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THE PESSIMISM OF MR. THOMAS HARDY

The Works of Thomas Hardy. Wessex Edition, in 20 vols.—two per month from April 1912. 7*s.* 6*d.* each vol. (Macmillan.)

THE *Wessex Edition* of Mr. Thomas Hardy's Works, of which the first four volumes have now appeared, is a very handsome and worthy production. The books are got up as we should expect from the publishers; they are light to hold; the illustrations are admirable; and the print good. If one drawback were to be named it concerns the paper, which is not always so opaque as to do justice to the clear and readable type. There are few admirers of Mr. Hardy who are not either his grateful disciples or his equally grateful critics. And in either case they would wish to have on their shelves a dignified edition of a novelist who excels all others living in the dignity with which he conceives life and its problems, so serious, whether glorious or dreadful.

There are some new prefaces attached to the works which are of great value as apologias for the writer's idiosyncrasy of art and thought. The whole question of the tragic is one which the present age needs some compulsion to face; yet there or nowhere lies the solution of life; and we owe much even to the errors of a man of genius who forces our attention upon such a point, and is both bold and remorseless

in refusing to let us dream in 'interlunar caves.' As Mr. Hardy truly says, the tragedy of Greece arose in an area little greater than Wessex, and in lives not so very different in their stage of culture after all.

But huge questions emerge, such as these. How far does art serve culture if it teach that the moral lines which certainly do not converge in this world only continue their tangle in another? What would civilization end in if we all came to that belief? The issue that engrosses the present hour is not that which occupied, say, the artistic Middle Age. Then it was a theology that was involved—the matter of man's justification before God from guilt we incur; now it is a theodicy—the matter of God's justification before man for the wrong we endure. How does this affect the value of art? Is it art simply to pose this problem in a very sympathetic and commanding way, with a suggestion that another world but aggravates it? I have in my mind what I think the most dreadful sentence in modern English literature—inscribed over the hung and hooded figure of Tess: 'The president of the Immortals had ended his sport with Tess.' And the question of art opens into the further question of philosophy. Can a naturalistic view of life possibly find justice in history, or end in anything but pessimism? Is Mr. Hardy's unflinching realism not truer to Nature than the happy Naturalists?

To this form of the question we may address ourselves, and always with a respect and admiration for Mr. Hardy's great, veracious, and sombre genius, which I trust may freely appear even amid criticism and challenge.

Mr. Hardy is our greatest living genius in creative literature. He is the only one with a philosophy of life and of the world. He is the only vehicle of the great tragic note—the *great* note—seeing all things on the scale of a world spiritual and imaginative; so that Egdon Heath is not a spot in Wessex but a tract of life. What Scott did for Scotland Mr. Hardy has done for Wessex—clothed it in ideal and universal light, placed it on the centre of life,

suffused it with the fate of humanity. It was Scott that really discovered Scotland to England and the world; as Wordsworth revealed the Lake Country, as Dickens gave us London. In the same way Mr. Hardy discovered Wessex. Yet that *tragic* note—what a difference it makes between Scott and Hardy! One is a high optimist; the other a deep pessimist; each of them seeing one side of what an absolute faith combines. Yet the *Bride of Lammermoor* has great tragedy, as Mr. Hardy has high comedy in *The Greenwood Tree*.

Mr. Hardy in this country, like Leopardi in Italian literature, is a chief representative of sympathetic and imaginative pessimism—as in Germany Von Hartmann is of pessimism sympathetic and speculative. There is certainly in Mr. Hardy no joy of living—no 'God's in His heaven —all's right with the world.' Life is a pathless, grey, not to say grim, affair. The world is the melancholy of Egdon Heath magnified—moving between dark red tragedy in lurid sunsets at the worst and misty drab daylight at the best. 'If any calm, a calm despair.' Happiness, of even a chastened kind, is quite the exception. The closing paragraph of the *Mayor of Casterbridge* describes it as 'The occasional episode in a general drama of pain.'

And from such a view of life Mr. Hardy frames a *Weltanschauung*, an informal philosophy of the universe, a theodicy of a kind—with no δίκη and no θεός. But at least he is engrossed and unhinged by what he sees. It becomes an impressive unfaith; it is not mere literary capital. And what unsettles him is the spectacle of innocent man's unjust fate, and not the mere rigidity of natural law. It is not the existence of suffering but the bad distribution of it. His scepticism is so far moral and sympathetic, and therefore it is greater than if it were rationalist and scientific. He does not fling reality down before us with a clash, as the common Zolaesque realists do. He gives it a setting and a body in a universe

which should be crowned in the soul and its experience but is not. He will at least look for some teleology, and his chief grief will be in the failure to find one. The common realist finds no universal tragedy in the realism. The state of things rouses in him no passionate challenge of the order of things—only a rigorous and vigorous negation. But Mr. Hardy puts humane and universal questions. Any one who does that does a true service to faith. Its great answer and victory is in reply to man's universal and final question. It is on the scale of the world. It is the poverty of our questions that is most responsible for that of the answers.

The only other novelist of the Victorian age with a *Weltanschauung* was George Eliot. But how different again is her note! Her genius was ethical rather than naturalist. She has the note of Nemesis, the message of judgement. We make our own fate, she says: 'Our deeds our angels are, or good or ill,' 'Our finest hopes are finest memory,' 'Our deeds still travel with us from afar. And what we have been makes us what we are.' But Mr. Hardy's genius is religious in quality. His central interest is not conduct or judgement, but fortune and fate, a fate over us—mostly crushing us. We are objects of pity, and our best social ethic rests on a proper pity for our fellow-victims. George Eliot bids us believe we can make a stand against fate—Mr. Hardy says it is impossible.

It is quite true that in his general preface to the new edition Mr. Hardy disowns the idea of a *Weltanschauung*, with the modesty of true genius. He says that any remarks in that direction are to be taken as 'mere impressions of the moment, and not as convictions or arguments.' But on this one or two observations may be allowed. In the first place he is, of course, not a philosophical pessimist. He corresponds to Wagner rather than Schopenhauer. But he is too great a man for his impressions to pass as mere impressions. He goes too deeply into the heart. He

envisages its fate in a world too great, and on a background too vast and solemn. In the next place, there is a stream of tendency running through all these impressions, not in one book, but in a series which has been passing before the public all his literary life. Besides which there are the poems, culminating in the great epic of the *Dynasts*, and these, he says, give him 'more concise and quintessential expression.' It is impossible to regard the supramundane 'It' of the *Dynasts* as a mere impression. And, still further, there is no other view of life and its *milieu* breaking out through these pages; and had there been such a view it must have coloured the impressions in a way which does not appear. Any Christian view of the world, for instance, must have made itself felt somewhere, with a mind that turns on life a gaze so steady, so unsparing, so grim, and so little to be put off with the extenuations that lay their deadening unction on commoner souls.

Similarly Mr. Hardy deprecates such descriptions of his construction of life as 'pessimistic' or 'meliorist,' and says it is not a question of either pessimism or optimism, but of truth. 'Existence is either ordered in a certain way or it is not so ordered, and conjectures which harmonize best with experience are removed above all comparison with other conjectures which do not so harmonize' (preface to *Tess*, p. xiii). This raises a very distinct issue. It makes everything turn on what is meant or covered by 'experience'; and that leads to more philosophic considerations (meaning thereby more thorough considerations) than reveal themselves either to literary genius or the heart's mother-wit. It rouses at once the question whether the whole deep Christian experience of a Heavenly Father is to be written off pitifully as an illusion whose final beneficence is open to much discussion. It even does what many would think a more serious thing. It relegates to the region of illusion that moral order of the world which has been the faith and stay of its greatest, even when they did not find it con-

densed for time and eternity in Christ. But on this matter more will be said in the latter portion of this essay.

