. It has branches all over the United States; it has spread into every city and hamlet in Canada; it is known in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland. Its growth in numbers and in influence is so rapid that it threatens to contest with the old-established religions for the allegiance

of large masses of mankind. Up to the present the Latin nations have not been attracted by it, and few of their people have fallen under its sway. Its appeal has been almost entirely to the Anglo-Saxon, and especially to the inhabitants of the United States, amongst whom it has flourished like Jonah's gourd. It has sprung up in a night, and already covers with its shade a multitude of disciples who have become weary of the old religions and discontented with the ancient messages. Time alone will show whether it contains the elements of continued life or whether it will wither away with the suddenness that marked its rise.

Considerably more than a million followers are reported to have joined its ranks, and more than a thousand churches are scattered over the United States. Probably these numbers are exaggerated, but no one can doubt its rapid spread, and that fact alone makes it a force to be reckoned with, a movement to compel the attention and careful consideration of all. It is not only its success that arouses interest. The magnitude of its claims and pretensions enforces serious examination. For it gives itself out to be a God-inspired religion which has been revealed in these latter days to supersede and replace traditional Christianity, and one of its most important claims is that it will do away with sin, disease, and death. These are indeed startling propositions, and, if they are true, Christian Science must completely revolutionize thought and transform society.

Before proceeding to examine its credentials, it will be well to glance at some of the causes that have contributed to its success and which account for the hold which it has on its adherents. It is a striking fact that it commands the devotion, not only of ignorant and unlettered people, but also of men and women of culture, of great intellectual power, and of singular refinement and beauty of character. All its critics bear testimony to the sincerity, purity, and ability of many of its followers. What is it that attracts men of such a stamp ?

Probably the most potent cause of its popularity is the fact that it is in its essence a revolt against the materialism of the age. When it first began its career materialism was in its heyday. In the world of thought the materialistic note was dominant. It ruled all branches of philosophy. It was supreme in physical science. Men would believe nothing that could not be demonstrated by the microscope or the test tube, that was not directly cognizant to the senses. This tendency of thought was reflected in the practical everyday life. It was a hard, dry, unsatisfying doctrine; and to men of feeling, to men ruled by emotion and intuition, it was particularly abhorrent. In *Science and Health* Mrs. Eddy struck the true chord. 'The broad-cast powers of evil so conspicuous to-day show themselves in the materialism and sensualism of the age, struggling against the advancing spiritual era.' Her appeal to withstand this baneful tendency met with an immediate response. Material facts were, to her, nothing, spirit everything. The material world was all 'Mortal Mind,' a delusion, an appearance, and nothing more. She seized upon an old doctrine, put it with peculiar force and directness, and made it her central idea. 'All is One; the One is Supreme Being, is God.' All things live and move and have their being in God. Compared with things spiritual, things temporal are as nothing. Death itself becomes of no importance. It is a mere incident in the scheme of the world.

Of course there is nothing new in this. It is one of the central ideas of Christianity. But in the rush and tumble, in the race for material prosperity, the doctrine, if nominally held, had been practically forgotten and had ceased to have its due influence on men. When Mrs. Eddy again preached the old tidings, it came to many as a new revelation. They overlooked the ignorance, superstition, inconsistencies, and sordidness of the new creed, and clung to that which transfigured their lives, gave them new interests, and supplied them with a quietness, serenity, joyfulness they had not known before.

It is a strange paradox that although all this is true, yet another great cause of the success of Christian Science is the promise that it gives to increase the material prosperity of its votaries. Although it emphasizes the nothingness of the material world, it never fails to dwell on the importance of health, comfort, and worldly prosperity. 'It exalts health and self-satisfaction and material prosperity high among the moral virtues' (Milmine). Mrs. Eddy always had a keen sense of the value of money, and spared no pains to secure for herself as much as possible.

Another fact has conduced to the extension of Christian Science. One of the features of the age is the morbid sensitiveness to the fear of bodily pain and discomfort. The increasing luxury of modern life has caused men to regard pain as one of the greatest evils of the world. Never was the dread of suffering and disease so acute as now. The pursuit of health and comfort has become one of the leading influences of our time. Thus Mrs. Eddy's promise to banish for ever all pain and disease has especial force, and appeals to that large class of leisured and highly-strung people who are morbidly sensitive about their bodily condition and to whom the pursuit of health is the one object in life. Such people abound in all countries, and especially in the United States, where the demand for new remedies to relieve the symptoms of these neurotics has led to a perfect orgy of drugging. In no country have polypharmacy and quackery had such a career. The inevitable reaction followed. Christian Science opened up a new and easier way, and was eagerly welcomed. Professor Osler lays particular stress on this as a cause of the rapid extension of the new movement. He also says: 'The real secret of the growth of Christian Science does not lie in the refusal of physical measures of relief or the efficacy of prayer, but in offering to people a way of life, a new Epicureanism, which promises to free the soul (and body) from fear, care, and unrest; and its real lever is the optimism which discounts the worries of the daily round.'

We must not forget one important asset which has done much to further its progress, namely, its manifestly wholesome effect on the lives of many of its followers. It 'does save many from their lower self. It does lead many to a larger faith in God and a closer walk with Him. It does impart to many a power and poise, serenity and joy they might have found before if they had sought them diligently in the faith of their upbringing' (Powell). This must certainly be counted to its credit.

We now pass on to what is our main object, and consider whether its claims as an effective instrument in the treatment of disease are justified. It is impossible here to deal with the wider question of the value of Christian Science as a religion or as a philosophical system. Fortunately it is not necessary. The history of its growth and development and the soundness of its philosophical basis have already been discussed by many writers, notably by Miss Milmine, Miss Sturge, Lyman Powell and others. Quite recently Dr. Ballard in his own vigorous and trenchant manner has exposed it to a most searching, exhaustive, and telling criticism. All these writers show with a considerable amount of success that its history is mean and sordid, and has a seamy side that few other religious movements can parallel. They also show that its philosophical basis is unsound, and its main theses untenable. They point out that *Science and Health*, the Christian Science text-book, which Mrs. Eddy asserts to be as fully inspired as the Bible, is full of inconsistencies and contradictions; incoherent and absurd, and in many places meaningless. Although supposed to be a final revelation, it has changed its character and its fundamental position from one edition to another, and its present form is, in many important respects, altogether different from its original one.

With these questions we have nothing to do. We have to consider its value as a therapeutic agent. Is there any chance of it doing away with sickness and death? Can it pretend to compete with present-day medical science as an

agent for the cure of disease? It will not be difficult to prove, (1) that though Christian Science has met with some success, its efficacy has been very greatly exaggerated, and (2) that if its success were much larger than it is, its employment is counterbalanced by such serious disadvantages that it should be discouraged in every possible way.

What is the theory of its action? Mrs. Eddy's basal proposition is that 'God is All and All is God.' Therefore, All is Mind. There is nothing real but mind, and hence matter does not exist. Since there is no such thing as matter, there can be no material world, and, therefore, no physical body. If there be no physical body, disease and death are impossible. We think we have a body which becomes ill and experiences pain and finally dies, but these are all delusions and are due to what she calls 'Mortal Mind,' which also is nothing. It is very curious that 'nothing' can produce these delusions. It is strange, too, that we can have a non-existent body which can be in health. How a thing which does not exist can be healthy is one of the conundrums of the Science. Another conundrum is that although there is no such thing as disease, the whole book of *Science and Health* is written to tell us how to treat and deal with it. When this non-existent body has been deluded by Mortal Mind into thinking itself ill and in pain, all that is necessary is to disbelieve in these delusions and say that they are unreal, and the delusions will at once disappear and the imaginary body will be restored to perfect health. It is but a short step to take to assure us that since the body is non-existent, food, fresh air, rest, exercise are not necessary for its preservation. The question naturally arises, Why, then, do Christian Scientists make use of them? If disease be a delusion, why should Mrs. Eddy herself have suffered so much during her long life? If pain be imaginary, why should she take an anaesthetic for tooth-extraction? If accidents cannot injure the body, why should she take the precaution of having a pilot engine to precede her train in one of her migrations? If there be

no death, what explanation can be given for her mysterious disappearance? If doctors are useless, why should she consult one for her various illnesses, and why should she send for one to attend her husband during his last illness?

Mrs. Eddy asserts that doctors, during the whole of history, have worked on wrong lines; that drugs, surgical operations, sanitary measures, and all the refinements of medical treatment are absolutely useless. Indeed they are positively harmful. On account of their employment, doctors have produced disease instead of curing it. By causing people to dwell on the idea of disease, they have made disease come instead of banishing it. She remarks on the longevity of the antediluvians, and says that there is more disease in the world to-day than ever there was before. She, of course, does not attempt to prove her assertion. In the face of the triumphs of surgery, bacteriology, and preventive medicine, it would be impossible for her to do so. As a matter of fact, as everybody knows, the amount of disease has been enormously reduced during the present generation. Still, disease does exist and, since the ordinary methods of medicine have failed to do away with it, she would have us discard doctors and use her method, which, she says, would immediately expel the delusions of sickness and death. The power which would bring about this desirable result she calls 'Divine Mind,' which is the opposite of 'Mortal Mind' and has a real existence. In her mode of operation, she makes no diagnosis, no examination of the body, considers the knowledge of anatomy and physiology harmful, and uses no drugs of any kind. For to use drugs is to show a lack of faith which is fatal to success. Even prayer is detrimental and must be avoided. All that the supposed sufferer needs to do is to read *Science and Health* and say that the disease is not there, and 'Divine Mind' will at once demonstrate the delusion. This, she says, is the method of Jesus. He made no diagnosis, used no drugs, made no examination. He simply told the disease to go, and it went. But she asserts

that she can do more than Jesus. His was only a partial revelation. The complete revelation was made only to her. Had Jesus been privileged to have her fuller light, He would never have suffered, never have died the death of the Cross. Had He had her knowledge, He would not have foretold His own death and so have hastened or caused its fulfilment.

Such, then, is the theory of Christian Science and the manner in which it is supposed to operate. It is, as she explains, a mode of mental healing, though it differs from all others in this respect, that it claims to heal by the same power as that used by Jesus Christ, the motive influence being 'Divine Mind.' In reality it is nothing more than a modern variant of faith healing, in which the power of suggestion is predominant, the suggestion being that the disease is non-existent and can be dispelled by 'Divine Mind.' 'The curative effect is brought about by the influence of a strong or vivid idea, some subtle energy other than physical upon the abnormal or morbid state of the body.' Miss Sturge, in her admirable chapter on 'Mental Healing by Christian Science,' puts forward the hypothesis that this vivid idea acts upon the 'Subjective Mind,' and explains in a most interesting fashion how the effects can be brought about through this medium.

It is scarcely necessary to say that this way of treating disease is no new thing, though the form of the suggestion is new. It has been used from time immemorial, and the reality of the cures produced by it have never been questioned. Experience has demonstrated the value of faith healing. Science admits its possibility. Instances of its success have been recorded from the dawn of history. Sir Clifford Allbutt says: 'At no time in history were such miraculous cures more frequent and wonderful than in the temples of Aesculapius and of Serapis. Modern cures, whether of the Eddyites or at Lourdes, or the like elsewhere, when compared with those of the Roman Empire fall into insignificance.' Cures very like those of Mrs. Eddy, brought about by similar

methods, were wrought by Athanasius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, and many other Christian saints. St. Francis, St. Theresa, St. Catherine of Siena all performed miracles of healing that exactly correspond with those of Christian Science. In the early history of Methodism we read of the same results obtained by like means. And in modern times faith healing has been rampant, especially in America, though the methods have not been quite the same. The most remarkable instance in the present generation is undoubtedly that of Lourdes. To that shrine many thousands of sufferers flock every year, and although the percentage of cures obtained is very small indeed, there can be no hesitation in saying that some of them are as striking as any recorded elsewhere. But it is not necessary to go outside ordinary medical practice to find examples of faith healing. Every doctor meets with them in the course of his everyday work, and every well-equipped hospital can point to countless instances of the same kind. In the *British Medical Journal* of June 18, 1910, Professor Osler and Mr. Butlin give many illustrative cases, and the list might be indefinitely extended. Indeed the power of faith is essential to the work of every doctor. It is 'the most precious asset in his stock-in-trade.' If his patients lost faith in him he would soon be powerless to cure them. There is nothing wonderful in this action of the mind on the body. We see the effects of it every day of our lives. Every one is familiar with the changes produced by fear and hope, by anger and depression. In joy the whole bearing of a man shows his condition. The body is erect, the step firm, the eyes bright, the face flushed. There is a general aspect of alertness and freshness. On the receipt of bad news the body is limp, the step heavy, the face dull and downcast. Every emotion expresses itself in the human frame. In anger the eyes are bright and fiery, the pupils contracted, the brow wrinkled, the movements quick and threatening. We know well the blush of modesty and the pallor of infamy. In common

speech, we speak of the heart rising high with hope or sinking within us from fear. Through the influence of the emotions on the pneumogastric nerve, the various organs of the body are acted on. Lungs, heart, stomach, intestines, liver, kidneys, all have their functions disturbed. We breathe more easily when anxiety is relieved. Excitement makes the heart beat faster. Bad news affects the appetite and upsets the stomach. The excitement of an examination will frequently increase the activity of the kidneys. All these are physiological changes. But pathological effects are equally common. Shock may cause insomnia, insanity, even death. And conversely, shock often cures disease. There are many instances in which bedridden, paralysed men and women have jumped out of bed and run out of the house on a cry of 'Fire!' Shock may so act on the thyroid gland as to cause exophthalmic goitre. Anxiety is a well-recognized cause of jaundice and diabetes. Fright is one of the commonest causes of St. Vitus' dance. Anger will bring on or cure an attack of gout. Probably the most important action of emotion is on the glands of the body, such as the thyroid, pituitary body, ovary, the glands of the stomach and intestines. These are intimately associated with the nutrition, the tone, the very constitution of the tissues, and hence it is easy to see that mental influences must have a profound action on the actual structure of the body. Obviously, then, they must have a far-reaching effect on the course of disease. They may prevent its on-coming, increase its progress, or diminish its ravages. As might be expected, their power is most noticeable in affections in which no structural changes are to be found, but they also come into play in other conditions. Even in diseases due to bacteria they are not to be disregarded. Probably they do not act directly on the germs themselves, but they do change the condition of the soil, the food which nourishes the invaders, and in this way they markedly diminish or increase their numbers and vitality. They also stimulate or depress the

cells on which we rely to repel the enemy. Indeed, it is not unscientific to say that there is no disease which may not be influenced either for good or ill by mental emotions and hence by faith. Even ordinary emotions will have pronounced effects. What, then, may not such supreme states of spiritual exaltation as the ecstasies of St. Francis and St. Theresa do? Soldiers, in the din of battle, do not feel their wounds. Martyrs at the stake appear to be insensible to tortures the mere recital of which makes the strongest man quake. The love of the mother will make her insensible to fatigue when the life of her child is in danger. The weak frame will be endowed with superhuman strength and endurance and will bear a strain under which, in ordinary circumstances, it would inevitably fail. Faith will make the sick man forget his pain and discomforts, and will turn his thoughts to things pleasant and help him to dwell on the bright side of his troubles. Faith will draw the attention of the hysterical woman from her disagreeable symptoms and from herself, and will help her to lose sight of what are, in reality, small and petty distresses. It will enable her to forget her bodily pains and disturbances and fix her mind on better and healthier considerations. She will see things in their true perspective. Faith banishes fear and brings to the sick-bed the hopefulness which is such a powerful adjuvant to medical treatment. Herein we see one of the physiological and remedial functions of prayer and divine meditation. The trust and the calm serenity which follow such exercises must often turn the scale in a serious illness. But although doctors freely acknowledge the potency of mental impressions in disease, it is to be feared that they have not in the past made full use of them. Nor do they in the present. Every day, however, they are becoming more alive to their significance. Materialism in medicine, as in science generally, is ceasing to have its ancient sway. The molecule is not now the ultimate particle. It has become a little cosmos, made up of myriads of electrons in a constant

state of motion, and we are repeatedly told that each molecule is a solar system in itself. In the presence of such a theory, there is no room for the old materialistic theses that commanded thought a generation ago. And so in medicine. Pills and potions have ceased to be the prime factors in the cure of disease, and doctors are coming to recognize the supremacy of spirit. They are not satisfied with things which they can see and handle. They are prepared to argue from the seen to the unseen, and are becoming conscious of the existence of unknown but dimly visible psychic forces which must be fully investigated and added to the resources of medical science.

Does Christian Science help in any way to bring about these approaching discoveries? It is to be feared not. It lacks the sanity of true science. It is a will-o'-the-wisp which simulates the true guiding light only to plunge its unhappy victims into the bog and the quagmire. Like so many of its prototypes, which have flourished most in the dark ages of religion and science, it leads only to superstition and ignorance and tends to delay the progress of sound reasoning and true inspiration. Happily all its forerunners have enjoyed but fleeting success. Nothing is left of them but a few shrines in obscure villages on the Continent or in the distant East. Christian Science, with a less plausible basis than most of them, is running its course. But the credulity of man has its bounds and cannot long believe in such a 'baseless fabric of a vision.'

To descend from prophecy to practice: we cannot foretell how Christian Science will fare in the future; we can see what it has done in the past. Has it stood the test of experience? Are its powers as a spiritual healer as great as they are claimed to be? Has it been so successful as to encourage the hope that its adoption will become universal, to the exclusion of the generally recognized modes of treatment or as an addition to them? Now it is a noticeable fact that it has been most successful in what are known as

'functional diseases,' that is in diseases in which no structural change can be demonstrated and in which the symptoms often come and go in most unaccountable ways. The same remark applies to all other cults of religious or mental healing that have preceded it.

Christian Science claims, of course, that it can dispel not only functional disease, but disease of all kinds. In *Science and Health* Mrs. Eddy states that she has proved its value by thousands of well-authenticated cases of healing by herself and her students. These for the most part, she says, are cases which have been abandoned as hopeless by their regular medical attendant. She gives a list of examples to bear out her statements. Similar claims are made by many of her disciples. But both Mrs. Eddy and her friends fail to give any evidence to support their pretensions. There is absolutely nothing but their word for it. Is it a fact that they actually do cure the diseases which they say they do?

Now it is customary in judging of the efficacy of a new remedy for some proof to be given of its value. In the first place, it is essential that we should know that the patient is really suffering from the disease which the remedy is supposed to benefit. We want a definite and clear diagnosis, made by a competent man and supported by a recital of the known signs and symptoms of the disease. Then it is necessary that there must be a sufficient number of cases in which success has followed the adoption of the treatment. The subsequent history must be given to show that the cure has been permanent, and also to prove that the remedy has actually cured the disease and has not merely relieved symptoms. Again, all cases treated must be recorded so that the proportion of good and bad results may be shown. Finally, the new treatment must be compared with other methods to see if it gives better results. Surely all these requirements are eminently reasonable, and, unless they are fulfilled, no new remedy would stand any chance of being acknowledged. But in Christian Science healing, none of

these tests are complied with. No attempt is made at a definite diagnosis. No evidence of the existence of the disease is given. The patient says and thinks that he has a certain disease, and no other evidence is asked for. No comparison is made with other modes of treatment. No subsequent history is given, and only so-called successful cases are mentioned. Although failures are well known to be exceedingly common, no reference is ever made to them. Although patients who appeared to find benefit frequently relapse into their old state, we are told nothing about their subsequent ill-health. Finally, no attempt is made to distinguish between the cure of disease and the relief of symptoms. When Christian Scientists are asked to produce such scientific tests, they absolutely refuse to do so. Mrs. Eddy was wont to anathematize the questioners by declaring them to be morally unsound. According to her theory, no diagnosis is necessary. Indeed to make one is harmful, for it serves to concentrate the thoughts on the disease instead of the cure, and so hinders the progress of the case. Yet in the recital of cases in *Science and Health* and in other Christian Science literature, a diagnosis is given and the name of the disease put down. The only evidence of any kind afforded is that the patient said he had had such a disease and that now he was cured. How can any sane man accept such great demands on his credulity with such flimsy evidence? For of what value is the mere statement of a patient? Every doctor knows its worthlessness. Why, many sufferers from ordinary indigestion seek his advice because they imagine that they have heart disease. Numberless patients think they have malignant disease when they have nothing at all wrong with them, or only some slight ailment which is readily relieved. Bright's disease is one of the commonest affections to be suspected when the kidneys and blood-vessels are perfectly healthy, while bladder and kidney disease is almost an everyday occurrence in people who have nothing to suggest such mischief but a pain in the back. Almost

equally worthless is the report of a patient as to what his previous doctor has told him. So constantly is the patient's account entirely mistaken that medical men attach no importance to it.

It is on such flimsy foundations that the great bulk of Christian Science cases are built up. How can they be taken seriously as cures of grave conditions? We do not know that the suspected disease was there, nor do we know that, in apparently successful cases, where relief appears to have been given, the cures have been permanent. The testimonies given by grateful Christian Science patients are of no more value than the testimonials found by the dozen in every newspaper as to the efficacy of the quack medicines which cure all sorts of impossible complaints. People with pain in the back declare that they have been cured of Bright's disease by So-and-so's famous pills. Others, short of breath, have been cured of heart disease by the world-renowned remedy, and so on. All men of ordinary intelligence laugh at such glowing reports and doctors pass them by with silent contempt. They well know that these abundantly advertised nostrums come and go, but the genuine science of medical practice goes on for ever, gathering strength and power from one generation to another.

What one would expect from a general examination of the Christian Science position is borne out by an analysis and careful criticism of the cases themselves. They amply demonstrate how little Christian Science can do in the treatment of serious diseases. Stephen Paget has gone into this aspect of the question more fully than any one else, and gives his results in *The Faith and Works of Christian Science*. He has collected a large number of cases—most of them taken consecutively from the pages of responsible Christian Science literature—and has placed against them other cases, some seen by himself, others reported to him by various medical men. He gives every possible detail so that any one may

judge of the soundness of his conclusions. He finds that some are cured, but in every such instance the sufferer has had some form of functional disease or some ailment that would have disappeared under any treatment. He can discover no single example of the cure of a genuine organic disease. On the other hand, many so-called successes are absolutely valueless. The account given conveys no sort of impression of any known disease. The lists supplied by other doctors convey a tragic story, and exemplify the disastrous results of Christian Science treatment. Here are two examples.

Number 26. 'A man, suffering great abdominal pain, was assured by a Christian Scientist that he ought not to think about it, &c. The pain continued (for two or three days), but no doctor was called in, because the patient was so positively assured by the Scientist that the pain was "imagination." At last a doctor was sent for, who found appendicitis, and said that an immediate operation was necessary. It was refused for some hours, that the patient might set his affairs in order. During this delay the abscess gave way into the peritoneal cavity, and the patient died in a few hours without operation.'

Number 62 (from Boston). 'I have seen a patient dying of strangulated hernia, who had been treated from first to last by Christian Science. The patient was moribund and died shortly after my visit.

'I have seen many cases of malignant disease treated by Christian Science until the period of operability had passed. I have seen one or two patients dying of haemorrhage who had been treated by Christian Science. I should say I had seen about 100 cases, in which the only chance for cure had been lost through the Christian Science treatment.'

These are just samples, and hundreds of the same kind can be recited. A record like that detailed in Paget's book would justly ruin the reputation of any doctor or any hospital. Many of the cases are disgraceful, and make the reader burn with indignation. Paget's results are not

uncorroborated. The same testimony is borne by many competent observers. Such are Drs. Huber, Moll, Buckley, and Cabot. Professor Osler says that he has come across not a single instance of the cure of organic disease. He knew of one case of locomotor ataxia that was supposed to be cured, but he quaintly adds : ' the patient is still taking opium for lightning pains.'

We may sum up the evidence in regard to the practical value of Christian Science treatment by saying that although some cases are cured and some receive temporary benefit, all these are cases of functional disease or of affections that cure themselves spontaneously. Not a single instance of the cure of organic disease has been proved, whilst vast numbers have received harm and very many have died. It is surely obvious that Christian Science is very far from being as efficient a mode of treatment as it claims to be. It does not compare for one moment with the methods usually employed in medical practice. It succeeds occasionally in certain forms of nervous disorder. It is useless and often harmful in all forms of organic disease. In surgical cases its helplessness is contemptible. Sufferers from such conditions as strangulated hernia, perforating gastric ulcer, stone in the bladder or kidney, malignant disease, suppurative appendicitis, fractures and dislocations, and a score of other similar conditions might as well fall back on the incantations of the medicine man as fly to Christian Science. It is almost equally valueless in the host of diseases due to bacterial infection which constitute so large a proportion of the ills of the flesh. Even in neurotic cases, its treatment meets with no greater success than that generally adopted by doctors. Every medical man experiences similar successes in his own practice, and every hospital can present abundance of such examples. Illustrations are given by Professor Osler and Mr. Butlin in the *British Medical Journal* for June 18, 1910.

Its want of success is but a small part of the indictment

against Christian Science. It is positively harmful in many ways. It is directly responsible for the death of many patients because it prevents them obtaining proper treatment at an early stage of their malady. Many of these could easily have been saved had it not been for time wasted on Christian Science at a period when their illness was amenable to medical or surgical treatment. Numberless instances are on record. Examples may be found in Paget's book, in the number of the *British Medical Journal* mentioned above, and in many other places. It is this feature of the movement that has led Professor Osler to say, 'The tragic side of the story lies in the valuable lives sacrificed to the fanatical ignorance of so-called healers.' Lyman Powell writes, 'The way of Christian Science is strewn with broken hearts and maimed bodies, ruined health and lives sacrificed.'

Even in cases of hopeless disease in which no cure can be wrought, harm is done and cruelty perpetrated by the raising of false hopes. Witness many sad stories told in Paget's book. One of the most serious disasters occurs in the dealing of Christian Science with the nervous affections in which it has most success. Instead of recovery, patients are driven into a worse condition than before, and the nervous system is sometimes temporarily and sometimes permanently impaired. People are often made more neurotic than ever, and especially is this so with children. In those who have a badly balanced nervous system the damage may go much further. The amenability of many to suggestion makes Christian Science a most dangerous weapon. At one time Charcot made extensive use of hypnotism and other forms of mental treatment, but he abandoned them for this very reason. He found that they frequently weakened the power of the will, and made the patient dangerously dependent on the will of other people, who might be either good or bad. The moral as well as physical effect was lamentable. The same thing applies to Christian Science. The last state of a man, even after temporary improvement, is often ten

times worse than before. One form that this deterioration takes is illustrated by those cases in which, after apparent recovery, the patient relapses. He is led to believe that the relapse is due to moral failure. Some of these poor victims fall into a state of despair from which it is almost impossible to rouse them. Instances are known in which actual insanity has ensued. Then, again, the attitude of Christian Science towards medical science is doing untold harm. By teaching that modern investigation is misdirected and harmful, and that sanitation, for example, is useless, it tends to deprive mankind of all that past ages have laboriously accumulated in the attempt to better the physical condition of the people. The only possible and logical outcome of the theory of Eddyism is to increase the slums and insanitary areas of our great cities, and so to invite the return and spread of diseases like typhus, typhoid, plague, cholera, diphtheria, leprosy and tuberculosis. Into what sort of condition will our modern industrial world degenerate if the new doctrine is listened to? Cleanliness, fresh air, good food, good water, warm clothing, drainage, are of no account, it says. Common sense at once recognizes a return to the chaos, disorder, misery and fatality of the Middle Ages. Indeed, things would be worse than then. For the Middle Ages had none of the industrial conditions of to-day, the crowded areas and sunless dwellings of our large towns. The prospect is too terrible for contemplation, and will not bear a moment's examination.

Such are some of the disastrous consequences of Christian Science; but there are others which do not bear so directly on the medical side of the question, but which are equally serious. One of these is the attitude of Christian Science towards reading and study. Mrs. Eddy discourages the reading of anything except the publications of the sect. All her disciples are strictly enjoined to avoid literature of all kinds, and to study only *Science and Health* and the papers issued from the Christian Science press. Think of the mental

indolence that this engenders, and of the colossal ignorance that must result! This mental laziness is only one part of its disastrous action on the mind. By discouraging sound reasoning, it leads directly to the basest form of superstition. We are 'plunged back,' says Miss Milmine, 'into the torturing superstitions which it has taken the world so long to overcome.' For there is nothing in Christian Science to encourage the slow but steady progress which has been experienced by the human race from the study and pursuit of letters. 'Suspect everything,' says St. Theresa, as quoted by Sir Clifford Allbutt in the *British Medical Journal*, 'which weakens the use of our reason; for by such a way we shall never attain to the liberty of the spirit.' This chaotic system of thought, this complete denial of common sense, exactly fulfils the warning of this mediaeval saint.

In one of the most interesting papers in *Medicine and the Church*, Dr. Jane Walker discusses the evil that must result from the Christian Science treatment of the subject of 'pain.' She points out that it attaches far too much importance to the abolition of pain, and that it fits in only too well with the modern revolt against suffering. She shows very clearly how harmful this is, and quotes from the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1908: 'The modern revolt against all suffering is obviously suicidal. To extinguish all suffering, were that possible, would be to deprive the world of a leverage as all-pervading and effectual towards spiritual elevation and purification as is gravitation towards stability.'

But it is unnecessary to labour this point. Nor is it necessary to do more than refer to the harmful effects of Christian Science in its relation to marriage and the family life. Lyman Powell goes somewhat fully into this question, and points out that the only logical outcome of Mrs. Eddy's teaching is that family life must inevitably be broken up and marriage be done away with. As a natural consequence the whole of our modern civilization will crumble. Enough has been said to prove that although Christian Science has

some good in it, its value is seriously discounted by its much greater harmfulness. Whatever good it has can be found elsewhere in a better form. Its evil is all its own. It is capable of inflicting irreparable damage on the race. Its claims as a therapeutic agent are completely discredited. It heals few, causes untold suffering, and is responsible for many deaths. As a system of religion it is contemptible.

Miss Milmine's story of Mrs. Eddy's life is indeed a sordid one. She describes her as hard, unsympathetic, selfish, cruel, and greedy. She shows her neglecting her child and leaving him to the tender mercies of any one who would care for him. She points out that during most of her life she was a victim of hysteria, and that for many years she played the part of a social parasite. Nor is the story of the growth and propagation of Christian Science any more inspiring. Its course has been marked by constant quarrelling, by innumerable lawsuits, and by the secession of most of its ablest adherents. Its so-called final revelation has varied from year to year, and each alteration has coincided with an attempt to evade the difficulty of the moment. Little wonder that it has ended in a creed incoherent, inconsistent, chaotic and absurd. One can hardly cavil at the severe conclusion of Sir Henry Morris: 'Her work was conceived in ignorance and vanity; reared in profane audacity, and the most presumptuous and selfish ambition; developed in deceit, disharmony, and strife; and culminated in hypocrisy, cupidity, and lust of power'; nor can we deny that 'Beyond any sect or system that we know of, it has succeeded in exploiting human imbecility and turning airy nothings into solid cash.' It is impossible to see how such a system can last, and the time cannot be far distant when the rise and progress of Christian Science will be described as one of the notable instances of human credulity.

EDWARD WALKER.

DR. WALLACE'S 'WORLD OF LIFE'

The World of Life. A Manifestation of Creative Power, Directive Mind, and Ultimate Purpose. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, O.M., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. (London: Chapman & Hall, Limited, 1910.)

EVEN a cursory glance over the pages of Dr. Wallace's new book is sufficient to awaken admiration for the veteran naturalist who within a couple of years of ninety could have produced so profound and elaborate a volume on a subject demanding the most rigid concentration of reasoning powers and a perfect familiarity with all the results of recent scientific research. It is the harvest of a long life of toil and thought, and demonstrates that work after all is one sure method of preserving vitality and enthusiasm to extreme old age.

The volume may be described as evolution up to date. Dr. Wallace is universally recognized as the Nestor of living evolutionists. Sharing with Darwin the distinction of having first given scientific form to the evolution theory, he became in a sense its guardian on the death of his more prominent comrade. It was natural, therefore, that he should feel it almost a duty to leave behind him a final statement of his views as to the bearing on evolution of those investigations in the domains of physics and biology which are exerting so powerful an influence on present-day science.

Those who are acquainted with the author's previous books, especially his *Darwinism* and *Man's Place in the Universe*, and who have read two or three such works as Professor Poulton's *Essays on Evolution* and Professor J. A. Thomson's *Heredity*, will not find much that is absolutely new; but even for students, and still more for the general

reader, it is an advantage to have the results of recent research and speculation brought together and systematized by one so eminently qualified for the task.

An additional motive which seems to have weighed with Dr. Wallace in the preparation of this volume was the desire to furnish an antidote to those monistic interpretations of the universe which have of late attained great prominence, for, as he himself declares, he was 'endeavouring to arrive at a juster conception of the mystery of the Life-World than that of Professor Haeckel, and by a very different method.' It is gratifying to observe how the whole book is dominated by the conviction of the unworkableness of mechanical explanations of life, while there are repeated affirmations of the necessity of a supreme directive Mind in nature's laws and phenomena.

Darwin's *Origin of Species* gave but little trace of any such views; but it appears from the *Life and Letters*, published after his death, that he had never doubted the necessity for an intelligent Cause of the universe, although he thought that the human mind had no powers equal to any adequate conception of that Cause. Even Herbert Spencer admitted 'an universal immanent force' as the antecedent of material and mental phenomena and the 'Unknown Reality which underlies both spirit and matter.'

But Haeckel, and monists in general, will not yield even this much. They seek to escape the necessity of admitting a First Cause by postulating the eternity of matter. It is an inconceivable proposition, but for those who want to say there is no God it has to suffice. And what then? What is this eternal matter? Is it inert, or does it possess some innate force? Without such force even Haeckel realizes that nature's progress could not be explained. Hence he drifts into his self-contradictory conception of 'cell-souls' endowed with sensation, perhaps with volition, yet unconscious! Now if from all eternity forces making for development have been in operation, must there not have been reached, an

eternity since, some perfect being equal to what we call God? True, replies the monist, if progress had been unfettered; but at a certain stage retrogression has taken place and the life-cycle has had to be gone through again. All this sounds very much like trifling, and indeed one can hardly reason seriously about the rank absurdities in which Haeckel is so hopelessly entangled.

Not only does Wallace insist on the necessity for an eternal Spirit guiding nature's changes and adaptations; he even ventures to indicate the ultimate purpose of all this, the supreme design by which all other manifestations of design are explained. His position here is so remarkable that we prefer to give his own words: 'This earth with its infinitude of life and beauty and mystery, and the universe in the midst of which we are placed, with its overwhelming immensities of suns and nebulae, of light and motion, are as they are, firstly, for the development of life culminating in man; secondly, as a vast school-house for the higher education of the human race in preparation for the enduring spiritual life to which it is destined' (p. 391).

We had supposed that this anthropocentric view of the universe had become quite obsolete among men of science, and Dr. Wallace himself surmises that it will prove distasteful to many. But the position can be fortified now with far better defences than it had of yore. So much in nature can now be adduced which has no other adequate explanation. Only a few of the chemical elements are needed for the atom, but what of all the rest? They are revealing one by one a specific relation to man's development in knowledge, art, science, and manufactures. How much the discovery of radium has done to demonstrate this! And the separation of still newer elements has had a good deal to do with making the spectroscope a more efficient instrument. Again, what innumerable treasures the vegetable kingdom continues to yield up, of which no creature but man can make use,—timber for building, a myriad forms of food, drugs, and perfumes,

many of which are of no service to the organism itself, and some of the most prized of which are by-products, and therefore only to be brought into existence at all by the exercise of human intelligence.

Dr. Wallace is careful to emphasize that the working out of this supreme purpose by an external spiritual agency is conditioned by those principles or laws of co-adaptation between organism and environment with which Darwin has made us familiar. And it is to the exposition of these laws in the light of post-Darwinian studies that much of the volume is devoted. It is not possible, of course, to do full justice here to the author's many elaborate arguments. We can only briefly indicate their nature and the line they take.

Since evolution implies co-adaptation of organic structure and environment, both of which are subject to constant and endless variations, it is necessary to explore the nature and extent of environmental changes, as well as to study the distribution of animals and plants and to observe their differences, if we are to apprehend aright the laws of development. An illustration of this which will be familiar to readers of Darwin is presented by the small, agile, dusky species of rabbits now inhabiting the island of Porto Santo, and known to have developed from a litter of ordinary rabbits introduced some centuries ago.

Wallace adds other examples, among which is the case of a swarm of sparrows which a dozen years ago were found benumbed after a great storm in Rhode Island. About half of them revived, and it was observed that in these the sternum or breast bone was longer than in those that died; that is, the fittest to survive were those whose bones and muscles concerned in flight were best developed. Many other instances of nature's operations in the manufacture of new species might easily be adduced.

Previous to Darwin it was supposed that species were fixed quantities. Variations were neglected as mere accidents or sports. It was known, of course, that many species had

become extinct and that others had taken their place. Geology bore witness to revolutions of both fauna and flora; as, for example, the substitution of the gigantic reptiles of the Secondary (Mesozoic) rocks for the invertebrates of the Primary (Palaeozoic), and the later triumph of the prolific Tertiary mammals; but science had found no solution of the enigma. When the *Origin of Species* appeared in 1859 order arose out of chaos. The struggle for existence was shown to have proceeded in harmony with inexorable laws. The fittest, that which was best adapted to its environment, survived. New species were the modifications of previous ones. It is still true in a sense that like produces like, but never exactly. No two individuals are precisely alike, no two human beings, not even two leaves. The variation which harmonized best with its conditions was the one that was destined to survive and to lay the foundation of a new species. Science was revolutionized, and Darwin was hailed as another Newton.

It soon appeared that Wallace had been led along similar lines to practically the same result, and Darwin accorded to him the full merit of originality. But his authority suffered somewhat from his exclusion of man from the operation of natural selection. He was taunted with holding the notion that man was 'God's domestic animal.' As every one knows, he soon retreated from this position, and now holds, we presume, to that conception of man's origin which Robert Browning with sufficient accuracy for humour has thus delineated—

> That mass man sprang from was a jelly lump
> Once on a time; he kept an after course
> Through fish and insect, reptile, bird and beast,
> Till he attained to be an ape at last,
> Or last but one.

Wallace does not argue the question of man's descent, though he takes pains to prove the evolution of most other creatures. The truth is that it is no easy matter to find evidence for man's development from the brute. Embryo-

logy furnishes the best testimony, but this is not Wallace's province. He therefore assumes man's affinity to the lower animals. To meet the demand for time for such an important development he suggests that our early anthropoid ancestor should be dated back as far as the Miocene or even the Eocene age, that is, soon after the beginning of the Tertiaries. This must undoubtedly be so if man has originated from the lower animals in the ordinary way of natural selection. It required that length of time for the present-day ape to develop from the Eocene lemuroids and even for the horse to be produced from the five-toed eohippus. But we are not to forget that there is not the slightest geological evidence of man's existence previous to the Pleistocene age (quaternary). Moreover, the oldest human fossils are still far in advance of the gorilla, even in regard to physical structure, to say nothing of mental and moral capacities. It remains one of the unaccountable 'imperfections of the geologic record' that whereas it enables us to construct a probable genealogy of the horse, the ape, and other animals, it yet furnishes no information as to man's origin, although the process of development must have been under almost identical conditions.

The various lines of argument by which this Darwinian interpretation of nature is made good—heredity, variation, powers of increase—are so generally known that we need not further follow Wallace's *résumé* of them. It will be more interesting to observe the way in which he incorporates the results of recent atomic and physiological studies with the general system of evolution.

No longer can we consider the atom as a simple unit, nor protoplasm as elementary. Atoms are declared to be complex systems of electrons, the units of electricity and of matter, and these electrons are in ceaseless movement within the limits of the atom, being held in combination by mysterious forces not very well understood. It is with the living cell, however, that the evolutionist has chiefly to do, for it

is in this that the beginnings of growth, variation, and reproduction are to be sought. The nucleus of this cell, by means of suitable staining and microscopical examination, has been made to yield up some of its most hidden secrets, and on the knowledge thus gained Weismann has based his well-known speculations concerning the continuity of the germ-plasm and heredity. The subject is too abstruse to be detailed here, nor does our purpose require this. Those who desire a technical account of the matter must have recourse to Weismann's *Germinal Selection*, first published in 1896, and his *Germ-plasm*, which appeared in 1892, where they will find some tolerably hard reading.[1]

The organic cell is now defined as 'a nucleated unit-mass of living protoplasm,' not a mere particle, but an organized structure. No better general description of it can be found than that which is given in Professor Lloyd Morgan's *Animal Life and Intelligence:* 'The external surface of a cell is (usually) bounded by a film or membrane. Within this membrane the substance of the cell is made up of a network of very delicate fibres (plasmogen) enclosing a more fluid material (plasm); and this network seems to be the essential living substance. In the midst of the cell is a small round or oval body, called the nucleus, which is surrounded by a very delicate membrane. In this nucleus also there is a network of delicate plasmogen fibres enclosing a more fluid plasm material. At certain times the network takes the form of a coiled filament or set of filaments, and these arrange themselves in the form of rosettes or stars' (p. 10).

This is a sufficiently simple explanation of the nature of a living cell, and the mechanics of growth. Another quotation from the same author's work on *Habit and Instinct*

[1] A very lucid exposition of Weismann's intricate system is given in Professor J. A. Thomson's *Heredity*, which Wallace describes as 'a most valuable and illuminating work.' With such help the reader may disport himself at ease among *ids*, *biophors*, and the like. *Idants* consist of *ids*, each of which contains a complete inheritance and consists of numerous primary constituents or *determinants*. A determinant is usually a group of biophors, the minutest vital units.

(p. 310) will show how these phenomena of growth are utilized in Weismann's theory of germinal selection: 'There is a competition for nutriment among those parts of the germ named determinants, from which the several organs or groups of organs are developed. In this competition the stronger determinants get the best of it, and are further developed at the expense of the weaker determinants, which are starved, and tend to dwindle and eventually disappear.'

This is the one great post-Darwinian extension of Darwinism, which is supposed to complete it and to furnish a solution of all the difficulties which beset the phenomena of heredity. The struggle for existence, in a word, begins not among species, nor even newly-originating organs, but in the primary constituents or determinants of the cell. There is probably more of speculation than of actual fact in the scheme, but then evolution itself is largely speculative even yet, and a speculative explanation of a speculative theory is at any rate spectacular.

It is by the help of these Weismannian theories that Dr. Wallace wrestles with the objections which still continue to be urged against natural selection. The strongest and most frequent of these objections has to do with the beginnings of new organs. As the earliest slight indications of these would be useless, it is argued that they would not survive. Darwin himself lived long enough to give a partial answer, and a further reply is borrowed by Wallace from Professor Poulton's *Essays on Evolution:* 'Organs are rarely formed anew in an animal, but they are formed by the modification of pre-existing organs; so that, instead of having one beginning for each organ, we have to push the beginning further and further back, and find that a single organ accounts for several successive organs, or at any rate several functions, instead of one.'