Indeed, Mr. Hardy is tossed about among alternative *Weltanschauungen*. He says in one of his prefaces that he has put himself more compactly into his poems than into his novels; and in 'Nature's Questioning,' for instance, there are four of these views suggested. We may be the work of a jesting imbecility which leaves us to chance, or the products of an unconscious automaton, or the débris of a dwindling Deity, or the forlorn hope over whose ruin strides some great plan for the future conquest of evil. We should note the title. They are *questions* of *nature*. But the answer is not in nature. Nor indeed anywhere else for Mr. Hardy. 'No answerer I.' Revelation is rejected. He has moods when he prefers the malignant alternative to the careless, 'Hate me, but do not neglect or despise me'—as in the poem 'Hap,' where, he suggests, gross cruelty would be less exasperating than crass casualty. As if a human will had its dignity at least acknowledged amid inflicted suffering, in being the object of disastrous attention from a greater will and not the mere victim of a blind force. And his tendency elsewhere would seem to be to gravitate to such a view. There is so much passion in life to a man whose sympathetic genius outruns his moral insight or power of thought, that, if he do not find vast love behind all, he finds vast hate or contempt—not blind indifference. The Reformers insisted on the fact that if our attitude towards God be not one of love, it must become at last, here or hereafter, one of hate. Indifference could not last.

Many of the poems represent an earlier stage, and one less severe and grim—for example, 'God-forgotten,' and 'The Bedridden Peasant'; which latter reminds us of Meredith's 'Martin's Puzzle.' These may be contrasted with the end of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. And we may contrast them further with the greatness proposed in the Christian mercy—'as is His majesty, so is His mercy';

and with 'God so *loved* the world that He gave—a Greater than the world.' Mr. Hardy's grief that he cannot see this is uttered in 'The Impercipient.' To him it is a grief; he is never aggressive against belief he cannot share, like smaller and harder men. These lines are not musical, but they are very fine and touching.

> Yet I would bear my short-comings
> With meek tranquillity,
> But for the charge that blessed things
> I'd liefer have unbe.
> O, doth a bird deprived of wings
> Go earth-bound wilfully!

Mr. Hardy's pessimism is of no cheap or popular kind. It goes too deep. But one poem does humorously represent what can only be treated with humour (it is not worth wrath)—the lazy scepticism of the Philistine, the easy man. It is not an uncommon form of conceited self-indulgence, and it is devoid of that note of distinction or that title to respect which belongs to a scepticism rising from the sympathetic but ill-starred experience of a soul that hungers for the great things of life. The poem I mean is 'The Respectable Burgher on the Higher Criticism'—

> Since Reverend Doctors now declare
> That clerks and people must prepare
> To doubt if Adam ever were;
> To hold the flood a local scare;
> To argue, though the stolid stare,
> That everything had happened ere
> The prophets to its happening sware;

and so on, on one rhyme, throughout the Old Testament and the New—

> —Since thus they hint, nor turn a hair,
> All church-going will I forswear,
> And sit on Sundays in my chair,
> And read that moderate man Voltaire.

No doubt Voltaire was moderate (he was a Deist) compared with what prevails now with the pantheistic dissolution

of God and the critical dissolution of revelation. Mr. Hardy's pessimism is no easy-chair philosophy.

Pessimism is a far deeper and more sympathetic philosophy than Naturalism or Idealism. And it is what these come to if they believe only in progress. Godless civilization, the civilization of modern Europe's bourses and chancelleries, ends so. It is remarkable that pessimism appears to-day for the first time organized into a system of philosophy, and that this is concurrent with the greatest of organized civilizations. Mere progress is not only an immense assumption but a shallow one. It does not take full count of the pain, grief, and especially the guilt, of the world. A religion of mere nature must end in pessimism —even the religion of a belief in human nature. The effect on deistic optimism of the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 was to explode it. And a Christianity which reverts to the world, so to say, which is established into a mere pious domesticity and churchy content, which becomes but *bourgeois*, and which relapses so to a mere natural religion, must have its placidity broken up by such shocks as Tess and the pessimism from which Tess's fate, taken alone, leaves us no exit. Such things come home to the more realistic and sympathetic natures; and with spiritually imaginative or speculative natures they demand a movement which is greater even than evolution—namely, redemption. The philosophic pessimism of Germany becomes a religion of redemption. The aesthetic genius represents life, the scientific explains it, the ethical interprets it, the spiritual conquers it in a Redemption. The redemptive view of the world, right or wrong, is far deeper than the evolutionary, and it has more heart in it. It takes due account of the tragic side of things, the ills of life, and the curses in the wake of civilization. It views tragedy on a world scale, but it is not this-worldly. It sees the world on the background of another, which either overwhelms it

or realizes it. The exit is either destruction or redemption. And Christianity stakes its existence on *redemption*—and redemption of a *world*. *Tess* puts no problem which is not now posed in any adequate theology of Christ's cross—and so answered as to make a world-religion. Those who have that answer do not need *Tess* to raise the question. And I cannot think how those readers without the answer can go to the end of *Tess*, except by a nerve that blunts the edge of the problem.

Unfortunately systematic pessimism is not Christian; because its redemption, while it is the evolutionary redemption of a world, is not recreative evolution. It is a redemption into destruction — not into life, but from life. It is extinction. It says, not only is there evil in life, but life is an evil, and the only escape from evil is escape from life. Its redemption is not that of life from evil, but from life as an evil. And its means of redemption is not martyrdom, not sacrifice, but suicide—racial suicide in some form. In this evil the power called God is Himself involved. He also must be delivered from the curse of being, and delivered by our help. What redemption means at last is not man's redemption by God, but God's by man. Our best toil but aids God to extinguish Himself in so far as He is in us, and to escape with us from the coil and curse of being. So that we might say that if Christianity is boldly redemption *by* God, and paganism bravely redemption *from* God, pessimism audaciously is the redemption *of* God. And here philosophical pessimism differs from literary, Von Hartmann from Mr. Hardy. For Mr. Hardy men seem the sport of some freakish power which does not suffer, perhaps even does not know of suffering. When He does know, He can but sport or crush, He cannot redeem. For Von Hartmann both God and man are involved in the blunder of existence, both are its suffering victims, and redemption means that of both. For Mr. Hardy there seems often nothing behind the conscious but freakish 'President of the Immortals,'

morally impossible; for Von Hartmann there is behind everything 'the Unconscious'—an awful and philosophically impossible *abstraction*.

Pessimism is at least more Christian than optimism in its deep statement of the problem. And optimism, as it understates the problem, is too ideal in the solution, too easy and breezy, too apt to drop in the end to a low ideal of comfort. The ideal of pessimism is something far nobler than the prospect of universal comfort—

> I see a day when every pot shall boil
> Harmonious in one great Tea-Garden.