For example, the four limbs of vertebrates find their first beginnings in Palaeozoic times, and have been subsequently modified into fins for swimming, wings for flying, hands and feet. Similarly the five senses are all modifica-

tions of the sense of touch. The question as to how the ear or eye first began is irrelevant. We must go 'further and further back,' as far even as to the primordial protoplasm, which, as soon as it was endowed with life, the cause of organization, acquired the rudiments of all other modifications.

A second objection is that every variation requires other concurrent variations not likely to occur simultaneously. Herbert Spencer instances the neck of the giraffe. The lengthening of this would necessitate alterations in the legs to preserve the centre of gravity, with consequent changes in the chest muscles and even in the blood-vessels and nerves, all which must appear together or else none of the modifications could survive.

This difficulty has usually been met by the suggestion that among the enormous number of individuals which nature produces throughout a long duration of time there might easily appear one having all the necessary variations and that these would be rapidly strengthened by use. This answer, however, is far from satisfying. The whole force of the objection lies in the fact that all the modifications must appear simultaneously in one individual at least, which is as unlikely in the case of a million as it would be in the case of one, and no more probable yesterday than to-day. Here, again, recourse must be had to Weismann, as will be better understood from what we have to say in reference to the other objection of which our author treats.

This difficulty arises from the fact that there is frequently produced in nature an excess of some particular feature which goes beyond the requirements of utility and tends to the ultimate extinction of the animal possessing it. Many years ago Wallace dealt with this point in his *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature* (1878), and again in his *Darwinism* (1889), when he gave up the idea that sexual selection was an important factor of the problem.

Any excess, either of ornamentation or of bulk, becomes

a defect, hence we frequently find it displayed in species just previous to extinction, as exemplified in the abundant spines of the later trilobites and ammonites, the prodigious bulk of the small-brained saurians of Mesozoic times and the mighty mastodon of the Tertiaries, the intricately branched antlers of deer, the peacock's cumbrous tail, and the unwieldy gaudy wings of many moths.

On Weismann's lines all this is explained by the supposition, as Professor Thomson expresses it, 'that every independently heritable character is represented in the germ-plasm by a determinant.' The more vigorous the determinant, the more rapid will be the growth of the part or organ which it determines. In the course of generations the limit of utility may be passed, and then degeneration or even extinction of the species concerned occurs. Thus are explained the loss of the whale's hind limbs, the vanishing wings of apteryx and the absence of teeth in birds, as well as the extinction of the labyrinthodon, the mammoth, and the Irish elk. Probably the decorative peacock's tail might have acted similarly but for the intervention of man.

It is hoped that these illustrations of the character and modes of application of Weismann's theories will make them intelligible even to the non-scientific, as well as show the vast importance which those theories have gained in present-day scientific discussions. Time alone can reveal whether they will maintain that prominence and value which Dr. Wallace seems to attribute to them, but certainly they are an improvement on Darwin's ill-digested theory of pangenesis which they are designed to displace.[1]

[1] Darwin explains his provisional theory of pangenesis in his *Variations of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (1875) (Vol. II. p. 369). Cells throw off minute gemmules which are transmitted from parent to offspring and circulate freely throughout the organism. Their development depends on their union with other partially developed gemmules which precede them in the regular course of growth. This may take place in the next generation, or the gemmules may continue dormant through several generations.

What remains for us to do now is to try to set before the reader some more definite account of Dr. Wallace's conception of the character and modes of action of that directive Power in nature for which, as we have said, he all along strenuously contends. The chapter on 'Birds and Insects as proofs of an organizing and directive life-principle' is, we consider, the finest in the whole book. The marvels displayed in the structure of feathers, the exquisite beauties of the microscopic scales on insects' wings, the mysteries of blood, the agency of those white corpuscles (phagocytes) by means of which the whole of the internal organs of larvae are liquefied into a creamy pulp which is to nourish the gradually maturing insect,—these and other kindred topics have a charm quite apart from the teleological use to which our author puts them. Especially it is emphasized that the forces at work in growth and reproduction are of a nature to require some power to guide them. Of this power and guidance no explanation is found in any of the mechanical or physiological interpretations of life and mind now current. 'To myself,' says Wallace (p. 295), 'not all that has been written about the properties of protoplasm or the innate forces of the cell, neither the physiological units of Herbert Spencer, the pangenesis hypothesis of Darwin, nor the continuity of the germ-plasm of Weismann, throw the least glimmer of light on this great problem.'

Such sentiments may not be entirely satisfactory to those who think that natural selection of itself explains everything in the universe, but they will be gladly received by theistic evolutionists. The truth is that thinking men are growing weary of the petrified materialistic philosophies which since the days of Comte have been obtruding upon the world their altogether unwarrantable claims to logical consistency and credibility. To the cry, 'Matter is all,' the antithesis is now becoming more and more clamant that 'Spirit is all.' Whether is it better to interpret the universe in terms of senseless matter or of intelligent spirit? Since Mme Curie's

marvellous achievements and the latest re-investigations of the atom, it has certainly become far easier to think of matter as spirit-force than of mind or spirit as nothing more than phenomena of matter; and if one of the two must be regarded as eternal, surely it is more rational to believe that spirit has always existed than that matter, even though possessed of volition, as Haeckel with incredible inconsistency postulates, should have been the eternally existing cause of all that is.

Among the attributes of this supreme guiding Power in nature, Dr. Wallace emphasizes the quality of benevolence. His chapter on the supposed cruelty of nature is very fine. Ever since Darwin's exposition of the struggle for existence there has been an under-current of belief that nature is rigidly merciless, 'red in tooth and claw.' Dr. Wallace gives his unique authority to more sane and moderate opinions. As the majority of lower animals have no nervous organization capable of intense sensation, and are not liable to those excruciating forms of mental anguish which belong exclusively to human beings, the objection loses half its force at one stroke. Besides, as Wallace points out, the 'red tooth and claw' are themselves in reality ministers of mercy. What lingering pain would be endured if there were no talon of bird, no claw of cat or tiger, to secure the wounded prey and ensure a speedy end to its fear and pain, or no poison fang or sting to benumb the creature which has been struck by the serpent or the scorpion!

Suffering and pain are of course realities. It is not necessary to demonstrate their absence from nature in order to establish the benevolence of the Creator. No one will affirm that mankind would be placed in more favourable conditions for progress if there were no capacity for suffering. It would have been better for some of the earlier experimenters with X-rays if they could have experienced some premonitions of the suffering that would ultimately ensue from the prolonged use of them. Pain is a necessary factor of evolution,

and even the lower animals must not be exempt from it if they are to advance to higher acquisitions. But pain is limited and temporary, while the beneficial results of it are enduring, perhaps eternal.

We wish that Dr. Wallace could have stopped here and contented himself with the sublime delineation of a supreme Mind in nature, originating and guiding all its processes, and actuated by the benevolent purpose to ensure universal happiness and perfection. But he has thought it necessary to introduce certain bizarre suggestions as to the precise mode of creation which will not only expose him to the antagonism of those who hold that all such speculations are beyond the proper province of science, but will also provoke opposition among those to whom he refers as 'the more or less ignorant adherents of dogmatic theology.'

It is disappointing, to say the least, after all the splendid affirmations of the absolute necessity of purpose and of a supreme First Cause in nature, which we meet with in almost every part of the volume, to find ourselves confronted with such passages as this: 'The organizing mind which actually carries out the development of the life-world need not be infinite in any of its attributes—need not be what is usually meant by the terms God or Deity' (p. 392). This does not mean that he denies infinity to the Deity, but only that infinity is not necessarily involved in all creational acts and in the processes of life-development.

A little further on is the still more startling statement: 'To claim the Infinite and Eternal Being as the one and only direct Agent in every detail of the universe seems to me absurd' (p. 400). In order to avoid this absurdity Wallace suggests that beings of a lowlier nature than that of the Deity may have been used as the agents of creation and may now be engaged in guiding all that is going on in nature. He supposes that these lower grades of beings, hierarchies of spirits or angels, may have had power to produce the primordial ether, from which another order of spiritual beings may

have formed distinct aggregations at suitable distances from each other. These eventually developed into suns and systems, into one or more of which, 'organizing spirits' introduced life, and by some sort of 'thought-transference' so acted upon the cell-souls as to enable them to 'perform their duties while the cells are rapidly increasing.' But because these organizers may not all be perfect in wisdom and skill there occur some defects in nature, evils which have to be remedied by further adaptations. Ultimately, however, the goal of perfection will be reached. All who give themselves to effort and struggle may hope to attain to that 'sublime height' whose splendours are described in a number of rhapsodical stanzas which we do not care to quote. Space and time will be conquered, the angel's invitation, 'Come up higher,' will be heard, and eternal happiness will be realized in—

> The land of Light and Beauty, where no bud of promise dies.

These speculations, originating from Wallace's well-known spiritualistic proclivities, are hazarded by him only as suggestions, and he would not claim that they add one feather's weight to the validity of his arguments for evolution or for the necessity of a directive Mind in nature; but as there is a danger lest their fanciful and occult character might for some be a reason for distrusting the author's views as to the reality of a supreme Creator of the universe, we regret their inclusion in a volume which otherwise is a valuable contribution to exact science and is pervaded by a genuinely religious spirit.

WILLIAM SPIERS.

CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE AND HISTORICAL FACT

ONE of the most characteristic signs of our times is the increasing importance which is being attached to experience. On all sides it is being recognized that the starting-point of an adequate philosophy of religion must be an analysis of the contents of experience. Those who have contended for a due recognition of the place of this factor in religion cannot but welcome this tendency, and hope that by the co-operation of new allies an experimental theology will be built up on surer and broader foundations. Theology cannot be saved from an unprogressive dogmatism and a hide-bound intellectualism unless it returns again and again to experience. The justification of theological progress and doctrinal restatement lies in the fact that Christian experience is being ever widened and deepened by the operation of the immanent Spirit of God. At the same time it is necessary to enter a *caveat*, lest in our confidence that the superstructure of experience is proof against every storm, we allow the foundations to be undermined. Two dangers from this direction beset the cause of Christianity to-day. In the first place the prevalence of certain critical theories indicates that it is in peril of being wounded in the house of its friends. The Christ of faith is separated from the Jesus of history, and it is imagined that the gospel suffers no loss in the process. The danger is all the more subtle inasmuch as many of the critics in question are not consciously the foes of the gospel, but its avowed friends. In the second place we must beware lest the certitude begotten by the reality of Christian experience beget in us indifference and even indolence in the face of the perplexing intellectual problems which confront us. Nothing could

be more disastrous to the Christian Faith than that it should be cut adrift from philosophy and history. Our concern in the present article is with the relation of faith to history.

The point at issue is not as to whether Jesus Christ actually lived. The evidence for His historicity is not disputed by any serious and impartial students. The question to be determined is rather, Does it matter whether He lived or not? Is there any vital and necessary connexion between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith? Dr. Schmiedel has written: 'My inmost religious convictions would suffer no harm, even if I now felt obliged to conclude that Jesus never lived.' Such a statement is clear enough, and raises the issue definitely in our minds. But the same cannot be said of the statements made by those who use the ordinary theological terminology, and claim the right to use it, but attach to it a totally different meaning from that which it conveys to the mind of the ordinary believer. No one who believes in the necessity of doctrinal development will contend that theological terms must have a fixed and unalterable meaning. But any change must be in the direction of deepening their content. To use them to represent a different set of ideas is only to introduce confusion. It is here that the Modernists appear to be rendering a disservice to the cause of Christian truth. Every Protestant must sympathize with them in their revolt against an authority which strangles free thought and discussion; but we must not allow our sympathy to shut our eyes to the fact that the Modernists offer us a Christ of faith whose relationship to the Jesus of history is of the scantiest. Loisy's teaching is thus summarized by Dr. Inge: 'The Christ whom the Church worships is the product of Christian faith and love. He is a purely ideal figure; and it betrays a total absence of the historical sense, and a total inability to distinguish between things so essentially different as Faith and fact, to seek for His likeness in the Prophet of Nazareth.'

These tendencies are not confined to Roman Catholic Modernist circles; they are at work among Protestants both on the Continent and at home. Prof. Arnold Meyer, of Zurich, for instance, contends that Paul's 'Heavenly Christ is, in spite of, and indeed, because of His alien garment of earth, a genuinely Gnostic creation, wherewith the historical form of Jesus of Nazareth is shrouded.'[1] The 'Jesus or Christ?' controversy in the *Hibbert Journal* will be fresh in the mind of the reader. One of the leaders of the New Theology movement has recently written, 'What is the word of the hour? The declaration that Christianity is independent of history. . . . Religion must not make the belief in the occurrence or non-occurrence of specific historical events any part of its essence. The basis of religion is not historical but spiritual, not physical and local but universal and eternal, and we must be prepared to admit this not only with regard to such alleged events as the Virgin Birth, and the physical Resurrection, but with regard to the existence of Jesus as an historical person.'[2] No one would seriously contend that Evangelical Christianity stands or falls according as it is able to resist the attacks of criticism upon the authenticity of all the events recorded in the Gospels. Many orthodox theologians, while themselves believing in the Virgin Birth, admit that its denial need make no difference to the view held of the Person of Christ. Christianity is based not so much upon a number of facts, events, and miracles, as upon the one supreme fact that in Jesus Christ the very Nature and Life of God were manifested, and were active for our redemption. To set the spiritual in opposition to the historical is to make ourselves the victims of a false alternative, for history rightly interpreted is the

[1] *Jesus or Paul*, p. 24.

[2] Dr. K. C. Anderson in the *Christian Commonwealth*, March 9, 1910. See also an article by the same writer in the *Hibbert Journal*, January 1911. The theory is developed at length, and with considerable dogmatism, by Prof. A. Drews in *The Christ Myth*.

record of the progressive development of the Spiritual Life in man, and its triumph over opposition. Again, there could not be a greater perversion of the facts than the implication that Christianity supplies religion with a basis that is purely local and physical. A doctrine of incarnation is no more physical than a vague doctrine of immanence, often barely distinguishable from pantheism. In each case the Divine is conceived of as tabernacling in the flesh, but in the one case the rays of life and light are dispersed, while in the other they are focused. The Incarnation, so far from localizing the revelation, universalizes it. The lens of the lighthouse lamp focuses the rays of light to a point, but only in order that it may pass them out again, spreading their beams in every direction.

I. Before proceeding to discuss the reasons for the necessary dependence of Christian faith on history, it may be well to draw attention to the fact that, rightly or wrongly, this faith has always sought an historical basis. As a simple matter of history, from earliest days the Christ of faith has been inseparably connected with Jesus of Nazareth, and before any question of *necessary* dependence is raised, this *actual* dependence has to be explained. If the figure of Jesus is to be attenuated so that He becomes merely an amiable Prophet, more or less fanatical, more or less misguided, and of whom moral perfection cannot be predicated, we are bound to ask whether this is the kind of basis likely to be chosen by Paul or John, whereon to rear the edifice of Christian doctrine. Was Jesus of Nazareth, the more or less ignorant and imperfect peasant-dreamer, the kind of figure which Paul was likely to choose for the Gnosticizing process which was to produce the Heavenly Christ, whom he should preach to Greece and Rome for their salvation? For let it be remembered that Paul presses the connexion between the Christ of faith and the Jesus of history up to its utmost limits. 'If Christ has not been raised, then is our preaching vain; your faith also is vain.'

It may be said that Paul was influenced by myths and legends which gathered round Jesus of Nazareth, and especially by the story of His miraculous resurrection. But that is to forget that such stories were not of themselves likely to produce a very profound impression upon the mind of one who lived in a world which was dominated by magic and superstition. There were other stories accessible to him, encircled with the halo of the supernatural, and free from the stumbling-block of association with the gibbet. But it may be replied that the development of Paul's thought is to be explained by the fact that his life was transformed by a vision which he saw, and which he associated with the crucified Jesus of Nazareth. This, however, is to grant the existence of a psychological connexion between Paul's faith and the historical Jesus. Again, it may be contended that Paul, in his elaboration of his sublime idea of the Heavenly Christ, unconsciously and sincerely indulged in an apotheosis of Jesus of Nazareth which went far beyond the facts. But this leads us into the dilemma that the supreme error of history has been the most potent influence on the side of truth and righteousness. However certain critics may distinguish between the Jesus of the Synoptics and the Christ of the Epistles, there can be no doubt that ordinary believers never have drawn such a distinction, and are conscious of no contradiction between them. They have forsaken their sins in obedience to the call of the Divine Prophet of Nazareth, and as their Christian life has developed they have entered into the mystic experience of union with the Living Christ. But it is the attraction of the historical Jesus which is the starting-point of the process; communion with the Heavenly Christ belongs to the deeper ranges of Christian experience. The Ritschlians are lacking in sympathy with the mystical side of the religious life, but they are right when they say that the starting-point of Christian experience is an apprehension of the inner life of the historical Jesus. As Herrmann

writes, 'When we speak of the historical Christ, we mean that personal life of Jesus which speaks to us from the New Testament, as the disciples' testimony to their faith, but which, when we perceive it, always comes to us as a miraculous revelation. That historical research cannot give us this we *know*, but neither will it take this from us by any of its discoveries.'[1] The last clause cannot be too strongly emphasized. To accept the historical Jesus as the starting-point of our Christian life is not to stake our faith on the authenticity or historical accuracy of every detail in the narratives. When the most destructive criticism has done its worst the portrait of the inner life of Jesus remains, unless, indeed, all the documents be dismissed as a tissue of myth and legend. Even Schmiedel's famous 'nine foundation pillars' method of criticism, as applied by himself, leaves it untouched. 'We must work upon the principle that, together with the "foundation pillars," and as a result of them, everything in the first three Gospels deserves belief which would tend to establish Jesus' greatness, provided that it harmonizes with the picture produced by the foundation-pillars, and in other respects does not raise suspicion. And this gives us pretty well the whole bulk of Jesus' teaching, in so far as its object is to explain in a purely religious and ethical way what God requires of man, and wherein man receives comfort and consolation from God. This, moreover, is the point that has marked His importance throughout the centuries, which unites all schools of theology, divided as they are in so many other ways, and, strictly speaking, all Confessions as well, and forms a link between an innumerable army of men and women, standing quite aloof from the Churches, and the professed followers of Jesus, enfolding all in a great invisible Church.'[2]

II. The argument can be carried further. It can be shown that Christian experience has a *necessary* foundation in the

[1] *Communion with God*, p. 78 f.
[2] *Jesus in Modern Criticism*, p. 27 f.

facts of history, from which, if it be cut adrift, it loses authority, and becomes a series of subjective phenomena, the validity of which cannot satisfactorily be proved.

Before proceeding further, it is important to distinguish the different senses in which the word 'fact' is used. In its bearing upon external history the meaning is clear; it refers to some event that has actually happened. But when the word is used in reference to the phenomena of inner experience, its meaning is more ambiguous. A psychical phenomenon, such as a vision, may be a fact of experience without standing in any known relation to reality. Even a mental hallucination is a fact of consciousness. Such phenomena are facts only in the sense that they have actually happened; they are not facts in the sense that they have any correspondence with reality.

Bearing this distinction in mind, we must endeavour to ascertain the nature of facts of faith. We may define them as those inner spiritual experiences which are so verified and validated as to convince us of their correspondence with truth, and thus justify us in weaving them into the fabric of our beliefs. We must be careful not to draw too rigid a line of demarcation between facts of history and facts of faith, for the one may become the other. The spiritual experiences, and the beliefs which sprang therefrom, of prophets and psalmists, of Paul, Luther, and Wesley, though belonging to the sphere of the inner life, are all facts of history; and every one whose faith has been strengthened by these pioneers is, so far at any rate, building upon the basis of historical fact.

But how are we to distinguish between valid and invalid facts of consciousness? The process of verification is two-fold—inward and outward. In the first place, we bring our inner experiences to the test of reason, and of our deep-seated intuitions. Our intuitions are a variable and uncertain standard, which we can only use with great caution. But it would not be right to rule them out of court, for, despite their name, many of them are not immediate apprehensions of truth, but are rather convictions, the overwhelming prob-

ability of whose truth has been established by the age-long experience of mankind. Reason, too, is an inconstant standard, the value of which will vary according to the knowledge and intellectual power and balance of those who exercise it. An individual may attend a religious service, and, under its influence, may experience a sudden conversion. If he is uneducated, he will probably at once leap to the conclusion that the experience is spiritual. But if he has some acquaintance with psychology, the problem will seem more complicated, and in the calm hours of the following day he will ask himself whether he has been under spiritual or merely psychical influences. His answer will still be (*pace* the psychologists) that the experience was spiritual, but it is evident that the wider his enlightenment, the more complete is the process of inner verification.

But inner verification, however deep-seated the intuitions and enlightened the reason, rarely yields complete satisfaction. Doubtless spiritual experiences often appear to verify themselves *to the experient*, and, for himself, he may ask for no further authentication, though he will inevitably have his moments of doubt. But if he is anxious to convince others of their validity, he must seek for some external support. One man will not accept the truth of an experience which is unknown to him, because another, to whom it is known, regards it as self-authenticated. As a consequence, we generally search the outer world for evidence in confirmation of the judgements of the inner consciousness. We analyse the experiences of mankind, as revealed in literature and history, and in daily intercourse, and we ask: (1) How far are our inner experiences and beliefs shared by other men? (2) How far is their truth evidenced by the fruit which they produce in character and conduct? (3) Are there any well-attested facts of history to which we may appeal as explaining them, or as corroborative evidence of their truth? Take, for instance, the experience of communion with God. The consciousness of communion may become to the experient,

after inner verification, a fact of faith. If he discovers that other worshippers have shared his experience, and have interpreted it in the same sense, the probability of the truth of his conviction is strengthened, and his faith is quickened. If, further, he finds that this belief is exercising a beneficent influence not only on his character and conduct, but on that of multitudes of others who share it, his faith receives a fresh reinforcement. But still absolute confidence is not engendered. There is even yet the haunting fear that he and his fellows are the victims of subjective illusions. There is still a test that he can apply. Can any fact be adduced from history which proves conclusively that God does not hold Himself aloof from men, but has entered into fellowship with them? The Christian reply is that such an event is manifest in the Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that His inner life is a revelation of the life of fellowship with God lived under the limited conditions of our mortal flesh. If this reply be apprehended, the fact of faith in question passes from the sphere of probability into that of a certitude which cannot be shaken.

To take another illustration, the hope of immortality is a fact of faith, answering to deep-seated intuitions, harmonizing with the reason, and satisfying the pragmatic test. But, despite this concurrence of testimony, Plato's *Phaedo* and Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality* can never transform the hope of immortality into a universal and invincible faith. We only enter the sphere of certitude when history reveals One who burst the bands of death, and who, calling on us to link our life to His, says, 'Because I live, ye shall live also.' Complete certitude as to facts of faith can only be reached when they are confirmed by an historical revelation. Faith in Christ can therefore only be proved valid if there has occurred an historical fact adequate to the production of the faith. Such a fact is the historical Jesus of Nazareth.

There are those who find difficulty in the thought of the Eternal manifesting Himself under temporal conditions.

Loisy has said that the historian never encounters God in history. It need hardly be said that this leads to a deistic view of the universe, and deprives Christ as a 'fact of faith' of all objective reality. Most Protestant Modernists emphasize the doctrine of the Divine Immanence, but it is difficult to attach any clear meaning to that doctrine unless it involves the manifestation of the Eternal under the conditions of time. Why should Incarnation be any more derogatory to the divine nature than Immanence? If the divine method in nature is evolution, it is not surprising that the method pursued in the spiritual sphere should be that of an ever-deepening immanental revelation, culminating in Incarnation. Any one who reads of the operations of the pre-incarnate Logos, as described in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel, must feel, as he is led from stage to stage, that he is moving towards a climax which is inevitable—'the Logos became flesh and dwelt among us.' To conceive of Jesus Christ as the crown and culmination of a long process of revelation is not to destroy His unique Sonship, or to regard Him simply as the greatest of mankind. What differentiates Him from the holiest of our race is that He shines with a light that is self-kindled and self-fed, while they are but broken lights of the Logos that was incarnate in Him. The moon shines in the night with a radiance which it borrows from the sun. As morning approaches, its light is gradually merged in that of the sun. What has happened is not merely that a lesser light has been lost in a greater, but that one which shone with a borrowed radiance has made way for one which shines with a lustre and glory wholly its own. The Logos was immanent in all the great teachers of antiquity, Jewish and pagan, and they shone with a radiance derived from Him. The incarnation of Jesus Christ was not simply the emergence of a greater light, but the rising of the Sun which shone with the effulgence of the Father's glory. This does not mean that the Incarnation, by crowning, ended the process of immanental revelation. That process continues with a deeper fullness, and the

truth concerning it is embodied in the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The Divine Immanence is thus no longer merely a speculative deduction from experience; it is grounded in the historical fact of the Incarnation.

Justice can never be done to Christianity unless it be remembered that it is not a philosophy but a gospel. It is not the offspring of faith, but its supreme creator. It is more than a system of experimental philosophy; it is that Divine Word of which Plato spoke, which offers for life's voyage a securer vessel than the frail raft of philosophy. The exercise of reason and intuition are not to be decried, but revelation through immanence cannot yield the certainty of a revelation which is centred in a great historic Fact. Herrmann is right when he says, 'God makes Himself known to us, so that we may recognize Him, through *a fact on the strength of which we are able to believe Him*. No doctrines of any kind can do more than tell us how we ought to represent God to ourselves. No doctrine can bring it about that there shall arise in our hearts the full certainty that God actually exists for us; only a fact can inspire such confidence within us. Now we Christians hold that we know only one fact in the world which can overthrow every doubt of the reality of God, namely, the appearance of Jesus in history, the story of which has been preserved for us in the New Testament. Our certainty of God may be kindled by many other experiences, but has ultimately its firmest basis in the fact that within the realm of history to which we ourselves belong, we encounter the Man Jesus as an undoubted reality.'[1] To take only a few of the cardinal truths of Christianity, the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God would be nothing more than an unverifiable intuition were it not that One has appeared in history who lived in intimate communion with God, and who initiated, and still initiates, men into a like fellowship. Of what use is it to tell men on the authority of philosophic or mystic speculation, that God's

[1] *Communion with God*, p. 59 f.

purpose is to redeem the world? He who would go forth so commissioned must be sadly lacking in a knowledge of the human mind and heart, if he expects his message to carry conviction. But his word is immediately clothed with unassailable authority if, basing himself upon history, he can say, 'God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself,' 'God commendeth His love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.' The same line of argument might be applied to other great doctrines of our faith. The simple truth is that, if Christian doctrine is deduced merely from the contents of experience, it cannot plead the authority which belongs to it if grounded in the great historic fact, 'The Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth.'

This does not mean that the birth of the Christian life within the soul is dependent merely on the intellectual apprehension of an historical fact. The formal acceptance of the Jesus of history has no value for the soul if it be not accompanied by spiritual vision. Faith is not the mere acceptance of a fact, but responsiveness and surrender to the influence of the fact. The Ritschlians have rendered a great service by concentrating attention on the inner life of Jesus, and the necessity of bringing ourselves under its transforming power. But Evangelical theology ventures further than Ritschl and Herrmann, and claims that those who enter into the meaning and come under the power of the inner life of Jesus, being crucified and buried with Him, rise with Him into newness of life, and thus experience daily fellowship with the Living Christ. In the last analysis, then, the Christian life does not consist in the mere acceptance of intellectual dogmas or historical facts, but in the spiritual experience of fellowship with the Living Christ. The experience is validated by the history; the history is attested and interpreted by the experience.

H. Maldwyn Hughes.

LITERATURE AND THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIAL REFORM

A Modern Humanist. B. KIRKMAN GRAY. (Fifield.)
Reminiscences of the English Lake Poets. DE QUINCEY. (Dent.)
Ideas of Good and Evil. W. B. YEATS. (A. H. Bullen.)
Wordsworth. THOMAS HUTCHINSON. (Henry Frowde.)
Shelley. E. DOWDEN. (Macmillan.)
The Prophetic Books of William Blake. MACLAGAN & RUSSELL. (A. H. Bullen.)

GRUB STREET journalism rather than literature proper has been the too common vehicle for the printed warfare of social agitation. Pamphlet, leaflet, paper and book on social reform, however earnest in purpose, have usually been crude in style, devoid of literary grace and merit. But little will survive as literature. Seldom indeed have the great masters of literature and style, either in prose or poetry, been preoccupied with social questions. But there are brilliant exceptions, and the volumes above indicate some of them.

The earliest of those exceptions, in relation to the modern social movement, is William Blake (1751–1827), poet, artist, and mystic. He may be said to be the harbinger, in English literature, of the movement for social reform. Much could be written of Blake in this relation. His hatred of oppression and tyranny, of greed and avarice and of Mammonism, was only equalled by his love and pity for the poor, for helpless and tortured children, and for dumb creatures. Blake also conceived of 'the city' as an entity, and 'saw its pattern in the mount.' A perusal of his prose and poetry with these facts in view brings to light an amazing depth of desire for a new and nobler social era. The late B. Kirkman Gray, in

his delightful chapter on 'The Mind of a Londoner,' says that Blake's 'thoughts seem to me of the highest value, and are such as, had they been attended to at the time, might have saved us from much of the misery of the last century.' Blake's prophetic book *Jerusalem* was an essay on what might be called the higher citizenship. 'His one criticism,' says Gray, 'of actual politics (or civics) deals with its tendency to repress or deaden the human imagination. His own ideal is the full freedom of imaginative life.' This, as we shall see later, was also Shelley's indictment of industrial society. Mr. W. B. Yeats, a modern poet of rare quality, joins in this indictment, and affirms, 'Nor can things be better till that ten thousand have gone hither and thither to preach their faith that "the imagination is the man himself," and that the world as imagination sees it, is the durable world, and has won men as did the disciples of Him who

> His seventy disciples sent
> Against religion and government.'

These lines are a quotation from Blake, who in his *Jerusalem* declares that 'those who are cast out (of heaven) are all those who, having no passions (imagination) of their own, because no intellect, have spent their lives in curbing and governing other people's lives by the various arts of poverty and cruelty of all kinds. The modern Church crucifies Christ with the head downwards. Woe! woe! woe! to you hypocrites!' Blake declared that he 'knew of no other Christianity, and of no other gospel, than the liberty both of body and mind to exercise the Divine Art of Imagination.' Hence his resolution was 'not to cease from mental fight, till he had built Jerusalem,' or the freedom of the imaginative life in man, 'in England's green and pleasant land.' To Blake, as understood by Kirkman Gray, Art and Citizenship were one. Art was Blake's mode of citizenship. His service to the city was not to be its Lord Mayor. He has, if power be his, to reveal his fellows to themselves as human wonders, to startle them into clearer visions

of their own nature and destiny, to quicken in them whole-souled energy of life and joy. This was his task. And right nobly he fulfilled it—little as he was heeded. He dreaded the commercial spirit. 'Empires flourish,' he cried, 'till they become commercial, and then they are scattered to the four winds.' John Linnell, who knew Blake personally, writing to Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet, says that Blake 'feared nothing so much as being rich, lest he should lose his spiritual riches.' Blake corroborates this by his poem on 'Blessed are the Poor in Spirit.'

> Then if for riches I must not pray,
> God knows it's little prayer I need say,
> I am in God's presence night and day,
> He never turns His face away.

To quote Kirkman Gray again: 'When Blake wandered through the quarters of the city, he felt the human significance of what he beheld. To the Blakean imagination every street-cry and every window-blind is alive with the divine comedy of existence. The citizen of London is he who has the inmost quality of the London life most clearly fashioned to imaginative power in brain and nerve and blood, whose individual mind thrills with the spiritual meaning of the city.' It is this high conception that Professor Patrick Geddes, with his new science of 'Civics,' is trying with tardy success to instil into the minds of modern citizens. But Blake was keenly alive to the real as well as the visionary or the ideal-real. All around him he beheld the miseries of men. In strong, stern, symbolic verse he cries—

> Minute particulars (men) in slavery I behold among the brick-kilns
> Disorganized; and there is Pharaoh in his iron court.

His deep social sympathy comes out in numerous poems of *The Songs of Innocence* and *The Songs of Experience* series; such as 'Riches,' 'The Little Black Boy,' 'The Chimney Sweeper,' 'Gwin, King of Norway,' 'The Divine Image,' and the 'Holy Thursday,' of the latter series—

For where'er the sun does shine,
And where'er the rain does fall,
Babes should never hunger there,
Nor poverty the mind appal.

'The Little Vagabond' is an arraignment of an apathetic Christian Church for its neglect of the social side of Christianity. 'Go tell them,' he cries in *Jerusalem*, 'that the worship of God is honouring His gifts in other men; loving the greatest men best, each according to his Genius, which is the Holy Ghost in man; there is no other God than that God who is the intellectual fountain of Humanity.' In his *London*, too, as he 'wanders through each chartered street,' he sees in every face 'marks of weakness, marks of woe'; in every sound, 'the mind-forged manacles I hear!'

How the chimney-sweeper's cry
Every blackened Church appals!
And the hapless soldier's sigh
Runs in blood down palace walls!

His *Auguries of Innocence* has many fine lines full of noble social teaching, and instinct with a spirit of compassion—

The bleat, the bark, the bellow and roar
Are waves that beat on Heaven's shore!
. . . . .
Nought can deform the human race
Like to the armourer's iron brace:
The soldier armed with sword and gun,
Palsied strikes the summer's sun.
. . . . .
One mite wrung from labourers' hands
Shall buy and sell the miser's lands,
Or, if protected from on high,
Shall that whole nation sell and buy.

The following remarkable song, too, is of pregnant social import, anticipating much modern sophistry.

I heard a Devil curse
Over the heath and the furse,
'Mercy could be no more
If there were nobody poor.

And pity no more could be
If all were as happy as ye:
And mutual fear—brings peace!
Misery's increase
Are mercy, pity, peace!'

At his curse, the sun went down
And the Heavens gave a frown!

Blake's own social convictions were very different, and are expressed thus in his *Jerusalem*—

Friendship and Brotherhood: without it Man is not!
Man subsists by Brotherhood and Universal Love.
Man liveth not by self alone, but in his brother's face
Each shall behold the Eternal Father, and love and joy abound!

If William Blake be the literary harbinger of modern social reform, then Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) is its stormy petrel. His magnificent prose is full of portents of the coming social and political storm. In his grand *Defence of Poetry*, declared by Mr. W. B. Yeats to be 'the profoundest essay on the foundation of poetry in English,' he strikes at once the new social note. 'The social sympathies, or those laws from which, as from its elements, society results, begin to develop themselves from the moment that two human beings co-exist.' Then come words, remarkable in their prescience, written as they were at the outset of the Industrial Revolution: 'Whilst the mechanic (machine-owner) abridges, and the political economist combines labour, let them beware that their speculations, for want of correspondence with those first principles which belong to the imagination, do not tend, as they have in modern England, *to exasperate at once the extremes of luxury and want.* They have exemplified the saying, "To him that hath, more shall be given, and from him that hath not, the little that he hath shall be taken away." *The rich become richer and the poor become poorer*, and the vessel of the State is driven between the Scylla and Charybdis of anarchy and despotism. Such are the effects which must ever flow from an unmitigated

exercise of the calculating faculty.' The words italicized are often quoted in ignorance of their distinguished source. In this matter, indeed, Shelley was a seer. Hear him again: 'We have more moral, political, and historical wisdom than we know how to reduce into practice; we have more scientific and economic knowledge than can be accommodated to the just distribution of the product which it multiplies. . . . To what but a cultivation of the mechanical arts in a degree disproportionate to the presence of the creative faculty, which is the basis of all knowledge, is to be attributed the abuse of all inventions for abridging and combining labour, to the exasperation of the inequality of mankind? From what other cause has it arisen that the discoveries which should have lightened, have added a weight to the curse imposed on Adam? Poetry, and the principle of Self, of which money is the visible incarnation, are the God, and the Mammon, of the World!'

In his *Essay on Christianity* (1820), written before Tolstoi was born, Shelley anticipates the Russian prophet in his application of the teaching of Jesus to modern civilization. He tests it with the very same 'five commandments of Jesus,' in the Sermon on the Mount: 'The absurd and execrable doctrine of vengeance, in *all its shapes*, seems to have been contemplated by this great moralist with the profoundest disapprobation. . . . The emptiness and folly of retaliation are apparent from every example which can be brought forward.' He declares that Jesus 'tramples upon all the received opinions, on all the cherished luxuries and superstitions of mankind.' In his quotation from Isaiah in the synagogue at Nazareth, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,' &c., Christ gave 'an enunciation of all that Plato and Diogenes had speculated upon the equality of mankind. . . . It is impossible to read those passionate words in which Jesus Christ upbraids the pusillanimity and sensuality of mankind without being strongly reminded of the more connected and systematic enthusiasm of Rousseau.'

A remark which evidences at once Shelley's simplicity in missing the connexion between teacher and scholar, and indicates also the source of much of his own inspiration. That he would have been no blind Tolstoyan is evident also from the remark that 'nothing is more obviously false than that the remedy for the inequality of men consists in their return to the condition of savages and beasts. . . . It cannot be believed that Jesus Christ endeavoured to prevail on the inhabitants of Jerusalem not to till their fields, nor frame a shelter against the sky, nor to provide food for to-morrow.' But 'no labour is to be expended on mechanism consecrated to luxury and pride.' As to governments, 'their very subsistence depends upon the system of injustice and violence which they have been devised to palliate.' The inequalities of mankind are 'virtually abolished wherever *justice* is practised; and they are abolished in precise proportion to the prevalence of true virtue.' Nevertheless, regarding the failure of the voluntary Communism of the Early Church, he believed that the same end will be secured when 'every man, in proportion to his virtue, considers himself, in respect to the great community of mankind, as the steward and guardian of their interests, in the property he chances to possess.' Shelley held that a social system of equality 'is a system which must result from, rather than precede, the moral improvement of mankind.' The ethical factor in reform is prior to the economic. 'Liberty,' he cried, in 'The Masque of Anarchy,' 'is love,' and can make the rich man kiss its feet, and, like those who followed Christ, give away his goods, and follow it through the world. As Mr. W. B. Yeats says, Shelley 'does not believe that the reformation of society can bring this beauty, this divine order, among men, without the regeneration of the hearts of men.' Mr. E. C. Stedman thinks that 'the world is slowly learning that Shelley's office was ethical.' Mr. Stopford Brooke, too, holds that Shelley makes 'an ever-increasing number of men feel that the character of God cannot be in antagonism to the

moralities of the heart, and that the destiny He willed for mankind must be as universal and as just and loving as Himself.'[1] As Mr. G. S. Woodberry has justly said, Shelley 'was one of those born to bear the suffering of the world not in a sentimental or metaphorical sense. He had seen the marks of the devastation of the war in France; he knew the state of the people under tyrannical rule; he was as well aware of the degradation of the English masses as of the stagnation of Italy. Wherever he looked the fruits of government were poverty, ignorance, hopelessness in vast bodies of mankind.' He truly says that 'all those with whom social justice is a watchword, and the development of the individual everywhere in liberty, intelligence, and virtue is a cherished hope, must be thankful that Shelley lived, that the substance of his work is so vital, and his influence, inspiring as it is beyond that of any of our poets in these ways, was, and is, so completely on the way of the century's advance.' It is easy to quote direct from Shelley in illustration of this. There are the two social propositions laid down, for instance, in his *Declaration of Rights* (1812), Article 28: 'No man has a right to monopolize more than he can enjoy; what the rich give to the poor, whilst millions are starving, is not perfect favour, but an imperfect right.' Article 29: 'Each man has a right to a certain degree of knowledge. He may, before he ought!' Similar teaching can be found in abundance in 'Queen Mab,' 'The Revolt of Islam,' and 'Prometheus Unbound.' The following verses, from 'The Masque of Anarchy' (1819), evoked by the 'Massacre of Peterloo,' are typical—

Men of England, heirs of glory!
Heroes of unwritten story!
Nurslings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her, and one another!
Rise like lions after slumber

. . . . .

[1] *Essay on Shelley.*

> In unvanquishable number,
> Shake your chains to earth like dew,
> Which in sleep have fallen on you—
> Ye are many—they are few!'

His 'Ode to Liberty' is another stirring social lyric, and so also is his 'Song of England,' beginning—

> Men of England, wherefore plough
> For the men who lay ye low?

The fact is undoubted that it was really Shelley's powerful voice, the voice of poetic genius which could not be ignored, which first awoke England to the cause of social justice after the reaction which followed the excesses of the French Revolution.

Wordsworth (1770–1850) greeted the French Revolution with rapture :—

> Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven.

But its savagery repelled and appalled him, and he went politically over to the Reaction in England. Yet though animadverted upon bitterly by Shelley, he never lost his hatred of the mercenary spirit, the greed of gain. He never made terms with the evils of the 'new industry' which he felt or foresaw. To the end he remained the friend of the working classes. No better proof could be given of this than his discussion of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 in his *Postscript* to the 1835 edition of his poems. That discussion is really germane to the present discussion of the Poor Law Commission Report of 1909. Wordsworth lays it down with vigour that '*all* persons who cannot find employment, or procure wages sufficient to support the body in health and strength, are entitled to a maintenance by law,' and declares that it is 'a principle which cannot be violated without infringing upon one of the most precious rights of the English people, and opposing one of the most sacred claims of humanity.' He suspects the Act of 1834

of doing that. He denies that the above legal right tends to the degradation of the people: 'the direct contrary is the truth: it may be unanswerably maintained that its tendency is to raise, not to depress, by stamping a value upon life, which can belong to it only where the laws have placed men who are willing to work, and yet cannot find employment, above the necessity of looking for protection from hunger and other natural evils, either to individual or casual charity, to despair and death, or to the breach of law by theft or violence.' He adds: 'I am compelled to believe that their "remedial measures" obstruct the application of it more than the interests of society require.' He is suspicious too of 'the doctrines of political economy which are now prevalent'—the new orthodox economy—and history has amply justified him. He maintains that 'the right of the State to require the service of its members, even to the jeopardy of their lives in the common defence, establishes a right in the people (not to be gainsaid by utilitarians and economists) to public support when, from any cause, they may be unable to support themselves.' Similar sentiments to-day—sentiments coming from a so-called 'reactionary Conservative'—would be stigmatized as 'Socialism'!

Wordsworth, in the same excellent postscript, goes on to ask, 'May we not still contend for the duty of a Christian government, standing *in loco parentis* towards all its subjects, to make such effectual provision, that no one shall be in danger of perishing either through the neglect or harshness of its legislation?' This notable question is not yet fully answered in the affirmative. It indicates a new conception of the functions of the State in relation to its members, and one which steadily developed all through the nineteenth century. Wordsworth asks in the same postscript whether men left to 'casual charity' are not worse off than North American Indians in the snow, or savage Islanders seeking food from the sea. He believes that 'systems of

political economy, widely spread, impugn the principle of the right to subsistence.' He meets, too, those who affirm that 'every man who endeavours to find work *may* find it,' by answering that 'were this assertion capable of being verified, there would still remain a question—what kind of work, and how far may the labourer be fit for it?' This he discusses in an enlightened and *twentieth*-century manner. He contends, and this in 1885, that unemployment is due to causes over which workmen often have no control: 'large masses of men are liable to be thrown out of their ordinary means of gaining bread, by changes in commercial intercourse, and by reckless laws, in conformity to theories of political economy, which, whether right or wrong in the abstract, have proved a scourge to tens of thousands by the abruptness with which they have been carried into practice.' He maintains that 'a sense of honour may be revived among the people, and their ancient habits of independence restored, without reverting to those securities which the new Poor Law Act (1834) has introduced.' He maintains that it 'proceeds too much upon the presumption that it is a labouring man's own fault if he be not, as the phrase is, beforehand with the world.'