The Christian ideal is neither pessimism nor optimism, because it is greater than either. It is more than optimistic, because it handles a deeper problem than idealism puts, with its dullness to sin; and therefore it has a higher solution. We are more than conquerors, through Him that loved us. We are more than conquerors carried in the evolution of the idea—we are redeemed in the tender mercy of God's majesty. And not by loving, but by being loved.

In pessimism there are three things which are ignored—whether the pessimism be literary or philosophical. They are: first, *Sin*; second, *Redemption*; and third, *Personality*.

Sin is a totally different thing from anything the word has hitherto meant if it is a mere taint or quitch in existence for which man is not responsible. The whole meaning of life is altered if we find its chief bane to be something put into man's make-up and bound into existence. This is a view which brings a certain relief at first, as opium does—to bring at last what opium brings. The worst perdition of man is to believe that there is nothing in him which deserves perdition. It is bad enough to feel guilty, but it is worse to escape by charging our guilt on God, or whatever stands for God, to feel He is more guilty than we are for making us so, and to say that man sins and suffers by the

fault or blindness of the absolute and infinite Being over him.

Again, in scientific pessimism the idea of redemption is not the Christian one, but the Indian. You can escape from guilt and evil only by escaping from life. As there is no God, guilt is no deeper than life. The great Redeemer is the death-bringer and not the life-bringer, the quencher and not the quickener. Redemption is destruction—of consciousness. It does not open the kingdom of heaven to all believers, but the gate of death to all victims. But it is guilt that makes hell, not grief.

> Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht:
> Der Übel grösstes aber ist die Schuld.
>
> (For life is not the highest of all boons;
> But of all banes the greatest is our guilt.)

Thirdly, pessimism is the natural result of Monism or Pantheism. This result becomes clear in a race of thinkers like the Germans; though it is arrested for a long time in a race of practical energy like our own. It can be arrested for ever, in any race, only by faith in a living, personal, and saving God. But it tends, with all thought, to ignore the supreme value of *personality* in existence. It sees and owns the force of personality in history; but it sees no ulterior power which keeps history out of perdition. Life, in God or man, is a blunder, a *faux pas*, into which the Great Unconscious fell. What, then, can personality do in history but, by its very greatness, accentuate the blunder till it become intolerable and is burst? But it is quite impossible to explain how an absolute existence, with intelligence though not consciousness, could commit the folly of stumbling into conscious and miserable being; and how the All-wise could commit the arch-blunder. The dream is a piece of philosophical mythology. And this is a result whenever we reduce personality to an inferior form of the impersonal process, and make consciousness a phase of unconsciousness. It turns all moral values upside down

in a dance of ideas. If personality is a blunder of existence, all morality which expresses and develops personality only increases the blunder. If existence strayed into God, then we lose our way as we grow into goodness. If consciousness is an evil, the moral consciousness cannot be final good. If my personality is a delusion, my conscience cannot be anything else. Supposing (with pessimism) that the ideal consciousness is what impels a man to do all he can to promote the extinction of the race, how can that ideal, why should it, be carried out? There could be no conscience in it. The conscience of pessimism is not equal to effecting its idea. Why should I spite my instinct of life and pleasure to obey the ethic of a system which makes the supreme authority of a personal conscience an illusion? The chief error would then be to take one's soul seriously at all, since its very existence is a colossal and inexplicable freak.

Pessimism, truly, recognizes a plan in the world; but the goal it moves to is extinction, its purpose is vacuity. It has a teleology—of final nothingness. That is to say, the meaning of the world is to have no meaning. And can even a pessimistic morality live on such a creed? Can it lift us beyond the coarsest egoism at last? We could not earnestly pursue any aim in those circumstances—not even the depersonalizing of life. We certainly could not be steadfast, immovable, abounding in *this* work for our ill-fated Lord. We could not be sure it was not in vain. If the redemption of the Unconscious from consciousness were only to be had by extinguishing personality, where is this huge effort to get its going-power or its moral dignity? Why is man there at all? For what end? To be a mere means to aid in the self-redemption of an Unconscious 'which blindly stumbled on man's suffering soul'? That is a thought to embitter life and lose it in sand. If the world be such a place, why live—why bring into being other lives? We become victims of mere instinct, cleverer brutes. And upon such an instinctive foundation is it

possible to think of man's rising in the moral scale to the pessimists' own goal—that of labouring to produce a common consent in mankind to end its life, being sick of civilization, crushed with ennui, convinced it was better not to be, and committing suicide to help existence in heaven or earth out of the curse of consciousness? Or with nothing over us but that sportive President of the Immortals, why should we do anything to amend the social injustice that hung Tess? What hope should we have in any such effort?

Take the moral personality out of Eternal God, or cast it down to a secondary place, and you dissolve human life in tragic despair, with a certain aesthetic grandeur at first, but a sure squalor at last, like Milton's Satan. Spirituality has no meaning apart from personality. It becomes an ideal mist, a theosophic haze, first warm, and then cooling down to fog, frost, and death, for want of a central sun. Spirituality is not a mere frame of mind, for which it is immaterial whether God be vague or firm so long as we feel *exaltées*. It is the communion of a living person with a living person, a finite moral soul with a moral soul infinite and eternal. It is not a relation of finite to infinite, of seen to unseen, dense to rare, but of good to evil, of holy to sinful. And it is a relation of redemption and eternal fellowship. Man's chief end is not to redeem God (any more than it is, at the other pole, to exploit God), but to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever, to hallow His name, and live in His holy kingdom. Pessimism has no higher virtue than *resignation*—eternal resignation. But that is not the fruit of the Christian redemption, which is communion and co-operation. Christ did not accept death, He willed to die. On the other hand, pessimism is a fruit of modern individualism—for which all things do not work together. The individual is not the end for which the world exists. And to interpret the world according as it ministers to the individual happiness is to get across with the world and

be miserable in it. The passion for comfort hides in it the principle of pessimism.

Mr. Hardy's art has the tragic note, but not the tragic motive. He has not the note of great action. A vast and fateful world is his, but not the great action that overcomes the world, nothing to inspire us to surmount fate. He has not the insurgence of the hero's will against doom, but only the bystander's protest of pity or anger against the reckless, the overwhelming, the irresistible. He has not the motive of the conscience, but only of the heart, and of the heart on no historic scale. He has not the historic purview. He knows nothing of racial sin or guilt, or those great moral decisions and collisions that make tragedy more than poignant. His people do not show the struggle of the moral soul against adversity—only the flutter of weak nature-creatures against a universe rolling over them. It is but a higher form of the press use of the word 'tragedy,' where it means no more than a catastrophe or a serious accident, with no noble or humble defiance of force by moral power, of brute will by good will. You have in Mr. Hardy one of the most distinguished but disastrous cases of what teems in the impressionist literature of the day. He faces the facts, but not all the facts—only the obtrusive facts, not the subtle; only present anomaly, not the distilled revelationary truth from the total past. Must genius be so engrossed by the impressions from the present that it has no power to read the message of the past—steady even if clouded? It divines the present; has it no divining power to apply to the past, and the revelation there? Has it nothing but the partial induction of empirics? The greatest problems of the race are often to-day dogmatically attacked by minds equipped with no more than a literary sentiment or a mother wit, without moral insight, historic knowledge, philosophic parts, or theological culture; people

with thinking taste but without thinking training or thinking power.

Mr. Hardy represents also, as only a true genius can, the *reductio ad absurdum* of our ruling ethic, which more and more tends to repose upon fraternal pity alone, to destroy the stimulus of hardship, and to quench the call to battle that there is in adversity. Its adversary is not its helper. An ethic based chiefly on pity or sympathy, instead of obedience and trust, a literary or sympathetic ethic, must end sooner or later in pessimism for lack of power to do more than feel. For nothing but the conscience and its divinest resources of faith can stand up against the heartlessness of nature, which man has to fight and not to follow—nor has he to succumb. And to equip the conscience for this battle there is nothing adequate at the last pinch but faith in the holy redeeming God. The rejection of Christianity is largely due to minds in whom the intellectualism of thought has taken the reins from conscience and its guilt, or humane sympathy has displaced divine ethic in the treatment of life and history.

Such a writer might have indeed a real and valuable place in shocking us (and the religious especially) into revolt from our comfort-worship and our stupid content with things as they are, and in exposing what Eucken calls 'the comedy of culture.' But has he, if he do so from a point of view which dissolves a moral world by placing it on a background of mere irresponsible, not to say elfish, power? The stupid content does, after all, rest on some belief in a moral world—lazy as the faith often is. Is it a real contribution to progress to destroy the faith with the stupidity, and offer the present state of things as no more than a poor cinematogram played to a restless house?

We cannot reach the last moral principle of life by an induction or an impression from our observation of life, by what might be called a sympathetic empiricism. Life's secret comes not by induction, but by revelation.

Even insight, even genius, will not give it—but something more religious. And no moral or final religion is to be reached by any poring on life as we see it round us—whether by science or by imagination. Neither philosophy nor art will give it. The explanation of the world is in its unity; and its unity is in a moral teleology. And, as it is unfinished, its teleology must be given as a revealed salvation. The only teleology is a soteriology. We must go to some holy place where a real saving revelation emerges —either in our own soul (as is the mystic, theosophic, and intuitional way), or in the soul of the race (that is, in the historical way).

And the complaint one makes of so many of the thinkers or *litterateurs* who handle the religion of human destiny negatively or agnostically, is that while they press for coming to close quarters with reality they have never come to close quarters with the one historic fact relevant and vital to the soul's reality and destiny—Jesus Christ. They have not the historic sense or culture. They are far more open to life than to Christ, to the heart of things than to the heart of God, to the thrill and sting of the brief present than to the solemn voice of long creative tradition. Their attempt is one to reach a teleology and a providence for man without history, and without history taken in as thorough earnest as individual cases are taken. The heart, or the genius, pores but on his own range of experience. It is individualist, amateur, unschooled—like a peasant naturalist in face of the whole question of cosmic evolution. As if the heart with its sympathic empiricism were not itself of history more even than of nature; as if in studying history it were not studying its own family record, and using its own antenatal experience. And I will add another remark. The version of Christianity which is discarded by literary genius or philosophic amateurs is mainly the debased form current in the most popular circles round them, rashly

taken as if the fool were the family, as if there were no classic theology, and no classic Scripture, and no scientific or modern treatment of either; or as if any modern treatment could only be respectably intelligent or scientifically adequate by being solvent and destructive. How Philistine it is! How foreign to a large and competent culture!

What are we to think of Jesus Christ? If a writer like Mr. Hardy is right, then the greatest, holiest, mightiest life known to the race, the life that has most affected the race, was based on an illusion as great as His soul was about an Eternal Father or a holy purpose. And that is to discredit Christ and humanity both. Surely it is reducing humanity to an absurdity if its great spiritual jewel and hero, the greatest master of its soul, got His value and influence with it on the basis of a total illusion upon the greatest reality, the illusion of the Eternal Fatherhood.

Society, fate, or whatever we call it, sinned more against Christ than against many Tesses, and it crushed a far diviner love and a holier purity. But in the case of Christ we have a solution of the anomaly which is so far deserving of the whole attention and resource even of a man of genius that it has become a world-religion. It is a solution which covers every such case as that of Tess, assures us that its vindicator liveth, and integrates her tragedy into the world-tragedy whereof the Cross is the eternal conquest and divine *commedia*. How can that be so? The answer is given partly by Christian faith, partly by its modern theology. And to turn with even sorrowful contempt from the mention of theology when the whole question is one of experience and of a theodicy is a piece of sheer Philistinism, which is intelligible enough in the regions of ignorance or half culture; but it has no more right to the name of true culture than the dismissal of psychology from education, of economics from politics, mathematics from astronomy, or philosophy from mind. Who are the theologians but men, often of first-class genius, who have given *first-class attention*

to the first fact of history and the soul? Pessimism when it is taken seriously and made a great philosophy, as by Von Hartmann, becomes a theology of redemption. It ignores reconciliation, but it does profess to deal effectually with the dreadful fact, and not simply exhibit it as moral chaos. True, the artist must not preach even redemption. But he should inhabit such a world, and his art should have it for a background.

In the tragedy of life lies the crisis and solution of life; there Von Hartmann is greatly and deeply right; and we can only escape despair from the heart's tragedy of the men and women round us by going back to the historic, the moral tragedy of God long before us, and the substantial conquest of evil there. By going back to the cross we discover a victory which indeed blackens and condemns men in the shadow cast by perfect holiness; but the same act of the Holy also overcomes for them the evil world, gives them the freedom of the moral world, and creates an eternal holy life. So that here we reach the great principle—*Pessimism cannot be the final reading of the world and life, because holiness is a greater interest than happiness, sin is blacker than misery, and guilt is only revealed by grace. No experience of life shows a world so bad, black, perverse and hopeless as it is shown by the revelation of its holy salvation.* Much illuminative genius, being more sympathetic than sacred, and more humanitarian than moral, has a countervailing blindness which misses the central fact of religion, that holiness is a higher interest than happiness. But if the fact be so, and if the world's gross breach of distributive justice in regard to happiness create a pessimism, what is it that is created by its wound to holiness? A pessimism made worse still; but aggravated by what destroys it—the intenser light of a redemptive justice, a holy God who could do Himself justice only in atoning, only in salvation. There is worse than Mr. Hardy knows —man's infliction on God; and we only know that worst in

the repentance given us in His gift of the best—in His own holy repair of the breach. Christ saves the universe from a dishallowed God—from a worse confusion, tangle, and welter than any pessimism shows in disappointed man. But the dreadful revelation is only possible by that wild world's redemption. We never know till we are saved from it what a perdition it was. We only grow in repentance as we grow in grace. Where grace abounds sin abounds. The worst of sin is only shown us as we look down on it from where the Saviour lifts us. That is not theological theory. It is Christian experience. It is from real life. It is only when God has drawn us from the pit that we realize the horror and peril of our hell. To lack such religion is to lack moral realism. The Christian experience is more real and poignant than the experience by any genius of life and its anomalies. 'Life's Little Ironies,' and its great ones, are lost in that tremendous irony of the Cross. Think of it. The fate of one obscure soul coming to a criminal's end, a soul far more than pure—holy, weighed more for God, for the awful and silent power behind all things, than the whole history of the world around it, before, or since; which world it brings to nought, to make of the humbled dust a new man and so make peace. That is the Christian belief and its irony—whether it strike people as absurd or glorious. But it needs another insight than genius to realize it.