Wordsworth holds that 'it is better for the interests of humanity among the people at large that ten undeserving should partake of the funds provided, than that one morally good man, through want of relief, should have his principles corrupted or his energies destroyed—than that such an one should either be driven to do wrong, or be cast to the earth in utter hopelessness.' Wordsworth's enlightened attitude towards poor-law questions is too little known.

His attitude towards the Factory System and the spirit of greed in which it was being worked was equally enlightened. Take this from the 'Prelude'—

> How dire a thing
> Is worshipped in that idol, proudly named
> The Wealth of Nations (Bk. xiii.)—

an oblique reference, no doubt, to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and to all for which it stood. In the eighth book of the 'Excursion' he laments the rise and the miseries of the Factory System. This factory—

> This temple, wherein is offered up
> To Gain, the master-idol of this realm,
> Perpetual sacrifice.

He will not admit that the increase of wealth compensates for the withdrawal of men from country to city, from agriculture to manufacture—

> Economists will tell you that the State
> Thrives by the forfeiture—unfeeling thought,
> And false as monstrous.

In the ninth book of the 'Excursion' he poetizes admirably the well-known Kantian principle concerning the use of men as means, not ends—

> Our life is turned
> Out of her course, wherever man is made
> An offering, or a sacrifice, a tool
> Or implement, a passive thing employed
> As a brute mean, without acknowledgement
> Of common right, or interest in the end.

He laments the loss of 'merry England,' and says of industrial tyranny, with its toll in the lives of women and children—

> But no one takes delight
> In this oppression, none are proud of it;
> It bears no sounding name, nor ever bore.
> A standing grievance, an indignant vice
> Of every country under heaven!

Instead of the industrial oppression of children, he calls for universal education, and prophetically beholds England—

> Binding herself by statute to secure
> For all the children whom her soil maintains
> The rudiments of letters, and to inform
> The mind with moral and religious truth.

Wordsworth had no conception of education which

neglects character, the culture of virtue and of a Christian conscience. The necessity of this for England is urgent, for—

> The discipline of slavery is unknown
> Among us—hence the more do we require
> The discipline of virtue ; order else
> Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace.
> With such foundation laid, avaunt the fear
> Of numbers crowded on their native soil.

The Malthusian dread of over-population does not affect this great far-seeing patriot, given right public policies. He answers optimistically his own query—

> Shall that blest day arrive
> When they whose choice or lot it is to dwell
> In crowded cities, without fear shall live
> Studious of mutual benefit ? . . .
> The law of faith
> Working through love, such conquest shall it gain,
> Such triumph over sin and guilt.

This is the social creed also of William Blake and of Shelley. The glimpses given of Wordsworth's social sympathies quite justify B. Kirkman Gray in saying that 'it would, I think, be difficult to overrate the influence of Wordsworth, even on the limited sphere of sociology, at any rate it is much undervalued.'[1] Certainly both John Stuart Mill and F. D. Maurice were influenced by him, and before them still greater men, namely, Southey and Coleridge. In fact, through Wordsworth and Coleridge came the early school of the Christian Socialists. That very great man, Coleridge, despite the handicap of opium, exerted a formative influence upon poetry, criticism, philosophy, theology, and sociology. Take a few of his aphorisms and sentiments in *Table Talk* upon social subjects. 'The national debt has made more men rich than have a right to be so, or rather, than have any ultimate power, in case of a struggle, of actualizing their riches.' His opinion on the Poor Laws, too, can be

[1] *Philanthropy and the State*, p. 21.

gathered from the following: 'Poor laws are the inevitable accompaniments of an extensive commerce and a manufacturing system. . . . It is absurd to talk of Queen Elizabeth's Act as creating the poor laws of this country. The poor-rates are the consideration paid by, or on behalf of, capitalists, from having labour at demand'—this in 1823, when such words as 'capitalists,' 'demand,' and 'labour,' were comparative novelties. In 1830 he delivered himself of the following definition of democracy: 'A democracy, according to the prescript of pure reason, would, in fact, be a church. There would be focal points in it, but no superior.' In 1831 he objected to tampering with representative government and converting it 'into a degrading delegation of the populace. There is no unity for a people but in a representation of national interests; a delegation from the passions or wishes of the individuals themselves is a rope of sand.' In the same year he made the memorable remark, 'I will defy any one to answer the arguments of a Saint-Simonist except on the ground of Christianity—its precepts and its assurances.' A wise saying also is it 'that in proportion as democratical power is strong, the strength of the central government ought to be intense—otherwise the nation will fall to pieces.'

Coleridge, like Wordsworth, was against Malthusianism. He says in 1832: 'Is it not lamentable—is it not even marvellous—that the monstrous practical sophism of Malthus should now have gotten complete possession of the leading men of the kingdom? Such an essential lie in morality—such a practical lie in fact too!' And time has vindicated them both. Neither had he any patience with the new 'science' of political economy: 'What solemn humbug this modern political economy is! At the highest it can never be a true science,' and goes on to demonstrate it. Very modern, too, are his sentiments uttered in 1833: 'I should like to see a well-graduated property tax. . . . One common objection to a property tax is, that it tends to diminish the

accumulation of capital. In my judgement, one of the chief sources of the bad economy of the country now is the enormous aggregation of capital. When shall we return to a sound conception of the right to property—namely, as being official, implying and demanding the performance of commensurate *duties*. Nothing but the most horrible perversion of humanity and moral justice, under the specious name of political economy, could have blinded men to this truth as to the possession of land—the law of God having connected indissolubly the cultivation of every rood of earth with the maintenance and watchful labour of man.' J. S. Mill took note of Coleridge's statement in 1833, 'that the vast increase of mechanical powers has not cheapened life and pleasure to the poor as it has done to the rich,' and reproduced it in another form. Very modern, again, is this: 'I know no right except such as flows from righteousness. . . . It must flow out of a duty, and it is under that name that the process of Humanization ought to begin to be conducted throughout.' The following utterance in 1834 has been eloquently varied since by Ruskin, William Morris, and others: 'The entire tendency of modern political economy is to denationalize. It would dig up the charcoal foundations of the temple of Ephesus to burn as fuel for a steam-engine!'

Southey (1774–1843), a greater prose-writer than a poet, began as a Republican and ended as a political reactionary, as did so many of his great contemporaries. But he was always a social reformer. His interest in it dated from the time that Coleridge inoculated him, at Oxford in 1794, with Communism. They both, with Robert Lovell, meditated setting up a 'Pantisocracy' or social colony on the banks of the Susquehanna with Sara, Edith, and Mary Fricker, of Redcliffe Hill, Bristol, as their respective wives. To this end he denounced the manufacturing system and capitalism, as they had arisen in his time, and had even sympathy with Robert Owen's effort to check pauperism. In his autobiography he says that he 'soon perceived that

inequalities of rank were a light evil compared to inequalities of property, and those more fearful distinctions which the want of moral and intellectual culture occasions between man and man.' With those feelings he wrote his revolutionary drama *Wat Tyler* (1817). His views upon war are cleverly conveyed by the children's interruptions in his well-known poem 'The Battle of Blenheim.'

> 'And everybody praised the duke,
> Who this great fight did win.'
> 'And what good came of it at last?'
> Quoth little Peterkin.
> 'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,
> 'But 'twas a famous victory.'

De Quincey (1785–1859) was friendly with the 'Lake Poets,' especially with Coleridge. He did not at all approve of their attack upon the new Political Economy, and very early in his career projected a work to be entitled *Prolegomena to all Future Systems of Political Economy*. He was enamoured of the financier Ricardo's economic system, with its labour doctrine of value, its 'iron' law of wages, and its doctrine of rent, which have since been turned by Marx, Lassalle, and Henry George to such revolutionary uses. In his *Reminiscences of the English Lake Poets*, De Quincey desires to protect himself 'from the imputation of sharing some peculiar opinions of Southey with respect to political economy,' and announces that he means to give 'distinct treatment of some great questions which lie at the base of all sound political economy; above all, the radical questions of value, upon which no man has ever seen the full truth except Mr. Ricardo.' He denounced Malthus and 'Say, the Frenchman,' as both 'plagued by understandings of the same quality—having a clear vision in shallow waters.' As for the Lake Poets—'they were ignorant of every principle, belonging to every question alike, in political economy, and they were obstinately bent upon learning nothing.' Wordsworth, De Quincey thought, 'was the least tainted with error upon

political economy; and that because he rarely applied his thoughts to any question of that nature.' But Coleridge, who was best qualified to judge, to De Quincey's mind, was wholly astray on the subject. He quite approves of the *Westminster Review's* opinion that 'Coleridge's *Table Talk* exhibits a superannuation of error fit only for two centuries before,' and is indignant because Coleridge fancied he had made discoveries in the science of political economy, and had promised a systematic work on its whole compass. He is angry with Coleridge because he abuses the economists for not taking into consideration the happiness and moral dignity of the labourer and his family, and asks 'What has political economy to do with them, a science openly professing to inculcate and to treat apart from all other constituents of national welfare those which concern the production and circulation of wealth? So far from gaining anything by enlarging its field, in the way demanded by Coleridge's criticism, political economy would be as idly travelling out of the limits indicated and held forth in its very name, as if logic were to teach ethics, or ethics to teach diplomacy.' Ruskin has demonstrated the fallacy of this criticism. The subsequent history of political economy has proved that Coleridge and the Lake School, and not De Quincey, were right in what the latter calls 'their blind and hasty reveries in political economy.' B. Kirkman Gray, that fine imaginative and philosophical sociologist so early lost to us, says that 'Coleridge endeavoured to apply to the doctrine of society the same imaginative insight which he found to underlie all Wordsworth's best poetical works.' John Stuart Mill, the lineal successor to Ricardo, acknowledges his indebtedness to Wordsworth and Coleridge.

Turning from the Lake Poets we come to William Cowper (1731–1800), Wordsworth's elder contemporary. He also is a social poet. Many passages in 'The Task' and in 'Table Talk,' as well as in his *Letters*, reveal the modernity of his outlook. His hatred of slavery is memorable—

> Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free.

His love of freedom is broad—

> Whose freedom is by suffrance, and at will
> Of a superior, he is never free.

It covers economic and extends to moral freedom—

> He is the freeman whom the truth makes free,
> And all are slaves beside.

War, drink, gambling, greed, are each and all abhorrent to the noble spirit of Cowper. Trade and commerce, too, he touches in a singularly modern manner—

> Merchants, unimpeachable of sin
> Against the charities of domestic life—
> *Incorporated*, seem at once to lose
> Their nature; and, disclaiming all regard
> For mercy, and the common rights of man,
> Build factories with blood, conducting trade
> At the sword's point, and dyeing the white robe
> Of innocent commercial Justice red.

It is clear, then, that our English classical writers have come into vital prescient touch with the movement for social reform. It is no mere movement of the ignorant and selfish poor. It is really impossible to exhibit here more than a sample of the riches of social reference in the great classic writers of our prose and poetry, even in the first half of the nineteenth century, much more in the latter half. There is Thomas Carlyle, who, especially in *Past and Present* (1843), placed his powerful finger on the question of the misery of a mere cash-nexus between master and man, and upon the fact of the foul worship of the *Money-Bag*. There is Frederick Denison Maurice, the first Churchman to study and write upon economic Socialism, and the inventor, with J. M. Ludlow, of Christian Socialism, the name and the thing. There is Charles Kingsley also, 'Parson Lot,' Chartist, with his *Alton Locke* and *Yeast*, and his fine social lyrics, reminiscent of those of Shelley. Above all there is John Ruskin!

Ruskin's 'divine library' of books enshrines, in gorgeous golden prose, social teaching of the noblest constructive order, and criticism which gave the death-blow to many fallacies in orthodox political economy. *Fors Clavigera*, *Unto This Last*, *A Joy for Ever*, the *Crown of Wild Olive*, the *Two Paths*, *Munera Pulveris*, *Time and Tide*, and numerous other books, are of permanent value, both as great literature and as sociology, as economic and social criticism. Ruskin's direct influence upon the social movement in England has been great, and is waxing, not waning.

Thomas Hood is memorable for his social lyrics, notably 'The Song of the Shirt' (1843), and Mrs. Barrett Browning for her 'Cry of the Children' (1844). Emerson and Thoreau, too, may be quoted as English classics. The former, in his essays on *Wealth*, *New England Reformers*, *Worship*, and *Man the Reformer*, and the latter, in his *Walden*, *A Week on the Concord*, and other essays have set forth great ethico-social truths in penetrating and beautiful phrase. Had both the United States and England but listened to their literary geniuses of fifty and a hundred years ago, Anglo-Saxon society would not be suffering as it is to-day. Then there is Mazzini, who is not only an Italian patriot, but also an English classic. In *The Duties of Man*, *Thoughts upon the Democracy of Europe*, *Faith in the Future*, *Byron and Goethe*, *The Writings of Thomas Carlyle*, and *Europe: its Conditions and Prospects*, 'Association' is set forth and not 'Competition' as the watchword for the democracy of the future, and 'Duties' instead of 'Rights.' Charles Dickens, as Mr. Chesterton has demonstrated, was a great social reformer of the optimist type. He believed in and loved the common people, and employed his genius and humour in portraying their characters and their hardships, and in exposing their injustices. By his almost unaided pen he secured for them poor-law, prison, municipal, educational, legal, administrative, and other reforms. His genial and grotesque humour, his caricature and satire, still work like a social leaven in

English society. George Meredith has touched the social movement at more points than one with an Ithuriel spear, especially the Woman's Question. William Morris, as a poet, is but 'the idle singer of an idle day,' in quest of the beauty lost to the modern world; but as a man and as a prose-writer he became a militant social reformer. His speeches, lectures and writings, his *John Ball* and *News from Nowhere* expound an uncompromising social creed. Edward Carpenter, the English Walt Whitman, is also in revolt against modern society. In *Toward Democracy*, in *Civilization: its Cause and Cure*, and other books of poetry and prose, he has proclaimed a social idealism which he seeks to realize in a life of 'plain living and high thinking.' Henri Amiel and Ibsen have become by genius and translation international property. The former, in his wonderful *Journal Intime*, expresses beautifully many profound and deep thoughts on the social question, whilst the latter in *Ghosts*, *The Doll's House*, *An Enemy of the People*, and other plays, has at least been a social iconoclast—breaking the images of a conventionalized society. To pass by all the latest great writers: Watson, Kipling, Hardy, Wells, Shaw, Galsworthy, and others, the greatest name and influence of all may appropriately close this review—Leo Nicolaevitch Tolstoi—the genius of *War and Peace*, *Anna Karénina* *The Cossacks*, and *Ivan Ilyitch*. The social influence in Europe of Tolstoi's later writings, combined with his own noble example of compassion and consistency, simplicity and sympathy, is incalculable. His *Childhood*, *Boyhood*, *Youth*, *My Religion*, *My Confession*, *The Kingdom of God is Within You*, *Resurrection*, and his short tales and pamphlets have affected and formed the social judgements of myriads. In the literary productions and personality of Count Tolstoi, philosophy, literature, and actual life meet in the full tide of the modern movement for social reform.

S. E. KEEBLE.

THE PHILOSOPHIC BASIS OF CASTE

Missions to Hindus. By the Rev. L. G. MYLNE, D.D., late Bishop of Bombay. (Longmans, Green & Co.)
The Empire of Christ. By BERNARD LUCAS. (Macmillan.)
The History of Missions in India. By Dr. JULIUS RICHTER, D.D. (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier.)

NO consideration of missions can be considered complete which does not at least attempt to deal with the problem presented to the Christian Church by Caste. For if there is any meaning to be assigned to the phrase, 'the Hindu religion,' that meaning must be expressed in terms of Caste. In a country as diversified in creed and custom as it is in physical feature, there is nothing common to its many nationalities but the observance of rules of life imposed under the name of Caste. Where both God and man are held to be impersonal, there is no sanction for the laws of conduct save such as is to be found in this unique institution. Caste thus becomes the one basis of morality. Indeed, the whole moral life of man is shaped and conditioned by this system, and it is for this reason that it exhibits such an extraordinary divergence from what are considered to be rules of morality in the West. Both monism and dualism obtain in India, and in the south there exists a modified monism more influential than either; so that on the lines of philosophical thought, any attempt to find one religion which shall be taken to represent in any comprehensive sense the Hindu Faith is doomed to failure. The observance and acceptance of Caste rules, even by those who, outside the pale of its administration, are nevertheless forced to accept life as shaped by it—this, and this alone, can be spoken of as

constituting the common religion of Hindus. It is the religion of close upon 800,000,000 of the human race, and many of its outstanding principles are in direct antagonism to Christianity. It is, then, sufficiently obvious that if we are to understand the tremendous issue which will some day be joined in India, the religious question involved in Caste must be considered.

No fuller analysis of Caste, and no truer estimate of its effect upon human life in India, can be desired than that which may be found in the little book entitled *Missions to Hindus*, by Dr. Mylne, late Bishop of Bombay. Dr. Mylne gives us the following descriptive definition of this extraordinary system :—

> Caste is a gigantic organization, under which all Hindu society is divided irrevocably and once for all into groups which are mutually exclusive, which are regulated solely by descent, and which are incapable of any rearrangement. Under this system every Hindu, by the fact of being born into the world as the offspring of the family from which he springs, is constituted a member for life, or for so long as he observes its regulations, of an organized, close corporation. Within this corporation there is absolutely secured to him for life every privilege, social and religious, which Hindu society can confer. Outside of this one group, he possesses not a single right except those which the law can enforce. And even his status at law is dependent to a very great extent upon the rules and customs of his caste.

Some years ago it was the privilege of the writer to spend a certain time in touring among the villages of India. One morning, the missionary's cart drew up in a grove of trees opposite the main entrance of a village in which resided a number of Brahman families. From the village gates there came a man fairly advanced in age, and the sacred cord worn round his person declared him to be of Brahman family. But a more terrible spectacle of emaciated humanity could scarcely be seen save in some famine camp. As he approached the missionary, he cast himself down at his feet and actually laid his forehead upon the shoes which the latter was wearing. A more abject and complete renunciation of social privilege could scarcely be rendered. The old man was lifted up, and

presently his story was told. Some years before, he had been the prosperous and respected head of a well-to-do Brahman family, but during all that time he had lived in constant intercourse with a concubine of lower caste than his own. Of the moral offence, as we should call it, no notice was taken; but in an evil day, coming home exhausted from the fields, he ate of the food which this woman had prepared, and in doing so at once broke one of the most stringent rules of Caste. His enemies snatched at the opportunity, and insisted that the law of Caste should be enforced, and the old man was at once isolated from the social and domestic life which he had up to that time enjoyed. No one, not even his own children, dared to give him food, for fear that a similar ban might be placed upon them; the old man was left without support, and slowly starved to death. He came that morning and humbled himself until self-humiliation could no farther go, that he might beg from the outcaste Englishman a coin with which to purchase a few grains of rice. The incident may well serve to illustrate the social, moral, and religious significance of Caste.

We need not here describe the history of its origin, or the familiar outlines of its application to trade and industry. We assume that these are sufficiently known to the reader. But what is not so well known is that this gigantic and monstrous system is the direct product of pantheistic thought. It has been spoken of as if it were the equivalent to those class distinctions which are to be found in all communities of men, yet a consideration of the single incident related above will suffice to show that there can be no identification of the one system with the other. Social ostracism we unhappily know, but the law which enforces it has no power to destroy the natural ties of blood relationship. Social penalties are common in Europe, and they are often unjust; but here a man is cut off from every human relationship, held to be a centre of loathsome pollution, and left by his own children to die, because he has for once ignored a mere

ceremonial obligation. Sins against the moral law are justly condemned; but here the breach of the moral law is condoned, while the breach of the social law puts the man outside the pale of both human and divine regard. The difference between the two may be still further illustrated. Europe and America rejoice to honour the man

> Who breaks his birth's invidious bar,
> And grasps the skirts of happy chance,
> And breasts the blows of circumstance,
> And grapples with his evil star;
> Who makes by force his merit known,
> And lives to clutch the golden keys,
> To mould a mighty state's decrees,
> And shape the whisper of the throne.

But Caste knows of no breaking of 'birth's invidious bar,' and any attempt to pass out of the social environment into which one is born is visited with direst penalties. Class distinctions undoubtedly exist in England, but they are merely the conventionalities of society and may for good and sufficient reasons be set aside on occasion. That they should take the place of religious obligation or of moral law is no part of Western convictions. It is high time that the facile statement that 'there is Caste in England as well as in India,' should cease to be made. Nor should it be allowed that it was a ready-made social system invented by Manu and suddenly imposed upon Hindu society. So subtle and all-pervasive a system can have been only the product of thought which slowly crystallized into system. Manu may have formulated it, and collected and arranged its many edicts, but these must have been in existence before. In Caste we have the crystallization of a philosophy of life which was operative for generations in the subconscious life of the Aryans.

Caste is the natural efflorescence of pantheistic thought. That is what we are slowly coming to see. Says Mr. Lucas (*The Empire of Christ*, pp. 80–81):—

> Hinduism has set itself the task of destroying individuality, and it has succeeded in a remarkable degree. In late times it has sought

> to counteract the effect of its fundamental idea by the introduction of an alternative method of arriving at its goal wherein scope might be left for the activities of life. . . . It insisted with all the authority of that final court of appeal, religion, that for the multitude the goal could only be secured by absolute fidelity to the rules and regulations of the Caste system.

This is still more clearly put by Bishop Mylne (*Missions to Hindus*, pp. 27, 87):—

> Regarded as a code of obligations it is essentially based upon Collectivism: it makes the group, and not the individual, the unit of its whole moral system. And, as a consequence of this, it obliterates once for all the distinction so familiar to ourselves, between moral and positive obligations. . . .
>
> Caste lays a basis for morality in the only bed that is left for it. It abandons once for all the very thought of the individual man as the unit of social existence, the very thought of personal liberty as the turning-point of social relations. It takes a basis of absolute Collectivism as that whereon to build. It seizes on the root-conception which underlies so much of morality in early civilizations, and treats every human being as simply a member of a group. It leaves him no standing-ground, no choice, as a separate responsible personality. It substitutes a corporate rule of life for every rudimentary conception of personal liberty or choice. . . . It takes the primitive conception of the group, and crystallizes it, under the influence of Pantheism, to survive into a state of civilization which ought ages ago to have sloughed it off.

Let us return to the outcaste Brahman. He was a Brahman; that was what we should call the accident of his birth—Hindus call it his *Karma*, the inescapable product of his precedent life. As a Brahman, he found himself encompassed with rules and regulations that affected him in every moment of his existence. They affected his eating and drinking, and he was not to think that under any circumstance whatever he could act as though he had any relation to some other order of society. Least of all could he consider that he was able to take any individual action. As an individual, he did not exist at all. If for one moment he should act in a way to suggest that he acted as some self-conscious being, he must understand that he is the victim of the grossest illusion. Personal responsibility? He has none. There is no such thing. To conceive it would be to conceive that there

is personality in that divine essence of which man is the spark rising from, and falling back into, its parent flame; or the wave which swells for a moment, and is then lost in the infinite element to which it belongs. And yet the fact of action remains, and action must be regulated. Some authority must be found to regulate it; and since the individual as such does not exist, the only thing left is to fall back upon the social group. It has its laws: they are minute; they affect every detail of life. So long as he obeys these, he is assured of every convenience that he may require. It becomes the duty of the other members of his group to provide for him in want. He is admitted to the fellowship of his peers. He will be able to secure suitable partners for his children when the time comes for them to marry; and when he dies, the last obsequies which will ensure his admission into happy conditions of life otherwhere will be scrupulously performed. The one thing he must never think of doing is to act on his own initiative, to realize himself in any act of his. The old man in a moment of mortal weakness acted in defiance or forgetfulness of the laws of Caste. From that moment he ceased to live as a social being; and as it was impossible for other groups to admit him without coming under similar penalties, he was left to die by inches before the eyes of those who up to that time had shown him all deference and given him all support.

Then there is the moral question. To the Pantheist there is no such distinction as we draw between that which is God, and that which is not God. In the eternal search of man for the One which underlies the many, for the Reality which interprets the phenomena, India has offered her own particular solution to the world. She finds her real existence by roundly denying the phenomenal. She gets rid of the many by declaring its non-existence; and she is left with the One as the sum-total of all that is or seems to be. To that One she gives the name of God, and all that can possibly come within the consciousness of man is but the moment's seeming

of the eternal essence, Brahma. Whatever is, then, is divine. The West may make distinctions, but India knows of none. Now one great distinction which the West has made is that between moral and immoral; and in its conception of the Divine Being, righteousness is postulated as the foremost quality. But all this is unthinkable to the Hindu Pantheist.

> If the Vedantist cannot deny that God is present in every form of phenomenal existence, he must allow also that He is present in every form of activity, and this again independently of all moral considerations. He must, for instance, confess that God is as truly present in lustful scheming and cruel act as in the most splendid self-renunciation and the most magnanimous courtesy (H. Haigh, *Some Leading Principles of Hinduism*, p. 112).

Judged by the moral law of the West, the old Brahman was living in sin. But to his fellow villagers there was no sin at all in his relations to the woman whom he kept. So far from being anything for which man must be considered blameworthy, lust is freely ascribed to the Divine Being himself. Puranic stories shock our sense of decency; but to the Hindu, it (being a fact in human experience) is only one particular manifestation of the deity, since all that is, is but a phase of the Eternal. He is represented on carved walls within the temple precincts, or on the panels that decorate the sacred car, in attitudes that are grossly indecent. But the Hindu regards these things without a blush. In the recorded history of his God, and in his own manifestation of that one existence, lust, like everything else, is divine rather than indecent. The old man committed, then, no sin, except that one unpardonable offence, that he broke the law of Caste. To us, this is morality in chaos. To the Hindu, it is but consistent Pantheism.

> Tell a man—let him know without telling him through the impalpable pervading effects which thinkers produce on non-thinkers—that his life is but a bubble, a ripple on the surface of the eternal stream, and the inevitable conclusion must be this—that the stream will flow on just the same whether the ripple on its surface, which is oneself, have laughingly flashed in the sun with a joyous swirl of free effort, or have sullenly murmured itself away in the blackness of accidie and sloth.

> The unconscious, non-moral Totality, which is all that is left of God under the sway of the Pantheistic conception, has realized itself into consciousness all the same, whether you, its poor manifestation, have expressed it in this way or in that as the two eternities met in the moment of your seeming existence (Bishop Mylne, *Missions to Hindus*, p. 56).

It is clear that Caste is far more than the class distinctions of conventional Europe; and it is equally clear that the Pantheism which underlies it accounts for the character of men as illustrated in the East. The inability to stand alone, to realize oneself in any particular act, is the product of the feeling—if we must not call it conviction—that man cannot act apart from the society into which he has been born. Nothing has proved more baffling to the Christian missionary in India than the paralysis of the will which shows itself so constantly in men who otherwise seem to be of the highest type of manhood. Caste has left the individual will to perish of atrophy, and it cannot be restored in a generation. It accounts also for the violent indignation which is felt when some Hindu youth finds himself strong enough to act apart from the dictates of Caste, and shows his strength of purpose in seeking admission into the Christian Church. The passionate outburst shown by his fellow Caste people on such occasions will puzzle those who do not see that in the eyes of his fellows he has ignored the one moral sanction which they allow. It accounts for the utter lack of moral vision which is the great obstacle in the way of any general acceptance of Christianity in India. How can the missionary preach of sin to those who do not know what the word conveys? But that some little grain of conscience remains even after all these centuries of Pantheistic teaching, the task would be hopeless indeed. How can the preacher speak of responsibility for action performed or purpose cherished, when the individuality which makes the one link between the act of the past and the consciousness of the present is not allowed? It is for reasons such as these that Caste must be considered the supreme

obstacle to the spread of Christianity in India. *But it must be grappled with in the Pantheism of which it is the logical outcome, not in the several phases which it may assume in conduct.* To rejoice because the exigence of railway travelling brings together in one compartment Pariah and Sudra and Brahman, or that the same water-pipe supplies sweeper and priest, is to have one's attention diverted from the essentials of the system. When the mind of India has been dispossessed of the Pantheism which holds it captive to-day, then, and not till then, will the power of Caste be broken.

But when it is broken there will remain, we trust, that wonderful solidarity which it has induced. It has supplied India with a wonderful system of what we call 'Trade-Unionism.' It makes a Poor Law unnecessary in India; for within the group to which any individual belongs, every man is bound to his fellow man by indissoluble bands. There are elements of good in Collectivism; and when the Pantheism which has destroyed individualism is removed, these will remain to be built up into the truest and closest brotherhood which the world has ever known. Even now, the Christian Church begins to reap the benefit of this close connexion of man with man. For in the districts in which the greatest accessions to Christianity are recorded, it is found that men move, as Caste has trained them to move, in communities.

But the day for such seeking within the Caste system for that which may be built up into the temple of God in India is not yet. The great conflict is still joined, and it is a conflict not with this or that social custom, but with the immense force of Pantheism and the freedom and power given by God in Jesus Christ His Son.

W. W. HOLDSWORTH.

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Lectures on the French Revolution. Lord Acton. (Macmillan & Co.)

IT has been only since his death that Acton has really come to his own. During his lifetime he was generally known as one of the inner circle of Gladstone's friends, and it was only by historical students that he was recognized as the wonderful man of learning that he really was. The explanation was very simple. Like his great Cambridge contemporary, Hort, he never felt that he had got to the very end of his inquiries on any subject, and therefore he left no books behind him upon which to build an outside reputation. But to students his great and massive essays for the *Home and Foreign Review* and the *North British Review* have long been known; and they have, since his death, been collected and published under the careful and sympathetic editorship of Rev. Dr. J. N. Figgis of Mirfield and Mr. R. V. Laurence of Trinity College, Cambridge. The same editors published a volume of Acton's more general Cambridge lectures, and it is to them that we are indebted for this further instalment of his work as Professor of Modern History there.

That Acton should be lecturing on the French Revolution was felt to be a fact of more than local interest. For years he had been collecting material for a colossal History of Liberty: and the reason he always gave for not proceeding further with it was that he was convinced that the last word had yet to be spoken on the subject of the French Revolution. There is much in these lectures to explain and justify such a conviction, and nowhere does one feel it more than in the Appendix on the literature of the subject. 'People,' he says, 'have not yet ceased to dispute about

the real origin and nature of the event. It was the deficit: it was the famine: it was the Austrian Committee: it was the Diamond Necklace, and the humiliating memories of the Seven Years' War: it was the pride of nobles or the intolerance of priests: it was philosophy: it was free-masonry: it was Mr. Pitt: it was the incurable levity and violence of the national character: it was the issue of the struggle between classes that constitutes the unity of the history of France. Amongst these interpretations we shall have to pick our way: but there are many questions of detail on which I shall be forced to tell you that I have no deciding evidence.' The only comment that one can make upon such a pronouncement is that it is only the really great man who dares to suspend judgement and refuses to dogmatize where deciding evidence is wanting. The nature of that lack may be illustrated from one example which Acton gives. Some thirty years ago there were published six volumes of Instructions from the constituencies to the members of the States-General. The editors were conscious that they had not secured a complete set, and spoke of a dozen being missing from four provinces. The new editor has knowledge of 120 instructions belonging to these provinces which were overlooked in the previous edition, and puts the total number for France down at 50,000. In addition to that there is a vast amount of unpublished material dealing with the Commune, the Jacobin Club, and other matters of first-rate importance; and when all this is published—which will probably be within another decade—'the worst will be known and then sentence need not be deferred.'

It is probably not too much to say that Acton far outdistances all his predecessors in his acquaintance with the published and unpublished material belonging to this period. Not only formal histories and monographs, but memoirs and correspondence, both diplomatic and private, have been ransacked for anything that sheds light upon the peculiarly perplexing tangle of motives and currents of thought which

mark the period. Moreover, they have been examined by one whose amazing learning has enabled him to discern the true from the false; and in one case, at least, he is able to pronounce to be a forgery a document which has been part of the accepted framework of history. It is this width of reading and depth of insight which give to the Appendix of Lecturettes on the literature of the Revolution its commanding authority and its absorbing interest. With the same power that Ranke shows in his estimate of Sarpi and Pallavicini as authorities for the Council of Trent, in his *History of the Popes*, Acton sits in judgement upon previous estimates, with a far greater disposition to single out the merits of a work than to parade its defects, and with the sole intention of making clear to the student in what respects certain writers need to be supplemented or corrected by others who may have had more opportunity of knowing the facts, or have been less influenced by personal bias.

The book is not an easy one to follow in the nature of the case. Being cast in lecture form and covering a vast area in twenty-two lectures, it is very compressed, and takes for granted a considerable knowledge of the facts. Indeed, no reader need go to this volume of lectures for the facts of the Revolution, for if he finds them they will be, as likely as not, assumed, and not described; and many a half-crown text-book will serve his purpose better. But if he wishes for an interpretation of those facts, given by the man who of all others is qualified to give it, this is the book for him. It will give him a liberal education in reading, in political insight, in the historical temper, as well as in the French Revolution; and it is this many-sided helpfulness that makes Acton the great guide that he is.

Is there anything new to be said concerning the French Revolution? It is a common disposition to regard it as a threadbare subject about which everything has already been said that can be said. If Acton's lectures do nothing else they will do much towards breaking down that foolish and

shallow habit of thought. Certain dramatic occurrences between 1789 and 1798 are known to all readers, and some of the more important underlying causes of the Revolution are also perfectly familiar; but concerning the Revolution as a phase of the History of Liberty and a contribution to the political education of the world, we need much light, for even Acton is bound to confess that 'we have gone only a little way in the movement for the production of the very acts of the government of revolutionary France.' And so long as this is the case there will always be room for books on the subject, provided they are sincere and in touch with realities.

In these pages it will not be possible to do more than draw attention to Acton's judgements in a few departments of the field; and then to close with some striking examples of his power of hitting off a situation in a few luminous phrases.

In the first place he lays great stress upon the influence of the American War of Independence upon the Revolution. The opening passage of the first lecture shows that he fully recognizes the explosion to have been the revolt of a long-suffering people against 'privilege, injurious to them,' which was 'reserved for the unprofitable minority.' But it is equally clear that he regarded the American revolution as applying the spark to explosives already accumulated. French officers, Lafayette for instance, had fought in the armies of Washington, and in most cases had come home with a profound belief in a cause which now, probably, most consider to have been a just one. Moreover, the French king himself had acknowledged the justice of the cause, in that he had gone to war for it. But those who came back to France with such thoughts in their minds and such spectacles imprinted upon their memories were bound to go one step further, and to recognize that 'if the king was right in America he was utterly wrong at home; and if the Americans acted rightly the argument was stronger, the cause was a hundredfold better in France itself.' Not only did French nobles come back from America republicans and even democrats by

conviction, but leaders of the movement across the Atlantic saw what was bound to happen; and one of them expressly warned the French officers, as they were leaving for home, against thinking that the victory would be so easy in France as in New England. 'Do not,' he said, 'let your hopes be inflamed by our triumphs on this virgin soil. You will carry our sentiments with you, but if you try to plant them in a country that has been corrupt for centuries you will encounter obstacles more formidable than ours. Our liberty has been won with blood: you will have to shed it in torrents before liberty can take root in the old world.' He was a true prophet. It is true that the American Constitution did not touch the Revolution; for the French soldiers took home the revolutionary spirit without waiting to be influenced by the conservative dispositions which could not fail to come to the front when the practical difficulties of reconstruction had to be faced. But the revolutionary idea which was potent in America was potent in France, although the different conditions of the countries caused the idea to work out differently. 'The precept which condemned George III was fatal to Louis XVI: the French Revolution was an attempt to establish in the public law of Europe maxims which had triumphed by the aid of France in America.'

In the second place there stands out from Acton's pages the warning lest, in sheer reaction against unquestionable wrong, the sovereign people take leave of their senses. *L'Ancien Régime*, to use the title of Tocqueville's great book, was stained by iniquities so infamous that a revolt was inevitable sooner or later: for, as Sir J. R. Seeley used to say, you cannot sit on a safety-valve for an indefinite period. But a revolt against the centralization of power and the accumulations of privilege is always in danger of going so far as to paralyse government; and that is just what happened in 1789–91. The Jacobins talked big things about the absolute rights of the people, as overriding all temporary powers and superseding all appointed agents; and the better Jacobins

had a high political ideal, finding 'security in power exercised only by the whole body of the nation united in the enjoyment of the gifts which the Revolution had bestowed upon the peasant.' But the practical working out of the ideal led them to repress opposition as ruthlessly as they repelled invasion; and hence the enormities of the so-called Committee of Public Safety—the most hideous satire of modern history. Direct democracy is only a feasible expedient upon the small area of the city-state; and then only when that state is self-contained, and is for the most part untroubled by intercourse with other states. It was an impossibility for France: and the attempt to achieve it first paralysed government, then reduced government to a vindictive and bloodthirsty tyranny; and only when these bitter experiences had been undergone did a nation, sickened with bloodshed, evolve an executive which would have been anathema to the typical men of the Revolution, but which satisfied the conditions of good government, without approximating in the least degree to the discredited, selfish centralization of powers which had prevailed prior to 1789.

It is at this point that one longs for more light on the attitude and feelings of the average plain man. The memoirs have plenty to tell us about the privileged classes, and the acts and schemes of politicians are reflected in many directions; but what was the average citizen of Paris thinking and feeling all the time? Surely we are not to consider that the type reflected in the *Tale of Two Cities* was normal; that the whole population was brutalized, and that it had leisure for nothing but to wave the red flag and hang suspects at the nearest lamp post. In other words, one wants to know how far the revolutionary spirit penetrated the hearts and minds of the people. The proscription of the privileged classes, the storming of the Bastille and the deposition of the king, may well have been acceptable to the vast majority, as being not only a just penalty for past misdeeds, but a safeguard for the future also. But what about the ruthless

massacres of the Reign of Terror? What did the average man think of it all? And how did it affect the daily life and business of thousands who lay entirely outside the arena in which men like Marat, Danton, Hébert, Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois and many others fought, either with the nobles or with each other, in the sacred name of liberty? One would be profoundly grateful to the man who would make articulate the non-political Parisian populace, and supplement the memoirs of the Marquis by the Diary of a Plain Man.

In the third place Acton sets in very clear light the responsibility of the king and queen for what happened. Their responsibility is very diverse, for that of the king centred in his weakness, that of the queen in her perversity. Louis XVI in character and in sympathies was vastly the superior of his predecessors. His convictions were strongly and genuinely on the side of reform, as Acton proves beyond all possibility of doubt; and if at the end he was 'driven to take his stand with the nobles it was without either confidence or sympathy.' But it is just here that his condemnation lies. As Necker said truly concerning him, 'You may lend a man your ideas; you cannot lend him your strength of will': and this fatal weakness of will and instability of purpose proved his undoing. No one could trust him, either amongst his friends or his enemies; and in a time of stress and strain such a man always receives less than justice.

With the queen the opposite was the case. No one ever doubted for a moment where she stood; and she never wavered in her uncompromising claims for royal prerogative and honour. With those who proposed to modify the Constitution and substitute a monarchy after the English type for the historic absolutism of France she would hold no parley; and at a critical time she refused a haven of safety because the offer came through such a channel. There was no love lost between her and the *émigrés*, whom she suspected,

not without reason, of being prepared to safeguard their own position at the expense of the well-being of the monarchy. The problem of the Revolution is made the more perplexing by reason of this cleavage between the interests of the Crown and the nobility. It was at the hands of the nobles rather than of the Crown that the people had suffered their worst injuries, and from the first the sympathies of the king were with the people in this respect. But a revolutionary party is not disposed to differentiate too nicely between two types of privilege. To them they both meant deprivation of liberty, and both were banned. Under ordinary conditions the common danger would have fused the two interests into one strong party of resistance, but the personal characteristics of the king and queen rendered that fusion impossible, and their common enemy was enabled to crush them singly. And as though to put herself still further in the wrong, she hoped and planned for deliverance at the hands of foreign armies, which had the effect of enabling her enemies to pose as protectors of national liberties.

Concerning the religious side of the Revolution one would like to know more. We hear much about unfrocked priests, worldly ecclesiastics, and the criminal identification of the ecclesiastical powers with the engines of oppression in the past; but, once again, what about the bulk of the population? When the present writer once asked Acton if there was any religion in France at the time of the Revolution his reply was, 'With the exception of Saint Martin and the Mystics, none!' And with this agrees the judgement which he quotes from Priestley, who speaks of Necker as nearly the only believer in religion whom he found in intellectual society in Paris. Such indictments probably hold good far more of the higher clergy and the governing classes than of the parish priests and the average citizen. But with such leaders and such ideals religion was doomed to failure, so far as any practical power over life and thought is concerned, and therein may be sought the clue to much

of the awfulness of the Revolution. A condition of things where intolerable and grinding injustice in the social and political sphere receives no mitigation from any living religious force, is one which is ripe for not only revolution, but for revolution of the worst type. It is in this respect that the Evangelical Revival did for England what no political or military genius could have done. At a time when many forces were making discontent acute and the condition of large sections of the people almost intolerable, when population was rapidly massing in the manufacturing centres and thereby becoming susceptible to political disturbance, there entered, by the grace of God, into our land a spiritual influence which re-created men, and without robbing them of the desire for liberty and justice, gave them the spirit which permits no violence and does no wrong. On the very day when the downfall of the Gallican Church was accomplished by the Civil Constitution of the clergy, Wesley was preaching to overflowing crowds in the churchyard at Epworth from the words, 'How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation!' The contrast is instructive. French ecclesiasticism had 'gained the whole world and lost its own soul'; and then in the end it lost the world too. Evangelicalism willingly surrendered that which this world deems desirable; but it saved its soul alive, and ended by saving the country too, in a very real degree.

These lectures are full of powerful and suggestive estimates of men and movements which are not only illuminating on their own account, but carry weight because of the learning and character of the man who pronounces them. Some of these may advantageously be referred to before this article is brought to a close.

There is nothing that is so characteristic of Acton's personality as his fierce vindication of the moral law and his refusal to make any abatements in favour of high personages. Such a disposition will naturally break out on many occasions in dealing with such a period as this. Referring to the

crimes of kings, he hotly indicts historians who 'have praise and hero-worship for nearly every one of these anointed culprits. The strong man with the dagger is followed by the weaker man with the sponge. First the criminal who slays; then the sophist who defends the slayer. . . . Do not open your minds to the filtering of the fallacious doctrine that it is less infamous to murder men for their politics than for their religion or their money; or that the courage to execute the deed is worse than the cowardice to excuse it.'

Such a position prepares us for his opinion of revolutionary leaders. As he refuses to subscribe to the various modern forms of the doctrine that the end justifies the means, he is hardly likely to have much praise for men who without exception failed to reach even a moderate standard of morality and were in most cases lacking in honesty, to say nothing of loftiness of ideal and purpose. Dealing with Danton, for instance, he says, 'With Danton and his following we reach the lowest stage of what can still be called the conflict of opinion, and come to bare cupidity and vengeance, to brutal instinct and hideous passion.' This is his estimate of the man who, a few lines lower down, he marks out as having 'wrought the greatest change in the modern world . . . for it was he who overthrew the Monarchy and made the Republic.' Our generation needs to be reminded by one of Acton's authority that a man may be at the same time colossal and satanic.

Of Robespierre Acton has a slightly better opinion, in that he died poor, although he had handled such immense sums of secret service money; but after referring to the mysteries that surround his later career he concludes: 'Only this is certain, that he remains the most hateful character in the forefront of history since Machiavelli reduced to a code the wickedness of public men.'

Occasionally the estimate flashes out in the form of a pungent epigram, as when he sums up two prominent politicians of the day by saying that 'Sieyès found ideas and

Talleyrand found expedients'; or describes Louis XVI as wishing to be 'in the hands of stronger men who would know how to save him in spite of himself'; or Barère as 'generally without ideas of his own,' but making 'others' plausible. But there are none more interesting and suggestive than those in which he guides the reading of historical students. 'If we confine ourselves,' he says, 'to the company of men who steer a judicious middle course, with whom we find that we can agree, our wisdom will turn sour, and we shall never behold parties in their strength. No man feels the grandeur of the Revolution till he reads Michelet, or the horror of it without reading Taine.' In the same spirit is the final paragraph of the lecturettes on the literature of the period. 'Don't let us utter too much evil of party writers, for we owe them much. If not honest, they are helpful, as the advocates help the judge; and they would not have done so well from the mere inspiration of disinterested veracity. We might wait long if we watched for the man who knows the whole truth and has the courage to speak it, who is careful of other interests besides his own and labours to satisfy opponents, who can be liberal towards those who have erred, who have sinned, who have failed, and deal evenly with friend and foe—assuming that it would be possible for an honest historian to have a friend!' These are weighty words, and a dignified close to a worthy contribution towards the interpretation of the most perplexing epoch of modern history.

W. Fiddian Moulton.

PERSONALITY AND GOD

THAT human personality consists essentially in self-consciousness, in thought and love and will, that God is personal, that thought and love and will have a place in the Divine Life, that the relationship between God and man is to be interpreted in terms of these personal qualities, is the Theistic statement with which we are all familiar. But modern inquiry ought to enable us to make some advance on this argument. For progress has certainly been made in the study of personality, and such development in our psychology implies a corresponding development in our theology. It is the purpose of this article to indicate to what extent, and in what sense, this has actually been the case, what new light has been shed on the doctrine of the Divine Nature as a result of our more intimate acquaintance with the facts of our own personal life.

(*A*) Modern investigation into the meaning or nature of personality may be said to have followed two distinct, and to a large extent independent, lines of thought, which indeed have the appearance of being in certain respects antagonistic one to the other.

(i.) The first of the two is concerned mainly with the relationship between the self and other selves. The old abstract idea of the isolated, self-conscious individual in a world of non-personal objects is no longer regarded as a correct representation of personality as it really is. Not only the non-self but the other self is affirmed to be necessary for the realization of the ego. In accordance with this view the relationship of the individual and society has been very aptly likened to that which exists between thought and language. One cannot say language creates thought, and society does not create personality. In each case the former

presupposes the latter as already existing in some form or other. But on the other hand, just as language is, so far as thought is concerned, its essential condition of development, so personality remains little more than a potential capacity until it enters into relationship with other selves, until it knows and is known, loves and is loved, wills and is willed. 'Some practical recognition of personality by another, of an "I" by a "thou" or a "thou" by an "I," is necessary to any practical consciousness of it, to any such consciousness of it as can express itself in act.' [1] 'Personality,' says Mr. Wilfred Richmond, 'in the form in which it is supposed to be most intensely and unmistakably real, is a communion, a fellowship of Persons.' [2] 'All human life,' Dr. W. N. Clarke declares, 'is social, and personality has no existence except in relations with others. Thus personality implies society, and is absolutely dependent upon it. A person is a member of society, and this fact of social relatedness is a true and abiding element in his personality.' [3] Dr. Illingworth does not hesitate to say that 'dependence is as fundamental a characteristic of personality as self-identity': [4] while another theologian affirms that man's 'personality, which he thought he owned so completely, and could rule so irresponsibly, depends for its full realization upon the existence of others, and upon their being in definite reciprocal relations with himself.' [5] Prof. Caldecott, in his interpretation of human nature,[6] finds it necessary to include Sociality equally with Thought, Feeling, and Activity among the phases of the life of the soul, and asserts that 'the individual in whom social feeling is absent, or feebly developed, is seen to be only potentially what he might be.'

As the reader will perceive from these extracts, the self is regarded as dependent on other selves not only for its

[1] *Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 200.
[2] *Essay on Personality*, ii. 17.
[3] *The Christian Doctrine of God*, p. 62.
[4] *Reason and Revelation*, p. 195.
[5] Dr. T. B. Strong, *A Manual of Theology*, p. 164.
[6] *Cambridge Theological Essays*, p. 122.

development, but for its very existence. Society is something more than the scaffolding which can be taken down and done away with when the building is finished, it is an essential part of the fabric itself. 'Personality has no existence except in relations with others'; 'dependence is as fundamental a characteristic of personality as self-identity.'

Now if the view represented by these statements is to be accepted by us as correct—and such a consensus of opinion leaves us no alternative but to so accept it—this 'social relatedness' is not a mark or condition of any inferior personality that may be ours, it must have a place in any personality, even in the highest personality of all. And when we affirm personality of God, we are affirming of Him not only that thought and love and will have a place in the Divine Life, we are affirming also of Him this same dependence on other selves.

But the latter is a statement that at once provokes criticism. 'How can this be?' it will be said, 'God is the Unconditioned, the Infinite. How can He be dependent on other selves outside Himself? He must contain within Himself all the conditions of His existence.'[1] Exactly so. And if among these conditions are the thoughts and activities and desires of other selves, and other selves as the objects of His thought and desire and activity, then these other selves must be within God's Being. Difficult to grasp though it is, beyond our power of conceiving, this idea of a self including other selves is forced upon us by the logic of our argument. It is indeed an idea which is becoming increasingly prominent in theological thought. Thus the late Dr. R. C. Moberly indicates that we shall reach a higher and truer conception of the meaning of Personality if we endeavour to grasp the idea of 'mutual inclusiveness' rather than that of 'mutual exclusiveness.'[2] And the author of *The Faith of a Christian* maintains that the perfect self-consciousness

[1] See the argument in Lotze, *Micro.* ix, chap. iv.

[2] *Atonement and Personality*, p. 157.

of the Absolute Being differs from human self-consciousness in this respect, 'that it does not depend, like man's, on the existence of a not-self opposed to it, but that the other to which it answers is another self within the Absolute.'[1] Whatever else is meant by this inclusiveness, it evidently implies the abolition of all separateness between self and self.

Further, we have been told that 'Human Personality is not Perfect Personality any more than human love is perfect love.' 'Perfect Personality,' says Lotze, 'is in God only, to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof.' Now we have seen that personality among ourselves depends for its development on its relationship to its social environment: 'it depends for its full realization upon the existence of others, and upon their being in definite reciprocal relations with itself.' That is to say, the closer the association between self and self, the more perfect the personality of each. In so far, then, as we are capable of forming a conception of the nature and meaning of the Perfect Personality which 'is in God only,' we are warranted in saying that the inevitable consequence, or the necessary condition, of its realization is the closest of all associations, and such we have in that abolition of all separateness between self and self referred to in the last paragraph. But in any attempt to make such a Personality thinkable, one of the first difficulties is to secure this abolition of all separateness, and at the same time to retain some measure, at any rate, of self-distinction. This is the problem to which our study of the social significance of personality has brought us. It is, let it be noted, the same problem as that which confronts us in the attempt to interpret the doctrine of the Trinity. Can we say that in the Godhead there are Three Persons, distinct as persons are distinct, and yet that those Three are not separate but One?

(ii.) The other line of thought has to do with the individuality, rather than the 'sociality,' of personality. It

[1] *Atonement and Personality*, p. 89.

emphasizes the completeness of the separateness to which we have just referred. While largely metaphysical in character, it is not simply a philosophical theory, it has its origin in the experience and common sense of mankind. We are all aware of the fact that we are shut off one from another so far as our sentient or emotional life is concerned. I cannot actually feel the pain that another feels, however much I may sympathize with him, his experience is still, strictly speaking, his own and not mine. He may be passing through severe mental or bodily suffering, and yet I am unable to appreciate the intensity or reality of his agony, except by recalling a similar experience of my own. And again, no one can claim direct acquaintance with another person's thoughts; it is only by certain signs on his part, such as those of speech, that we get to know, partly at any rate, what he is thinking. Let the signs be inadequate, or let them be intentionally withheld, and however great may be our desire to penetrate the region of his thoughts, we are quite unable to do so, we are effectually barred out. And even when the signs are present, the thoughts suggested by them are still *our* thoughts; we do not think the thoughts of another, we think our own. We cannot penetrate into another's mind and familiarize ourselves with his ideas and reasoning processes and views of life in the same way as we can enter into his home and admire and inspect the things that belong to him, his pictures, books, furniture, &c. We are rather in the position of those who have never seen these things for themselves, but have only heard of them from the owner.

Perhaps we may be permitted to quote, in illustration of this truth, a paragraph from one of the great fiction writers of the last century. 'A wonderful fact to reflect upon, that every human creature is constituted to be that profound secret and mystery to every other. A solemn consideration, when I enter a great city by night, that every one of those darkly-clustered houses encloses its own secret; that every room in every one of them encloses its own secret;

that every beating heart in the hundreds and thousands of breasts there, is, in some of its imaginings, a secret to the heart nearest to it! . . . In any of the burial-places of this city through which I pass, is there a sleeper more inscrutable than its busy inhabitants are, in their innermost personality, to me, or than I am to them? . . . So with the three passengers shut up in the narrow compass of one lumbering old mail-coach: they were mysteries to one another, as complete as if each had been in his own coach and six, or his own coach and sixty, with the breadth of a county between him and the next.'[1]

When we turn to the philosophical and theological literature of the day we find this fact of the isolation of the individual constantly insisted on. 'Individual spirit we took to be impenetrable,' writes Dr. Caldecott; 'the imperviousness, the inwardness, the inaccessibility of the self is rarely questioned—" impervious in a fashion of which the impenetrability of matter is a faint analogue," says Professor Pringle-Pattison.'[2] Dr. Gwatkin speaks of 'the wall of personality that keeps us in our awful isolation from each other,'[3] and Dr. D'Arcy in *Idealism and Theology* writes thus: 'Mind is separated from mind by a barrier which is not figuratively, but literally impassable. It is impossible for any ego to leap this barrier and enter into the experiences of any other ego.'[4] There follows the quotation of the illustration in Bosanquet's *Essentials of Logic*, in which the experience of the individual is compared to a circular panorama of moving pictures. 'The individual cannot get outside this encircling scenery, and no one else can get inside it.' So complete, in fact, do some philosophers affirm the impenetrability of the self to be, that they find it necessary to posit the existence of a superhuman Being in order to account for such intercourse between self and self as is possible. In their view there could be no communication

[1] *A Tale of Two Cities*, chap. iii.
[2] *Cam. Theol. Essays*, p. 185.
[3] *Knowledge of God*, p. 161.
[4] p. 76.

between self and self, no interaction of any kind between personal beings, were it not for the medium of a common spiritual consciousness, between which and every individual there exists a relationship of a peculiarly intimate order, so that it is sensitive to every change in them, and they to every change in it. According to this view, human selves may be likened to the crags of some submerged reef, isolated one from another, but united below the surface of the waters, having an indirect medium of communication through what may be described as the parent rock. So our conscious selves, isolated one from another, are regarded as rising out of a common subconscious region, and as therefore capable of mutual communion, not direct, but indirect. This indispensable spiritual consciousness, or subconsciousness, without which self would be completely isolated from self, is what the advocates of this theory mean by God.

Now to those who emphasize this fact of the impenetrability of human personality two courses are open. Either they must make the isolation of the self complete, and adopt some such expedient as that referred to in the last paragraph to account for such relationships as do exist between person and person (in which case it is evident that there cannot be the same complete isolation between the self and the common spiritual consciousness, i.e. the Divine Being, as there is between the self and other selves, God must be capable of penetrating the personality of others as we cannot possibly do), or else they must allow that the isolation of the ego is not complete, that in some sense and in some imperfect degree it is possible for self to penetrate self. If this is so, personality among ourselves signifies: (1) a certain impenetrability, (2) a capacity for penetrating the personality of other selves. What then of the Divine Personality? Our own experience suggests that a self more impenetrable than any human self would not represent a higher but a lower form of personal life, the impenetrability in the Higher Personality must be less rather than more complete than is

the case among ourselves. On the other hand the capacity for penetrating other selves must be greater. Personality, as we know it, is more fully realized not only so far as the self becomes less impenetrable, but also so far as it becomes capable of a more thorough penetration, by sympathy, insight, love, into other selves. In accordance with this, the Higher Self, God, must be represented as penetrating the personality of others in a way, or in a degree, impossible to any human self; the barriers which exist for us between person and person do not exist, at any rate to the same extent, for Him.

(*B*) The conclusions at which we have arrived in the course of our inquiry may be briefly re-stated thus: (i.) Perfect Personality implies the abolition of all separateness between self and self. (ii.) God is capable of penetrating the personality of others as we cannot do. We would now endeavour to indicate the importance first of the latter statement and then of the former so far as the doctrine of the Divine Nature is concerned.

(*a*) Modern Theism, as is well known, is anxious to recover the truth of the Divine Immanence, but the difficulty in stating the doctrine has been to find a middle way between two extremes of error. On the one hand there is the Deism which leaves God a self like other selves, and on the other the Pantheism which destroys individuality and leaves God a self without other selves. Thus the truth in question has surely been insufficiently expressed, and the first error not wholly avoided, when it has been represented as signifying only the diffusion of the Divine Thought through all space, unless of course by the Divine Thought we mean something more than we do when we speak of human thought, a more real and intimate presence of the Divine. On the other hand there is the danger of falling into the second error, and so admitting God into human life as to make it impossible for human responsibility and personal identity to survive. Is there no middle way between these two, something which is more than the immanence of mind in matter and yet less

than that other relationship which implies the destruction of individual self-hood? Are we shut up to these two alternatives? We do not think we are. For let it be once recognized that the barriers which exist for us between person and person do not exist, at any rate to the same extent, for God, that He can penetrate another's personality as we cannot do, that the word 'other' possesses a different significance for Him from what it does for us, and a fresh interpretation of the meaning of the Divine Immanence becomes possible. Given this view, and on the one hand God is perceived to be immanent in human life in a more real sense than man can be ever said to be immanent in the life of others, or mind immanent in matter, His immanence being of a unique order; while on the other hand it cannot be said that such penetration necessarily means that the self thus penetrated ceases to exist, that for God to enter into our experiences, to know our thoughts, to influence our wills more directly and intimately than any of our fellows can do, implies the extinction of human personality and individual existence. Given this view, and the Deistic position on the one hand is avoided, God is not separate from and outside of the world as we are separate from our fellows, or an artificer from his works; while on the other hand we escape the Pantheistic alternative, God may be shown to be distinct from the world and not to be confused or identified therewith.

(*b*) But it is not sufficient to affirm that God's Personality is more perfect than ours. Personality absolutely perfect must be realized in Him, and such Personality we found to imply the abolition of all separateness between self and self. It is necessary, then, that we should proceed to inquire how this is to be achieved.

We have asserted of God that He is capable of penetrating into the being of other selves in a manner, or to a degree, impossible to us, and that through such penetration He realizes a higher perfection of Personality than any realized by us. Two observations must be made with respect to

this statement. First, that God cannot be thought of as dependent for the realization or perfection of His Being on the created world; and second, that self will be most closely united to self, that separateness will be most completely overcome, and Perfect Personality therefore most nearly realized, when the penetration in question is mutual, when the one whom God penetrates is no more limited by the impenetrability of personality than He is. This is evidently not the case so far as the relationship between God and man is concerned. There is perfect penetration on the part of God into the life or being or personality of the creature, but not vice versa. We cannot read God's thoughts as He reads ours, we cannot enter fully into the purposes of the Eternal. The same barriers exist on our side between God and us as exist between ourselves and other men. And indeed to conceive of one possessed of this same power which God possesses, a power which represents the very essential of Deity, one capable of penetrating God even as God penetrates all, is to conceive, so it seems, of a second God in addition to the first, an altogether impossible conclusion. But whether impossible or not, the fact remains that the individual members of such a ditheistic community, members capable of mutual penetrativeness, would, according to our argument, represent a higher form of Personality, in so far as they would represent a more complete overcoming of self-separateness, than the God of the Divine Immanence described in the last section.

Once again we seek for a middle way between two extremes. Polytheists we cannot be, and yet a Divine Society seems to offer us a higher form of personal life than the God of a rigid and unqualified monotheism, an isolated individual Deity. Let us, then, venture on the conception of such a Divine Society, a Society according to Christian tradition of Three Divine 'Persons.' Let us venture, notwithstanding the protests of many eminent theologians, to give to this word 'Person' its modern significance. But

let us further affirm of each of these Divine Persons that they are capable of such penetration as is impossible to us, that while they are mutually inclusive and inseparable and cannot exist apart from one another,[1] each may be said to represent absolutely Perfect Personality, Personality which implies the abolition of all separateness between self and self. It remains for us to briefly indicate what is gained by such a reconstruction of the doctrine of the Trinity.

In the first place, as has been already hinted, we secure an answer to the question—In what respect are the Persons in the Trinity Persons like ourselves, and in what respect are They unlike ourselves? They are Persons like us in so far as They are distinct centres of thought and love and will; They are unlike us in so far as they are capable of penetrating into the personality of others, and of each other, as we cannot do. And after all that has been written on the subject of what this word 'Person' as applied to the distinctions in the Godhead does and does not mean, anything like an exact answer to the inquiry quoted above is a distinct relief and a gain of no little value.

We also gain something so far as the doctrine of the Divine Unity is concerned. We gain some idea as to the meaning of 'super-personal' unity. Up to the present this term, however useful, has been a term only, of little more significance than super-vital would be if our philosophy required such an expression. But now we have something which this term, super-personal, is needed to describe. Here is a unity, unique, unknown to us, foreign to our experience, the Unity of Three Persons, not shut off One from Another, as human selves are, but capable of penetrating One the Other, of entering into and sharing, directly, intimately, Each Other's thoughts, experiences, activities. How is such

[1] Cf. the following statement by Chrysostom: 'Where one hypostasis (or Person) of the Trinity is present the whole Trinity is present; for it is inseparably united and conjoined together with the utmost exactness' (Hom. in Ep. ad Rom. viii. 10).

a Unity to be described? Must it be ranked as beneath or above personal unity? We have no space to discuss this question, and can only say that the second alternative seems to us to be the only one open; we must affirm of this Unity that it is super-personal, and that just as organic unity is transcended by individual unity, so is the latter transcended by the Unity of the Trinitarian God.

We thus gain some idea of the difference which exists between what has been termed the Society of the Trinity, and a community of human persons, such as, for example, the family. There is a popular and effective line of argument, favoured by many theologians, which is based on the necessity of something like a Divine Society, a plurality of Persons in the Godhead, if Love is to be thought of as 'absolute, or in other words synonymous with God; . . . for when we speak of love we mean the affection of one person for another, and except it be taken in that sense the word is utterly and blankly meaningless.'[1] Whatever drawbacks or defects there may be in such a line of argument—and the defects have been always fairly evident—they have been due to the fact that it has had nothing to say concerning the manner in which the Divine Society differs from a community of human beings. It has, of course, been affirmed that there is a difference, that God is One and not many, but it has left us in ignorance as to the distinguishing feature in 'the Social Trinity' as compared with any human society. Now if we represent the supreme and unique relation in which God stands to the human race as mutually realized in the life of the Divine Three, if we represent the Divine Persons as capable of mutual penetration, the 'Society' of the Trinity must be of a different order from that of any human community. We may properly speak of it as a Society, and yet it is more than a Society. For the members of no society we know of are or could be related as are the members of the Godhead according

[1] J. R. Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, p. 155.

to the conception adopted by us. This is not so in the case of the well-known argument quoted above. According to it the Fellowship of the Three Persons differs in no appreciable sense from that which might exist in any human society, with the result that They are often conceived of as existing apart One from Another, as man, however close the bonds of intimacy, is separate from his fellow men. Valuable as this argument is, it needs supplementing by the recognition of that feature in the Divine Life to which we have been directing attention, the mutual penetrability which serves to distinguish the relationship of the Divine Three from any relationship of which we men are capable.

Here we bring our inquiry to a close. It has resulted in the recognition of what may be described as the essential feature in the Divine Life, the capacity for penetrating, in a degree impossible to us, the personality of 'other' selves.[1] There have been indications here and there in recent theological literature that the importance of this feature is being gradually perceived, that many difficulties will be solved by means of a new doctrine of the Divine Nature in which this feature will occupy a central place. We attach to it even greater importance. As one of the essential characteristics of Divinity we believe that its application to some of the leading doctrines of the Christian Faith will result in a fuller comprehension of their meaning and worth, that with this as our starting-point we shall be able to reconstruct the theology of the Incarnation and the Atonement. Certainly if any such reconstruction is attempted it ought to begin here, with a re-statement of what Divinity means. We have endeavoured in the present article to prove the possibility of such a re-statement, to show by what means it may be achieved, and to indicate its importance so far as the Theistic and Trinitarian conceptions of God are concerned.

ARTHUR T. BURBRIDGE.

[1] For the mystical relationships referred to in John xvii. 21, &c., are surely not equivalent to the Immanence of God in His Creation.

EVANGELICAL FOREGLEAMS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY VERSE

Addison. By W. L. COURTHOPE. (English Men of Letters.) (Macmillan & Co., London.)

COMPLETE collections of Joseph Addison's poems have long been periodically promised in the publishers' announcements. If and when the expectations thus raised are fulfilled, laurels entirely fresh, it may confidently be predicted, will be added to those already familiarly associated with one of the most famous of eighteenth-century names; for apart from the 'Campaign,' other set pieces of a shorter kind, and his famous sacred odes, Richard Steele's colleague on the *Tatler* and *Spectator* wrote many verses, English as well as Latin, which won commendation from another Charterhouse scholar, his junior by thirty years, John Wesley. As Thomas Arnold pointed out, and as his eldest son Matthew allowed, most of our great writers have shown the Hebrew, as well as the Hellenic, element in their inspiration, and the keynote of moral earnestness sounds through English literature in successive ages. Naturally enough, as it will presently be seen, during the period of Addison, ethical fervour closely allied itself with keen religious interest. In proof of this, it will be enough to mention one of Addison's works, ignored by many if not by all his biographers, and probably unknown to a majority of readers.

De Quincey prided himself on having for the first time brought to light several hitherto unknown facts concerning Addison. To his Latin verses Macaulay has done even more than justice. Preferring in all things classical models to modern, Addison, according to De Quincey, had only mastered one among the national poets of the epoch preceding

his own, the bard of 'Paradise Lost,' and him only because Milton stands like a bridge between the Christian literature and the pagan. There was also, in the very constitution of Milton's mind, in the majestic regularity and planetary solemnity of his epic movements, something which Addison could understand and appreciate. But the meteoric and incalculable eccentricities of the dramatic mind, as displayed in the English drama's heroic age, confounded and overwhelmed him. De Quincey goes on to insinuate that with the Shakespearian text Addison was as little acquainted as with Dante and Ariosto in Italian, with Chaucer and Spenser in English. The opium-eater's earliest discovery was that when Shakespeare is quoted in the *Spectator*, the paper giving the quotation is not by Addison. De Quincey's explanation is that Addison wrote for popular effect, and Shakespeare was too popular to be belittled and too much beyond Addison for him to grasp. Therefore, as far as may be, he gives him a wide berth. De Quincey's editor, Masson, has shown the injustice and inaccuracy of all this. He reminds us that Addison himself has acknowledged the 'incomparable excellence of Shakespeare's genius in comparison with all others.' Or is one to suppose that this compliment is merely a grudging concession to Shakespeare's national position, specially, perhaps, extorted by the essayist's fear of offending Dryden and his own political friends, often ardent Shakespearians ?

The particular item not included in De Quincey's Addisonian discoveries, and perhaps not known to all the *Spectator's* twentieth-century students, is entitled *Of the Christian Religion*. The real explanation of the scanty references to, or the obstinate silence about, the beginnings of Christianity in the classical writers of the period, is that to the educated and fashionable society of the period, whether Roman or Alexandrian Greek, the doings of the persecuted sect which was to conquer the world, and everything that concerned its members, were as completely lacking in attraction as the Salvation Army

services at the height of the London season, or the arrival of some new but unknown evangelist from the other side of the Atlantic. Addison in his essay gives another illustration, but to the same effect. There are, he says, many reasons why you should not expect pagan writers contemporary with Christ, or living before His disciples had recorded His life, to dwell much on the origins of the religion He founded. In the first place, we are reminded, Judaea made far less of a figure in the Roman Empire than Switzerland or the Grisons in eighteenth-century Europe. Yet supposing either Switzerland or the Grisons to have witnessed the New Testament incidents, imagine the time it would have taken to convey accounts of them to the great centres of Western civilization. Moreover, the earliest evidence of the gospel events was personal testimony; men of sense and learning were scarcely to be blamed if, till corroborative witness came before them, they either treated the whole thing as fabulous, or at least suspended their belief. Further, the superstition of the Jewish race was more notorious than that of any other. Syrian credulity had become the ridicule and contempt of the educated world. Any report of the supernatural which proceeded from Palestine was at once scouted by educated heathendom as an absurdity.

In the first century new religions were springing up everywhere as quickly and as plentifully as fungi in certain soils after a shower of rain. Moreover, the clever magicians of the period produced the most remarkable illusions. Apparitions, divinations, local miracles, and pretended prodigies were as common among the heathen as murders, railway accidents, and other horrors in a modern newspaper. Consequently it was not to be expected that, during Christ's sojourn on earth, accounts of His doings could have reached to any great distance, or that prudent persons not without some spiritual interest would have immediately accepted, on any possible testimony, the reports of the marvellous phenomena. We know from St. Matthew that our Saviour's fame went

throughout all Syria, and that His person attracted multitudes from beyond Jordan, from Decapolis, from Tyre and Sidon. If these places and this period had received the attention of any historian, there might, in such a secular record, have been an anticipation at some points of the New Testament narrative; but as a fact there is no reason to suppose that any such author or any such chronicle ever existed. The Roman literature which has been preserved bears quite an insignificant proportion to that which has been lost. Tacitus and Suetonius—not to mention the well-known passage in Pliny's *Letters*, contain references to the tragedy on Golgotha. It may therefore well be that the authors who are lost to us were not silent about, perhaps gave greater prominence to, the august transactions. On that point, as well as on others connected with it, Addison is not content with mere generalities. One authentic record by a heathen writer of the Crucifixion is known to have been penned while that event was fresh; Justin Martyr lived about a hundred years after the death on Calvary. He tells us he had seen a report of the closing years and scenes of Christ's life sent by Pontius Pilate to his official superiors at Rome. Justin engaged in a controversy with the cynic philosopher Crescens about all the incidents now mentioned. Throughout that discussion no doubt is thrown upon the historic accuracy of Pontius Pilate's *Acts*. The same document first cited by Justin receives attention from Tertullian, not more eminent for his piety than his learning, as well as from Eusebius. Some details, says Addison, are common to the Tertullian and the Justin narrative. Tertullian only mentions that Pontius Pilate's account of 'the Divine Person's life and death' caused the emperor Tiberius, after reading it, to propose that He should have a place among the deities worshipped at Rome. Finally there are the letters said to have passed between the Saviour and Agbarus, king of Edessa. On those Addison does not dwell; though he declares such evidence would be held conclusive of any fact in pagan history.

To Addison belongs the credit of having first brought together certain specific heathen testimonies to gospel truth, now so familiar that questions are no longer asked about their discoverer. Augustus Caesar's imperial census is said by the evangelist to have taken the holy family to Bethlehem. That it actually took place is stated by Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion. This is only one of the points at which the scriptural account finds independent support in secular writing. The great light or the new star in the east, directing the Magi to the manger, is spoken of by the Platonic historian Chalcidius. So, too, with the massacre of the Innocents. That crime was in such keeping with everything known about its perpetrator, Herod, king of Palestine, that Macrobius takes it as a matter of course, only adding that Herod had included two of his own children in the slaughter. Addison also, in advance of any other commentator, adduces the testimony of the anti-Christian Celsus to Christ's sojourn in Egypt, and that, not only of Porphyry and Hierocles, but of Julian the Apostate himself to the miraculous cures of diseases and infirmities. Finally the convulsions of nature when He gave up the ghost are certified by the pagan Phlegon, an historian belonging to Tralles in Asia Minor, who, at the moment of earthquake and of the great darkness, exclaimed in almost the same words as the famous convert of Alexandria, and at nearly the same time: 'Either the god of nature suffers, or some unspeakable woe is coming upon the earth.'

All this is of special interest as showing the position taken by an apologist of the seventeenth century. Johnson's panegyric on Addison is well known: 'Whoever wishes to attain an English style familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.' Bulwer Lytton confirms that verdict. 'No praise of Addison's style,' he writes,[1] 'can exaggerate its merits. Its form of English is fixed, a safe and eternal model, of which all imitation pleases, to which all approach

[1] *Caxtoniana IX.* 'On Style and Diction.'

is scholarship.' Notable as a master of diction, in his capacity of literary moralist Addison, from the ethical and religious point of view now taken of him, belongs to the illustrious succession that, beginning while the very language was as yet unformed, has continued without a breach through all its subsequent stages to the present day. As Mr. Courthope well points out, the transfer of ecclesiastical supremacy from the Tiber to the Thames, from pope to king, might have been less readily acquiesced in had not Langland, Wyclif, and their countless disciples, long before the Reformation, familiarized the popular mind with their evangelical and anti-papal ideas of Christianity. Chaucer is so prepossessed by the study of individual character, and in such exuberantly high spirits, as not to have many reflective moods. Nevertheless this greatest of English mediaeval poets, by his touches of gentle and genial satire upon the churchmen and churchwomen in the 'Canterbury Tales,' unconsciously promoted the same end as Langland and Wyclif. Even Spenser, as Mr. Courthope acutely notices, places the doctrines of puritanism in the mouth of the swains and shepherds whom he had reproduced from Theocritus and Virgil. In the age following that of the 'Faerie Queene,' Milton, the most literary but also, notwithstanding his occasional Arminian leanings, the most Calvinistic of English writers, mingles classical images and evangelical ideas for fusion into a single artistic whole. The intellectual work thus begun of harmonizing and amalgamating various and indeed discordant elements in English culture and taste was carried still further by Addison. The excesses of the Restoration writers, especially the dramatists, and the paganism blended with the Italian exposition of the ideas of the Renaissance, had resulted in a prejudice among respectable classes against the culture largely derived from the study of classical models. Addison's Latin verses were sometimes better than his English. His prose was instinct with the spirit breathed by Cicero, not so much in oratorical masterpieces or philosophical tractates,

as in the correspondence with his intimate friends and the dialogues on Friendship and Old Age. For the first time from the *Tatler*, afterwards from the *Spectator*, the fathers and mothers of English households realized the absence of any necessary connexion between fidelity to Latin models and libertinism of thought. Addison's great work of literary purification involved two or three specific services to the body politic. He had no sooner helped forward, by the longest stage yet travelled, the reaction among romance readers against Mrs. Aphra Behn's adaptation and development of Mlle de Scudery's ideas than the popular taste became ripe for the conception of feminine grace, gentleness, and charity, imparting, as in the *Spectator* it does, purity and refinement of domestic life. Again the money-brokering and loan-mongering abnormally developed during the later stages of the wars with France had brought into existence an aristocracy of wealth regarded as their natural enemy by the men whose national influence grew out of their ancestral acres. In Addison's essays equal justice is simultaneously done to the representatives of the old acres and the holders of the new funded capital. Addison, indeed, introduces his public to an atmosphere, as well as to individuals in whose presence, by the power of whose influence and example, the mutual enmity of town and country, of citizens and squires, is gradually dissolved or immediately evaporates.

Addison's most ambitious effort as a poet, 'The Campaign,' is to-day chiefly, if at all, remembered for its comparison of Marlborough directing the current of battle on the field of Blenheim to the spirit of the hurricane which, beginning Saturday, November 27, 1703, raged over England during most of the week :—

> So when an angel, by divine command,
> With rising tempests shakes a guilty land,
> Such as of late o'er pale Britannia passed,
> Calm and serene he drives the furious blast.
> And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform,
> Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

For one person acquainted with this extract from Addison's epic, or any part of its context, thousands have joined in singing hymns that came from his pen, and that are to-day the common property of the whole English-speaking world. As regards his two best-known compositions of this kind, both reflect in the same degree the genuinely devotional spirit of the writer; both, too, have received the same praise from the most varied experts of posterity, beginning with Wesley, and including living hymnological critics of the most opposite literary and religious schools.

'Not long before his death, John Wesley was talking with Adam Clarke about the origin of Methodism. He pointed out how "God raised up Mr. Addison and his associates to lash the prevailing vices and ridiculous and profane customs of the country, and to show the excellence of Christianity and Christian institutions. The *Spectators*, written with all the simplicity, elegance, and force of the English language, were everywhere read, and were the first instruments in the hands of God to check the mighty and growing profanity, and call men back to religion and decency and common sense. Methodism, in the order of God, succeeded, and revived and spread scriptural and experimental Christianity over the nation. And now what hath God wrought!"'[1]

Addison's immortality, long since established as a writer of sacred verse, is the more noticeable because in his day the masterpieces in that department of poetry were few. Even in the Latin Church hymn-writing was a later development than is sometimes imagined, and was practically unknown until after the Council of Nicaea in 325. After the fashion of the time, the Authorized Version is being made this year the subject of a tercentenary; the sovereign in whose reign it was first given to the world, James I, has in a way associated himself with the earliest hymn-book by granting in 1623 letters patent to George Wither to bind up with the metrical psalms his *Hymns and Songs of the Church*, which he

[1] Telford's *Methodist Hymn-Book Illustrated*, p. 93.

afterwards reproduced under the auspices of, and dedicated to, the Long Parliament. Neither in their original nor in their subsequent issue did Wither's melodies obtain any popular hold. Between the middle of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth centuries, Samuel Crossman, William Barton, Richard Crashaw, Henry Vaughan, Jeremy Taylor, and Bishop Ken, all wrote several hymns, and edited or collected many more. The Charterhouse scholar whose schooldays were a whole generation later than Addison's, John Wesley, published in 1787, through an American house, Lewis Timothy of Charlestown, the first hymnal used in the Church of England, including five of Wesley's noble translations from the German and two hymns from Addison. Meanwhile Addison had been collecting the experiences which suggested to him the most autobiographical, as it is probably the finest, as well as the most characteristic of his sacred pieces. During the December of 1699, he had embarked at Marseilles for an Italian port. On land, both before and after that date, he had enjoyed the consciousness of the divine mercy, 'sweetening every soil and making every region please.' This it was that enabled him to pass unhurt through burning climes, and to breathe in tainted air. Having warmed the hoary Alpine hills, it now smoothed the Tyrrhene Seas. The concluding lines are not given fully in the shortened version made familiar by hymn-books, and are to this effect:—

Think, O my soul, devoutly think,
How, with affrighted eyes,
Thou saw'st the wide-extended deep
With all its horrors rise!

Confusion dwelt in every face,
And fear in every heart;
When waves on waves, and gulphs on gulphs,
O'ercame the pilot's art.

Yet then from all my griefs, O Lord,
Thy mercy set me free;
Whilst, in the confidence of prayer,
My soul took hold on Thee.

For though in dreadful whirls we hung,
High on the broken wave,
I knew Thou wert not slow to hear
Nor impotent to save.

The storm was laid, the winds retired
Obedient to Thy will;
The sea that roared at Thy command
At Thy command was still.

In midst of dangers, fears, and deaths,
Thy goodness I'll adore;
And praise Thee for Thy mercies past,
And humbly hope for more.

My life, if Thou preserv'st my life,
Thy sacrifice shall be;
And death, if death must be my doom,
Shall join my soul to Thee.

The list of hymn-writers already mentioned closes with Thomas Ken, and is continued through Toplady and Newton to Cowper. Before any of these came Addison. His prose piece about Christian evidences, of which an account has already been given, was never completed. Not inferior in elaborate finish to the best of his essays are all that is generally accessible of his religious poetry—a fact surely deserving of more notice than even Wesley's commendation has secured for it, when it is remembered how few models of hymn-writing were before Addison when his deep natural piety, and genuine desire to offer of his best, elicited from him at least three masterpieces of sacred versification, not to mention others which, should they be recovered, may prove indeed of inferior merit, but will yet be a clear gain for that department of literature to which they belong. If there were wanted proof of such an anticipation being at least reasonable, it would be found in Johnson's estimate of Addison. 'What he attempted he performed. He is never feeble, and he never wishes to be energetic; he is never rapid, and he never stagnates.'

T. H. S. Escott.

THE BIBLE AND THE BIBLE SOCIETY

A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society. By WILLIAM CANTON. 5 vols. (Murray, 1904 and 1910.)

The History of the English Bible. By the REV. W. F. MOULTON, M.A., D.D. Fifth edition, revised and enlarged by his Sons. (Kelly, 1911.)

A General View of the History of the English Bible. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D. Third edition, revised by WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT. (Macmillan & Co., 1905.)

Our Own English Bible. The Bible of the Reformation. By REV. W. J. HEATON, B.D. (F. Griffiths, 1905, 1910.)

The Evolution of the English Bible. By H. W. HOARE. (Murray, 1902.)

The Printed English Bible, 1525–1885. By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. (Religious Tract Society, 1894, 1909.)

Our Grand Old Bible. By WILLIAM MUIR, M.A., B.D. (Morgan & Scott, 1911.)

OUR greatest English book is celebrating its three hundredth birthday. James the First never did a wiser thing than when he lent his royal sanction and support to the suggestion made by Dr. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, that a new translation of the Bible should be undertaken. In the autumn of 1603 the Puritans had presented to the new king what became known, from the number of signatures attached to it, as the Millenary Petition. The king called a conference at Hampton Court Palace to discuss the grievances of the Puritans. They were treated with scant courtesy, for their four representatives were kept sitting on a form outside the Privy Chamber, where the monarch talked over the situation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, eight bishops, and five deans. The Lords of the Privy Council listened to the conversation. This was on Saturday, January 14, 1604. On the following

Monday the Puritan divines were called in to the Privy Chamber. There Dr. Reynolds pleaded: 'May your Majesty be pleased that the Bible be new translated, such translations as are extant not answering the original?' Bancroft, Bishop of London, objected that 'If every man's humour might be followed there would be no end of translating.'

James, however, took Dr. Reynolds' part. He expressed his wish that 'some special pains should be taken for one uniform translation, professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated in English, but the worst of all his Majesty thought the Genevan to be.' He described some of its marginal notes, which he had seen in a Bible given him by an English lady, as 'very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits, supporting his opinion by Exod. i. 19, where the marginal note alloweth disobedience unto the King, and 2 Chron. xv. 16, where the note taxeth Asa for deposing his mother only and not killing her.'

James had really known the Genevan version from his boyhood. That fact probably spurred him in the direction indicated by Dr. Reynolds. This is at least clear: James was the moving spirit. He urged forward the happy proposal till, on July 22, 1604, he was able to inform the Bishop of London that he had selected fifty-four translators. He directed Bancroft to get the other bishops to invite suggestions from competent scholars in their dioceses. Later in the same year Bancroft said, 'I am persuaded his royal mind rejoiceth more in the good hope which he hath for a happy issue of that work, than of his peace concluded with Spain.'

Begun under such happy auspices, the work was zealously carried on till, in 1611, it was given to the world. The translators wisely built on the foundation laid by earlier workers. Dr. Scrivener says, 'Never was a great enterprise carried out with less knowledge handed down to posterity of the labourers, their method and order of working.' Our

knowledge, however, though scanty, is reliable. Their famous Preface helps us to see them at work: 'Truely (good Christian Reader) we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark.' To those who might charge them 'with unequall dealing toward a great number of good English words' their answer was: 'We have on the one side avoyded the scrupulositie of the Puritanes, who leave the old Ecclesiasticall words, and betake them to other, as when they put *washing* for *Baptisme*, and *Congregation* instead of *Church*: as also on the other side, we have shunned the obscuritie of the Papists, in their Azymes, Tunike, Rationall, Holocausts, Praepuce, Pasche, and a number of such like, whereof their late translation is full, and that of purpose to darken the sense, that since they must needs translate the Bible, yet by the language thereof, it may be kept from being understood. But we desire that the Scripture may speak like itself, as in the language of Canaan, that it may be understood even of the very vulgar.' We thus see that the English Bible of 1611 was essentially a Revised Version. Tindale had set the standard. His translation was popular and simple, yet not vulgar. Mr. Froude says, 'It is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius—if such a word be permitted—which breathes through it; the mingled tenderness and majesty; the preternatural grandeur —unequalled, unapproached, in the attempted improvements of modern scholars,—all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man—William Tindale.'

James the First's translators gathered their treasures from every quarter. According to the first rule laid down for their guidance the Bishops' Version of 1568 was the basis of their work, but the fourteenth rule directed that Tindale's, Matthews', Coverdale's, Whitchurch's (the Great Bible,

of which he was one of the printers), and the Geneva translation were to be used when they agreed better with the text than the Bishops' Bible. Archbishop Parker had planned out the version of 1568, among the bishops and other learned men, himself adding 'the last hand,' and superintending the printing and publishing. Cox, Bishop of Ely, wrote to Parker: 'I perceive the greatest burden will lie upon your neck, touching care and travail. I wish that such usual words as we English people be acquainted with might still remain in their form and sound, so far forth as the Hebrew will well bear; inkhorn terms to be avoided.'

The first rule Parker laid down was 'To follow the common English translation (Cranmer's) used in the churches, and not to recede from it but where it varieth manifestly from the Hebrew or Greek original.' In the historical books of the Old Testament the Great Bible is followed very closely.