If Jesus Christ rose, pessimism is dead. We have not only paternity but purpose in things, and victory. But if He did not rise and overcome the world for good and all, the tragedy of His cross is the most pessimistic thing in history. For then the best and holiest becomes the worst sport of the powers that be. They mock and erase the best and greatest thing we know. An unrisen Christ is the severest shock to moral optimism that all our knowledge of life has to offer. God let Christ die so, and never raised Him. Or, leaving God out, it took place in a moral universe that could do nothing but let it take place. Nothing can get us over

that enormity—that impeachment of the universe—nothing good, fair, or happy elsewhere. And according to our interpretation of that fate of Christ will be our whole construction of life and destiny, our whole view of a moral world. If such was the final fate of the holiest soul, then the whole world becomes a place where goodness is helpless, mocked, and crucified, never to rise. If *the* Holy Soul came to the cross, and no farther, then such purity as that of the 'pure' Tess may come to the gallows in any numbers. But if He rose, humanity rose in Him, and Tess's fate is redeemed in that Redemption. Tess sinks to a diviner sea.

But if it be so with Christ's cross—that, as the centre of the central personality of history, it is the moral crisis of all life, history, and destiny—why is it that men of genius and insight, with a heart for humanity, and an overwhelming sense of the tears in human things—why should they not attack the problem as it is presented in its acutest form there? 'What! turn theologians!' Well, attack with all your gifted might the world problem where it is gathered to the point crucial for the race's soul. Solve the moral problem at the moral centre. Why do gifted men not grapple with it there with at least as much seriousness, passion, and power as they devote to the life they see and feel around them? It is the age's obsession by individualism, subjectivism, and humanism. I do not say they always ignore Christ. But often He is only another victim, another problem; not a solution, nor material for it. Seeing that their own problem concentrates there, why do they not concentrate there? Why is that omitted in their study of the matter? They repudiate the experience and verdict of the Church; which yet handles the world's supreme moral act, and by intimacy with it is the greatest moral and spiritual voice in history. Nowhere but in the Church can we find such power, such insight, such certainty of the unseen. But spiritual history has nothing

authoritative, not even permanent, for them. Such a poor thing is man, and so sterile his long warfare for the soul. They have a certain contempt, more or less suppressed, for the theologians. But who are the theologians but men (geniuses, many of them, greater than any this age shows) that have done through the ages what geniuses should do, men who attack life's moral problem on a universal and solidary scale—men who have concentrated the co-operative thought of the Church (i. e. of the soul's experts) for the solution of the world problem on the one crucial case where desert and fate come into the sharpest and most critical collision? In Christ's fate either God is ironical to man's conduct, or man is ironical to God's; God mocks the wisdom of history, or history mocks the wisdom of God. By concentrating thus on this great cipher of God's wisdom in Christ, the theologians have come out of many errors with a faith that transcends both optimism and pessimism. It rises above optimism because it penetrates more deeply the *moral* world, reaches the holy, and feels sin as the curse; and it transcends pessimism because it pierces more deeply the *religious* world, reaches grace, and feels God as the Saviour. The theologians at least face the supreme moral anomaly and irony of all history with an attention adequate to it. They confront it with the only power that is adequate to it—the historic action of God on it. They do not pass it by in silence, and they do not withdraw from it their best passion and most sustained thought. Mr. Hardy speaks of a Calvinistic theolatry. Has he, or have his peers, ever attended to this matter of God and the justification of God as Calvin did? Has he attended to Calvin in his greatness? Has his genius been directed to the most pessimist fact in the tissue of history as it has been expended on the pessimist features within his own observation? Does he not (like so many) interpret the Bible by life instead of life by the Bible? Has the awful irony of a crucified Holiest, and the tragedy of mankind's

best Lover, arrested and held him as he has been detained by the little ironies of life and the grim tragedies of passionate paganism? He fails to find a theodicy, starting from man's desert. We must all so fail till we start from God's holiness, man's guilt, and God's bearing of it. What is it that has made his view of humanity and its destiny? It is his impressions from sympathetic contact with human lives, and his sense of the perverse untowardness of their fate; it is not equally real contact with one historic Life, on a smaller area than even Wessex, where all these individual issues are condensed, handled, and settled, on the scale of humanity, to say nothing of eternity and of God. Has he, like so many of a far commoner kind, been kept by life's crosses from the cross? Has his pity for poor men dulled his insight into the Son of Man? Is it that he cannot see the sky for tears?

But it will be said that faith must rest on experience. Yes, but experience of what? *We understand life round us not by what we find in it but by what we bring to it.* An old man with a wide knowledge of the world—too wide, varied, and distracted for his good—a reprobate old sailor, for instance, who knows every port, or a moneyed globe-trotter who knows well every capital and every club—such a man will parade his experience with a final *savoir faire.* There are many such *pedants of actuality,* fantasts of what they call 'real life.' But when you get down to moral business they will know less about life, and what life is charged with, than the young preacher going fresh to his work with everything to learn about men, but with a true conviction of man's moral case as man is read by a real and decisive experience of Christ. You will never get a real belief in God out of your mere experience of life. Life does not carry the clue that reads life. It has not its own secret. You will never be able to believe in a providence that cares for your daily life if you only try to trace such a providence in what happens to you or others. It is not believing in

providence to trust it just in so far as we can see it reasonable. That is not faith. We trust God's providence in and over life's events because we trust the teleology of the cross, a real, central, and final act of God in Christ crucial for all history, which is in our soul's experience but not of it. To refuse to believe in a glorious end because we do not see it everywhere is to claim omniscience before we can believe. We do not believe that God is love because we trace love in everything that happens to us or round us, but because we have tasted His love's conquest of all life in Christ. We are of good cheer because He has overcome the world. Did He do so just as any worthy individual overcomes temptation? Christ's victory was man's. Our ground of faith is not God's action as evident in the long course of history, but as eminent at its core. It is His action at a certain revealing point which we realize and appropriate by an inward experience. In a word, we find God not in life but in Christ, and there in His cross and resurrection. Our real belief in providence is rooted in conversion. We believe in providence because we believe in the cross; we do not believe in the cross because we believe in providence. The cross is a shock to our belief in a providence unless it reveal a vaster saving order. We do not believe in the cross as the apotheosis of a dark but natural providence, nor as the compendium of what good we are able to trace in life or infer from it: we believe in it for other reasons, and find in it the only theodicy and the only salvation. The special providence is not what arranges our special deliverance from an accident or a calamity (it seems specially improvident of those who are hit), but it is what arranges, at a specific point in history, a world's final salvation even to concrete detail, and its salvation from moral perdition. We trust the God of Christ, of the cross, and of the resurrection for good and all, for the whole world's final destiny, for time and eternity; and so we trust Him for life's several experiences.

There is that in history which makes us believe in spite of history. We trust life to a God who, with Christ, has freely given us all things. We must read life and history in the light of Christ, and not Christ in the light of life and history. Revelation is the key of experience, but experience is only the medium of revelation. Revelation is written on experience, but what is written is more than experience can write. It is the gift of God, and is taken home by a faith itself creates. The last certainty is not the rational result of evidence but the miraculous effect of God. Thus faith in Christ descends to interpret our experience of the world; yet it is a faith that can only live and work in the form of experience—just as it is only in words that we can explain the genius of language. Faith is experimental, but experience is not faith. The impressions we have to do with above all are not those we passively receive from actual life and call experience, but those that proceed from a revelation and rise to faith. They give us the interpretation and control of actual life. They are experience of a kind of fact—central, universal, and real—which has a supreme power to create faith and not merely to impress us, to control life and not merely to colour it.

The attempt therefore to read the riddle of life with no more data than are given us by what is called a knowledge of the world or an experience of life, even a genius's experience—such an attempt is doomed to defeat. Life cannot explain itself. Life's heroes and seers cannot read it with finality. It does not contain its own destiny. Man cannot explain himself. He would be God if he could. No amount of genius applied to the illumination of life can explain it or reveal its destiny. It does not give us its own goal. History is not done, so we cannot get it from induction. Yet without a goal we have no plan, and no providence, and no footing. The negation of purpose in history is the negation of God. And the negation of God carries with it the negation, and therefore the

debasement, of the self. And even of science; for thought in earnest is thought with an end, and a faith in its end.

We are cast upon revelation, therefore, on the message of Him who sees the end in the beginning because He is Himself beginning and end. His account of Himself is perfect, and His gift of Himself is final. If we have thus a God that we love, and who is the God that loves the whole world, then we have life's goal and ground in Him, and we are sure that, whether we can trace it or not, all things do work together at last for His loving purpose of endless good. If we have Christ for such Alpha and Omega we can be patient with those bitter or burdened people who point to broken lives that seem the puppets of fate or the sport of mighty malice, and who say 'Could that be if God were?' Yes, we say, it might. What crosses our will or dream may yet be greatly purposed. It may be part of a vast purpose to disappoint our will of happiness. It is part of nature's beneficent teleology that we die. And, on the other hand, to get our will's way of great prosperity, even for those we love, is often our life's ruin, or theirs. Life must seem a confusion, a moral welter, if we have no certainty of any divine purpose to which all things work together. It holds for us no final good if we have no means of laying hold of its final goal. We must, then, come out pessimists if we ever get beyond shallow optimism or lusty stupid content. Life could not continue to be lived in any worthy society nor on any worthy scale on such a moral background as Mr. Hardy reveals, where there is no kingdom of God. We must see things in a tangle, if we rise to take a large and deep view of things at all—unless we see in Christ the Spring of all and the Goal of all, our Author and our Finisher, our Redeemer and our Consummation.

The most precious thing in the world is God and His kingdom; the most worthless and disastrous is sin. Then the most precious God is one who deals with a world's sin effectually, who is there (to make a full end) just where

need is most black and death most grim. The modern man, feeling confident in his cause as the injured party, demands a vindication of God in the face of palpable wrong. But no natural or philosophic theodicy is possible, none on his premisses. None is possible except as Job found it, except to Job's final frame of mind. None is possible except in the cross, where suffering man is silenced because guilty man is justified in the face of a holy God.

The chief debt under which we are laid by minds like Mr. Hardy's is this—that they compel us, by the thoroughness and severity of their challenge, to go in with heart as well as mind upon the last reserves of our gospel. They shake us out of the vague generalities and convictions which become theological cant. They also horrify us out of the sentiment which is the curse of a religion of the mere heart and the disease of all the pietisms wherein a comfortable religion becomes imperviously swathed. Their impressionism is really so much more that it demands something else than religious impressions in us. They force us to moralize history and faith. They force us to see in Christ's cross not a preliminary of salvation, nor the totem of a sect, but salvation itself, the crisis of the world's moral problem, and the node of the spiritual destiny of the universe. They present the human tragedy with some of the moral realism and searching judgement of a God who spares not His own Son, and therefore not His own Fatherhood; and they oblige us to find in the rigour of Christ's tragedy not only the crown of man's but, there or nowhere, the same God's loving and awful redemption of the race. By pointed and merciless question they create a saving dilemma which calls the soul to its feet; and they drive us upon the mobile and passionate dogmatism of God in the cross. They force us to be very sure; to disregard the taunts of infallibility cast by faltering men who feel rebuked by any certainty, and they make us stand, not indeed for an infallible church, but for its word in our

mouth of infallible gospel for the race and for eternity. The more our own feet falter the more sure we must be of the word that keeps them; and the more the world is shaken the more we stand on the power which cannot be shaken but remains. That word, that power, is in history. In history but not of it is the cure for our modern subjectivity, the consecration of modern humanism, the correction of a theology of the modern consciousness. A challenge like that from Wessex ends for the hour all the urbane hesitancy and tentative suggestion which passes for Christian charity but parts with an absolute gospel.

One aspect of the complete case I have not touched. Some minds of the first ability have notably devoted themselves to the creative Christian facts, both sympathetically and scientifically, and yet have reached conclusions little less negative than those I have named. Names occur like Strauss, or Baur, or others even more drastic since them. These minds have certainly given due attention to the subject. But in the first place they have not been men of creative genius, of genius moral, sympathetic, and imaginative. Further, they have been under the guiding influence of a philosophical dogmatism which first settled an idea and then handled the history in its interest, or under its spell. Or else they have approached the subject as individualists who had to build up a belief *ab ovo*, and chiefly by critical pruning. They have not worked in the continuity of the classic Christian experience, nor owned practically the weight of the Church's tradition. They have allowed nothing to the historic authority of the Church. This opens, of course, the whole question as to the providential place of that authority in the creation of faith—a real and neglected place, however abused by the Catholic claim. I can here do no more than mention it in order to say that it should be discussed in any full treatment of the case. It has not been out of view.

P. T. Forsyth.

JEREMIAS AND ASTRAL-MYTHOLOGY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East. By ALFRED JEREMIAS. English edition, being volumes 28 and 29 of the Theological Translation Library, translated by C. L. Beaumont; edited by the Rev. Canon C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D. (London and New York, Williams & Norgate. 1911.)

Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria. By MORRIS JASTROW, JUN., Ph.D., being the 8th series of the American Lectures on the *History of Religions.* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1911.)

Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans. By FRANZ CUMONT, Ph.D., LL.D., being the 9th series of the American Lectures on the *History of Religions.* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912.)

SUN, moon, and stars; these have been noticed by men as long as there have been men upon the earth with eyes to see and minds to think, and traces of men's thoughts concerning them have been found in the earliest records that have been preserved to us.

But what were the first thoughts of men respecting them? A theory has been broached that in the distant past the astronomers of Babylon had discovered the precession of the equinoxes; and that the fundamental idea of Babylonian religion was the succession of eras, marked in the heavens by the passage of the vernal equinox from one zodiacal constellation to the next, and on the earth by a corresponding change in the forms of faith and the dominant religious myths. The author of this theory is Dr. Alfred Jeremias, well known on the Continent as the

partner of Dr. Hugo Winckler in the development of a new school of higher criticism, a school which bases its interpretation of the Old Testament on the assumption that this is essentially a collection of astral myths. Dr. Jeremias's book has been well known in Europe for some time, but last year an English translation was brought out under the editorship of Dr. C. H. W. Johns, as the 28th and 29th volumes of the Theological Translation Library. The two volumes before us contain together nearly 700 pages, and it is therefore impossible to deal with them with any great minuteness, but their fundamental principle is so important that it appears necessary to give it as far as possible in Jeremias's own words. His statement of his case may be found in vol. i, pp. 69–82—

> The cycle of the great stars gives the divisions of time in the calendar, day, year, æon. The division of the cycle into 72 corresponds to the periods of the 72 solar years in which the movement of the fixed stars has advanced one day ahead of the sun. Five such periods correspond to the year of 360 days, 50×72 gives the Babylonian saros.[1] The most important calculation in the Babylonian calendar is that which reckons the cycle by the gradual backward movement of the equinoctial points through the zodiac.[2] The inclination of the earth's axis to the sun's path is variable. Corresponding to this, the point of intersection of the apparent path of the sun with the equator also moves. The ancients observed the following phenomenon: the position of the sun at the spring equinox moves as observed from year to year farther westward. In 72 years the advance has reached a length of one degree, so that it takes $72 \times 360 = 25{,}920$ years for the equinoctial point to move through the whole zodiac, and on an average 2160 years for it to move through one zodiacal sign.[3] The spring point passes in this course once through the water region and the fire region. Here

[1] The Babylonian 'saros',—3600,—was not made up by 50×72, but by 60×60; in other words, a sexagesimal system was in use.