The Great Bible was edited by Coverdale at the request of Cromwell. Cranmer's 'Prologue or Preface' to the second edition linked his name to it, though he had no share in the translation. Coverdale took, not his own version of 1535, but Matthews' Bible of 1537 as his text, and leaned much on Sebastian Münster's work on the Old Testament, on the Vulgate, and on the Latin version of Erasmus. Matthews was really John Rogers, the first martyr under the Marian persecution. He had taken the latter half of his Old Testament, including the Psalms, from Coverdale's Bible of 1535; his Old Testament up to 2 Chron. and his New Testament were Tindale's.

The Great Bible is thus 'the true editio princeps.' In it John Rogers linked together the work of Tindale and Coverdale. The Bishops' Bible was a far from satisfactory revision of this work, and the Authorized Version was a revision of the Bishops' Bible. The whole character of the English Bible was thus moulded by Tindale. He says in the preface to the New Testament of 1534: 'If any man find fault either with the translation or aught beside (which is

easier for many to do than so well to have translated it themselves of their own pregnant wits at the beginning without forensample), to the same it shall be lawful to translate it themselves.' Tindale was a true scholar, who perceived clearly that the Papists feared God's Word. 'A thousand books had they lever [rather] to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrines, than that the Scriptures should come to light . . . which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament. Because I *had perceived by experience*, how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, except that the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother-tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text: for else, whatsoever truth is taught them these enemies of all truth quench it again.' He wrote for the people. His retort to the divine who set the Pope's laws above God's is famous: 'I defy the Pope and all his laws: if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more of the Scriptures than thou dost.' Tindale says expressly, 'I had no man to counterfeit, neither was holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like thing in the Scripture beforetime.' Phrases of Wyclif's translation or of the versions of earlier workers may have become current, but where we find close resemblances between Tindale and Wyclif it appears that the Vulgate has supplied the connecting link. Wyclif's version circulated in manuscript. One hundred and fifty copies are extant, but it was not printed till 1848.

We speak of the version of 1611 as authorized, but James and his advisers sought for it no ecclesiastical or civil imprimatur. The great Hebraist Hugh Broughton, who had been left off the list of translators, said he would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses than that any such translation should be urged on poor churches. The version gradually won its way to favour. It had little to fear from the Bishops' Bible, which was not reprinted after 1606, though it was not

till the Savoy Conference of 1661 that official arrangements were made for the Gospels and Epistles to be read from the Authorized Version. The Genevan, of which there were considerably over a hundred and fifty editions printed, was not so easily displaced. It was seventy-one years old in 1611. It was the first Bible printed in Roman type, the first divided into verses, it was a handy size, and provided many valuable helps for the reader. Its phenomenal popularity in English homes was well deserved. People complained, says Fuller, that 'they could not see into the sense of the Scriptures for lack of the spectacles of the Genevan "annotations."' After the Genevan Bible ceased to be printed in England, 150,000 copies were brought over from Holland, and in 1649 an edition of the Authorized Version was printed with the notes of the Genevan version. It continued to be printed until the middle of the seventeenth century.

The translators of 1611 took care to pick out the gems of earlier versions. In the story of Joseph, 'the coat of many colours' is Tindale's phrase; 'could not speak peaceably unto him' comes from the Genevan. In 1 Cor. xiii. 'charity' was substituted for 'love,' which was the word in both Matthews' Bible and the Genevan. The Rheims New Testament was freely used.

The translation of 1611 had to face much criticism. Mr. Muir gives many details as to the charges of defective scholarship, needless changes, false doctrine. Dr. John Lightfoot, preaching before the House of Commons in 1645, pleaded for 'an exact, vigorous, and lively translation.' The Long Parliament took some steps in that direction, but leading scholars pronounced the version of 1611 'the best of any in the world,' and thus England began to appreciate its treasure, and to surround it with that love and homage which is scarcely even yet disturbed, though the Revised Version is more and more prized and used among us.

It is not easy to do justice to the noble English of the

Authorized Version. The revisers of 1881 said, 'The longer we have been engaged upon it, the more we have learned to admire its simplicity, its dignity, its power, its happy turns of expression, its general accuracy, and, we must not fail to add, the music of its cadences and the felicity of its rhythm.' Faber paid it a glorious tribute: 'It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of the national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it, the potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed and controversy never soiled.'

The noblest and most beautiful book in the world is a gift which England owes to her own sons. It may be described as the work of a church rather than of a group of men. It is a tree of life which has grown to beauty and fruitfulness under the care of a special Providence which has used it mightily for the healing of the nations.

Two hundred years after the Hampton Court Conference, on March 7, 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society was born. It was a glorious outcome of that Evangelical Revival which saved England from the horrors that disgraced and desolated France and fitted the nation for its mission as the chief imperial and colonizing power of modern times. Many noble societies, still full of vigorous life, arose within a few years of Wesley's death, but the palm must be given to the Society whose sole object was to send forth the Word of God to the whole world. Mr. Canton's story of its toils and triumphs fills five noble volumes which make a unique appeal to those who regard the Bible as the great missionary of all lands and all ages. He has framed his history, with endless patience, out of a hundred reports and the voluminous minute-books of the Society, and has chosen his material well and presented it in a way that will infuse new hope into the hearts of all present and future workers for the Society.

Wales proved a benefactor to the whole world when it

bestirred itself to seek Bibles for its own people. Thomas Charles, the bright and sunny-tempered pastor of Bala, had come to preach in Lady Huntingdon's chapel, Spa Fields, and on December 7, 1802, propounded to the committee of the Religious Tract Society the problem, 'How a large and cheap edition of the Bible could be had in Welsh, and how, if possible, a permanent repository of Bibles could be provided, that there might be no more scarcity of them among the poor Welsh.' Whilst this question was being discussed, Joseph Hughes, the Baptist minister in Battersea, replied, 'Surely a society might be formed for the purpose; and if for Wales, why not for the kingdom; why not for the world?' He prepared an essay in which he pleaded for help in founding 'the first institution that ever emanated from one nation for the good of all.' The following May the Religious Tract Society set its seal on the project. The Clapham Sect supported it with its wealth and influence, and on March 7, 1804, Granville Sharp took the chair at the first public meeting at the London Tavern, when £700 was subscribed for the new society. The first year £5,592 was contributed, and a large number of English Bibles and Testaments, besides 20,000 Welsh Bibles and 5,000 Testaments, were ordered from the Cambridge University Press. The Society soon found that there was a pitiable dearth of scriptures throughout Europe. A German merchant reported to the Religious Tract Society that when he gave away a Bible or New Testament in Austria or Hungary, 'father and mother, son and daughter are running after me, thanking me a hundred and a thousand times, kissing my hand and my coat, and exclaiming with tears of joy, "May God bless you; may the Lord Jesus bless you in time and to all eternity."' The Bible Society gave grants to assist societies like itself in Nuremberg and Berlin. Auxiliary Bible societies were soon established in Calcutta, Bombay, Colombo, and Batavia. Help was also given in the production of a Mohawk-English Gospel of St. John. Thus within a short time the

foundations for world-wide usefulness were well and truly laid, and amid the tension of the struggle with Napoleon the work moved on its way with growing resources and enlarged visions of service.

No society ever attracted such noble helpers to its standard. Its first President, Lord Teignmouth, had been the friend of Warren Hastings, and as Governor-General of India had been prepared for what he deemed a still nobler sphere of usefulness. Henry Thornton, the Treasurer, was the bosom friend of Wilberforce and one of the most large-souled philanthropists of his day. Joseph Hughes was Secretary both to the Religious Tract Society and the Bible Society. Dr. Steinkopff represented the foreign Protestant Churches, whilst the courtly John Owen, chaplain to the Bishop of London, secured the sympathy of Bishop Porteus and the favourable support of the Church of England. All churches joined in this brotherly league for the spread of the Word of God among the nations. It is delightful to see what friends this Society gathered around it. Thomas Babington, Charles Grant, Joseph Hardcastle, Zachary Macaulay, Granville Sharp, James Stephen, William Wilberforce served on the first committee with Joseph Butterworth, Christopher Sundius, and George Wolff, Wesley's last host at Balham.

Mr. Canton attributes the success of the Society to 'the utmost decentralization possible.' In July 1805 an association was established in London 'for the purpose of contributing to the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society.' Next year the Birmingham Association was formed, and in 1809 auxiliary Bible societies were formed in Reading and Nottingham. Mr. C. S. Dudley, who afterwards became one of the Society's agents, extended and perfected this part of the organization. The Society was slow to avail itself of the enthusiasm of 'the Christian fair.' The claims of domesticity, propriety, and decorum were held to forbid women taking part in the distribution of scriptures among the poor. It was not till 1831 that they were admitted to

the annual meetings. The first Ladies' Bible Society was formed in 1811 at Westminster; next year a smaller female association was begun at Lymington; Colchester enlisted the help of the ladies in 1813, and an association formed in July 1813 at Guildford distributed 2,160 Bibles and Testaments within seven years and transmitted £222 to the Society. Godalming had its association in 1814. Pastor Oberlin of Waldbach first suggested to Mr. Dudley that he might thus enlist the help of ladies. At Godalming he drew up a code of rules which became the model for all future associations. Within four or five years he established one hundred and eighty of these ladies' associations. At Liverpool over six hundred ladies were enlisted in the work, and in less than three months obtained 7,292 subscribers, issued 1,838 Bibles and Testaments, and raised more than £970. £2,552 was collected in the first year, £518 being given to the parent Society. Mr. Dudley stands out as one of the master builders who laid broad and deep the foundations of the Society's success.

The temper which marked these early days may be seen from Joseph John Gurney's account of the Bible Society meeting at Norwich in 1811. Bishop Bathurst was present, 'the Mayor looked magnificent, with his gold chain, in the chair,' and about six hundred Churchmen and Nonconformists of every class attended. 'It was really delightful to hear an old Puritan and a modern bishop saying everything that was kind and christianlike of each other. More than £700 was collected before the company left the hall. We had a vast party at Earlham, and a remarkable day. A perfectly harmonious mixture of High Church, Low Church, Lutheran, Baptist, and Quaker! It was a time which seemed to pull down all barriers of distinction, and to melt us all into one common Christianity. Such a beginning warrants us to expect much.' At Earlham Mrs. Fry, who had come expressly from London, knelt down soon after the cloth was removed 'and in a most sweet and impressive manner implored the divine blessing upon the company present,

and for the general promotion of truth upon earth.' Mr. Hughes says, 'We seemed generally to feel like the disciples whose hearts burned within them as they walked to Emmaus.' Before 1817 there were 286 auxiliaries and 805 branches in the United Kingdom. £407,905 had been contributed, besides £179,549 for sales of scriptures. 1,816,382 scriptures had been circulated in nineteen languages. The total expenditure had been £541,504. All that was best and noblest in English society had rallied round the Society. It had mastered many initial difficulties, opened for itself rich stores of help which are still unexhausted, and laid the lines for future advance all over the world.

The second period, which Mr. Canton dates from 1817 to 1834, was one of checks and trials, of many losses, of ordeals so severe that the work, and the very fabric of the Society, appeared to be menaced with sudden dissolution. The Society had given help to Continental auxiliaries which printed the Apocrypha with the Canonical Scriptures. The opposition to this policy became so strong that it was at last decided to grant no pecuniary aid to any society circulating the Apocrypha. Even this concession did not avert disunion. In Scotland, distrust of the whole administration had been so sedulously fomented that in 1825 the free contributions dropped from £20,685 to £1,740; in 1826 they fell to £285. Edinburgh had 76 auxiliaries, and Glasgow 56 branches and associations, but though these seceded the Society still did its utmost to promote Bible work in the Highlands. In 1831 ladies were for the first time admitted to the annual meeting. It was a tumultuous assembly. An amendment was moved to the report with a view to cut off those who did not believe in the doctrine of the Trinity from the Society; another amendment sought to limit membership of the executive and committee to believers in the divinity and atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ. Rowland Hill, then in his eighty-seventh year, rebuked the unseemly outburst and expressed his wish that all the Roman Catholics

and all the Socinians in the world belonged to the Bible societies, for there they would find the truth to convince them of their errors. Both amendments were lost, but before the year closed the Trinitarian Bible Society was formed by the dissentients. Despite these losses 164 new auxiliaries and associations were formed in 1830; next year 150 more were added and 583,888 scriptures were issued.

Joseph Hughes died in 1833. His question, 'Why not for the kingdom—why not for the world?' had become the watchword of the Society, and when he resigned his secretaryship he wrote, 'This office has, I believe, greatly helped me in the way to heaven.' Lord Teignmouth passed away four months later. His monument in Marylebone parish church shows how he gloried in his office at Earl Street. By his own direction his title and his age were engraven on the slab with the words—

> President of the British and Foreign Bible Society
> From its foundation to his death, a period of thirty years,
> And formerly Governor-General of India.

Nicholas Vansittart, the Right Hon. Lord Bexley, formerly Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the second President. He held office for seventeen years. His guiding principle was, 'If we cannot reconcile all opinions, let us endeavour to unite all hearts.' In connexion with the abolition of slavery in 1834 nearly 100,000 New Testaments, with which the Psalms were bound up, were sent out as a gift to the negroes. The Society raised a special fund of £16,250 for this object. Its influence was now spreading over the world. The missionary societies had already learnt to regard it as their chief ally. In 1832, when William Shaw, W. J. Shrewsbury, and W. B. Boyce prepared Kaffir translations of portions of the Old and New Testaments, the Society bore the expense of printing and sent out paper. Generous help was given to the London Missionary Society in providing scriptures for Madagascar, and again and again the Bible proved itself a glorious evangelist.

Lord Ashley became the third President of the Society in 1851, a few weeks before he succeeded to his earldom. It was the year of the Great Exhibition, and he had already convinced the Prince Consort that the Society's 170 versions of the Scriptures entitled it to a place of honour in the Exhibition. The Society's jubilee was kept in 1853. The first celebration was held in the room that had witnessed its birth. Dr. Steinkopff was the only one of the founders who was present. The Jubilee Fund reached £70,201, besides £40,501 raised to provide China with a million copies of the New Testament. In its first half-century the Society had expended £4,070,251 and distributed 27,988,636 scriptures. It had also liberally assisted sixty-four other Bible societies, whose issues reached 20,108,670 copies.

The Society had one romantic figure among its early agents. George Borrow had gone out to St. Petersburg in 1833, where he edited and printed a Manchu New Testament for the Society. Then he found his way to Spain, where his adventures as an agent of the Society supplied material for the book that took the world by storm. He 'had his faults, but insincerity and lack of zeal in the cause he had espoused were not among them.' Mr. Brandram, the Secretary, was sometimes tried by the 'unrestrained speech' of this novel agent, but any misunderstandings were dissipated when Borrow returned to England, and his *Bible in Spain* was a memorable triumph for the Society as well as for its author.

In connexion with the jubilee Mrs. Ranyard wrote *The Book and its Story*, of which 28,000 copies were sold in nine months. In 1856 her experience of the rookeries in the neighbourhood of Seven Dials led to the founding of the Bible and Domestic Female Mission. Seven years later almost every town in England had its biblewoman. France and Germany adopted the agency, whilst in Bombay, Calcutta, and Syria biblewomen were actively at work. Before Mrs. Ranyard's death in 1879 £28,086 had been received from the poor in London alone for 184,777 Bibles and Testa-

ments. It took one woman two years to pay 1*s.* 5*d.* for her Bible. The committee's grants to this work from 1856 to 1879 amounted to £14,844.

Mr. Canton gives a delightful picture of the yearly Bible meeting held in Mr. Stratton's rose gardens at Manningford Bruce in Wiltshire. 'From miles around the Society's friends, rich and poor, arrived on foot or in vehicles of all sorts—gigs, traps, dog-carts, carriages, with here and there a kindly farmer's wagon, "the Ship of the Downs," manned with a crew of rosy-cheeked maidens and schoolchildren. Sometimes a hundred vehicles were counted near the thatched and quaintly gabled country house of the host, and the 800 inhabitants of the Vale were outnumbered, two or three times to one, by their visitors.' There were pleasant rambles among the roses, a bounteous tea, the excitement of opening Bible boxes, and speeches which gave new conceptions of the work that was going on all over the world. This is but a specimen of the affectionate enthusiasm which the great cause aroused all over England.

The Society has been singularly happy in its officials. Mr. George T. Edwards, who lived to be Senior District Secretary, gave a wonderful retrospect in 1881 of the advance made since he became agent in 1850. Almost half of Europe was then closed to Bible work, but in 1881 every country was open, and Rome was the centre of operations in Italy. Mr. Edwards had attended 4,658 meetings, travelled nearly 200,000 miles in all kinds of weather and had never met with an accident. He knew Grace Darling and her father, and visited the daughter the year after her father's death at the age of seventy-nine. The Committee had sent him a Testament in large type the previous year. Mr. Edwards had happy recollections of such men as Robert Gates of Penrith, who for nearly half a century went out on horseback to collect for the Society, and of Susan Wilson, who might be seen on the verge of ninety making her rounds as a collector in the Duddon Valley. Mr.

Edwards himself served the Society forty-four years. He was present at the jubilee celebration in the London Tavern in 1853, saw the Prince of Wales lay the foundation stone of the present Bible House in 1866, gathered as an offertory in Rome some of the last coins of the Papal Mint in the last year of the 'temporal power.' Among the eminent men with whom he came in contact was John Ruskin, who published in *Fors* a protest Edwards wrote at his request against the dismantling of Little Sodbury Manor, the only house in England in which Tindale was known to have lived; and Cardinal Newman, who accepted as a birthday gift a large type New Testament in four volumes, 'not too heavy for his extreme old age.' In 1858 Mr. Edwards formed a Bible auxiliary at Hodnet when Lord Macaulay's nephew was rector. Heber had invited Mr. Davies, the Congregational minister there, to join him in forming an auxiliary, but he was called to become Bishop of Calcutta before his intention could be carried out. The plan slumbered for thirty-five years, but Mr. Davies lived to take part in the meeting at which it was carried into effect. In 1891 the rector, a nephew of Heber's, reported that 'in a recent "mission" the Nonconformists assisted at the services in the various hamlets, and when the parish church was restored, collections for the fund were made in all the Nonconformist chapels.' Mr. Edwards died in Switzerland in 1901. We are glad to find his portrait in Mr. Canton's gallery.

The leaders of the Bible Society have been quick to identify it with national events. They presented Bibles as wedding gifts to the sons and daughters of Queen Victoria, and were foremost in expressing their sympathy on the death of members of the royal house. In 1862 Viscount Palmerston sent £50 with the message, 'I am happy to do anything I can for your admirable institution.' In 1866 a monument to Tindale was unveiled on Nibley Knoll in Gloucestershire, and the Society presented a Bible to every man and boy who had been employed in the work. In 1878 various copies of

the Scriptures were placed beneath Cleopatra's Needle on the Thames Embankment.

Some pleasant pages of Mr. Canton's volumes refer to old Bible families, like the 'Buxtons, the Barclays, the Foxes of Falmouth, the Peases of Darlington, the Bardsleys, the Peckovers of Wisbech, the Upchers of Sheringham, with whom love of the Bible Society became a tradition.' Jasper Atkinson and his daughter entertained the deputations to the Maidenhead Auxiliary for sixty-eight years in succession. Thomas Farmer of Gunnersbury joined the Committee in 1820. 'He served continuously for thirty-seven years, preserving the tradition of the early days and the memory of the founders. On his retirement in 1859 he became a Vice-President, and on the 11th May, 1862, he was released from the growing infirmities of age. Hidden away in the *Lists of Contributors* there occur entries which suggest the piety of a Christian home now long forgotten. In the early thirties you will find the names of Mr. and Mrs. Farmer, Miss S. S., Miss Jane, Miss Ellen, Miss Elizabeth, Miss M. B. Up to 1869 this good family of Gunnersbury had contributed £4,469.' In Methodism the family of Farmer will never be forgotten, and the last two names are still numbered among living friends of the Society.

The Society had a tragic loss in July 1884, when its gifted Secretary, the Rev. C. E. B. Reed, made a false step in the Engadine and fell a hundred and fifty feet into the gulf below. Next year the venerable President, Earl Shaftesbury, closed his noble life. He had been a tower of strength to the Society for thirty-four years. A worthy successor was found in the Earl of Harrowby, who, in acknowledging the warmth of his reception at Queen Victoria Street, said, 'The Bible Society has always been a watchword in our house.' He served the Society for fifteen years with conspicuous devotion, until in 1900 the Marquis of Northampton became the fifth Treasurer.

In the first year of his presidency the Society included

the Revised Version in its operations. That was a natural step, for the Society had been issuing revised versions of its own all over the globe for nearly a century. Its editorial superintendency had been filled by a succession of gifted scholars, and it had learned more and more effectively to use the Press to make its wonderful work throughout the earth known to all its friends. The story of its army of colporteurs and biblewomen forms a record such as the world cannot match of unique conversions and heroic toil amid daily privation and peril. The Society kept its centenary in 1904. Gifts amounting to £281,141 were contributed, and the greatest Christian enterprise the world has known since Apostolic times girded itself afresh to spread the Word of God among all the nations of the earth. Bishop Welldon said in 1899, 'It is impossible to provide sufficient missionaries for India, and the most pervading and persuasive of missionaries is the Bible itself. Where the living man cannot go the Bible does go, and its voice is heard perpetually.' He described it as 'the one silent, universal, and irresistible missionary upon whose influence the Church can always and everywhere depend.'

The Society was never more needed in the world than it is to-day. The missionary revival over which we rejoice puts increasing strain on its resources and demands a vast supply of scriptures in a growing number of versions. But the Society was never more firmly entrenched in the affection and the confidence of all the churches, and it will not fail to meet every legitimate demand made upon it. Methodism owes the Society a debt which it can never repay. It feels just pride in the share which its own sons are taking in the administration of a work which is one of the chief glories of modern Christendom.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE EDUCATION OF THE MINISTRY

'THE present is a time of widespread confusion in theological education.' So runs the first sentence in an article, published in the last number of the *American Journal of Theology*, by Prof. M'Giffert, of Union Seminary, New York. Whether regard be had to his position or his qualifications, Dr. M'Giffert's voice is probably one of the most influential on theological subjects on the other side of the Atlantic. He holds that, whereas until lately there was general agreement as to the kind of college course needed to prepare men for the ministry, a great change has taken place, and a demand for reconstruction is making itself heard that deserves to be very seriously regarded. He very wisely says that a three-years' college course is really insufficient to master the half-dozen important subjects which used to form the curriculum, and 'to add the many new subjects that are clamouring for treatment and still do thorough and satisfactory work is out of the question. Students must either content themselves with a mere smattering of knowledge in a great variety of fields, or must select a few out of the many and confine their attention to those few. The former is demoralizing, the latter alone rational.' But easier said than done. How is selection to be made? Is the student to be allowed to fix his own 'elective' subjects—optional, as we should call them—or are they to be chosen for him? And if so, on what principle?

The subject is a difficult, but it will be acknowledged, a very timely one. The question, 'What does a Christian minister really need for his equipment in our time, and what portion of this can best be provided for him in a college course?' is one which needs to be thoroughly faced and settled. 'The need of the age is not more men in the ministry, as so many are saying, but more strong and thoroughly trained men.' Are they being provided by current methods? Are the Churches thoroughly agreed as to the *principles* on which such provision should be made? Details will always vary, and should be allowed to vary; but if principles are not clearly seen and thoroughly agreed on, the result is likely to be chaos. We cannot agree with Prof. M'Giffert in a score of things that he says; but in one or two leading ideas he seems to us to be both clear and sound, and his article in any case deserves study.

The first consideration that needs to be settled is as to the stage of training for which provision is proposed. Some colleges on both sides of the Atlantic provide a post-graduate course; i.e. all the students have taken degrees in Arts, and have nothing to do but to specialize in biblical and theological studies. The large majority of colleges, however, are not so happily situated, and the problem arises for the most part when those who

present themselves are at various stages of their education, many knowing no language but their own, some having already obtained a degree or being well on the way towards obtaining one. Another consideration is that not more than three years can be devoted to such preparation. To aim at more is, we fear, a counsel of perfection; an ideal that is, for more reasons than can be briefly stated, not likely to be generally realized. On what principles should the choice of subjects for a college curriculum under these conditions be determined? For the wise man will certainly not prepare the way for confusion worse confounded by allowing to the students free option amongst a number of subjects.

The first principle laid down by Prof. M'Giffert sounds like a truism; but if it be accepted, it will carry more in its train than at first sight appears. It is essential that the Christian minister 'should understand Christianity, should know what it is he represents, and what he has to offer the world and this age in which he lives.' It will be replied that so much must be taken as matter of course. But, if we are to listen to other counsellors, the first requisite for the theological student is, not that he should know Christianity, but that he should know the world of to-day, 'what it is and what it needs, in order to be able to minister wisely to it.' It is of no avail to urge that he ought to know both. That is desirable in the sense that it is desirable he should know everything. The two principles cannot both be paramount, and we agree with Dr. M'Giffert that the Christian minister is not, in the first instance, a philanthropist or social reformer, he is the representative and herald of the Christian religion. And to understand thoroughly the message which that religion has for the sins and sorrows, the woes and needs, of our present age, is the main requirement for a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hebrew, Greek, theology, exegesis, homiletics—by all means; logic, history, philosophy, literature—if possible; comparative religion, on the principle that he who knows only one country really knows none, will unquestionably be of service. But surely the main thing is that the mind and heart and soul of each student should be so imbued with the great Christian message that he does, and will all through his ministry, 'draw all his cares and studies this way.' Nor can it be taken for granted that a godly and well-educated youth possesses this indispensable requirement before he comes to college. In one sense he possesses it, or he is not fit to be a candidate for the ministry: but the precious three years should chiefly be occupied in the making his own the cardinal truths of the Christian religion in the form best adapted to 'serve the present age.' If a student leaves college with this equipment and the power to bring his message home to all types of hearers, he has gained the one thing needful. If not, it matters little that he is an excellent Hebraist, or Grecian, or theologian; for unless the message of his Master is burning in the messenger's soul, he had better return home and seek another vocation.

We cannot agree with Dr. M'Giffert in his interpretation of Christianity. He sneers at Christology, or at least esteems any discussion of the nature of Christ and His relation to God of inferior importance. We differ entirely from this eminent scholar, who seems to think that courses of

lectures in 'the ethics of Jesus, His conception of religion, His attitude and methods as a teacher and preacher,' contain the pith of the Christian religion. He would use the phrase 'back to Christ' as a watchword in the sense of bringing Him before the students 'as He appeared to those who saw Him in the flesh,' hoping thus to impart an 'enthusiasm for Jesus.' According to this view, St. Paul might never have existed, or must be regarded as a mistaken interpreter of his Master. We trust the day will never come when colleges on either side of the Atlantic will make it their chief aim to train men in the ethics of Jesus as the main theme, and 'enthusiasm for Jesus' as the chief motive-power, of a gospel that is to save and regenerate the world. The gospel of the New Testament, the gospel that has done the work of saving men for two thousand years—not the ideas of men in the twentieth century as to what that gospel ought to have been—needs to be assimilated afresh by men preparing for the ministry in a form that will set their whole souls on fire and make the whole world to be fuel to the flame which our Lord came to kindle.

Dr. M'Giffert has reason on his side, however, when he urges that an understanding of men and their needs should be quite a secondary and subordinate element in theological education of the more elementary kind. It need not be shut out altogether. A study of history, of the religions of the world, of the psychology of man, of child-life and the principles of child-training, of social conditions and the crying needs of the civilized world, cannot but be of advantage, each in its own place. But that the main objects of a theological college should be feebly and imperfectly carried out, and a vicious system adopted of superficial instruction in many things, in order to bring prematurely before untrained men the problems with which they will assuredly have to grapple in later life—would be a calamity. It is desirable that those who teach should be themselves alive to the actual needs of the age. For all studies—the Old Testament and ancient philosophy as well as the theology of St. Paul—need to be carried on in the theological seminary with the great end in view of bringing the Christian message home to the hearts of men to-day. When, however, selection has to be severely made amongst a crowd of important subjects, it is better to leave to the actual experience of life a class of questions which cannot be adequately discussed as a subordinate element in a crowded college curriculum.

One other subject is touched by Dr. M'Giffert, and it needs an article to itself. He advocates special training for every man according to the field of service awaiting him. That is, as we understand, not only a study of Sanskrit and of Hinduism for men who will go out as Indian missionaries, but 'election and specialization' for those who will take up work in the slums of large cities, as distinct from those who labour in country districts or in university circles. We should say that is an aim which we could not reach if we would, and would not if we could. It is neither feasible nor desirable. A measure of specialization for foreign missionaries, towards the end of their course, when their destination is fixed—and preferably, when their ordinary term of three years is over—is, in our judgement, desirable, and it cannot surely be considered impracticable. But this is only one of

many questions which the wisest men in the several Churches will have ere long very seriously to consider; and, whether they agree or not with all the conclusions of the eminent Professor of Union Seminary, they will find it of use to study his article.

W. T. DAVISON.

THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE

THE conversion of Constantine to Christianity has had consequences so momentous that a critical inquiry into its circumstances must always be of interest. We allude to the familiar story of the vision of the Cross in the sky at the battle of the Milvian Bridge (Oct. 28, 312), with the legend beneath: 'In hoc signo vinces.'

In our earliest authorities there is no mention of any such vision. The earliest writer that tells us of the battle was one called, in the MSS., L. Caecilius, in a work entitled *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 44. From the days of Jerome's work *On Illustrious Men*, c. 80 (written in 393), this Caecilius has been identified with L. Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, and, in spite of the doubts of his able German editor, S. Brandt (in the Vienna Corpus, vol. xxvii.), the identification is usually accepted by scholars. Of the date of the work there is little doubt. It was written in 314, or within a couple of years of the famous battle. Moreover, Lactantius was the tutor of the eldest son of Constantine; and if in 314 it could be shown that he was thus a member of Constantine's household, his version would be decisive. But according to Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.*, c. 80), Crispus was not born until 306, and Lactantius did not become his tutor until about 317. But as in 323 we find Crispus in command of a fleet at the siege of Byzantium, there is ground for believing that Jerome made a mistake, that Crispus was born a few years earlier, and that thus Lactantius was a member of Caesar's household when he wrote his book. The story he tells was thus certainly the one current at court. Of the vision of a cross in the sky, there is not a word. According to Lactantius, Constantine was warned in a dream, on the night before the battle, to draw the monogram of Christ in the form of a cross upon the shields of his soldiers, and this he did. Of this dream, there is proof in the inscription placed by the Senate upon the Arch of Constantine, dedicated in 315. The cause of victory is there given as 'instinctu divinitatis'—'a divine prompting,' a balanced phrase, such as we might expect from the Senate where, for long years after the conversion of the rest of the Empire, the Christians were in a small minority. At one time it used to be said that the words were a later addition. But the archaeologist Garucci, in 1856, showed that they were original (see Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 1892, p. 20) and part of the monument as erected in 315. Also in a heathen eulogy of Constantine, written in 313, the dream ('tu divino monitus instinctu') is twice mentioned (*Panegyrici Latini*, Ed. A. Bährens, 1874, cc. 4 and 11). But never a word in either place of any cross in the sky!

This monogram of Christ, the famous *labarum*, as it was called, demands some attention. As a matter of fact, the *labarum*—a word whose derivation is totally unknown—was no new thing. The English scholar, M. Madden, in his work on *The Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine*,[1] has shown that it occurs on many Graeco-Bactrian coins of the second and first centuries B.C., and on Tarentine coins of the third century B.C. In these cases there can be no question that it had no Christian significance. The two Christian historians, Socrates and Sozomen (*H. E.*, v. 17, and *H. E.*, vii. 15), further tell us that the sign of the cross was common in temples of Isis, and that there it was used for a symbol of immortality. According to the investigations of E. Rapp,[2] there is no well-attested instance of the *labarum* as a purely Christian symbol until 323. In the struggle which Constantine began that year with his rival Licinian, Licinian espoused the side of the pagans. So Constantine, who up to that time had preserved a balance between the two faiths, definitely ranged himself on the side of the Christians, and stamped the *labarum* on most of his coins. The *labarum*, in fact, in 312 was a symbol in use both by Christians and pagans, though with different signification. That Constantine should put it on the shields of his soldiers, the majority of whom were pagans, is exactly what we should expect from this most consummate trimmer.

But to return to the famous story. In 325 Eusebius published his priceless *Ecclesiastical History*. By that time Constantine had definitely become a Christian, and there was no longer any reason in State policy why the familiar story, if true, should not be given to the world. Eusebius was a friend of Constantine, and would have abundant opportunities of hearing all about the battle. But as a matter of fact (ix. 9) he says nothing whatever about the story—a silence unaccountable in so careful an historian.[3] We hear nothing of the story, in fact, until after Constantine's death (Whit-Sunday, 337). Eusebius was then called upon to write a eulogy of the dead emperor. He did so, and the work he published (called the *Life of Constantine*) has about the same value as serious history as the annual effusions which poet laureates used to present to their sovereigns (cf. Socrates, *H. E.*, i. c. 1, who points this out). Yet this eulogy (*V. C.*, i. 28, cf. also ii. 55) is the only place in which the familiar story occurs.

Eusebius naturally is driven to explain how it was that he had said nothing about it in his *History*. He states that Constantine told it him 'long afterwards, and confirmed it with an oath.' The explanation is

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[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877, p. 17 ff.

[2] *Das Labarum und der Sonnencultus*, 1865. Bonn.

[3] At the end of the chapter (ix. 9), it is true he tells us that Constantine erected a statue of himself at Rome with a spear in his right hand shaped like a cross. Some German critics have considered this an interpolation from Eusebius, *V. C.* i. 46. But Eusebius mentions this statue in a speech at Tyre in 314 (*H. E.*, x. 4, 16). The statue and spear-cross were therefore facts, but its interpretation is another matter. The student will remember how Eusebius (*H. E.*, vii. 18) mistook a statue of Aesculapius at Caesarea, with the inscription of 'Saviour' on it, for a statue of Jesus erected by the Syro-Phoenician woman.

fatal. There were thousands of soldiers at the Milvian Bridge, and yet Eusebius had never heard the tale until at least fifteen years after the great portent had appeared. This belated personal evidence of Constantine can scarcely be trusted, for this interesting reason. In his later years Constantine was much given to preaching. Though he had not yet been baptized—he could not make up his mind to this until a few days before his death—he was allowed to preach. When he preached, the court, we are told, was given to interrupting his sermons by cheers. As a preacher, Constantine was intolerably long—but the congregation, we may be sure, never complained. I have his most famous sermon before me as I write. It is called *Ad sanctum Coetum*, and would take at least three hours to deliver. In this sermon Constantine gives us the reasons for his belief in Christianity. These reasons are most interesting. He appeals to the Sibyl and to the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil (the student will be reminded of the famous line of Thomas of Celano, 'Teste David cum Sibylla') and to other prophecies. He then develops, towards the end, an argument that was once more popular than it is to-day. Pagan emperors, says Constantine, all came to a bad end: I became a Christian, and see what I have become (op. cit. 23 ff.). After fifteen centuries, the present writer can still hear the applause in church with which the argument would be greeted, and we may be sure that no experienced sermon-taster in the congregation would whisper that that part of the sermon was copied from Lactantius. But to return to our mutton. Will it be believed that in this sermon there is not one word about the famous cross, though in c. 26 there is a reference to the dream? Surely reference would be found there if found anywhere. Little wonder that when, a few years later, Constantine told Eusebius the tale, he found it necessary to 'confirm it with an oath.' Unfortunately, swearing was a weakness with Constantine, and few people attached much importance even to his most solemn asseverations.

Are we to conclude, then, that the whole story is fictitious? We think not. We would rather put it down to a curious freak of an old man's memory. In 321 a pagan rhetorician called Nazarius had occasion to write a 'Panegyric' on some exploit of Constantine which need not concern us. In chapter fourteen of this eulogy he tells us that in the autumn of 312 there were hosts in the sky that were 'the talk of all Gaul'—some special display of aurora borealis, or shooting stars, &c., which Constantine, who did not cross the Alps to invade Rome until September 312, would see. As an old man, these hosts in the sky were transferred in recollection to a month later, and the actual fact—the dream on the night before the battle, which led to the painting the *labarum* on the shields—was fitted in with the new version.[1] The 'miracle,' upon the defence of which Newman lavished his eloquence (*Essays on Ecclesiastical Miracles*, 1843, p. 103), thus becomes as doubtful as most other

[1] Fabricius (*Bib. Graec.*, vi. 8–29) first gave the explanation of a solar halo on the night of the battle, with which Dean Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 181, fell in. But this does not escape the difficulty of the silence of all historians.

mediaeval 'miracles.' But this is not to deny the providential character of the dream, especially by those who, like the present writer, believe that the hand of God can be traced overruling all the affairs of men.

HERBERT B. WORKMAN.

THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS

UNDERGROUND exploration in the East is at present rendering two kinds of service to biblical science. Facts are being gathered in new areas of research, such as Samaria and Turkestan; and details are being corrected or fitted in, as the result of the more minute investigation of sites already well known. In Samaria the remains of what was probably the palace of Ahab have been reached, and amongst them have been found bits of inscribed pottery that prove upon decipherment to be contemporaneous with that king, and to confirm some of the particulars of his reign as given in Scripture. Turkestan has yielded further evidence of its having been one of the meeting-places of Semitic and Chinese civilizations; and scholars are now at work upon a small collection of documents in an unknown script resembling Aramaic. They cannot be dated much later than the beginning of the fourth century of the present era; they may be two or three centuries older; and they serve to mark a trade route or channel of intercourse, the existence of which was almost entirely unsuspected a few years ago. Of the less original and startling though really not less valuable work, a good instance is afforded by a paper in the current issue of the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

The writer is Dr. P. J. O. Minos, late chaplain of St. George's Collegiate Church in Jerusalem. Within a stone's throw of his house in the outskirts of the city lies the hidden ruin, known to visitors as the Tombs of the Kings, while the natives of the district call it as frequently the Tombs of the Sultans. It is situated about a mile to the north-west outside the city wall, on the broad level land, on which, before the overflowing population appropriated building-sites, the swarming multitude used to encamp at times of festival, and in their absence the Turkish soldiers used to be mustered and drilled. Dr. Minos tells us that his interest in the site was awakened, as it might well be, by seeing the eagerness of pilgrims from all parts of the world. At length he decided to investigate the place and its history for himself; and every paragraph in his paper shows the care with which he worked, and the soundness of the considerations upon which his conclusions as a whole are based.

To reach the tombs, which are quite invisible from the road, a descent of twenty-six steps is made, after which the pilgrim passes beneath a high arch, hewn in the rock, still downwards into a quadrangular courtyard. Here are the depressions or basins where the water was stored for the customary purifications. Under a portico lies the entrance to the tombs proper, with three chambers arranged for the accommodation of from twenty-two to forty bodies, and an inner chamber for the deposition of

sarcophagi. In this several white marble ossuaries have been found, of which two are now in the Louvre and a third in a museum at Constantinople. There are no inscriptions from which any intelligible information can be derived; but the ornamentation of the portico, especially of its façade, is significant and in high relief, while small panels on the right and left, as well as the ossuaries, are decorated with emblems that are far from characterless. Vine leaves, garlands, bunches of grapes, sprays of olive are the favourite symbols, with thick circles shown by their size and embossed edges to represent the cakes used in the meal-offerings of the Temple. Greek influence is traceable in the design of the columns, Latin in the moulding of the entablature, and Hebrew in the majority of the symbols.

Though the materials for judgement are thus artistic rather than literary, they are enough to admit of the reconstruction with some confidence of the history of the tombs. A metal plate on the wall of the portico describes them as 'Tombeau des Rois de Juda,' but need not be taken seriously. Greater favour has been shown to Robinson's identification of the site as that of the sepulchre of Helena, the widowed Queen of Adiabene. The tradition about her is that she became a proselyte to Judaism, and on the death of her husband settled near Jerusalem, where she relieved the poor during the famine predicted by Agabus. That she was buried there is probable from the reference by Josephus to a triple pyramid she erected for her sepulchre three stadia outside the city. But not only was the structure entirely different in character from that of the Tombs of the Kings, it was nearer to the city wall by more than half a mile, and its size was more becoming. A widow, whatever her fortune, would not be likely to excavate a series of vaults in a rock, and to adapt them for the accommodation of three dozen bodies. The story of Josephus is much more probable. A conspicuous pyramidal structure over the chamber in which her own sarcophagus was to lie, another over that intended for her brother, with a third through which access was afforded to both—that is a plan which would appeal to her tastes and sense of fitness, but is altogether different from the plan followed in these tombs. Even if Conder is right against De Saulcy in the decipherment of an only partially legible inscription in Aramaic on one of the removed sarcophagi, the balance of probabilities is certainly against this identification.

As to the actual origin of the tombs Dr. Minos puts forth an attractive theory without exhausting the particulars that might be enumerated in confirmation. He notes the character of the decoration with its recurrence on coins, &c., of a known date and mintage, and suggests excavation and use in the first instance by some member of the Asmonean dynasty, with subsequent appropriation by the Herodian family. The significant feature is the combination of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin influences; and though this can be found in the later Asmonean period, neither the Greek nor the Latin influence could be yielded to without suspicion on the part of the people at large and a weakening of attachment to the dynasty. Nor is there any feature of the tomb that makes it necessary to assume any other date for its construction than at or about the beginning of the

Christian era. The temptation is almost irresistible to ascribe the work to Herod himself. Where exactly he was buried, history does not say. Josephus is ambiguous, and uses a phrase which Schürer explains dubiously as pointing to a spot eight furlongs from Jericho in the direction of Herodium. Antecedent improbability and the disturbed condition of the country are practically fatal to that interpretation. On the other hand, the situation of the so-called Herod's Monument is not far from that of the royal tombs, and almost exactly the distance named from Herod's palace. More than one difficulty disappears, if it be assumed that the funeral procession conveyed the body to Jerusalem itself, and deposited it at last in the innermost and carefully secreted chamber of a series of rock-hewn tombs, which Herod had prepared for himself and his family on his usual scale of magnificence. The tombs would be rifled during the siege of Jerusalem, for they lay on the ground occupied for some months by the army of Titus, a few of whose coins have been found in them. But if they were the resting-place of a part of the Herodian family, their style of ornamentation is at once intelligible, together with the name by which they were known in the vernacular.

R. W. Moss.

THE 'LEIGHTON' TERCENTENARY

Robert Leighton—'the Scottish St. John'—was born in 1611. In the course of his remarkable career he was successively Presbyterian Minister at Newbattle, near Edinburgh (1641–1653) and Principal of Edinburgh University (1653–1662). But when Episcopacy was restored in 1661, he accepted the change, was nominated Bishop of Dunblane by Charles II 'of his own proper motion,' and afterwards became Archbishop of Glasgow. His lot was cast in troublous times, and his policy of moderation pleased neither extreme Episcopalians nor ardent Presbyterians. Yet of his saintliness, his learning, and his pastoral devotion there is but one opinion. From Bishop Burnet to Mr. Balfour his eulogists have never been lacking, and they include men of as diverse ecclesiastical opinions as Doddridge and Döllinger. Dean Stanley calls Leighton 'the most apostolical of all Protestant Scotchmen,' and Professor Flint says that 'a purer, humbler, and holier spirit never tabernacled in Scottish clay.'

Manifold as are the changes which three centuries have witnessed in Church and State, never was there greater need than at this hour of men like Leighton, whose praise is in all the Churches because, when his life is seen in true perspective, he is found to be worthy of the title, which pithily expresses his lasting claim to honour,—'the saint of all the Churches.' Dr. D. Butler, the author of *The Life and Letters of Archbishop Leighton*, has published a delightful Tercentenary volume, containing a brief biography, and extracts from Leighton's writings, amply sufficient to show that the title of the booklet, *Archbishop Leighton's Practice of the Presence of God*, 'reveals the secret of his life,' and makes happy use of a phrase that was frequently on his lips.

Strange to say, Dr. Butler makes no reference to the charming portrait of Leighton in Dr. W. C. Smith's poem, 'The Bishop's Walk.' But the sympathetic sketch of the Bishop, soliloquizing as he paces up and down the avenue of trees near Dunblane Cathedral, and the realistic description of 'The Bishop's Times' in the companion poem, bring his personality and his environment vividly before us. Yet duly to appreciate Leighton it is not sufficient to read books about him whether in prose or in poetry. He is self-revealed in his own sermons and letters. Some of his less-known writings have enriched the devotional literature of the Church, and deserve at this time to be brought to mind. Above all, the book which Mr. Spurgeon called 'a truly heavenly work, a favourite of all spiritual men,' must not be neglected—Leighton's *Practical Commentary on the 1st Epistle of Peter*. Coleridge called the Commentary 'the reverberations of Peter's strokes,' and made use of its aphorisms in his *Aids to Reflection*. Nearly two hundred years separated Leighton from Coleridge, when the English philosopher wrote concerning the Scottish divine's exposition: 'Surely if ever work, not in the sacred Canon, might suggest a belief of inspiration, of something more than human, this it is. Next to the inspired Scriptures —yea, and as the vibration of that once-struck hour, remaining on the air, stands Leighton's Commentary on the 1st Epistle of St. Peter.'

A story often told of Leighton is to the effect that, during his Newbattle ministry, he was remonstrated with by the Synod for 'not preaching up the times.' When he asked who did preach up the times, the reply was: 'All the brethren.' Whereupon Leighton rejoined: 'Then if all of you preach up the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to preach up Christ and eternity.' Some modern writers regard the tradition as insufficiently attested. But Dr. Butler, than whom no man is more competent to express an opinion, says that the story, 'whether historical or not, contains a truth that is Leightonian and is probably founded on some utterance of his, known to his contemporaries.' Many utterances of Leighton might be found which express the same thought. For example, in his sermon preached before the Scottish Parliament in 1669, he reminds his hearers that the pillars will not be shaken 'because of the swarms of flies that are about them.' To those who are 'wearing out their days with impertinent inquiries' concerning church orders, he says: 'Let us follow the holy Jesus. Our own concernments concern us not compared to this. "What is that to thee?" may be said of all things besides this. All the world is one great impertinency to him who contemplates God and His Son Jesus.'

Yet Leighton was not unworldly in the sense of being unmindful of his duties to his fellow men. In his *Rules for a Holy Life* he gives practical and wholesome advice which shows how far he was from regarding mystical contemplation as anything more than a 'very helpful means to come to perfection.' To guard against this error he formulates two rules: 'Let no particular exercise hinder your public and standing duties to God and your neighbour; but, for these rather intermit the one for a time, and then return to it as soon as you can'; and 'always follow such exercises of devout thoughts with putting in practice such lessons as they contain and

excite to.' In the *Sermon* above mentioned Leighton quaintly refers to the perils of lonely reverie: 'A man may live in solitude to little purpose, as Domitian catching flies in his closet. Many noisome thoughts break in upon him when alone, so that when one converseth with himself, it had need be said, *Vide ut sit cum bono viro*. A man alone shall be in worse company than are in all the world, if he bring not into him better company than himself or all the world, which is the fellowship of God and His Holy Spirit.'

In his notes to 'The Bishop's Walk,' Dr. W. C. Smith refers, with regret, to the non-preservation of many of Leighton's letters, which are known to have been in existence after his death. 'It is an unspeakable loss to literature, and history, and religion; for the few that do exist are precious beyond measure.' To his brother-in-law on the death of a dear son, Leighton writes with tender affection: 'John is but gone an hour or two sooner to bed, as children use to do, and we are undressing to follow. And the more we put off the love of this present world, and all things superfluous beforehand, we shall have the less to do when we lie down.' He reminds a lady who has 'sceptical and doubting thoughts' that a hopeful feature in her case is her wish that Christianity may prove true, for many disbelieve because their evil lives make it their interest so to do. 'There is this vast difference betwixt you and them: they would gladly believe less than they do, and you would as gladly believe more than you do. They are sometimes pained and tormented with apprehensions that the doctrine of religion is, or may be, true; and you are perplexed with suggestions to doubt of it, which are to you as unwilling and unwelcome as these apprehensions of its truth are to them.'

The key to the solution of the problem presented by the willingness of a Presbyterian minister to accept Episcopal ordination is to be found in Leighton's own words. He regarded the ecclesiastical controversies of his day as 'irreligious strivings for religion,' and exclaims: 'O what are things we fight for compared to the great things of God? There must be a great abatement of the inwards of religion, when it runs wholly to a scurf.' He held that re-ordination did not annul the orders he had before received. Burnet says that, according to Leighton's broad views, the re-ordaining of a priest already ordained imported no more than that he was admitted to orders in another Church according to its own rules. Many of Leighton's admirers consider that he erred in judgement, but none doubt that his one desire was to unite the faithful in both parties. Dr. W. C. Smith represents an old Presbyterian friend of Bishop Leighton as saying to him—

> I never doubted thee; when some
> Would have it thou wert almost come,
> In feebleness and false compliance,
> To seek with Rome a base alliance,
> I held their words but light,
> Knowing thy heart was right.

Dr. Butler reads with true and sympathetic insight the riddle of this episode in Leighton's career: 'The spirit of the seventeenth century was

foreign to him'; but he adds: 'the twentieth century, if not yet ready to receive him, is dreaming of his vision.' To-day there are many devout Christians in all the Churches sighing, with Leighton, 'Ah, my beloved, the body of religion is torn, the soul of it expires while we are striving about the hem of the garment.' When his estimate of questions of church government as secondary is generally accepted, the realization of his ideal will be close at hand. Dr. Butler is fully justified in seeing in the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference 'a beginning towards the consummation' of Leighton's dream of union: 'It is the spirit animating Leighton's soul, that will one day, far off or near, bring peace to the divided Church of Christ.' Dr. Butler's words are the fulfilment of the hope which the Scottish preacher-poet puts into Leighton's mouth, a hope which undoubtedly sustained him, as he said, 'I did not take the mitre to make my labour lighter':

> Then what if my small seed should be
> Reaped in another century,
> And understood, and loved by them
> Who then, in our Jerusalem,
> Shall peacefully combine
> To love the life divine?

J. G. TASKER.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWELVE years ago two bulky volumes appeared in Germany of which no fewer than sixty thousand copies have been sold. They have now been translated into English by Dr. John Lees, and published by Mr. Lane (2 vols. 25*s.* net.), with a masterly introduction by Lord Redesdale, which gives a singularly interesting account of the author. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, the son of an English admiral, was born at Southsea in 1855. Two of his uncles were generals in our army, a third was Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain. His mother was the daughter of Captain Basil Hall, R.N. Mr. Chamberlain was himself intended for the army; but his health broke down whilst he was at Cheltenham College, and his course was changed. He studied at Geneva and Dresden, and in 1892 wrote a book on *The Drama of Richard Wagner*. During the first twelve months five copies were sold, of which Chamberlain was the purchaser, but it has since run through four editions. He afterwards married Wagner's daughter.

His work on the Nineteenth Century is an endeavour to reveal the bases on which its civilization rests. Mr. Chamberlain sees the folly of attempting to draw an arbitrary line between it and preceding centuries. Our own age points back to the past, from which it has inherited knowledge and thought which have moulded all its life. The first year of our era may be taken as the beginning of our history, and 1200 A.D. as the date when the Teuton awoke and a new world began to open out. The author

hopes to do away with the absurdities of Middle Ages and a Renaissance, 'by which, more than by anything else, an understanding of our present age is not only obscured, but rendered directly impossible.' He claims that our whole civilization is the work of the Teutonic race, but for whom 'everlasting night would have settled upon the world.'

Mr. Chamberlain describes the birth of Christ as 'the most important date in the whole history of mankind. No battle, no dynastic change, no natural phenomenon, no discovery possesses an importance that could bear comparison with the short earthly life of the Galilean; almost two thousand years of history prove it, and even yet we have hardly crossed the threshold of Christianity.' To say that Christianity is the religion of love does not reveal its secret. 'The essential thing is rather this: by Christianity each individual has received an inestimable, hitherto unanticipated value—even "the hairs on his head are all numbered by God" (Matt. x. 30); his outward life does not correspond to this inner worth; and thus it is that life has become tragic, and only by tragedy does history receive a purely human purport.'

In Greece culture rested on an artistic basis. The result was 'an exuberantly rich blossoming of the human intellect.' Mr. Chamberlain scorns the theory that the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' were 'nothing more than a skilful pasting together and re-editing of all sorts of poems.' Homer 'enters the twentieth century, the fourth millennium of his fame, greater than ever.' Our author denies that the Greeks were great metaphysicians, moralists, or theologians, and makes short work of the notion that they were patterns of all that was chivalrous and noble. The sacred fire of poetry and art never burned with a purer flame than in ancient Greece, and their spirit is still felt in 'our poetry, our thought, our faith, our researches,' but in other ways theirs has been a cramping and retarding element in the growth of the human intellect. 'The secure moral foundations of a dignified social life, a life morally worthy of man,' we owe to Rome. The Roman was no sentimentalist, but he was ready to make any sacrifice for his home. If Rome had not destroyed Carthage 'mankind would never have seen this nineteenth century,' for the Phoenicians would have struck a death-blow at freedom and civilization. Mr. Chamberlain holds that 'the religion of the civilized world would have pined under the purely Jewish primacy of the city of Jerusalem, if Jerusalem had not been destroyed by the Romans. Under the leaden weight of these born dogmatists and fanatics all freedom of thought and faith would have disappeared from the world; the flatly materialistic view of God would have been our religion, pettifoggery our philosophy.' Mr. Chamberlain thinks the treatment of the whole Jewish question has been superficial. 'No people in the world is so beggarly-poor in religion as the Semites, and their half-brothers the Jews; and we, who were chosen to develop the profoundest and sublimest religious conception of the world as the light, life, and vitalizing force of our whole culture, have with our own hands firmly tied up the veins of life, and limp along like crippled Jewish slaves behind Jehovah's ark of the Covenant!' This view will perhaps be more keenly contested than anything in the whole book.

He holds that 'the Semites are probably the only people on the whole earth who ever were or could be genuine idolaters.' This is an astonishing view to readers of the prophets and the psalmists, but Mr. Chamberlain does not hesitate to regard the Jews 'as the most irreligious people in the world.'

At last the vision of Christ was revealed. 'Here is a Man born into the world and living a life through which the conception of the moral significance of man, the whole philosophy of life—undergoes a complete transformation—through which the relation of the individual to himself, to the rest of mankind, and to the nature by which he is surrounded, is of necessity illuminated by a new and hitherto unsuspected light, so that all motives of action, all ideals, all heart's desires and hopes, must be remoulded and built up anew from their very foundations.' The full significance of that revelation has not even yet dawned upon us. Mr. Chamberlain believes 'we are still far, very far, from the moment when the transfiguring might of the vision of Christ will make itself felt to its utmost extent by civilized mankind.' The Churches derive all their power from 'the contemplation of the Son of Man upon the cross.' 'Even now, Christianity is not yet firm upon its childish feet; its maturity is hardly dawning upon our dim vision. Who knows but a day may come when the bloody church-history of the first eighteen centuries of our era may be looked upon as the history of the infantile diseases of Christianity?' This is one of the special attractions of the book. Lord Redesdale says, 'He preaches Christ and Him crucified: that is to him all-sufficing. Can there be a purer ideal?' He claims that though our century has been called irreligious, 'never yet, since the first Christian centuries, has the interest of mankind concentrated so passionately around the person of Jesus Christ as in the last seventy years. . . . And the result of it all is, that the actual earthly life of Jesus Christ has become more and more concrete, and we have been compelled to recognize more and more distinctly that the origin of the Christian religion is fundamentally to be traced to the absolutely unexampled impression which this one personality had made and left upon those who knew Him.'

Christ and Buddha are set side by side. 'What unites them is their sublimity of character. From that source have sprung lives of unsurpassed loveliness, lives which wielded an influence such as the world had never before experienced.' In almost every other point they differ. The neo-Buddhism which is paraded in some circles is only a proof of superficiality of thought. 'Buddha represents the senile decay of a culture which has reached the limit of its possibilities,' Buddhism is 'a lived suicide.' Christ stands in absolute contrast to this. He perceives divine Providence in the whole world; not a sparrow falls to the ground, not a hair on the head of a man can be injured, without the permission of the Heavenly Father. And far from hating this earthly existence, which is lived by the will and under the eye of God, Christ praises it as the entry into eternity, as the narrow gate through which we pass into the Kingdom of God.

There was a chaos of peoples in the dying Roman Empire, and out of this the principle of race had to shape itself. We watch the process

in Lucian the satirist, who is a type of ignoble self-seeking, and in Augustine, in whom 'character wrestles with intellect in a tussle of doubtful issue, and does not rest until intellect is thrown and put in fetters.' The Teutons had inherited from their Aryan ancestors a passion for song and music, an imagination and a power of thought which enabled them to make the most of the poetry and art inherited from Greece, the law and statecraft of the Romans, and, greatest of all, the teaching of Christ.' Hence sprang the new culture which to-day dominates a considerable part of the world. It is a triumph of race. We owe it to the Teutons, who are chiefly represented by the Northern peoples—Kelts, Germans, Slavs, all the races from which the peoples of modern Europe have sprung. French and Americans are also included in this comprehensive word. It is with this race that the future of civilization rests. It is easy to prove that no such people exists, yet there is force and meaning in Mr. Chamberlain's conception of the influence of race. The Papacy arose like a phoenix out of the wreck of the Roman Empire, and though the Reformation achieved political freedom, it was a failure as the parent of a new and consistent religion, and left a motley crowd of sects which fail to present a united front to the heathen world. Thomas Aquinas set himself to formulate a system which might serve as a Tower of Babel for the Church, but Francis of Assisi pushed the priesthood aside and proclaimed the gospel to all people. He 'represents a violent reaction on the part of men longing for religion, against the cold, incomprehensible, argumentative, and stilted faith in dogma.' Every one who reads his story must recognize the place which the vision of the Cross and the teaching of the gospel hold in shaping his conduct. 'He is faith incorporate.' Mr. Chamberlain has much to say of Kant, who saw in the teaching of Christ a 'perfect religion.' His own tribute is wonderfully impressive: 'We cannot express in words what a figure like Jesus Christ signifies, what it reveals; it is something in the inmost recesses of our souls, something apart from time and space—something which cannot be exhaustively or even adequately expressed by any logical chain of thought. . . . In order that the example may retain its miraculous power, that the Christian religion may not lose its character as actual, real experience, the figure of Jesus Christ must ever be born anew; otherwise there remains only a vain tissue of dogmas, and the Personality —whose extraordinary influence was the sole source of this religion—becomes crystallized to an abstraction.' This is nobly said, but the conclusion is somewhat halting. Only art can give new birth to the original form and experience. 'A Leonardo gives us the figure and a Bach the voice of Jesus Christ, now for ever present.' We admit the religious influence of architect, painter, sculptor and poet; but the growing power of Christ rests on a surer basis—His own abiding presence and the grace of His revealing Spirit.

THE EDITOR.

Recent Literature

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., and other scholars. Vol. III.: *Burial—Confessions.* (T. & T. Clark. 28*s.* net.)

THE high standard reached in the two previous volumes of this great *Encyclopaedia* is fully sustained in vol. iii. Among the composite articles, skilfully divided by the editor among specialists, are 'Calendar' with more than twenty contributors, and 'Communion with Deity' with nearly as many. The advantage of this method may be illustrated from the treatment of the important subject of 'Charity.' An admirable introductory article by Professor W. L. Davidson, of Aberdeen, expounds fully the nature, the characteristics, and the consequences of charity in the wider meaning of the term; nine articles follow stating briefly, but adequately, the Primitive, Biblical, Buddhist, Christian, Greek, Hindu, Jewish, and Roman views concerning charity or almsgiving. Many practical lessons may be learnt from this comprehensive survey of various theories.

Single articles of great value are 'Church,' by Dr. John Oman; 'Calvinism,' by Dr. James Orr; 'Cambridge Platonists,' by Professor J. A. Stewart; 'Causality,' by Dr. F. R. Tennant; and 'Character,' by Dr. Rudolf Eucken. The last name is a welcome addition to Dr. Hastings' remarkable list of authors. In his all too brief outline of the problem of formation of character, Eucken compresses the central truths of his philosophy. As, for example, when he says: 'It is a matter of profound importance that the things of the spirit should be assessed at their true value by the community at large, and that they should not be overwhelmed by the external things so highly prized in our social life.'

Dr. Garvie's monograph (21 pages) on 'Christianity' demands and will repay most careful study. It opens with a concise statement of objections which Christian scholars are compelled to offer to the demands of the religious-historical method. Christianity is defined not only as ethical, historical, universal, and monotheistic, but also as redemptive and centring in Christ's mediation. Under 'Current theories of the origin of Christianity,' reference is made to the radicalism of Kalthoff and Pfleiderer, but not to the destructive theories of Jensen and Drews. The method pursued in this article may be commended to all who would effectively meet modern attacks on the trustworthiness of the Evangelists' portrait of Christ. In estimating their validity it is 'best to work backwards from the extreme to the moderate criticism of the Gospels.'

This volume closes with a striking and elaborate article on 'Confessions,' by Professor W. A. Curtis, of Aberdeen. It is scholarly, high-toned, and

exhaustive. Of Wesleyan Methodism it is said that, 'more than any other system, save that of the Friends, with which it has not a little in common, it enthrones the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, testing all doctrines and all work by His felt presence and power.' Three distinctive doctrines are said to be fundamental in the Methodist system: the universality of the offer of saving grace, the present assurance of salvation, and perfectionism. The last word is not well chosen, but our teaching is understood; Christian Perfection is defined as 'not beyond the reach either of enhancement or of loss, but thorough and all-pervading sanctification, the state in which deliberate sin is left behind, love to God is supreme, and every true faculty of human life fully enjoyed.'

On 'Assurance,' vol. ii. contains, instead of an article, a reference: 'See CERTAINTY.' Dr. Hastings has divided the great theme into two divisions, 'Certainty (Moral),' and 'Certainty (Religious)'; the latter subject is allotted to Dr. Tasker, who defines religious certainty as the assurance of personal salvation. 'In mediaeval times the general effect of the teaching of the Church was to discourage the expectation of attaining to religious certainty.' Wesley's teaching is discussed in a very suggestive way. The whole article is illuminating. Dr. Tasker also writes on 'Caprice' in human action and as ascribed to God. The thought of a unifying and adequate purpose eliminates caprice from the divine action. Belief in law helps us to trust in God's providence; and 'prayer implies neither ignorance of the facts of science nor expectation of answers to petitions by violation of Nature's law. True prayer is spiritual communion.'

Other articles by Methodist authors are 'Cherubim' by Dr. Moss, who carefully examines various theories and concludes that 'cherub has become a term for any superhuman being who is conceived as occupied with the praising of God.' Dr. Geden gives a lucid account of the life and teaching of 'Chaitanya,' a Vaishnavite reformer, and also writes on 'Charity (Hindu).' Rev. J. H. Bateson deals with the Buddhist aspects of 'Calendar' and 'Charms and Amulets.' Prof. Peake thoroughly examines the traditions concerning 'Cerinthus,' whom he regards as 'a genuine Gnostic'; he agrees with Dr. Zahn that 'the Judaism of Cerinthus is only a learned myth.' In every article time has permitted us to read we have found 'great riches in a little room.'

Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. Unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Gunkel und Otto Scheel herausgegeben von Friedrich Michael Schiele und Leopold Zscharnack. Zweiter Band. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr. London: Williams & Norgate. To be completed in 5 vols., 20*s.* to 25*s.* each.)

The Preface to this work, which is vol. ii. of an elaborate and exhaustive *Dictionary of Religion*, contains the announcement—neither unexpected

nor unwelcome—that 5 volumes instead of 3, will be required to complete it. The name of Zscharnack of Berlin appears, as editor, with that of Schiele, who retired from chief responsibility as this volume was in course of publication. In the department of *Apologetics* Wendland of Basle takes the place of Wobbermin of Breslau.

In all respects the high standard of scholarship reached in vol. i. is maintained in vol. ii., which extends from *Deutschmann* to *Hessen*. The illustrations are excellent, though not numerous. The value of the *Dictionary* to English students of German theology does not depend upon entire agreement with all the critical conclusions, but on the clear and full statements of the views held by some of the most able representatives of the religious-historical school. Many articles, of course, raise no controversial issues and are admirable summaries of scholarly research. The brief biographies are most useful and are models of condensation. In less than two pages Baumgarten gives a lucid account of *Frenssen* and his writings, the condemnation of the 'naturalism' of his novels being all the more impressive from a theologian who has sympathy with the novelist's critical attitude towards the Gospels.

In a *Dictionary of Religion* which gives more than four columns to Dickens it is, however, a surprise to find only eight lines allotted to Prof. T. H. Green, whose philosophy is inadequately described as 'resting upon a Kantian basis.' Drummond's *Ascent of Man* is said to be 'the work rather of a poetic exponent of modern science than of an original thinker.' In this article 'Tunbridge' is mis-spelt 'Turnbridge,' but with the exception of peculiarities in the use of capitals, the English is generally correct.

Gunkel, who edits the *Old Testament* section as well as that dealing with *Religions of the Ancient East*, contributes a striking article on *Elijah*. After endeavouring to distinguish the mythical from the historical elements in the narrative, he asks the pertinent question: 'How could the entire, imposing figure be invented without an historical background?' Not only is Elijah regarded as contending for 'a consciously exclusive monolatry,' but also as 'the representative of a moral monotheism.' Bousset is the author of a brilliant discussion of the *Synoptic Problem*; to those who hold that Ur-Marcus and not our present Gospel was the source used by Matthew and Luke, Bousset says that the facts do not warrant the postulating of an Ur-Marcus of which our Gospel is a recension, but that they suggest the use of a somewhat different Marcan text by Matthew and Luke.

In many cases the editors have divided great subjects among specialists. For example, Von der Goltz treats *Prayer* (*Gebet*) historically, Hans Schmidt and Jülicher present respectively the Old Testament and the New Testament aspects of the subject, Eck of Giessen writes on the doctrine of Prayer; there are also articles on Liturgies (Baumgarten) and Prayer Healing (Clemen). Similarly, *Grace of God* is expounded from the old Testament and from the New Testament points of view by Bertholet and A. Meyer, doctrinally by Troeltsch. Titius is responsible for exceedingly able articles on *Evolution* (*Entwicklungstheorie*), *Egoism*, *Eudaemonism*, &c. Other well-known contributors to this volume are Benzinger of Jerusalem,

Heitmüller of Marburg, Krüger of Giessen, E. W. Mayer of Strassburg, Niebergall of Heidelberg, Ritschl of Bonn, and Wernle of Basle. To some of their articles reference will be made in future numbers of this REVIEW. It is good to notice the ample space allotted to *Missions* (*Heidenmission*), but in col. 2008 the Wesleyan Missionary Society is said to have been founded in 1814 instead of 1818, and the writer is not aware that the *Foreign Field* has displaced the *Missionary Notices* as the literary organ of the society.

Sin as the Problem of To-day. By Dr. James Orr. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.)

This is a strong book; it is needless to add that Dr. Orr is a strong thinker and probably the most skilful defender of the faith in the ranks of theologians holding the traditional positions. On this account the book is rather disappointing. The interest is mainly in the able and luminous summaries of phases of modern thought, philosophical and scientific, which impinge upon the theological doctrine of sin, and not in any satisfying, or even tentative position in which we may place together the more sure results of modern knowledge and the 'Christian doctrine of sin, as it has been commonly understood.' The urgency for stating such a position is pressing; the opportunity of doing this was a great one, both in the pages of the *Expositor*, where Dr. Orr's papers first appeared, and in the present volume. The writer, however, leaves us much where we were. This may be a feat for congratulation, considering the difficulties of the subject 'as a problem of to-day'; it is perhaps where we ought to be; but it is certainly a position where many would like to be, who are not. Such would naturally look to so keen and lucid a writer as Dr. Orr for direction. But whilst the positions of the opposite camps could scarcely be stated with greater clearness and interest, we have no suggestion of terms of peace. We should be sorry to conclude that such terms are impossible. Signs of truce Dr. Orr does give in regard to the possibilities of a certain modified doctrine of evolution and the Christian view of sin. 'We seem to be brought to an *impasse*, from which no outlet is evident, save, on the one hand, in the *surrender of the Christian conception of sin*, confirmed as that is by ages of deepest religious experience, or, on the other, in the *rejection of the doctrine of evolution*, which science wellnigh universally accepts as the truth. Neither alternative can be entertained.' What the *modus vivendi* may be we are not clearly told. Dr. Orr gives a most able and concise statement of the difference between the Darwinian school of evolutionists and that of Weismann, but how either the one or the other may help towards any *rapprochement* with the Christian view of sin is not suggested. Both are antagonistic. We are nevertheless indebted to Dr. Orr for what he has given us; it is at any rate a clear statement of the problem which, sooner or later, the Christian thinker and teacher must put in the forefront of his contentions. A deeper sense of sin is a conspicuous need; for the evangelical emphasis it is essential. But we confess that Dr. Orr leaves us doubtful whether he has rightly estimated the value of the

psychological interpretation of the religious consciousness of the individual and the race as a factor in any tentative solution of the problem. 'The higher man of to-day, who is not worrying about his sins,' to whom the oft-quoted testimony of Sir Oliver Lodge has given identity, will not be met by the re-assertion of the terms of the traditional theological definitions of sin unmodified, however cogently they may be defended.

Dr. Orr thus states the contention of his first five chapters: 'Sin, as scripture and experience represent it, is irreconcileable, not indeed with evolutionary theory within the limits in which science can justly claim to have established it, but with an evolutionary theory which, like Darwin's, pictures man as having arisen bodily and mentally by slow gradations from the animal, and as subsisting through uncounted millenniums in a state of semi-brutishness and savagery.' The earlier of these chapters, however, are occupied with a timely and effective discussion of the tendencies of the philosophical thought of to-day, especially those represented by Bradley, McTaggart, and A. E. Taylor, as they bear on conceptions of sin, which appear to be gaining currency in popular thought. These and the more distinctly theological discussions in the later chapters of the book suggest a host of questions which the reader will be glad of the privilege of thinking over afresh under Dr. Orr's careful guidance. For the ability and conviction of the book we have great admiration. Some of the ground was covered in the author's earlier volume on *God's Image in Man*; but we think there are in his latest volume signs of concession that he did not there admit in his view of evolution. Every one now expects Dr. Orr's style to be incisive and his logic acute. His quick discernment of the joints in his opponent's armour and his gift for using quotations as luminous points in his controversies—these and other characteristic gifts abound in this scholarly but brightly-written book. It gives us Dr. Orr at his best.

The Expositor's Greek Testament. Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Vols. iv., v. (Hodder & Stoughton. 30*s.* net the two vols.)

The concluding volumes of *The Expositor's Greek Testament* have long been expected, and they are here placed in the hands of the student in a form, and with a wealth of material for thought and study, that will be found most fully to meet the needs of those for whom they are chiefly designed. The standpoint of the writers is generally moderate, as is most essential in a work of this class, conservative of all that is best in modern criticism; and although neither in introduction nor commentary was there perhaps the opportunity for the highest qualities of the expositor which some of the earlier volumes afforded, the standard of scholarship is well maintained, and insight and experience of a high order find expression in the judgements passed upon the circumstances of the sacred writers, the date and authenticity of their writings, and the doctrines which they desired to enforce.

The names of the contributors are in themselves a guarantee of the adequacy and serious character of the work done. Dr. James Moffatt writes

on the Thessalonian Epistles and the Book of Revelation; Prof. N. J. D. White on the Pastoral Epistles; Dr. W. E. Oesterley on Philemon and James; the late Dr. Marcus Dods on Hebrews; Mr. J. H. A. Hart on 1 Peter, and Mr. R. D. Strachan on 2 Peter; Prof. David Smith on the Epistles of John; and Dr. J. B. Mayor on Jude. Dr. Mayor expounds again at length and with much skill the arguments set forth in his published Commentary, and in an article in *H. D. B.*, vol. ii., for the priority of Jude to 2 Peter, a view accepted also by Mr. Strachan, but by no means universally received. The latter would date 2 Peter in the early years of the second century, within the limits A.D. 100–115. Mr. Strachan differs, however, from Dr. Mayor and others, in regarding it not as an Epistle addressed primarily to the Roman Church, but an encyclical to recent Christian converts in general, and more particularly perhaps to a later generation of the same Churches of Asia Minor as are addressed in 1 Peter.

In the commentaries on Philemon and James by Dr. Oesterley, and on 1 Peter by Mr. Hart, it is very welcome to note how each writer is able to illustrate and illuminate his theme from the rich stores of a specialist's knowledge and authority. If in the earlier volumes the commentaries of Dr. Knowling on the Acts, Dr. Denney on the Romans, and Dr. Findlay on 1 Corinthians, hold the first place, we should be inclined for originality and suggestiveness to assign a rank but a little if at all lower to these comparatively brief expositions.

It is again to be regretted that a uniform standard of Greek text has not been adopted and enforced. Apparently each contributor has been at liberty to print whatever text he pleased; the result is to present a variety which is far from being helpful. In one case the printed Greek is the text of the English Revisers, in another that of Westcott and Hort, in a third the Textus Receptus of R. Stephanus (1550), while one contributor appears even to have constructed his own text on original lines as he proceeded. The same want of conformity and consistency was noticeable in the volumes already published. It is a minor drawback, perhaps, but real, and a source of much inconvenience to the student.

We do not like Dr. Moffatt's style. It is both careless and fantastic; and its character mars a volume which is as commendable for the high literary standard otherwise maintained as for the self-restraint and scholarly tone of its judgements. 'Desperate recrudescence of the devil'; 'the element of fancy becomes still more lurid and ornate'; 'just as the closing doom might be expected to crash down upon the world'; 'a regular crescendo of disasters'; 'poetic coefficients'—these are all from within the limits of a few pages, and with many other examples of a florid and meaningless journalism ought to have been rigidly excluded from the pages of a serious work.

The presentation of these two volumes in regard to accuracy and beauty of printing leaves little to be desired. Misprints are very rare. In vol. iv., ח appears twice for ת, read פִּלֶּסֶת p. 305[a], and בְּרִית p. 315[b], and אֹתָם has lost a point p. 348[a]; vol. v, *ἀκριζωθέντα* has missed its accent p. 269[b], read ἀκριζωθέντα p. 418[a].

The editor is to be congratulated on the completion of a great work, which places within the reach of the student aid of the most important and reliable nature for the just interpretation of the text of the New Testament. To characterize the result as of unequal quality is to say little than that it is the work of human minds and hands. To co-ordinate and guide to a successful issue so great an undertaking has been no light task. But the end desired and achieved was worth the toil; and has earned the grateful acknowledgement of all who desire the establishment and maintenance of the truth.

The Old Syriac Gospels. Edited by Agnes S. Lewis, with four facsimiles. (Williams & Norgate. 25*s.* net.)

The discoverer of the primary representative of the Old Syriac version of our Gospels, which has done so much to advance textual criticism since its publication in 1894, herself defines the scope of this new and probably final edition as 'being the text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene palimpsest, including the latest additions and emendations, with the variants of the Curetonian text, corroborations from many other MSS., and a list of quotations from ancient authors.' Here, then, we have a *corpus* of all bearing on this famous MS. and its text, fit to stand beside Prof. Burkitt's classic edition of its fellow, the Curetonian MS. of the same version at a rather later stage of its textual history. Compared with the latter edition, the chief disadvantages of Mrs. Lewis's work are two: first, the absence of an English translation of her now definitive text, to replace her two earlier ones (though this we hope may yet be forthcoming in a separate form), and next, the less expert handling of questions touching the underlying text, especially those bearing on its originality. That its text is as a whole very early is certain. Indeed Merx, Hjelt, and others are probably right in regarding it as prior to the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (c. 172), and therefore based on a type of Greek text current in Antioch or its neighbourhood as early as the middle of the second century. But this is far from guaranteeing greater conformity to the autographs of our Gospels than what reaches us only through MSS. and versions whose text cannot be traced back to as early as 150 A.D. The fact is that internal evidence is nearly always decisive against any readings distinctive of the Old Syriac, even in its purest form: they are suggestive glosses, generally making 'in the direction of clearness,' as Mrs. Lewis notes in one case (thus in Matt. vi. 7 it has 'a clear explanation of the word *βαττολογήσητε*'); but they are no more. They often appeal to the sentiment of the modern reader just because they make the text easier in some way or another, and for this very reason they are secondary and not original. That its omissions—matters of substance rather than form—are usually very important as corroborative evidence, may be strongly affirmed. Yet some of these, too, are probably due to subjective causes, e.g. omission of the description of Christ's agony in Luke xxii. 43 f. (due to false reverence), and of the cry, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,' in xxiii. 34 (due to anti-Jewish feeling at a very early date in Syria). As helping us to detect assimilation

between the first three Gospels at a date *after* 150, it is of special value. Finally, agreement with any type of text other than the 'Western' (i.e. a fundamentally Syro-Antiochene one) gives its readings high claim to be considered genuine, though even here we must allow (when internal evidence is contrary) for certain secondary readings, such as may have arisen, even before the archetypes of the Old Syriac and the earliest Egyptian line of text (as implied in B) had deviated from each other. On the whole, perusal of Mrs. Lewis's splendid edition, alongside that of Prof. Burkitt, makes one realize afresh how great is the debt under which she has put students of the Gospels in bringing to light the purest form of the earliest non-Greek version: for such the old Syriac almost certainly is, in spite of Prof. Burkitt's view that it is dependent on Tatian's *Diatessaron* and so presumably later than the Old Latin.

Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch. Second English edition, revised in accordance with the twenty-eighth German edition (1909) by A. E. Cowley. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910. 16*s.* 6*d.* net.)

To the new English edition of Gesenius' Grammar all Hebrew students will accord a most hearty welcome. The Oxford translation of 1898, which at once superseded all earlier English editions by the exactness and scholarship with which it was carried through, has for some time been out of print. And the pursuit of the study of Hebrew without a complete and reliable 'Gesenius' is a thing unthinkable. Many will remember the old edition of 1846, published by Bagster, in square octavo, from the fourteenth German edition, containing less than 250 pages of generously wide type, translated by the late Dr. Benjamin Davies, of Stepney College. With its numerous successors of gradually increasing extent and accuracy it rendered inestimable service to the cause of sacred learning, and provoked many to works of study and research. The difference between the past and the present is illustrated in the volume before us, which, like its immediate predecessor, runs to five hundred closely-packed pages, exclusive of the tables of paradigms and the indices. Nor is the distance between the two less marked in contents than in form and in size.

It is with much regret also that the words of the preface recall to mind that the twenty-eighth edition of the German text is the last with which the name of Dr. Kautzsch will be associated. How much Hebrew scholarship and exact grammatical science owe to him cannot be told. For more than thirty years he laboured with incessant zeal and care to improve and bring as near to perfection as possible the successive editions of the Grammar, for which he had made himself responsible. And notwithstanding the multitude of works on Hebrew grammar that have been published within the last half-century, that of Gesenius still holds an unrivalled position, and is as indispensable as ever to the serious student. In its latest form it is well worthy of the high place which it

has so long occupied in the field of Semitic lore. Few grammars of any language can lay claim to so exact and complete research, or are so rich in the latest and most detailed information.

Although the total number of pages in this latest edition remain the same, by a slight compression and condensation of the type room has been found for considerable additions to the text. To a large extent these assume the form of references to the latest literature; few published works in his own department escaped Dr. Kautzsch's notice, and the book has been most thoroughly brought up to date. It is perhaps in this direction that its value will most be appreciated, as compared with the edition of 1898. Other examples of valuable additions or alterations will be found for instance in the discussion of the origin of the alphabet, p. 28 f.; or the statement with regard to the pronominal suffixes, p. 257. The indices also have been enlarged and extended, to the great advantage of the student, and now occupy half as many pages again as in the last English edition. The inadequacy of the index was indeed the chief defect of the Grammar in its earlier form, and rendered it difficult of consultation. There are now three indices—of subjects, of Hebrew words and forms, and of passages. The table of the early Semitic alphabets also is expanded, and a facsimile of the Siloam inscription added. It is a curious omission, although not of much moment, that no reference is made to the latter in the index, *s.v.* Siloam; nor to the table of alphabets. Both of these, however, should have been inserted.

To Dr. Cowley and his coadjutors, and to the officials of the Clarendon Press, a large debt of gratitude is due for the skill and wonderful accuracy with which a work involving so great an amount of detail in oversight and printing has been produced. A page and a half indeed are prefixed of 'additions and corrections,' but they are mostly the former; and on a first reading, at least, a reviewer has little to add;—p. 18, l. 4 from bottom, read 'as far as'; p. 311, l. 6 from bottom, read 'perfects'; p. 377, l. 19, *ad init.*, a vowel-point is slurred.

No richer or more valuable contribution to the study of Hebrew in this country has been made than the republication of this Grammar in its new and greatly-improved form. Prolonged use alone will fully demonstrate its worth. But to all who desire to penetrate into the meaning and significance of the sacred text of the Old Testament, and to appreciate the eloquence and force of its language, this latest edition of Gesenius will prove the most satisfactory and adequate guide.

John the Presbyter and the Fourth Gospel. By Dom John Chapman, O.S.B. (Clarendon Press. 6*s.* net.)

Dom Chapman approaches the vexed question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel by considering first the exact meaning of the often-quoted passage in Eusebius, *H. E.*, 3. 39, and he renders the crucial words as follows:—

> But if it chanced that any came who had been a follower of the Presbyters, I used to inquire the words of the Presbyters (what they related Andrew or Peter to

> have said, or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord), and the things which Aristion and the Patriarch John, disciples of the Lord, were saying.

From this it appears that the evidence of Papias, whom Eusebius quotes, was Apostolic in either case, but in the first instance secondary through the Presbyters, and in the second primary from Aristion and John himself, to whom the distinction of 'the aged' or 'the venerable' is assigned. Now this removes the second John, commonly known as 'John the Presbyter,' from the list of claimants to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and 'it would be a real gain,' says Dr. Sanday, 'to have only one claimant to the Ephesian tradition.' So far as the evidence of Papias, cited by Eusebius, is concerned there is only one John. Dom Chapman then passes the evidence of Irenaeus in review, with a similar result, and Justin Martyr and Polycrates support the conclusion. The adverse opinions of Eusebius and Dionysius are in reality only one opinion, since the former is based on the latter, who is far from conclusive. It is then shown that the existence of the two Johns as possible authors involves a *reductio ad absurdum*, and on the other hand the internal evidence of the Gospel indicates the Apostolic authorship. The whole work reveals the clear marshalling of facts and the sound reasoning which we are accustomed to associate with the work of Dom Chapman. As long ago as 1905 Dr. Sanday, writing of this work, said, 'It presents in a more attractive shape than I have yet seen the view that the only John of Ephesus was the son of Zebedee,' and with this opinion we must heartily agree.

The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis. By E. S. Buchanan, M.A., B.Sc. (Clarendon Press. 21*s.* net.)

Scholars who are interested in the Old Latin Biblical Texts will welcome this latest addition to the admirable series now being published by the Oxford University Press. The Codex Veronensis, known to the Textual critic as 'b,' is one of the most interesting of the all-important group of Latin versions of the New Testament. Students of the New Testament Texts will scarcely need to be reminded of the attempt now being made to construct the Greek Text which apparently underlies the Old Latin and the Old Syriac versions. Should this be accomplished the Western Text may thereby win a far more authoritative position than it at present occupies. Every addition made to this series brings the general question within the range of those who are unable to consult the original MSS. How much they owe to the laborious toil of scholars like Mr. Buchanan, a glance at the facsimile pages of 'b' reproduced in this work will reveal.

Mr. Buchanan had previously edited the equally important Codex Corbeiensis (No. V. in the same series), and the present work exhibits the same scrupulous care, the same exactness of statement, as marked his earlier work. He quotes with approval Scrivener's dictum that 'in these studies all that is not accurate is much worse than useless,' and it is easy to see how that statement has been a law governing his own work. The admirable characterization and analysis of this MS. is followed by the

complete Text, and the whole work is indispensable to students of the Gospel Text. We join heartily in the hope that Mr. Buchanan may be able to reproduce the Vercellensis MS. which has so many points of resemblance to the Veronensis and the Corbeiensis Codices.

Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel. By F. Warburton Lewis, B.A. (Cambridge University Press. 2*s*. net.)

Mr. Lewis accepts as a working hypothesis that a 'disruption' took place in some early copy of the Gospel, and sets himself to rearrange the Text so as to secure a true chronological order in the incidents recorded. Now it has long been recognized that such passages as vii. 53–viii. 11 and xxi. 24–25 do not belong to the Gospel as originally given forth by its author, and that the exhortation, 'Arise, let us go hence,' in xiv. 31, followed, as it is, by a continuation of discourse, reads awkwardly. But Mr. Lewis's somewhat drastic treatment of the whole Gospel seems to us to rest upon the assumption that the author wrote down these incidents in the Life of our Lord in chronological order, and this is assuming too much. Nor is the alternative that which Mr. Lewis suggests, 'original ill-arrangement of the writer's material.' He may have chosen to write, not as giving some consecutive sequence of events, but rather as selecting outstanding incidents which might interpret for the Christian Church that which evidently occupied his own vision,—the Person of our Lord. The often-quoted passage, xx. 30, 31, seems to indicate that this was his purpose. There is another assumption in placing the discourse in chap. xv. after xiii. 32. Mr. Lewis finds the occasion for the Parable of the Vine in that chapter in the wine provided for the feast in the upper room. But a far more suggestive occasion for the discourse is that suggested by Westcott—the vine that was carved over the Temple gate. This discourse, then, may well have been delivered after leaving the upper room within the courts of the Temple, and the high-priestly prayer would be offered appropriately within the Temple precincts. Mr. Lewis decides the position of chaps. xv. and xvi. in the light of an interpretation of the word 'Glory,' which he takes to stand for 'sacrifice.' But this interpretation is far too limited. In Classical Greek the word stands for 'opinion,' and its history should not be neglected in interpreting it. The 'Glory of God' is *the self-revelation of God*, whatever form that self-revelation may take in love, or in righteousness, or in truth. Mr. Lewis's thesis is marked by the painstaking diligence of a true scholar, and by great confidence in the results arrived at; but our point of view with reference to the whole matter is well expressed by Dr. Sanday, when he says, 'I look with considerable distrust on many of the attempts that are made to divide up documents on the ground of want of connexion. I suspect that the standard of consecutiveness applied is often too Western and too modern.'