[2] In a footnote at this point Jeremias refers to the Bundahis, in which each sign of the zodiac in succession is said to reign for a thousand years. He also quotes Suidas, who attributes the same belief to the Etruscans. But in the Bundahis, the signs are most distinctly described as following each other in the reverse order to that of precession. This belief, therefore, had nothing to do with the alleged 'astral ages.'

[3] This corresponds to a value of 50″ for the constant of precession; a value first brought out by Copernicus, A.D. 1525.

lies the basis for the teaching of the destruction of the world by the deluge and by a fire flood. We believe it to be beyond all doubt that the Babylonians already knew of the precession (even if only in approximate calculation), in the oldest time known to us, and based the teaching of the ages of the world upon it. The establishment of the east direction by the gnomon must have forced the phenomenon upon the notice of the observer (vol. i, pp. 69–70).

His note upon his alleged *Age of Gemini* reads as follows—

In the most remote time upon which we have as yet any historical light, the spring equinox was in the zodiacal sign of Gemini. Sin and Nergal, i. e. Moon and Sun, were looked upon as twins by the Babylonians . . . that is to say, the waxing and the waning moon. But in their solar and lunar reckoning, the moon takes foremost place, being in this system the life-bringer in opposition to the sun which represents the underworld. Therefore an age of Gemini must in every case have been an age of the moon-god. . . . In the age of Gemini the year began with Sivan and ended with Ijjar.[1] The Roman calendar begins the year with Janus, whose two faces represent the two halves of the moon; he therefore corresponds to the age of Gemini . . . and the Dioroscuros [*sic*] myth is therefore also established as the beginning of Roman history; *see* Winckler. This seems to be an artificial archaism reaching back possibly to the Etruscans. In the Roman calendar the 7–12 month is called Quinctilis till December; one sees, therefore, that by the great time-piece of the universe one is two stages slow [2] (vol. i, pp. 71–73).

Jeremias then proceeds to set forth his ideas on the alleged *Age of Taurus*—

From about 3000 onwards the calendar did not agree with the actual position of the spring equinoctial point, and the reckoning would have to be changed and made to agree with Taurus, for in that sign the old spring point was behind-hand. This happened, in fact, and the reform was carried out by Sargon. The advancement of the spring point was used by Hammurabi to glorify his own reign as the beginning of a new epoch. . . . That this new age, following

[1] On page 73, on the other hand, it is asserted that in the Age of Gemini the year began with Nisan.

[2] The names of the months, Quinctilis to December, show that originally March was the first Roman month. Jeremias here insists that in the Age of Gemini, January was the first month. If the months and the constellations were linked together as he seems to assert, January should now be three months after the spring equinox instead of two months before.

that of Gemini, that is the 'lunar age,' should bear the sun character was to be expected, because the Hammurabi dynasty originated in the city of the sun, Sippar, and it is also in agreement in so far as Marduk is essentially the sun-god. But the sun appears here, not as the partner of the moon, but as divided into two and four, and the chief point is in every case that which marks the spring equinox, the victory of summer over the power of darkness. This point in the universe . . . was originally given to Nebo; Nabû is called the 'Foreteller,' and as Morning Star, he foretells the new day in the year and in the year of the universe cycle. But we know that his place was taken by Marduk, and thus the privileges of Babylon were founded upon occurrences in the astral universe. Hammurabi boasts that the elevation of Marduk has fallen to him. Babylon was metropolis of the world because Marduk, symbolized by the Bull, was represented in the age of the Sun as the victorious god of the year, who then also represented the entire astral universe (pp. 73–74).

In a footnote to the foregoing section, Jeremias remarks—

Its astral character, as we have seen, makes the Ancient-Oriental religion a calendar religion, but every calendar which reckons by the seasons is necessarily founded upon the equalization of sun and moon periods, and the relationship of astral to natural phenomena runs through them all.[1]

He then treats of the *Age of Aries*—

In the eighth century B.C., the spring point retrograded into the sign of Aries . . . the reform of the age of Aries did not come into full force in Babylon, for its astronomical beginning fell together with the gradual decline of Babylon. But the overwhelming power of Babylonian civilization is still shown by the influence of the Marduk-Taurus age throughout centuries following. Till Xerxes, Babylon remained mistress of the east, and after the destruction of the Temple of Marduk, the care of the traditions passed over into Egypt . . . Jupiter Ammon is essentially identical with Marduk, but he is worshipped with the ram's head, corresponding to the new age. . . . In the same sense, Christ, as bringer of the new age, is described in the Apocalypse as ἀρνίον.

Oriental history, unconnected with the ages of the universe, is inconceivable; the stars ruled the changes of time. . . . The change in the actual ages is represented in certain myths which mirror the system of the universe. These myths are for the Ancient-Oriental historian what metrics and language are for the poet, and light

[1] This statement has no meaning. The seasons depend simply upon the solar year; and calendars based only upon the solar year, like the calendars of modern Europe, discard the moon periods entirely, and no relationship of astral to natural phenomena runs through them.

> and shade or colour for the painter. The characteristic of the beginning of the history of every age is specially that the beginning person bears the features of the astral god who corresponds to the beginning of the age. . . . We are dealing with an epoch-making discovery which is of utmost importance in understanding the Old Testament mode of speaking (vol. i, pp. 75–76 and 79).

The above quotations give the gist of Jeremias's theory, and are a fair sample of his argument. The lay reader will recognize how difficult and obscure his style of writing is, and it requires but a slight astronomical knowledge to detect that not a few sentences are mere jargon, and many of his astronomical statements meaningless or wrong. Thus he confuses the change of the obliquity of the ecliptic with the motion of the equinoctial point. He asserts that precession would force itself upon the attention of an observer with the gnomon, and regards the sun and moon as forming an identical pair with the waxing and waning moon! But leaving these and all the other many errors in the above quotations, let us come to the essential point. How far back is it possible to trace the astronomical science of Babylon? What was the amount of its development in different ages?

There was a time when it did attain a high level. Cuneiform tablets have been found and translated by Epping, Kugler, Strassmaier, and others, in which the positions of the planets are recorded with admirable exactitude, and these are compared with the predicted places and the deviations noted with regularity and system. But such tablets are very late, and belong to a time when Babylon had fallen from her greatness and lost her political domination. It is even open to question whether she is entitled to claim the credit for this important scientific work, for it was not until she had come under the rule of Greek masters that we find these remarkable tokens of astronomical progress. In any case these tablets have no bearing on the present inquiry, for they were not drawn up until the Canon of the Old Testament Scriptures was complete.