Studies in the Origins and Aims of the Four Gospels. By J. M. Wilson, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Canon Wilson preached these sermons at Worcester Cathedral, and the larger circle which they now reach will be as much interested as those who

heard them preached. They put in the clearest way what we know of the origin of each Gospel, and set forth its contents and characteristics so as to prompt and assist personal study. The five sermons on St. John's Gospel are rich in matter, and show that in the second century the authority of the Gospel was everywhere accepted. 'There was then no Johannine question.' The last sermon, on the devotional value of the Gospel to ourselves, is singularly beautiful and impressive. We hope the book may have a great circulation.

The Spirit of Power. By E. A. Edghill, M.A. (Edward Arnold. 5*s.* net.)

This is a study in second-century Christianity by the Hulsean Lecturer of Cambridge University. The author presents it not as a history, but as an 'impressionist sketch' of ways of thought current in a century which, for all its importance in the development of the Christian Church, has been regarded as originating tendencies fatal to the higher interests of the faith. 'It is pointed to as an age of hopeless declension and deterioration, when freedom was throttled by creeds and the spirit quenched by system.' In no controversial spirit the author endeavours to set before his readers another and more favourable view of the period. He does not believe that there is a real chasm between the spirit of the Apostolic age and that of the earlier writers of the second century. Giving special attention to the evidence of Justin Martyr, the most notable of our patristic authorities, and revealing at each turn a first-hand knowledge of the literature of the age, the author expounds in a scholarly and fervent manner the spirit of power (the power of attraction, purity, and suffering) and the spirit of love and discipline as manifested by the life and thinking of the Christians in the Roman Empire. There is a careful summary of the causes and results of persecution: even more valuable is the account given of Christianity in its social relationships, as for example its attitude to women, children, slaves, and prisoners. This is well done; and as a study *ab extra* of second-century Christianity within the limits which the author sets for himself, this little volume is heartily to be commended.

The Progress of Revelation. Sermons chiefly on the Old Testament. By the Rev. G. A. Cooke, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. G. A. Cooke is Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Oxford, and these sermons are published in the second series of 'The Scholar as Preacher' volumes. There is a unity in the collection of discourses which greatly enhances their value. They furnish evidence, much needed to-day, of 'a continuous expansion in the progress of revelation.' The last sermon, on 'The Crown of Revelation,' shows that the end of true religious progress is missed by those who stop short of the belief that Jesus is the Son of God. Earlier discourses on such subjects as 'The First Chapter of Genesis,' 'The Message of Job,' have for their aim to

prove that 'the higher faith and teaching of the Old Testament travel forwards to meet the truth proclaimed by Christ and His apostles.' Dr. Cooke's style is admirably lucid; only a scholarly critic could have written these sermons, but his message is positive and his purpose is edification. He realizes his own ideal of the Christian preacher: 'in the pulpit he is the pastor, not the critic.'

Messianic Interpretation, and other Studies. By the Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 8*s*.)

The 'other studies' discuss subjects as important as the first: The Doctrine of the Trinity, Pauline Theology and the Gospels, St. Paul's Eschatology, St. Luke's Medical Language, and the newly-discovered Letter of Irenaeus. All are discussed in the light of the recent adverse criticism with the purpose of showing that the commonly received interpretation in each case represents the original Christian belief. While the papers do not claim to be exhaustive, they are adequate and convincing. In each case the proofs adduced are well selected and ably expounded. What is said, for example, of the apostolic benediction in relation to the Trinity, that the way in which it is introduced implies that the doctrine was already known to the Corinthian Christians, is a strong point, and the same applies in other cases. An interesting point in the abundant evidence given of medical terminology in St. Luke is that recent writers, both German and English, confirm the findings of Mr. Hobart's work published in 1882. The value of the Letter of Irenaeus is well brought out in relation to the Gospels and the doctrine of the Trinity. It refers to the visit of the Magi and the Virgin Birth. The most frequent Gospel references are to St. Matthew. The Acts and seven of St. Paul's Epistles are also alluded to. Dr. Denney's name is misspelt twice. The penultimate Fernley Lecture is referred to, but the lecturer's name is given incorrectly. A valuable feature of the work is the abundant information about recent German criticism. Among writers of the positive school we are glad to see frequent references to Dr. Feine, 'one of the most learned of German theologians.'

The Advent Hope in St. Paul's Epistles. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. (Longmans & Co. 1*s*. net.)

Many will be grateful to Dean Robinson for the series of addresses in Westminster Abbey dealing with subjects on which thinkers have been much exercised. They have made a substantial contribution to the increase of faith in the great Christian verities. The closing addresses are on the Advent Hope. In the first we see how Christianity came into a despairing world with a message of hope. The teaching of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians is discussed. The enthusiastic joy which marks the first Christians was a safeguard against the paralysis which the immediately expected Advent might have produced. In the second address we see that the unity of human life in Christ was revealed to St. Paul as

the ground of a universal human hope. The third lecture shows how St. Paul dropped the apocalyptic symbols and spoke of 'the summing up of all things in Christ.' A sermon on 'The Unity of Life in Christ' discusses some points in greater detail. 'The truth that all men are but one man' is regarded as in some sense the characteristic revelation of Christianity. It is a book full of that mingled wisdom and tenderness which make us so grateful for Dean Armitage Robinson's work at Westminster.

The Ascended Christ. By Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a sequel to Dr. Swete's *Appearances of Our Lord after His Passion.* The writer sees that the supreme importance of the Resurrection lies in the fact that it was the first stage of our Lord's withdrawal into the Spiritual Order and His preparation for it. After a chapter on 'The Ascension and the Session' we have nine chapters on 'The King, The Priest, The Prophet, The Head, The Mediator, Intercessor and Advocate, The Forerunner, The Presence in the Midst, The Coming One, The Judge.' These are followed by 'A Postscript' which brings out the religious ends to be gained by studying the life and functions of the Exalted Christ. The book will repay the most careful study. We feel ourselves inspired with new hope and courage as we read it. Teachers and preachers will find it full of suggestion for their own work.

Ephemera Eternitatis. By the Rev. John Kelman, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5*s.* net.)

These short studies of six or eight pages are arranged for the Sundays of the Christian year. They are 'fugitive glimpses of eternal things,' not sermons but based on sermons, and intended to give the traveller on life's journey help in collecting his thoughts both of the way he has come and the goal to which he moves. They will aid those who 'possibly fear any special inspirations' and prefer 'Martha's part instead of Mary's, and fill life so full of bustling services that they have no time either to think or aspire.' Every study is a choice piece of work. The style is chaste and strong, the thought lifts us out of our grooves, and the practical side of life is never allowed to slip out of sight. It will enrich any mind and heart to spend a few minutes of each Sunday in such company.

The Great Texts of the Bible. Mark. Edited by James Hastings, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 10*s.* Subscription price, 6*s.* net.)

This is a most readable and helpful volume. There is ample room in its 525 pages for illustration and quotation, as well as exposition and other material for the preacher, and many will discover that this is a really valuable companion to the oldest Gospel. The outlines suggested are simple and natural, and the results of the best scholarship are put within the reach of those who cannot afford time to study them at first hand. Dr. Hastings has achieved another success and made us all his debtors.

Pre-Christian Teaching. By the Rev. E. D. Cree, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Cree's little book appeals strongly to students of religion. Translations from Pythagoras, Phocylides, Theognis, Orpheus, Mimnermus, Solon, Antiphanes, Eubulus, and Philemon show 'how far ethical teachers used to go in instructing mankind before they had the message of divine revelation to help them.' 'Pythagoras claimed to have seen in a vision even Hesiod bound to a pillar of brass, screaming in torture, and Homer surrounded by biting and stinging serpents, because in their poems they had so misrepresented and slandered the ancient gods.' Theognis sometimes speaks of God without using an article. The Elusinian mystery, so jealously guarded, was perhaps simply the doctrine of the absolute unity of God and His perfection. The translations are easy and flowing, and show what light these early thinkers had. Phocylides says—

> Man's spirit is God's loan and likeness worn;
> His body is of earthly make, earth-born.

Theognis teaches that no one can secure happiness without the help of God, and puts his finger on the secret of wrongdoing.

> The bad man to do justice rarely tries,
> Having no fear of God before his eyes.

A little poem by Philemon (274 B.C.) suggests that he was well acquainted with the Decalogue.

The Form of Perfect Living, and other Prose Treatises. By Richard Rolle, of Hampole, Yorkshire, A.D. 1300–1349. Translated into modern English by Geraldine E. Hodgson, D.Litt. (Thomas Baker. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Hodgson has translated these treatises from the old English, and has written an Introduction which gives many particulars of the writer and his work. Rolle left Oxford, where the atmosphere proved uncongenial, and for four years was supported as a hermit by the Dalton family. Then he had to depend for his bread on the kindness of others, till he found a refuge in a cell near the Cistercian Nunnery at Hampole in Yorkshire. His *Form of Perfect Living* was written for Margaret Kirkby, a nun of Anderby, whom Prof. Horstman calls 'his good angel.' The little work overflows with love to Christ, and shows sound sense in its warnings against fastings that might destroy health. The steps that lead to perfect love are clearly marked, and when it is reached 'singular love' shuts out all comfort and solace from the heart save that of Jesus Christ alone. 'Then, thy soul is loving Jesus, thinking of Jesus, desiring Jesus, in covetousness of Him breathing; to Him singing; of Him burning; in Him resting.' The whole treatise is helpful and beautiful. The smaller pieces have a few sentences which do not commend themselves to a Protestant reader, but Rolle's devotion and his insight into spiritual things are wonderful, and make us

thankful that such a light was shining in the thirteenth century. Dr. Hodgson's translation is limpid and pleasant to read, and many will be grateful to her for such an introduction to the first great English mystic.

The Prison Ministry of St. Paul. By T. W. Drury, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man. (R.T.S. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a very choice book. It begins with St. Luke's word about St. Paul in Rome, 'No man forbidding him,' and shows how the apostle used that great opportunity. His ministry 'moved upwards and touched the lives of men and women in the heart of the imperial household.' Sympathy and sacrifice were mighty in him, and his ministry of intercession was carried on amid his bonds. 'Saints in Caesar's Household; St. Luke: Author and Friend; Healthful Doctrine and Faithful Sayings; Last Words'; these are the subjects of the last sections, and all are stimulating and inspiring.

A Day with the Good Shepherd, by Anna F. Mamreov (Kelly, 1*s.* 6*d.* net), gathers up all that the East has to teach about sheep and shepherds. It throws welcome light on great Bible references, and gives a living picture which will greatly help teachers and preachers. The writer has lived in the East and describes the way in which the sheep know the voice of their own shepherd, how the ewes are milked, and all other details which a teacher needs to know.

The Vincent Calendar for 1911 has a photograph and bust of the popular bishop, with spaces for engagements, &c. Dr. Vincent's *Greeting for* 1911 is a heart-stirring call to turn over a new leaf and give the whole life to God.

Messrs. T. & T. Clark publish a second edition abridged of *The Earliest Life of Christ* (8*s.* net). Tatian's *Diatessaron* was written about A.D. 160, and this translation is from the Arabic version, with a most interesting account of Tatian and notes by the Rev. J. Hamlyn Hill, D.D. It is an edition which many will want to have on their shelves.

The Eucharist: A Study, by Mrs. A. Brooke, B.A. (Nutt, 6*d.* net), is intended to show that 'the central rite of all Christian Churches is still in essence closely allied to the ceremonies by which early man thought to appropriate the virtue of his fellows, or to draw to himself the blessings and avert the injuries of the mysterious cosmogony in which he found himself placed.' The references to anthropology and folk-lore will be of great interest to those who wish to see how religious sentiment has expressed itself in many ages.

The Origin of the Pentateuch, by Harold M. Weiner, M.A., LL.B. (Elliot Stock, 1*s.* net; cloth, 1*s.* 6*d.* net). The Wellhausen theory is acutely criticized and rejected. But the author acknowledges that 'scholarly gains' have resulted from higher criticism. Of these gains he gives this summary: 'a better comprehension of laws and history, a better text, the recognition that the Pentateuch incorporates post-Mosaic notes, and that Genesis contains many pre-Mosaic elements.'

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

The Rise of the Papacy. By the Rev. W. E. Beet, M.A. (C. H. Kelly. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.)

We must congratulate Mr. Beet upon this scholarly and careful volume. For some years now we have watched Mr. Beet with growing hopes that he would turn out sound historical work of the kind that is, alas! but rarely attempted in these days of impressionism and post-impressionism both in art and literature. With Mr. Beet's *Roman See in the First Centuries* we were not altogether satisfied. There was too great a tendency to rely upon the dicta of Milman and others; too little discernment of the issues, oftentimes small in themselves, careful attention to which is the work of the modern historian. But with the work before us little but praise can be found. Mr. Beet has gone to the original sources himself, while he has evidently spent much time in tracking up those side questions which the careless writer thinks are of little consequence, but upon which in reality the decision of the historian depends. The one weakness in Mr. Beet's careful study of the sources is a somewhat scanty knowledge of the work recently accomplished in Germany. German books of reference are conspicuous by their absence. Mr. Beet may plead that as a matter of fact they are difficult to obtain. But Manchester—near which Mr. Beet has lived—is the one town in the country, excepting London, Oxford, and Cambridge, where the historical student has a fair chance of obtaining the best recent works, owing to its superb Rylands library, as well as to its University. Mr. Beet would do well to pay more attention to this side of his studies. In certain places he should also cite instead of his references to the Patrologia of Migne the more scholarly and accurate Vienna Corpus.

Mr. Beet has chosen a difficult theme—*The Rise of the Papacy*—and has treated it with admirable fullness and insight. The period he has selected (885–461) is one of the most momentous in the history of the Church; its canvas is crowded with mighty figures. Here and there we think Mr. Beet could have added lightness of touch by a judicious etching of one or other of the great names of the times, or by bringing out the inwardness of some of the incidents in which they took so distinguished a part. But Mr. Beet has allowed himself no digressions from his serious task. For the most part he has concentrated upon the study of the life and influence of Leo the Great. We are proud of the result. Without bitterness or unfairness Mr. Beet shows us the forces which led in the fourth and fifth centuries to the growth in strength, influence, and claims of the papacy. In these days when but few scholars are turning their attention to ecclesiastical history, we are glad that such successful work has been produced by a Wesleyan minister. We heartily commend this

volume to the thoughtful reader, and trust that the author will be encouraged to go forward with his researches, and publish the companion volume, of which he speaks, which will link on his story with the earliest Christian times.

Sussex in the Great Civil War and the Interregnum 1642–1660. By C. Thomas-Stanford. (Chiswick Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The author has accomplished successfully a difficult task. To tell the story of a period of such unrest as obtained in the middle of the seventeenth century means that many events have to be recorded outside Sussex which strongly influenced the trend of events, yet which, forming a part of the general history of the nation, must necessarily come under purview. Partly owing to its geographical position, and partly to the general attitude of its inhabitants, Sussex was left out of the main stream of contention; yet the author has proved that the county contributed not a little to the final issue of the great national struggle. The people appear to have been much divided in their views; for while the inhabitants generally were on the side of Parliament, there was a strong feeling on the part of the gentry for the Royalist cause.

Mr. Stanford seeks to show that the opposing parties were often so evenly balanced that decisive action was difficult. But the year 1645 marked the rise, organization, and complete success of the New Model Army, the gradual decay of the king's power, and his crushing defeat at Naseby, which lost him the Midlands, as Marston Moor had lost him the North, and left the final issue of the struggle no longer in doubt. For a year more the royal flag flew over an ever-diminishing number of towns and fortresses, but with the flight of Charles to the Scots in May 1646, and the surrender of Oxford a month later, the first Civil War may be considered finished.

Every one who takes an interest in the county of Sussex will do well to read this valuable book, which puts within our reach what could otherwise only be obtained by the study of antiquarian works of a more or less abstruse character. We have already mentioned the author's impartiality; and we need only add that his language, regarded from a literary standpoint, is at all times well chosen, and suggestive of clear thinking and good taste.

Robert Henry Hadden. [Selected Sermons with a Memoir. By the Rev. E. H. Pearce, M.A. [(Macmillan & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The men who influenced Robert Hadden most deeply were his tutor at Merton, Mandell Creighton, Harry Jones, of St. George's, and William Rogers, whose curate he was at Bishopsgate. He was a broad-minded, large-hearted man, a lover of Stanley and Jowett, a constant reader of the *Tablet* and the *British Weekly*. His chief laurels were won as an educa-

tional reformer. He was appointed vicar of Aldgate in 1888, and did abiding service by his splendid reorganization of the schools and the charities. All this is impressively told in Mr. Pearce's too brief memoir. The sermons speak for themselves. He was transferred to St. Mark's, North Audley Street, in 1898, and continued there till his sudden death in June 1909 at the age of fifty-five. Sermons that had been preached in Bishopsgate and Aldgate were revised with endless care for his West London parish. 'His menfolk, he felt, wanted his best, and, please God, they should have it.' His power as a preacher steadily increased during the last ten years of his life, and his congregation greatly appreciated his sermons. They are pre-eminently manly, strong, clear, straightforward, absolutely fearless. Each one is a real help to good living. The preacher is no ecclesiastic, but a big brother. In speaking of 'The Christian ministry' he quotes the verse, 'Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood.' And adds, 'That house has many mansions: the humblest Christian may press forward and occupy them. That priesthood each of us may exercise for himself. It dispenses with any human mediator between God and man; it knows no obstacle between the Father and His child. The attributes are sacred, spiritual, sublime—the sacrifices of a meek and quiet spirit, of charity and prayer, of praise and thanksgiving, of gratitude for all the mercies that have passed and of hope for all the years to come.' The sermons are full of such thoughts, which will make readers feel stronger and better every time they turn to these pages.

Peter Thompson. By his wife, Rosalie Budgett Thompson. (Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is an illuminating book. It is not exactly a biography, but a set of sketches which trace the East End missioner from his father's farm near Blackpool to East London, where for nearly twenty-five years he was the chief friend and helper of hundreds of destitute and poverty-stricken men, women, and children. No one can read this book without feeling their respect and affection for Peter Thompson deepened. Amongst his labours he found time to study the best books, and his Greek Testament was his constant companion. His fishing holidays in Scotland and Ireland kept him alive and well to a marvel, and the health and spirit thus gained were nobly employed in the service of his people. Canon Barnett, in a beautiful 'foreword,' describes him as a kingly man, and pays warm tribute to his force, humour, and resourcefulness in days when they worked together for the relief of distress. Perhaps the best impression of Peter Thompson's work is gained from the chapter which describes the transformation of Paddy's Goose and the Old Mahogany Bar, which had been homes of every form of vice, into centres of Christian activity. One sailor who found himself in the comfortable quarters provided by Mr. Thompson at the 'Bar' said, 'Ah, if you had been here a few years sooner, some of us chaps who have gone sadly adrift might have moored up and been saved from the land sharks and alligators.' The book is so

fresh and unconventional, it gives such an intimate view of the man and his work, that it is bound to be an inspiration to all who read it.

A Publisher and his Friends. By the late Samuel Smiles, LL.D. Condensed and edited by Thomas Mackay. (John Murray. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These memoirs had a great reception twenty years ago, and no one can wonder at their popularity. They form a chapter in our literary history of which Englishmen never cease to be proud, and bring us into intimate relations with Byron, Scott, Campbell, Disraeli, Southey, George Borrow, Hallam, and other masters of their craft. John Murray the Second gathered a set of authors around him who still remain unmatched for ability and success. The interest of such a record as this grows greater as the actors recede. We eagerly seek for light on the men and their masterpieces, and it was a happy thought to have this book revised, condensed, and published for half-a-crown. It is full of delights, and we are grateful to the present head of the great house in Albemarle Street for such a workmanlike and reliable re-issue of a book of which every literary man is justly proud.

Egypt and Israel. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. (S.P.C.K. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Petrie's object has been to illustrate the general historical setting of the narratives of the Old Testament and of Christian times. He divides the subject into ten chapters, beginning with Abram and coming down to 'The Madonna and the Bambino.' Dr. Petrie traces the devotion to the Virgin and the child to Egypt. Isis nursing her child Horus was a popular object of devotion, and passed into Christianity by a simple change of name. Every part of this book throws light on the Bible. The section headed 'The Mother of the Tribe' is of special interest. 'A Copt selling anything in the market had to add "with my wife's consent," to make the bargain valid.' As to the numbers of the Israelites in Goshen and in the wilderness, Dr. Petrie has much to say which deserves consideration, though it seems too sweeping.

The Highlanders of the South. By Samuel H. Thompson. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 50 cents net.)

This is a description of Methodist work among the hill people of the Southern States of America. The scenery is said to be as fine as that of the Rockies, and many useful minerals and some precious metals are found in the mountains. The people are rough, warm-hearted, and kindly, with a great love of fun; they are patriotic and thoroughly Protestant, but frightfully illiterate. Methodism has built many churches and schools, and is hoping to do much greater work here in the near future.

A sixpenny pamphlet by Dr. H. Lansdell (Blackheath: Burnside) gives

much interesting information as to Princess Aelfrida's Charity. The youngest daughter of Alfred the Great left her lands in Lewisham, Greenwich, and Woolwich to the Benedictines, and Dr. Lansdell has made some fruitful research into the charters.

Our Grand Old Bible. The Story of the Authorized Version of the English Bible, told for the Tercentenary Celebration. By William Muir, M.A., B.D., B.L. (Morgan & Scott, Ltd. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The fascinating history of the English Bible is divided into four chapters in this well-written and instructive work. The author's main purpose is to show how greatly indebted all English-speaking peoples are to the Authorized Version, but the Authorized Version is a noble inheritance to which many contributed. First of all, therefore, Mr. Muir gives a lucid account of 'The English Bible prior to the Authorized Version,' then he proceeds to describe 'The Coming of the Authorized Version,' and to estimate its influence in the home, the Church, and the nation, as well as on English literature and the English language, during 'Three Centuries of Service.' Finally a fair-minded account is given of 'The Revision of the Authorized Version.' Mr. Muir sees the folly of those who 'depreciate the Authorized Version in the interests of the Revised Version,' but he also recognizes that 'it would be a poor compliment to the Authorized Version to resent the presence of the Revised Version, or to seek in any way to limit its sphere of influence.' This is a worthy tercentenary memorial of the Revision of 1611, known to us as the Authorized Version.

The Church of the First Three Centuries. By the Rev. T. A. Gurney, M.A., LL.B. (Longmans. 1*s.* net.)

This is a broad-minded and scholarly survey. Mr. Gurney allows that bishop and presbyter are used in the New Testament 'as almost convertible terms.' Episcopacy is not traceable there. 'When early in the second century we find an episcopal order distinct from that of presbyters and deacons, it appears to have developed from *below*, because of the pressing needs and dangers of the Church, rather than from *above* by apostolic succession.' Mr. Gurney acknowledges his great debt to Dr. Workman's *Persecution in the Early Church.* This little book is full of matter, and is very well written.

Messrs. Longman & Co. have just issued the eighteenth reprint of Mr. Lecky's *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne.* The two volumes are bound in one, and the 910 pages are sold for half-a-crown (net). Mr. Lecky's masterpiece is now within the reach of every student. He discusses the rival theories concerning the nature and obligation of morals, traces the moral history of the Pagan Empire, and shows how the Christian religion triumphed. It is a noble book, which brings out clearly those 'eternal moral principles which never can be destroyed.'

GENERAL

Social Ministry. Dr. H. F. Ward, editor. (London: C. H. Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THIS volume consists of essays by twelve distinguished social teachers and workers in the United States. It is the product of that lusty child of our own Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service—the American Methodist Federation of Social Service, which has already received semi-official sanction from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. *Social Ministry* is the second book published by the Federation. It is an improvement upon the first, *The Socialized Church.* Its essays are, upon the whole, abler, and the contents are of more general and of more international interest. The Methodist Book Room has done well to publish an English edition. With both editions in hand, an impartial reviewer is bound to pronounce that the *format* of the English edition is superior to that of the original American edition. The type-fount is identical in the two cases, but the larger size, the colour of the covers, the lettering, and, above all, the fine wide margins make it a volume lovely to handle, regard, and read. Readers who annotate will be especially delighted with the ample margins.

As to the contents, the essays on the social message of the prophets, of Jesus, and of John Wesley, by Dr. Elliott, of Detroit, Prof. H. F. Rall, of Iliff College, Denver, and Dr. C. J. Little, of the Garrett Bible Institute, Evanston, respectively, are full of good writing. The scholarship is adequate and the economic attitude sound. Dr. Rall declares correctly that 'Jesus was not a teacher of economics or sociology. He was not a social reformer or social worker in the common sense of these terms. And yet the Gospels have been the *magna charta* of human liberty; and His ministry of word and deed and spirit have been the mightiest social force that the world has known.' Dr. Rall observes that that influence has been mainly by 'indirectness,' and discusses the social service of the life, the social meaning of the teaching, and the social influence of the spirit of Jesus. There is not much which is new in Dr. Little's chapter on Wesley, but it is clear, concise, and serviceable. Dr. G. E. Vincent, Professor of Sociology in the Chicago University, writes fascinatingly upon 'The Industrial Revolution.' He gives that Revolution due credit for all the material, intellectual, and social progress wrought through its means. But he holds that 'new conditions demand new moral standards,' and 'new theories of men's lives and of society.' There is no going back, but there must be a going forward. 'Theology sooner or later will be compelled to adapt itself to the new conditions. . . . A new city is being created; a socialized theology must keep pace with it if the Church is

to do its duty as an energizing force in modern industrial society.' Dr. Ward, the editor, writes upon the labour movement in a fine essay, taking an international and elevated view of the subject. Miss McDowell, of the Chicago University Settlement, writes appealingly of women, girl, and child labour. Chapters on 'Constructive Philanthropy' (by E. T. Devine), and on the 'Salvation of the Vagrant and the Needy Child,' are of general interest. Rev. Worth M. Tippy, who visited England previous to the founding of the American F.S.S., has a most valuable chapter upon 'The Organization of a Church for Social Ministry.' It proposes a social service committee and a charities council, and deals with the relation of the local church to its neighbourhood and the community at large. Rev. G. Nesmith is equally useful upon 'Social Service in the Rural Church.' He shows how the rural problem is only to be solved by the Church becoming a social servant in support of her Master. It should foster or provide the means for 'satisfying the desires of health, knowledge, sociality, and righteousness.' It is full of practical suggestions for country ministers and churches. Dr. F. Mason Worth closes the volume in a chapter on 'The City and the Kingdom.' There is not an essay in this book without value to English readers. It is a volume calculated to stimulate a truly Christian sympathy on social reform, because it demonstrates such reform to be the natural outcome of the Christian gospel.

The Holy Land. By Robert Hichens. Illustrated by Jules Guérin. (Hodder & Stoughton. 25*s.*)

The title of this handsome volume is somewhat of a misnomer both by excess and deficiency, for it contains two excellent chapters on Damascus and Baalbec, while many well-known parts of Palestine are unmentioned, such as Haifa, Carmel, Jaffa, Hebron, for instance. But Mr. Hichens has followed up his work on Egypt with an attractive account of a most interesting tour which embraces, besides the chapters referred to, others on the journey from Damascus to Nazareth, Nazareth to Jerusalem, and Jericho to Bethlehem. The concluding contributions are on the Holy City itself, and on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, with a graphic account of the wonderful, exciting Easter ceremonies. Over three hundred quarto pages are illustrated by eighteen full-page colour plates from paintings by M. Guérin and forty excellent photographs. Starting from Reyak, the junction of the parting ways to Baalbec and Damascus, the tour takes the reader first to the Town of the Sun, with its stupendous ruins of the Temple of Jupiter, and of that perhaps most perfect of all ancient buildings in Syria, the Temple of Bacchus.

From Baalbec in Coele-Syria, between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, we pass over the high pass of the latter range and drop down into Damascus, reputed to be the most ancient city of the world, set like a gem between the mountain and the desert, kept cool and luxuriant by the waters of the Baroda (Abana), which so musically burst from the Gorge of the Baroda to spread beneath branches of fruit-trees through the gardens of Damascus, and

pass fan-like into the desert, presently to fade away in its sands. One can understand the spell Damascus cast over pilgrims who must come from Eastern desert or from Western snow-peaks, and we catch the full charm in these pages. It seemed a paradise to wayfarers returning from Mecca as they rested beneath its peaceful arcades; and when the hardy Mohammed stood upon a neighbouring eminence, which every visitor climbs, he is said to have refused to enter a city so alluring, turning away with the words, 'Man has but one Paradise, and mine is placed elsewhere.' Damascus is still thoroughly Oriental, and retains the Eastern glamour Cairo has now lost. Truly the 'Muski' remains the same, and the Pyramids have not yet been removed, but the Europeanized city of the Nile must yield in charm now to Damascus the unchanged.

Space forbids quotation by way of illustration, but Mr. Hichens does not reproduce the details of a guide-book, while he includes sufficient information to give an accurate idea of the scenes and localities described. His method is to single out salient features and then to weave them together into picturesque narrative steeped in poetic fancy or historical romance or sacred legend, and he certainly contrives to convey to the reader the atmosphere and charm of travel in the East in these impressionist sketches —evidently inspired, if not actually written, for the most part, *in situ*. What has been said of these earlier chapters may be said of all. The Galilee neighbourhood is somewhat slightly treated, but for the most part each locality touched upon receives full justice according to the limit set by such work. The book is well written, well printed, and well illustrated, the very ideal of a gift-book by which to revive past pleasures or anticipate future joy in those who have covered, or hope to cover, the classic and sacred ground of this incomparable land.

Ordinaire de L'ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel. Par Sibert de Beka (vers 1312) publié d'après le manuscrit original par Le R. P. Benedict Zimmerman.

Institutions Liturgiques de L'eglise de Marseille (xiii^e^ *siècle*), Copiées et annotées par le Chanoine J. H. Albanes et publiées par le Chanoine Ulysse Chevalier. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils.)

These are the thirteenth and fourteenth volumes of the great Liturgical Library edited by Canon Chevalier. The original of the first is preserved in the Library at Lambeth Palace. The form was drawn up about the year 1312, and was made obligatory by several general chapters of the order. The MS. at Lambeth has eighty sheets of parchment, each of which, save the first and last, has two columns and contains thirty-nine lines. It had probably belonged to a Carmelite convent at Norwich or in some other part of East Anglia. It is all in one handwriting, with initials in red and blue ink, and shows traces of some negligence on the part of the scribe. In the present issue simple slips of the pen are corrected, but where an error is more important attention is drawn to it and the proposed

correction is given. The Archbishop of Canterbury greatly facilitated the editor's work by allowing the MS. to be photographed. The editor has carefully collated his own text with that of other MSS., and has consulted many liturgical MSS. as to special points. The rite of the hermits of Mount Carmel was drawn from that of the patriarchal church of St. Sepulchre in Jerusalem. It dates from about 1210, and a careful account is given in the Introduction of modifications made in certain places. We are not surprised to find that the learned editor has spent eight years in the preparation of this work. The photograph of one sheet of the MS. helps us to understand some of the difficulties he has had to face from the peculiar abbreviations and the cramped writing. The order of the services in a Carthusian monastery is described in a way that will assist future historians to reconstruct the whole religious life of the community.

The Liturgical Institutions of the Church of Marseilles probably date from the year 1264. Canon Chevalier in his learned Introduction draws attention to points of special interest in the local festivals, and describes the part taken by the various officials and the processions and ceremonies. He has also drawn up a list of those who were commemorated in the course of the year. It is not easy to exaggerate the care and skill with which these editions have been prepared. Students of liturgies will feel themselves under deep obligation to the editors and to all who have helped them to produce these scholarly volumes.

Philosophical Essays. By Bertrand Russell, M.A., F.R.S. (Longmans. 6*s.* net.)

Mr. Russell has qualities of style which make him a pleasing writer, and it is possible that the reader will gain from these greater satisfaction than from some of Mr. Russell's conclusions. The essay entitled 'The Free Man's Worship,' for example, must appear to many a repellently dismal creed. From nebula we came and to nebula we go, and the interim is appropriately nebulous. Such is Mr. Russell's philosophy of the universe. It is 'an alien and an inhuman world,' and its dark night has no stars of purpose. Recognizing the futility of rebellion, we are exhorted to be resigned, and whilst we briefly live to add to the world's hope and mitigate the world's sorrow. The question is whether we are to worship force or goodness: force that science shows, or goodness in which we somehow believe, the God whom we are told man creates out of his own ideals. It is a sorry pessimism, born of the determinism in which Mr. Russell so strongly believes—or perhaps it should be said a fatalism, for Mr. Russell's pessimism is resigned, and almost content. It does not explain from whence come the ideals out of which man fashions his God, and has no answer save that it is vaguely 'better' to those who, with Nietzsche, frankly worship force, and exalt the horn of the brute. There follow several essays combating Pragmatism, but it will be felt that Mr. Russell's despairing doctrine is a poor exchange for the hopefulness that is the brightest feature of the Pragmatist's gospel.

In common with many critics, Mr. Russell is not proof against the temptation of interpreting Pragmatism as he believes it ought to be, and not always as it is. It would be interesting, for example, to ascertain his authority for declaring that Pragmatism is a scepticism which urges, 'since all beliefs are absurd, we may as well believe what is most convenient.' The article 'William James's Conception of Truth' is simply reprinted from the *Albany Review* without any attempt to reply to the criticisms Prof. James made upon it in his *Meaning of Truth*. As these alleged that Mr. Russell had gravely misapprehended the Pragmatist position, a justification or modification on his part should have been added. Mr. Russell has great ability, but it has not led him to find an answer that can satisfy those desires which lead men to seek help from philosophy.

The Unfolding of Personality. By H. Thistleton Mark, M.A., B.Sc. (Fisher Unwin. 2*s*. net.)

Teachers and others interested in educational psychology will give a warm welcome to this most instructive and practical book. The twofold qualification of Mr. Mark as a psychologist and as a teacher is indisputable, and when it is added to a clear and direct style of writing, the result is obviously a good book. Its value is enhanced by the suggestions and illustrations appended to each chapter, and by plentiful references to the best books on the subject. Starting from the nucleus of personality, Mr. Mark follows its growth, taking carefully into account instinctive tendencies and their blending with the results of experience, the continuity of mental life, self-determination, and finally the wider spheres that open out around personality. It is a sound piece of good work for which praise can be awarded without any hesitation.

A Student's Library. Edited by Rev. H. Bisseker, M.A. (Kelly. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This is a book to make young men thankful, and old men regretful: the former, that they have so wise and comprehensive a guide-book to direct them in their reading; the latter, that they had no such help in their day, and have now so little time left to profit by the sage counsels this volume affords. The experts who here place their advice, with cordial frankness, at the disposal of whosoever will, are well selected. One of them, Dr. Ballard, contributes two chapters, on Christian Foundations and Natural Science respectively; the rest, one chapter each: Mr. F. W. Macdonald on Classic Writers and Translations, Mr. E. E. Kellett on the Masterpieces of Literature, Mr. Wilfrid Moulton, Mr. Lofthouse, Dr. Workman, Mr. Waterhouse, and Mr. Keeble, in like manner, on subjects on which they are authorities. The working out of the idea is as successful as the thought that conceived it is valuable. With this book at hand no student of the subjects of which it treats need waste his time, or read vaguely and unwisely. And it will deserve a permanent place in the library, for

the sake of the wonderfully well-selected bibliography at the end, which includes the best books on the different topics of the volume. We have tested it, to our entire satisfaction.

Kant and his Philosophical Revolution. By R. M. Wenley. (T. & T. Clark. 8*s*.)

This is a readable book, and to the non-philosophical mind that is a strong recommendation. It sets the philosopher of Königsberg in his national and intellectual environment; describes his own mental development from a student of nature into a metaphysician, whose 'philosophy forged its way gradually to the centre of the intellectual stage, absorbing more and more both adherents and opponents, till it became the paramount issue by 1794, when Fichte appeared on the scene to persuade the world that his master was only a "three-quarters man."' The book may be strongly commended to all who want a clear and intelligible account of a great epoch in the development of human thought.

Young Gaol-Birds. By Charles E. B. Russell, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Mr. Russell has done good service by two earlier volumes which describe his work among juvenile delinquents in Manchester. Here he gives us a set of studies of the lads themselves which are full of strong sense and warm sympathy. He brings out the sterling qualities, often mixed with those that are forbidding, and shows us how some of his own victories have been won. The bright good-looking fellows, whom it is a pleasure to help, are just those who disappoint all one's efforts. Bad companions and drink account for many a fall. But Mr. Russell is able to point to the Jewish lad 'Ishmael'—who lost his love for gambling when he began to cultivate boxing, and 'Humpy,' the hump-backed lad, utterly destitute of moral training, who had served eighteen terms of imprisonment before he was twenty-two, yet was turned into a fine honest fellow by a complete change of environment. Another weak-willed youth was made a man by the discipline of the army, whilst 'Joe,' who had spent two years at Borstal, was helped on his discharge and became a trusted foreman. Mr. Russell wishes to see some enlargement of the Borstal system that would make it available for lads of weak will and perhaps rather weak mind who need training and discipline. His plea for 'virile, healthy friendship,' in workshop and home, and his practical suggestions, are bound to bear fruit.

The Libraries of London. A Guide for Students. By Reginald A. Rye. (University of London.)

In 1907 the Senate of the University of London determined to make a survey of the libraries of the metropolis. Mr. Rye, who is Goldsmiths' Librarian of the University, prepared a handbook which is now enlarged and issued with sixteen full-page illustrations of the chief metropolitan

libraries. It is a volume of 218 pages, with a workmanlike index, and gives full particulars of each library and the special value which it has for a student. Information is also supplied as to the hours when the libraries are open and the conditions under which admittance may be obtained. The preliminary survey is full of interesting facts and figures. The British Museum, with between two and three million volumes, eclipses all London's stores of books, and is really the largest library in the world. The way in which it has been formed is described with considerable detail, and makes a story of great interest for lovers of books. The wealth of the libraries connected with London Clubs will surprise many. The Athenaeum Club has about 190,000 volumes; the Reform Club, 60,000. The London Library, with 240,000 volumes, comes next to the British Museum. The London Institution has 150,000; the Guildhall Library, 136,588 printed books and pamphlets and 5,825 MSS., Sion College, 110,000. There is a mass of information in Mr. Rye's guide for which all who wish to know about the libraries of London will be more and more grateful as they use this manual.

The New Laokoon. An Essay on the Confusion of the Arts. By Irving Babbitt, Assistant Professor in Harvard University. (Constable & Co. 5*s*. net.)

It was in 1766 that Lessing made his famous protest against the confusion of poetry and painting, but Mr. Babbitt holds that the *Laokoon* does not really meet the questions that have arisen since then as to the proper boundaries of the arts. Rossetti's attempt to paint his sonnets and write his pictures are but one instance of 'the confusion of the arts, as well as of the different *genres* within the confines of each art.' Lessing regarded himself as more remarkable for his powers of assimilation than for his spontaneity, and if Germany is to justify its high estimate of his critical work it must rest on other grounds than his intellectual originality or the fineness of his taste. Mr. Babbitt regards him as in some respects the most masculine figure Germany has produced since Luther. He attacked non-classic formalism, yet insisted on an infallible Aristotle. Mr. Babbitt shows that the confusion with which Lessing deals is pseudo-classical, and must first be studied in the critics of the Renaissance. He traces in Rousseau and Diderot the beginnings of a different confusion of the arts which may be styled romantic, and deals with some nineteenth-century attempts to get with words the effects of music and painting. The result of the study is to show how the inquiry as to the boundaries of the arts ramifies out in every direction, and involves one's attitude not merely toward literature, but also toward life. The whole essay is deeply interesting and suggestive; it needs careful reading, but it will richly repay it. It does not lack lighter touches. Strauss's *Domestic Symphony* is taken as a good example of 'musical fustian.' 'I read in one of the accounts of this composition that there are required for its performance, in addition to the usual strings, "two harps, four flutes, two oboes, one oboe d'amore, four clarinets, one bass clarinet, four bassoons, one double bassoon, four

saxophones, eight horns, four trumpets, three trombones, one bass tuba, four kettle-drums, triangle, tambourine, glockenspiel, cymbals, and big drum "—and all to describe the incidents of baby's bath.'

I Wonder. Essays for the Young People. By the writer of 'Confessio Medici.' (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) Dickens supplies Mr. Paget with his title. Louisa was overheard by Mr. Gradgrind to begin a conversation with her brother by saying, 'Tom, I wonder.' Here we begin with The Way of Wonder and then explore in six chapters The Wonder of Matter, of Nature, of Self, of Pain, of Death, of Beauty. A final chapter on The Use of Wonder brings the book to a fitting close. The Essays are for young people, but they will be almost more appreciated by readers of riper years. 'Our world is our senses in action' is a sentence which sums up a whole system of philosophy. The attempt to invent a toy for teaching the Origin of Species is quite a feat, though after all the writer confesses 'I cannot put this wonder into words.' 'Though I should live as long as Tithonus, and think hard all the time, I shall die still wondering, wondering.' The way that 'The Wonder of Pain' is explained makes a great lay sermon, and 'The Wonder of Death' brings us face to face with things that hide pride from man. The book is far too precious and profound for unheeding readers, but it brings out the mystery of life and the beauty of nature in a way that will give light and peace to many who are restless and weary.

All About Railways. By F. S. Hartnell. (Cassell & Co. 6*s.*) This is 'a book for boys,' and they will find it a delightful mine to work, but we should be sorry if they were allowed to monopolize it. Its illustrations are very effective, and it covers a wide field. We learn to respect Stevenson's little 'Rocket' more highly than ever when we know that it actually covered four miles in five minutes. It is a quaint little machine, however, compared with the monster engines of to-day. Mr. Hartnell tells us how they are made, describes the machinery, takes us into the signal-box and along the permanent way, traces the development of the railway carriage from its truck stage to the palatial Pullman, and gives an insight into the whole railway world which will add sensibly to the interest which young and old take in one of the 'foremost achievements of civilization.' There are good chapters on 'Railway Kings' and 'The Mono-Rail,' in fact the whole book is bright, well informed, and crowded with information that every reader will prize.

There is nothing more worthy of the attention of a book lover with a slender purse than the first ten volumes of Messrs. Macmillan's Shilling Library. The selection is admirably varied. *The Leaves from the Note-Books of Lady Dorothy Nevill* have already given delight to a host of readers, and this reprint is sure of a welcome. It introduces us to the celebrities of half-a-century. *Passages in the Life of an Inspector of Schools* is scarcely less entertaining, and it has many a lesson for students of our educational system. Charles Kingsley's *At Last* still keeps its charm, and Lord Redesdale's *Tales of Old Japan* is a picture of days when the feudal system there

was in full force. A book on *Alcohol* by Sir Victor Horsley and Miss Sturge, M.D., with a chapter by Dr. Newsholme, appeals to all students of national health. *North Italian Folk*, by Mrs. Comyns Carr, shows us the rustic simplicity and friendly ways of her neighbours of other days. Forbes-Mitchell's *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny;* Sir G. O. Trevelyan's *Cawnpore;* Archibald Forbes' *Barracks, Bivouacs, and Battles;* and Younghusband's *Relief of Chitral* are each unrivalled in their own way. They are pages of the nation's history which will never lose their power to thrill the reader. The neat crimson covers, the handy globe octavo size, good type and paper make these books very attractive, and most of them are freely illustrated. It is a boon to the public to have such volumes for a shilling net.

Elements of Negro Religion. Being a Contribution to the Study of Indo-Bantu Comparative Religion. By W. J. Edmondston-Scott. (Edinburgh: Edmondston-Scott & Co. 6*s.* net.)

The aim of this book is 'to give a brief but concise account of negro religion as it is to-day, and as it was before the Christian era; and secondly, from purely scientific motives to supply the foundation to the study of Indo-Bantu Comparative Religion.' It cannot be said that the author has succeeded in accomplishing either part of his task. The whole work proceeds on the assumption, for no evidence beyond a few verbal similarities is adduced, that the Kol peoples of Bengal, the Basques of Europe, and the Bantu 'negroes' of Central and Southern Africa are the immediate representatives of 'a negro race' which lived in Bengal 'about 4000 B.C.,' a date which seems to have a strange fascination for the author. 'On the reasonable assumption that religion is unchangeable and cannot progress,' the author 'takes the liberty to ignore the existence' of the 'many scientists' who differ from him no less in their methods than their conclusions. One cannot help feeling that the writer finds in the materials at his disposal that which he wishes to see in them, and that he attaches far too spiritual a meaning to Bantu religion. There is much of interest in the book, but we must decline to consider it 'a scientific study on scientific lines' of a subject for whose adequate treatment we must still wait.

The Doctor's Christmas Eve. By James Lane Allen. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s.*) Mr. Allen has never given us a more suggestive story than this. Its scenes are laid in Kentucky, and we seem to see Dr. Birney among his patients, fighting disease and sickness and winning the hearts of young and old. But his own home has its tragedy. He has a pair of children, but his wife has learned that he does not love her, and a gulf yawns between them. How it is being bridged by the death of his boy we see in the last chapter, but the book is a sermon—a sermon with a Puritan flavour—on the child's instinct of imitating its parents. Little Herbert Birney is only too apt a pupil, and the four children of the book are wonderful studies. The doctor would have wrecked his life but for a good woman

who brings him back to a sense of his duty. The book teaches a great lesson in a singularly impressive way.

Marie-Claire. Par Marguerite Audoux. (Paris : Bibliothèque Charpentier. 3 fr. 50.)

This story has had a great vogue in Paris. It is a first book, written by a poor and delicate dressmaker who could not pursue her trade because of defective sight, and betook herself to writing. She has suddenly found herself famous. Marie-Claire is a waif brought up in a convent, and then sent to a farmer's as a little shepherdess. She does not seem quite cut out for that calling, and is taken into the house as a servant. There the farmer's brother-in-law falls in love with her. But such a marriage does not please her mistress, and Marie-Claire is sent back to the convent. The story is really a set of pictures of humble life. We see the little jealousies, the pleasant friendships, the disappointments of life inside convent walls. The outdoor world is represented in the shepherd scenes, the occupations of the farm-house, and the portraits of farmers and farmers' wives. The pathos of the story comes out in the death of the kind-hearted farmer with whom Marie-Claire was first sent to live, and in the sadness of Sœur Marie-Aimée's reluctant departure to work among lepers. Still more touching is the death of the Sœur Désirée-des-Anges, who kept her gaiety and beauty to the last and asked for the window to be opened as she died. The whole story is so artless, so natural, so chaste in style and language that it may justly be styled a masterpiece. There is no touch of sensation, but a quiet beauty which grows upon us as we read and makes us hope for a sequel by and by.

The Light Side of the Law. By George A. Macdonald. (Cassell & Co. 6*s*.)

This is a book that keeps a reader's interest alive from the first page to the last. There is food for pleasant satire, but tragedy comes to its own, despite the title, in 'A Way Out of It' and the two grim stories where retribution befalls Mr. Peevor and other law-breakers. 'The Confidence Trick' shows how the lawyer's managing-clerk learns wisdom and poor Sharkles pays a heavy price for collusion in a divorce case. All the stories have point and power, not a word is wasted, and many a practical hint is dropped as to will-making, trusteeship, the trust reposed in solicitors, and kindred topics. The Lord Justice's *Soliloquy* is a satire over which many will smile, and there are not a few warnings as to rash resort to law and the traps which a clever advocate can lay for a witness. The papers which deal with legal problems are marked by the kind of sense that one likes to find in one's solicitor, and they are almost as readable as the stories. 'Accessory after the Fact,' with which the book closes, gets on our nerves. Here is retribution indeed.

A Book of Sacred Verse. Compiled and edited by William Angus Knight. (Religious Tract Society. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Dr. Knight has confined this selection of poetry to the noblest products of English and American genius during the last four centuries. It is

intended for private reading and study, and includes pieces which 'the devotionally-minded of every sect in Christendom' may find an aid to loftier thinking and living. Inferior work of every kind has been excluded. The editor quotes the preface to a little book which he issued privately in 1871—*Hymns Selected for Public Worship*. He there expressed his opinion that several collections of hymns 'are prosaic nearly from the beginning to the end.' 'The Olney hymns, and those of Hart and Watts (with some exceptions) are mere dross when tested by that standard of poetic merit to which other composers have attained—such as Charles Wesley and the great German hymn-writers of the past, or Faber, Newman, and Keble in our own day.' Seventeen pieces of Charles Wesley's are included in this book. Montgomery comes next with fourteen, and there are seven pieces from Traherne. The selection as a whole is admirable, and there is not a piece which does not invite and provoke thought and devout feeling. The selection from Charles Wesley is excellent, but Dr. Knight has taken liberties with the text which are to be regretted.

The Oxford Book of Ballads. Chosen and edited by A. Quiller-Couch. (Clarendon Press. 6*s.*)

Mr. Quiller-Couch arranges his ballads in seven books. The first deals with magic and the supernatural, the second with pure romance, the third with romance shading off into history, the fourth with early carols and ballads of Holy Writ. The fifth section is taken by the Greenwood and Robin Hood, the sixth follows history from Chevy Chase to the Border feuds, the seventh brings us to the more degenerate days of the ballad. The ballads have no chronology, so that this arrangement works well. The editor has felt himself free to reduce here and there and to omit a coarse or a brutal phrase, but he has put his own additions or alterations within square brackets. Archaic words are explained in footnotes. The collection itself will give great pleasure to those who feel the charm of our ballads. Mr. Quiller-Couch does not deny that they suffer when set beside the best poetry of 'Herrick, Gray, Landor, and Browning,' but he has an old affection for these quaint and pathetic revelations of the past, and his readers will soon find the spell cast over them as they turn over these pages. The tragic side is never far from view in these ballads, and we almost feel as though our forefathers loved to linger over it.

Poems and Sonnets. By Percy C. Ainsworth. (Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This little volume will not disappoint those who have learned to love Percy Ainsworth's sermons. Here also his work is that of a master. There is music in every line, rich and deep music which well befits the strong rich thought of a practical mystic who knows how the invisible spiritual things brace the character and will for the daily task and the daily warfare. We

feel the constraint of the book in its first verses, where the life everlasting is set forth as—

> The power whereby low lives aspire
> Unto the doing of a selfless deed;

and in such a gem as 'The Ideal,' which ends on this note—

> For this is life—to love the light,
> To see the best, to ask for all,
> To seek a city out of sight
> In spite of failure and of fall.

There is a fine ring in the verses on 'Victory' and in 'He that loseth his life,' a memorial for a brave soldier. Two or three pieces show the warmth of the writer's affection for children and the big heart that he revealed to his friends. 'Beauty' is a little gem, and 'St. Stephen' is for feeling and power one of the outstanding pieces in the book. The sonnets are masterpieces. We set the poems beside the sermons, and rejoice in such rich memorials of a life that ended before it reached its noon.

Browning's Men and Women, 1855. Edited by G. E. Hadow. (Clarendon Press, 1911. 8*s*. 6*d*.)

This is a verbatim reprint of the original edition, with five slight corrections. The editor's introduction will approve itself to all lovers of Browning. To describe the early Victorian period as one of dull respectability, when art and literature were at a low ebb, is not only untrue, but is based on the false conception that art and bohemianism are necessarily allied. Browning's life is briefly sketched, and a skilful estimate of his work is given. He fails as a dramatist, but his insight into character gives profound and abiding interest to the 'noble portrait gallery of *Men and Women*.' This neat edition, with its clear type and wide margins, is just what a student wants.

Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound and other Poems*, 1820, have just been added to the *Oxford Library of Prose and Poetry* (Frowde. 2*s*. 6*d*. net), and make a very attractive volume with Clint's exquisite portrait of Shelley as frontispiece. 'The Sensitive Plant,' 'To a Skylark,' and the 'Ode to Liberty' are some of the treasures in the volume.

Mr. Allenson has issued a very neat edition of Fitz-Gerald's *Rubáiyat of Omar Khayyám* (6*d*. net.), with illustrations by S. C. V. Jarvis which add to the interest of the poem. Fitz-Gerald's second edition is the basis of the work, with various stanzas added from the first edition.

Forest and Town. Poems. By Alexander N. De Menil. (Iowa: Torch Press. 5*s*.)

Dr. Menil's new book of poems will add to his reputation. They are arranged under five heads: Nature, Love, Friendship, Death, Miscellaneous. Sometimes the verses strike rather a plaintive key, but they have a real love of forest and flower. 'For nature is God's sermon unto

man.' 'The Song of Spring' is full of this passion. 'The Meeting of the Years' happily weds music to thought, and some of the other pieces show a true gift, and one that has been well cultivated.

The Tulip Tree and other Poems. By Robert J. Kerr. (Dublin: Cowbridge & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a third edition, with twenty-nine new pieces. It is all skilled work, and work with soul in it. Mr. Kerr's closing verses, 'Deus noster Refugium,' are strong in faith:

> The Lord of hosts art Thou,
> Who makest wars to cease,
> Touch failing heart and aching brow
> With love and hope and peace.

This little volume will be dear to all lovers of chaste and sweet poetry.

Flashes from the Orient. By John Hazlehurst. (Hazell, Watson & Viney. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is the third volume of a thousand and one sonnets. They are arranged in four books for spring, summer, autumn, and winter. This volume on autumn shows a quiet sympathy with nature and an appreciation of its changing moods. A pleasant theme for a morning meditation may be found on every page.

Essays in Imitation. By Algernon Cecil. (Murray. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Cecil tries to look at some contemporary events with the eyes of Thomas Carlyle, Jonathan Swift, and Charles Lamb, and to express what they might have felt as to men and things. It is brilliantly done, as every one who knows the writer would expect, and will appeal to those who are able to look dispassionately on current affairs. They will get both amusement and food for thought from these pages.

The Dawn of the Health Age. By Benjamin Moore, M.A., D.Sc., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (London: Churchill.)

Dr. Moore thinks that our whole medical system needs to be reorganized in the interest of the community. He would like to see a National Medical Service formed to guard the health of the people, instead of our present system under which doctors are called in when disease has already got a firm hold of its victims. The facts given as to consumption, diphtheria, and cancer are sufficiently startling, and some strong statements are made as to the defects of our hospital systems. We hope the book will receive the consideration which it so thoroughly deserves. There is no need to dwell on difficulties in the way, but the subject is one of national importance, and Dr. Moore puts his case in a form that compels attention.

Unrest and Education in India. By William Miller, D.D. (Blackwood & Sons. 1*s.* net.)

No one has a better right to speak on education in India than Dr. Miller, and his notes on Mr. Chirol's letters in *The Times* on *Unrest in India* deserve careful attention. He approves of the general tenor of the letters and agrees with the leading principles there laid down, but points out that the account given of education in Calcutta does not apply to Bombay or Madras. In Madras the local government and the university have all along been extremely active in regulating everything connected with education, and 'a large and constantly increasing proportion of the teachers who are at work in the schools and colleges of India have received, if not a sufficient, at least a very considerable amount of training.' The pamphlet ought to be consulted along with Mr. Chirol's valuable and statesmanlike volume.

The Rev. H. Gulliford has drawn up a *Handbook of Wesleyan Methodism*, embodying the laws and usages followed by our Church in Ceylon and India. The work was undertaken on the instruction of the first General Synod for Ceylon and India in 1905, and the proofs have been considered with great care by experts in each District. The work is to be submitted to the next General Synod. Dr. Findlay wrote an account of the rise of Methodism to accompany the annotated edition of the Rules, and this forms a fitting introduction to Mr. Gulliford's handbook. The Annotated Rules come first, with warnings against idolatry, superstitious rites and customs, and the special temptations of the East. Other sections deal with the spiritual and the temporal concerns of the church, and church institutions. All that affects 'The Circuit,' 'The District,' and 'The Province,' is gathered into other sections and under 'Miscellaneous.' We have a careful account of the General Synod, the Missionary Committee, and the Conference. The 'Resolutions on Pastoral Work,' adopted by the Conference of 1885, form an appendix. The handbook has been greatly needed, and Mr. Gulliford has prepared it with the utmost care, and laid Methodism at home as well as in India and Ceylon under deep obligation for a work which will promote order, good discipline, and intelligent grasp of Methodist polity.

The Names and Addresses of Circuit Stewards for 1911 (Methodist Publishing House. 6*d.*), is one of the indispensable handbooks for a Methodist. It is neatly got up, and every care has been taken to make it complete and accurate.

The Authorized Version of the Bible and its Influence. By Albert S. Cook. (G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) It was a happy thought to print Prof. Cook's chapter from *The Cambridge History of English Literature* in book form. It is a piece of sound and careful work which presents the salient features of the subject in a way that is both instructive and impressive. Three passages which had to be omitted in the Cambridge History are now included. Prof. Cook asks what is meant by a classic,

and tries to discover what qualities entitle the Authorized Version to be reckoned as the first English classic. Its subjects are the greatest that literature can treat—God, man, and the physical universe; it has a unity of theme and concept that gives coherence and organization to all its varied detail; it combines breadth and vigour. Each point is well illustrated, and the influences which moulded the English language into a vehicle for so stupendous a literary creation are skilfully set out. The closing pages show the influence of the Bible upon subsequent English literature. One is pleased to have the book on one's shelves.

Capture in War on Land and Sea. By Hans Wehberg, with an Introduction by John M. Robertson, M.P. (*5s.* net.) *British Rights at Sea under the Declaration of London.* By F. E. Bray. (*1s.* net.) (P. S. King & Son.) Dr. Wehberg argues that naval armaments are largely the outcome of the principle that belligerents at sea are free to capture each other's commerce. In land-fighting, booty for booty's sake is not allowed. Dr. Wehberg sets forth his case with 'scholarly exactitude and perfect sobriety.' Mr. Robertson says that no work of the kind has made on him 'a stronger impression at once of special competence, mental discipline, and serious recognition of the great human issues involved.' Mr. Bray, in his lucid study, shows that the rules laid down by the Declaration of London will strengthen the position of Great Britain. The general acceptance of a law within which both belligerents are free to make war in their own way, unhampered by disturbing complications, will mean that the ring is kept clear for the strongest power to win. The man in the street, for whose instruction Mr. Bray writes, will find much reliable information in these pages.

Leila. By Antonio Fogazzaro. Translated by Mary Prichard Agnetti. (Hodder & Stoughton. *6s.*) This book comes like a death-bed confession of faith. We see Fogazzaro himself in his hero Massimo, who is suspected of Modernism, and slandered and intrigued against by the archpriest of Velo and his chaplain. The Protestant bible-seller is an interesting figure, and the large-hearted priest who shelters him in his house plays a leading part in the story. Leila is almost incredibly wayward, but her pride melts at last under the wise handling of the good genius of the story, Donna Fidele, who does not hesitate to say, 'I am an old-fashioned Catholic; and, moreover, I do not confuse bad priests with religion itself.' The book is vivid, full of force, finely phrased, and perfectly translated. As a window through which we look into the religious life of Italy, it becomes of special importance. Massimo is sorely tried, but returns to Christ and the Church. Donna Fidele dies like a saint, rejoicing that Massimo and Leila, the two she loves best on earth, are one in heart and mind. As we read these enthralling pages we can understand what a loud call there is for earnest Protestant work in that country.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Quarterly Review (January) has no article of outstanding merit or irresistible attractions, but several of its papers will be read with interest, such as Mr. J. C. Medd's informing contribution on *Woods and Forests*, and Mr. Hilaire Belloc's charming dissertation on *The Song of Roland*. Of Chateaubriand, as depicted in his autobiography, Mr. P. F. Willert says that the more closely his accounts of himself are investigated the more magnificently mendacious does he appear. The *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe*, he says, are 'a striking instance of the worthlessness, as historical evidence, of autobiographies directly or indirectly inspired by Rousseau.' Mr. Percy Fitzgerald contributes a severely critical paper on *Boswell's Autobiography*, and there is an excellent appreciation of Lord Rosebery's *Chatham*. The writer of *India under Lord Morley* severely handles both the late Secretary of State and the Viceroy who carried out his policy. 'The conversion of India into a great manufacturing country may come with the rapidity of the rise of Japan. How small, in the light of such a development and its consequences, appear the questions which have been the exclusive occupation of the twin rulers of the country!' Lord Morley, in particular, is declared to have been too much absorbed in political interests. 'He would appear to have taken no heed of the economic development of the country, or his views would have been brighter.'

The fine article in **The Edinburgh Review** (January) on *English Prosody*, although based on Prof. Saintsbury's great work, is an independent study of the subject, and will be of permanent value to all students of poetry. The writer says that Mr. Saintsbury has given us the results of great learning, and of fine discrimination and sound understanding, 'which are of even more importance than learning.' He has settled some things for all time, and has thoroughly based *σὺν*. He also understands the vitality of true music and true rhythm. 'That he is needlessly pedantic is to be regretted, for this will turn away some readers from his admirable pages.' There is also a valuable review of the recent literature of *Heredity*, in the course of which the writer points out the chief dangers of Eugenics—rash experiments in breeding, &c. 'The officiousness,' he remarks, 'which results in the placing of a number of bad laws on the Statute-Book does only temporary harm; . . . but the officiousness of the "scientific reformer" who flings the racial germ-plasm into the mud of political controversy, to be canvassed and fought over by wallowing politicians, may be working damage that can never again be retrieved throughout the future history of the world.' Another writer shows

sympathy with the motive underlying the claim to *The Right to Work*, but is anxious first to know what is "work," and what is a "right." He discusses the question from the economic and the ethical point of view, but reminds us also that the scheme has already been tried, and with what results. 'It was proposed as early as 1601 in an Act of Elizabeth, and led ultimately to the disastrous results described in the Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1832. It was tried in France in 1848, and produced nothing but social, political, and economic confusion.'

The Dublin Review (January) is full of good things. There is an estimate of Elgar by Mr. Cecil Barber that will delight all but official English musicians; Mr. Hilaire Belloc writes on *The Economics of 'Cheap'* in characteristic fashion; Sir Hugh Clifford has an informing article on *Some Malayan Superstitions;* Mr. Meyrick Booth gives a striking estimate of that modern trend of thought which, while tacitly rejecting Christianity, is still impelled by its momentum; and there are several other articles of more than ordinary interest, the most brilliant of which is Canon Barry's review of Mr. Monypenny's first volume of the life of Lord Beaconsfield, in the course of which he discusses the question whether Disraeli was a genius or a charlatan; whether he was great or only successful; and, if great, in what his greatness consisted. The result is on the whole most favourable. 'He was a Jew by race, a Christian by adoption, a conservative in a large historical sense by instinct, study, and conviction. These are ideas which will endure, and in his attachment to them lies the secret of his greatness.' 'He is, in fact, an ancient Jewish type, dear to the wandering or exiled race that gave renown to Joseph in Egypt, and to Mordecai in "Shushan the palace." That dream of a Grand Vizier exalted by a heathen king to share his sovereignty must have sprung up wherever Israel dwelt under a foreign yoke. . . . "My mind," said Disraeli, "is a continental mind. It is a revolutionary mind. I am only truly great in action." The ideas by which he wrought were never Greek and speculative; they drove at practice; they dictated a policy; they sprang armed out of the Old Testament.'

In the February **English Review** there is a most interesting account by Mr. Frank Harris of an interview with Carlyle. 'If ever a man believed he was a born leader of men,' he says, 'it was Carlyle, born to rule in England, to abolish the anarchy of Parliamentary misgovernment, to endow England with modern institutions instead of feudal institutions, to found an industrial State in place of a chivalrous-Christian anarchy.' The writer regards his hero as 'the best product of English Puritanism; all that that belief had in it of honesty and sincerity, of single-hearted allegiance to what was true and right and just, came to fruit in Thomas Carlyle.' And yet 'the wisest governor and bravest soul born in England since Cromwell was left to fret his heart out in obscurity as a writer in a back street, while England muddled on into ever-increasing difficulties—the blind leading the blind.' That Carlyle was not born in England, Mr. Harris seems to have forgotten. More accurate is his estimate of the Scottish prophet as a seer: 'Seventy years ago Carlyle saw more clearly

than our Parliamentary people of either party see to-day.' At that time he proposed to take our surplus population in British warships and settle them on the waste lands of our Colonies. 'Had Carlyle's advice been followed we should now have had thirty or forty millions of Englishmen in Canada instead of five millions, and five or six or ten millions of Englishmen in South Africa instead of a few hundred thousand.'

Hibbert Journal (January).—A wholesome protest is presented in the first article by the Bishop of Ossory against the modern tendency to emphasize the subconscious processes in man. This region of psychology is obscure, but as far as evidence goes, there is no reason to find in this *hinterland* of human nature its more important realm. Bishop D'Arcy criticizes, respectfully but firmly, Dr. Sanday's speculations concerning the subconscious as the seat of the Divine in the Person of Christ. We cannot admire the article of the Bishop of Tasmania entitled *The Theology of Laughter*, in which he seeks to show that humour may, without irreverence, be regarded as a divine attribute. The tenderness that is usually found joined with true humour among men, amidst the ironies and contradictions of life, together with the insight which such tenderness imparts, is another matter. Prof. Luzzi of Florence contributes a well-informed article on *Modernism and the State of the Roman Catholic Church in Italy To-day*. He shows how rapidly Modernism is progressing in spite of papal repression. Mr. Lowes Dickinson, in an article on *Ideals and Facts*, dwells on the function of the prophet to affirm and preach ideals which he cannot prove, but which will be tested by the logic of events and will help to promote progress. Other articles are by Dr. K. C. Anderson, *Whitherward? a Question for the Higher Criticism; What is Schism?* by Rev. Lloyd Thomas, and a discussion of the *Theological Situation in Scotland* by Dr. Donald Macmillan, who views with little favour current schemes for the union of Scottish Churches.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—The leading article is written (in French) by Rev. G. Morin, and it discusses the vexed question of the date of the *Quicunque* or 'Athanasian Creed.' Kattenbusch, who is a high authority, places the document about A.D. 420, Loofs would assign A.D. 600 as the period when it assumed its final form. These two dates mark the limits accepted by most scholars, and Dom Morin, together with Mr. C. H. Turner—another high authority—would fix the time as from A.D. 500–550. The Notes and Studies include a learned article from Mr. A. I. Thackeray, who finds what may be called a lectionary rubric in the confessedly difficult verse, Hab. iii. 9. Rev. C. H. Parez vindicates —we think successfully—as against Sir W. Ramsay—the place of the letters to the seven churches as an integral part of the Book of Revelation. Prof. Burkitt contributes two interesting notes on 'the waters of Shiloah that go softly' and the connexion of thought in the cardinal passage, Matt. xi. 27. Reviews of books include a highly appreciative notice of Forsyth's *Person and Place of Jesus Christ*.

The Expositor (January and February).—Dr. Denney, in his Drew

Lecture on *Factors of Faith in Immortality*, which is republished in these two numbers, holds that the moral demand for retribution bulks much less largely than it did in the Christian faith in immortality. He lays great and deserved stress on spiritual character and experience. How can a man believe in immortality who is wholly immersed in things perishable? 'The man who has nothing in life he would die for has nothing in life worth living for.' Dr. E. H. Askwith has two articles on the *Thessalonian Epistles*, one dealing with the eschatological element and the other with the use of 'I' and 'We.' The investigation pursued in the latter sheds light on St. Paul's habit in other epistles. A valuable study in Pauline theology is Dr. Garvie's paper, *Did Paul evolve his Gospel?* The answer is in the negative, though differences in the character of the apostle's message are discernible, due to 'local and temporary conditions and necessity.' Miss Ramsay has translated a very suggestive paper of Prof. Lepsius on the *Symbolic Language of the Apocalypse*, and it is here re-published, with introduction and notes by Sir W. Ramsay. Whilst many will hesitate to accept Lepsius's astronomical basis, his treatment of the symbolism of the Revelation is very suggestive. We note two able articles by Wesleyan Methodist scholars—Prof. Lofthouse, who writes on *Kernel and Husk in Old Testament Stories*, and the veteran Rev. W. F. Slater, whose hand has evidently lost none of its cunning, as he shows the connexion between St. Paul's 'mystery' and the teaching of the Apocalypse.

The Expository Times (January and February).—In addition to the always welcome 'notes' and 'reviews of books' in this periodical, the following may be named as amongst the most interesting articles. *Christianity as Doctrine and as Dynamic*, by Rev. H. W. Clark; *Notes upon the Beliefs of the Babylonians and the Assyrians*, by T. G. Pinches—the editor keeps his readers well posted in this kind of lore; a discussion of Spitta's theories concerning the Fourth Gospel, by Principal Iverach; and *Men of Galilee*, by Archdeacon Wynne, who seeks to harmonize the Synoptists and St. John in reference to the Judaean ministry of Christ before the last week of His life. Rev. L. H. Jordan sings a pæan over the founding in Germany of the first chair for the study of the History of Religions, to which Dr. Lehmann of Copenhagen has been appointed. This is largely due to the fact that Harnack has practically withdrawn his opposition to the establishment of the Berlin professorship, though in principle he still objects, on the very just ground that the theological student has already more than he can dream of doing during his studentship, and that the history of religions needlessly introduces him to difficulties which had better be postponed to a later stage. Dr. J. Agar Beet contributes a paper on *The Doom of the Lost* to the February number, in which, among other things, he breaks a lance with a writer in the last number of this REVIEW.

The editor opens the current number of **The Interpreter** (January) with some acute and helpful notes on recent books, chiefly on Dr. Sanday's *Christologies*. Then follows a luminous and suggestive paper on *The Parables of the Kingdom of Heaven*, by Prof. Burkitt, who insists on

our not drawing more than one lesson from each parable, and shows that the purpose of all of them is to impress upon men the certainty and imminence of the Kingdom, and the need of preparation for the Judgement by which it will be ushered in. In the course of this valuable paper the Cambridge professor says: 'The kingdom of God is the state in which the Spirit of God has free course, in which God makes His operation sensibly felt'; and 'The sin against the Holy Spirit . . . was to declare that a patent benefit and blessing to afflicted men came from devils and not from God. . . . To speak against the Son of Man, to have no confidence in the future, is wrong and faithless, but it may be excused; what cannot be excused is the pessimism which refuses to see the hand of God in whatever brings good and removes evil.' Other articles in this admirable shilling quarterly are *The Epistle to Titus and its Practical Teaching*, by Dr. Walter Lock; *The Successors of the Prophets*, by Rev. L. S. A. Wells; *The Living Christ and the Christian Life*, by the Rev. Richard Brook, &c.

The Church Quarterly (January).—The opening article on *Mr. Gladstone's Letters on Church and Religion* criticizes severely their 'helpless arrangement' into sections by which subjects 'overlap and interlace and commingle almost inextricably.' Gladstone's noble faith comes out clearly in the letters. 'No man living felt more deeply the evils and embarrassments of the Church; yet his faith in it, his devotion to it, never wavered for an instant; and that for the mere reason that he believed it to be the Church.' 'The Christian Faith and the Christian Church were the master theme of all his thoughts.'

The Holborn Review (January) is a strong number. The articles on *The Philosophy of Eucken*, by John Forster; on *Dr. John Brown*, by F. R. Brunskill; on *Tolstoi*, by T. P. Davies, and on *Abelard* by S. Phillipson, form four sympathetic and illuminative studies. The writer on *The Japanese Mind* has undertaken to expound what very few can be said to understand. Other interesting articles are on *German Hymnody*, *Judas Iscariot*, and *Hugh Bourne*. Prof. Peake's survey of Biblical and Theological Literature is well worth the price of the number.

AMERICAN

Bibliotheca Sacra.—A timely article appears in the January number on *The Christ-Myth*. It is translated by Dr. B. B. Warfield from the German of Lic. K. Dunkmann, of Wittenberg. He ably defends faith in Christ against 'the modern Gnosticism of faith in myths'—a happy description of the speculations of Drews and others. Dr. A. A. Berle sketches *The Theologian of the Future*, and insists that he will recognize personality as the ultimate reality, and as a logical necessity that there is a moral order and purpose in the world. Moreover, he will teach that the spiritual message of nature is its ultimate and real message; that the gospel estimate of the value of the individual proves that man is 'worthy of the divine concern in every stage of development.' In

a sermon on *Making Religion Popular*, Dr. Willis J. Beecher utters a forceful protest against lowering the standard by making concessions to worldliness, by making religious observances easier, or by reducing theology to a minimum. His text is an uncommon one : ' Shall horses run upon a rock ? will one plow there with oxen ' (Amos vi. 12). His point is that in trying to make religion popular in the ways above mentioned we are ' making effort that foils itself '; in brief, ' we might as well attempt to cultivate the surface of the rock with ox-teams and raise crops there.' Dr. Currier, of Oberlin, writes on *Crime in the United States : Reforms Demanded ;* he mentions some grounds of encouragement, but also points to defects in the administration of criminal law. In his judgement there has been excessive indulgence in the treatment of convicted criminals. A thoughtful paper on *The Basis of Theism*, by Dr. John Bascom, expands the thesis : ' The affirmation that a divine power and presence stands at the centre of physical and spiritual phenomena alike, seems to be the most rational and explanatory conception we can form concerning the world.'

Harvard Theological Review.—The first article in an excellent number (January) is by Prof. W. Adams Brown, who discusses *The Old Theology and the New*. It is both frank and reverent. The old theology contains ' much that is true and life-giving,' and the true attitude of the new theology to the old should be that of ' a criticism rooted in sympathy.' Students of early Christian literature will find much to interest them in Prof. Kirsopp Lake's paper on *The Shepherd of Hermas and Christian Life in Rome in the Second Century*. The question, *Is Faith a Form of Feeling ?* is ably discussed by Prof. A. C. Armstrong, whose ultimate conclusion is that ' religious faith includes elements both of knowing and feeling. These interact in an organic and living way.' *The Social Settlement after Twenty-five Years* is an instructive review of the progress of this movement by Gaylord S. White, of Union Settlement, New York. His conviction is that ' the settlement will come to see more clearly the value of those spiritual processes and the power of that inspiration which it is the function of the Church to generate and set in motion.' As to the character of the settlement of the future, the writer thinks that he can ' detect a tendency to revert to the simplicity of the early days of the movement.' In the article on *The Synoptic Mind*, by George R. Dodson, there is nothing about the Synoptic Problem, but ' an Ideal of Leadership ' is expounded, based upon the Platonic teaching that only those men are equipped for leadership who ' possess the capacity for putting things together in a comprehensive view.'

American Journal of Theology (January).—The first article, by Prof. M'Giffert, on *Theological Education*, is able and suggestive, as well as abundantly provocative of controversy. It is dealt with elsewhere in this REVIEW. The other chief articles are *The Historicity of Jesus*, by Shirley Case; *Pragmatic Elements in Modernism*, by Errett Gates, and *The Evolution of Religion*, by Shailer Mathews—all three writers being professors in the University of Chicago. The last-named article seeks to

justify the use of the term 'Evolution' in religion, allowance being made for the true nature of the subject-matter. We do not agree with the writer in his point of view, but his remarks on 'survivals' and on the struggle between religions for the survival of the fittest are true and suggestive. Biological analogies in the discussion of religious phenomena require very careful handling. The *Critical Notes* deserve study, but a writer who accuses Dr. Forsyth and his book on the *Person and Place of Christ* of 'theological obscurantism' has a few things yet to learn. The reviews of books are scholarly and thorough.

Princeton Review (January).—Dr. B. B. Warfield's article on *The Antiquity and Unity of the Human Race* is learned and able, but it leaves some crucial questions untouched. He considers that the controversy on the antiquity of man is rapidly losing all interest, while that on the unity of the race has already reached that stage. Prof. G. Vos analyses through fifty pages St. Paul's eschatological teaching, to show that it is not chiliastic. Other articles are on *The Shepherd of Hermas*, *Apocalypse or Allegory?* and *The New Optimist* versus *the Optimist of the Gospel.*

Methodist Review (New York) (January and February).—It is not through partiality that we venture to say that one of the best articles that has appeared in this review of late is by the editor of the LONDON QUARTERLY. Mr. Telford, under the heading *Some Exponents of Divine Providence*, surveys the history of the doctrine of Providence, as it has been handled by Christian writers, ranging from Clement of Alexandria in the second century to George Steward in the nineteenth. Bishop Warren writes on *Bishop Asbury*, Bishop Quayle on *Tennyson's Men*, and Dr. J. T. M'Farland on *Matthew Arnold.* Poetry is well to the front in this number, for other articles deal with *The Varying Fame of Mrs. Browning* and *Pragmatism in In Memoriam*—save the mark! A decidedly belated notice of one of Dr. Watkinson's appearances in the pulpit of the City Temple is, as the editor allows, a caricature and 'a bit incorrect in parts.'

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (January) is one of the strongest numbers we remember of this able review. Four articles occur together, each of which is notable in its way—*Ritschl and Ritschlianism*, by J. C. Granbery; *Changes in Theological Thought*, by W. Adams Brown; *The Failure of Rationalism*, by J. M. Fletcher, and *Concerning Authority*, by G. B. Foster. We regret that we can hardly do more than mention them. Prof. Adams Brown is as well able as any man living to discuss recent changes in theological thought, and his article is most informing and suggestive. Mr. Burman Foster does his best to undermine the older basis of authority without providing a satisfactory substitute. *The Society Novel*, by Mary Helm, contains an indignant protest against one type of current fiction—often, alas! written by women. It should find an echo on this side of the Atlantic. Two writers criticize severely Prof. George Jackson's views on Demoniacal Possession in the New Testament.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) (January).—The chief articles in a good number are *The Scientific Presumption against Prayer*, by President Poteat; *The Modern Issue as to the Person of Christ*, by President Mullins; *Dr. Alexander Maclaren*, by Rev. Jas. Stuart, of Watford; *England and the Eucharistic Congress at Montreal*, by Prof. Gilmour of Toronto.

FOREIGN

In the **Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques** (January) there are four main articles of great interest to our readers: one by Father Gillet, on *The Conditions of Efficacy of an Educative Ethic;* another, by F. Palhoriès, on *Balmes and the Problem of Certitude;* a third, by G. Schmidt, on *New Methods in the Comparative Sciences of Religion and Sociology;* and a fourth, by J. B. Frey, on *Jewish Angelology in the Time of Christ.* The third of these is of special value to the student of Ethnology and Theology. It is an elaborate lecture delivered in Vienna last November, and contains an authoritative exposition of the theory of cultural cycles which is transforming Ethnology, especially in matters of Sociology and the Science of Comparative Religion. The survey of Philosophy consists of reviews of all the recent European and American literature in Metaphysics, Philosophic Systems, and Religious Philosophy, ten pages being devoted to Pragmatism. This is followed by an equally comprehensive survey of recent Biblical Theology, special attention being devoted to such works as *The Cambridge Essays on some Biblical Questions*, Dobschutz's *Eschatology of the Gospels*, &c. Nothing of importance seems to escape the eyes of the editors and writers of this learned and enlightened Belgian Catholic Review.

The finest appreciation of Tolstoi is to be found in the **Revue des Deux Mondes** (December 15). It is at once biographical, expository, and critical, and, as might be expected from its accomplished author, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, it is marked by knowledge, insight, and discrimination. He does not think the count owed his world-wide fame to his literary talent or to his genius as a romancer. It is as the prophet of the new time, the apostle of the future City of God which announces the coming renewal of the earth and the end of human miseries in an evangelical paradise of peace and love, that Tolstoi appeals to the masses of the people everywhere. 'Yet,' says the writer, 'see the vanity of glory! note the paradox which saddened his advancing age: the more he was admired and praised, the less he was read and understood.' This the prophet himself felt and lamented. 'I have not more than three hundred disciples,' said he to one of his visitors. 'How few,' exclaims M. Leroy-Beaulieu, 'have penetrated his meaning and his spirit! Most have betrayed him, mutilating his thought, travestying his teaching, repudiating his directing idea—the religious idea—and rejecting its foundation—the gospel. . . . For if in the "faith" of the Russian reformer are found the usual ingredients, the confused elements, of contemporary social utopias, the whole was dominated by the aspirations of a soul fundamentally Christian, by a divine moral sentiment that rendered the chimera less chimerical.' The

article is finely balanced and superbly written. After reading it, it is difficult to subscribe to the opening sentence: 'The only man capable of rendering to Tolstoi an homage worthy of himself—E. Melchior de Vogüé—died a few months before him.' The number for February 15 contains the first part of Fogazzaro's new story, *Leila*, and a remarkable article by M. Fouillée, on *La Morale Libertaire et la Morale de la Vie*. By the latter is meant the new French system of ethics in which the ideas of Guyau and Nietzsche are blent.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—In the January number Stadtvikar Busch, of Frankfurt, concludes his articles on *Professor W. James's Pragmatic Philosophy of Religion*. By way of criticism he urges that in its ultimate basis pragmatism is closely akin to nominalism, sharing its contempt for all abstracts, and therefore for the conception of abstract and absolute truth. Arraigned before the tribunal of theoretic reason, pragmatism is, in Busch's opinion, unable to justify its position. But before the practical reason it has claims which cannot be disputed. The anti-intellectual tendency of pragmatism is held to be favourable to religion. Intellectualism may be everything is science, but not in religion. Again, the empirical voluntaryism of pragmatism helps towards a right understanding of religion, which satisfies life's most vital necessities. Also in its fight with Materialism and Agnosticism on the one hand, and with Pantheistic Rationalism on the other hand, Pragmatism is on the side of faith. Dr. Gustav Lasch, of Strasburg, contributes an instructive article on *Mysticism and Protestantism*. Since the Reformation there have been three types of piety, namely, orthodox, pietist, and rationalist. Mysticism is neutral, as regards these three varieties; but it is not a separate type. Its gift (χάρισμα) is that of deepening Protestant piety on the contemplative side. The mystic reminds us that the religious forces which manifest themselves in firmness of character, in devotion to duty, and in the endurance that overcomes the world, must be gained in hours of contemplation and concentration. The history of Mysticism shows that when cultivated in seclusion its growth may not be healthy and vigorous; 'to become strong the sapling of mysticism should be planted in the sheltering forest of evangelical piety and fellowship.' Other excellent articles in this number are *Indian Renaissance*, by Dr. Gotthelf, of Vienna, and *Emile Boutroux*, by Dr. Benrubi, of Paris. Boutroux is described as 'the most influential' of modern French philosophers. His metaphysics are spiritual; he taught that 'every true philosophy is also a religion.' One of his numerous disciples is Henri Bergson.

Theologische Rundschau.—*The Recently Discovered Odes of Solomon* is the subject of the first article in the January number. It is written by Dr. Carl Clemen, of Bonn, and is prefixed by a bibliography which literally speaks volumes as to the interest aroused by Dr. Rendel Harris's find. The titles of more than twenty articles or commentaries on the Odes are given. Clemen is of opinion that the Jewish origin of the Odes cannot be proved. Nor can they be regarded as the quarry 'from which the Johannine stones were hewn'; Clemen believes that 'the Christian interpolator'

was the author of the whole work; but he points out that Harnack considers it 'very probable' that the interpolator was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel. Clemen notes that in the Odes the Johannine terminology is sometimes used in a different sense; he also suggests that the true explanation of passages containing 'word,' 'life,' 'light,' may be that both the author of the Fourth Gospel and the author of the Odes were familiar with a similar use of these words in certain circles in Asia Minor. Recent literature on *Ethics* is noticed by Rolffs. A fourth edition of Herrmann's *Ethics* has recently been published; it has been largely rewritten, but the character of the work has not been changed. Herrmann is said to 'describe a type of evangelical religion and morals which represents a high, though not the highest grade, and is certainly not a complete expression of Christian morality.' Hibbert's book, comparing *Nietzsche's Ethics of Christian Morals*, receives honourable mention. Rolffs, in a luminous sentence, goes to the heart of the difference. 'The value of personality as distinguished from the mass is the correct basal thought of Nietzsche's *Ethics*'; in Hibbert's book this is recognized, but it is supplemented by an admirable criticism, which shows that 'Christianity accomplishes what Nietzsche desiderates, that is to say, it enables men to be strong personalities.

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 4 Dr. Harnack gives, as is his wont, a summary of his latest work, entitled *New Studies in the Acts of the Apostles and of the Date of the Synoptic Gospels*. In the first chapter he replies to the critics of his former work on the Acts, who regarded as insufficient his proofs that the author of the *We-sections* wrote the entire book. A re-examination of the question strengthens his conviction of the identity of authorship, and with confidence he leaves his readers to estimate the weight of the evidence; lexical and syntactic stress is also laid on resemblances in style, and on the identity of the narrators' interests. In the second chapter Harnack deals with the arguments advanced by those who hold that the author of the Acts was not a co-worker with St. Paul. Replying to those arguments in detail, he claims to have shown that the author of the Acts does *not* represent St. Paul's attitude towards Judaism and Jewish Christianity in a different light from that in which it appears in his Epistles. The date of the Acts is discussed in chap. iii. Hitherto Harnack has been content to say that the evidence favoured the conclusion that the book was written in the year in which it breaks off. Further research enables him to strengthen the arguments, both positive and negative, in favour of this early date. It is necessary, however, to inquire whether this opinion is confirmed or otherwise by the dates assigned to St. Luke's Gospel and its sources (Q and Mark). The result of the inquiry is the affirmation that neither in the third nor in the second Gospel is there any positive evidence of a date later than the destruction of Jerusalem. The sections peculiar to Matthew and to Luke are examined in chap. iv. Harnack's brief summary does not state his actual decision as to the date of their composition. He is content to say that his conclusions in regard to the date of the Synoptic Gospels and of the Acts are not affected.

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