But there was necessarily also a time when there was no knowledge of astronomy, either in Babylon or elsewhere. For with this science, as with all others, men began at zero. It is just this fact that Winckler and Jeremias have both forgotten. For if we accept the theory of Jeremias, we must conclude that the Babylonians, from the very beginning of their existence as a nation, recognized the same constellation figures as have been handed down to us by the Greeks, observed the position of the vernal equinox in the heavens, and regulated their political and religious history by the relationship of the one to the other.

What are the 'Signs,' or more accurately, the 'Constellations,' of the 'Zodiac'? The heavens are the same to-day as they have been at any time since the race of man was upon the earth. The same sun shines, the same moon passes through her phases, the same stars adorn the midnight sky, and the same planets wander amongst them. The observer to-day has exactly the same spectacle presented to him as was offered to his brother 'who squared the pyramids';—by the same stars they watch. Jeremias lays great stress on the popular notion that the 'eastern skies' are so much more informing than those of northern Europe; it is the stress of the man who has watched neither. The 'eastern skies' remain with us to-day, and modern astronomers watch the heavens from many a better vantage-ground than 'the plain of Shinar.'

What, then, are the 'Constellations of the Zodiac'? They are simply imaginary figures, devised by men in order to have a scheme for giving names to the stars. They form a mnemonic system for distinguishing one star from another, since the only way by which in general we can identify stars is by their positions relative to each other; in a word, by their grouping. There is not now, and there never has been, a race of men who have not been aware that the constellation figures are imaginary only. There are no bulls or rams in the sky, and no one can see them there.

No part of the sky is any more 'watery' or any more 'fiery' than another; all that we can see are a number of little gems of light irregularly scattered; some brighter than others, some fainter. The heavens to-day show us these; the heavens showed them to men 6000 years ago, and showed nothing more and nothing less.

Since these figures are not existent in the sky, but were invented by men, there must have been a date when they were first invented. Before that date men knew nothing of such stellar figures, and had never thought of them.

Have we any means of finding when they were invented and where? We know both. The ancient observers who originated this scheme for naming the stars, did not live in Babylon, but far to the north of it, in N. lat. 38° or 37°, and about 2700 B.C. We know this because of necessity they confined the working out of their scheme to the stars within their ken, that is to say, that rose above their horizon. The stars that they were unable to see have, therefore, come down to us without any association with the ancient set of symbols; and as this vacant space corresponds to the part of the heavens which, at the epoch named—2700 B.C.—was below the horizon for N. lat. 38°, we know that such was the place, and such the date of the origin of the constellation figures.

This date and latitude do not mark the actual beginning of astronomy, for the work of star observation must have been begun before the necessity for a stellar nomenclature could have been felt, and before a scheme of the kind could have been carried out. And the very arrangement of twelve of the constellation figures in the zodiac indicates that it was already known that the stars shine by daylight, and that, unseen by us, there are stars around the sun even at noonday. More than that, some means must have been found for ascertaining what stars are around the sun at any particular time, or rather what is the direction of the apparent path of the sun among the stars in the course of the year.

To use the technical term, it had been recognized that there was an 'ecliptic' as well as a celestial equator.

But until the stars had been named, very little progress could be made. For one thing it could not be known whether or no the stars were the same night after night; nor, for another, when this point was settled, could it be known that there were exceptions to the general law of the permanence of the stars; that, while nearly all maintained the same invariable positions with relation to each other, a few were wanderers—'planets.'

But as the heavens do not show the actual figures of bulls, goats, and lions, neither do they show to us the circles of our celestial globe. In vain we look for any line to mark out the ecliptic or the equator, or to mark the point of their intersection, the equinox. In vain we look for the meridians, or for anything to mark the point of their intersections, the pole. Jeremias adopts, with approval, the suggestion of Jensen and Zimmern, that the eight or sixteen-rayed star which is at once the Babylonian representation of a star and the ideogram for a god, was derived from the intersection of the meridians at the pole; but the suggestion only furnishes an example of what foolish things learned men will sometimes permit themselves to write. The sufficient explanation of the ideogram is that when the ordinary man looks at a bright star, he sees it with rays and draws it accordingly. To argue that the form of one of the earliest symbols preserved to us was not derived from the apparent form of the natural object itself, but was inferred from a diagram in spherical geometry, is simple ineptitude.

But when the constellations were first designed, the equinoctial point was in the middle of Taurus. There therefore never was to the Babylonians, or to any one else, an age of Gemini. All the assertions which Jeremias makes on this point are simply the creation of his own imagination, and no matter how he has deduced them, they are erroneous. No evidence could prove a piece of printing to be genuine

Caxton if the watermark on the paper bore the date 1912.

There was, of course, a time when the equinoctial point lay among those stars which we now call the constellation Gemini, but that was long before men had thought of giving that name to them; and since there never was an age of Gemini, the age of Taurus never figured as a 'New Age.'

But the equinoctial point, in process of time, passed out of Taurus into Aries. This took place roughly speaking about 1700 B.C., and writers on ancient astronomy used to consider that from that date forward, Aries must have been regarded as the leading constellation of the zodiac, overlooking the fact that while the equinox moves backward through the zodiac, that is to say, towards the west, the sun in the year moves eastward. In 1700 B.C. the equinox was at the 'first point' of Taurus, and after the spring equinox, the sun was moving through that constellation for a full month. A thousand years must have run its course before men would have had cause to associate the spring equinox with the constellation Aries, for it was not until about 700 B.C. that the equinoctial point came into conjunction with Hamal, the principal star of that constellation. We find this epoch emphasized in several different ways. In 747 B.C., Nabonassar, an obscure king of Babylon, inaugurated a new chronology. With this a period of astronomical observation commenced. Syncellus records (as Jeremias himself notes), that 'Since Nabonassar the Chaldeans have noted the movements of the stars,' and in strict accord with this, the earliest eclipse of the moon, included in Ptolemy's Canon, was observed at Babylon in 721 B.C., the 27th year of the era of Nabonassar. Further Kidennu (Kidenas), the great Babylonian astronomer, fixed the equinoxes and solstices at the 8th degree of the corresponding signs, which shows that he did not know of precession. For he lived in the middle of the third century B.C., but the position he

adopted for the equinox agrees with that of Hamal, and corresponds to a date of about 700 B.C.

As we have seen, there had been a system for naming the stars, instituted 2000 years earlier than this, and, probably as a consequence, the planets had been recognized. But we have no evidence of observations of the places of stars or planets, and of their movements, until this new impulse in astronomy.

In all this 2000 years we have no evidence of the observation, either of the imaginary point in the heavens where the equator and ecliptic meet, or even of the day in the year on which the durations of darkness and light are equal, though the latter was comparatively easy to identify. But from 700 B.C. the astronomers of Nineveh speak distinctly of determining the date when day and night are of the same length, and the observations of Kidennu show that the equinoctial point also must have been determined then. Hitherto, though there may have been a vague recognition that the sun was near the constellation Taurus in springtime, there had been no fiducial point from whence to measure the sun's precise position; now, when definite observations were beginning to be made, it would be seen that that point was already in Aries. Since, therefore, there had been no astronomy of precision before this date, there could have been no apprehension that a transition had been made from the era of one constellation to the era of another. When men first began to observe the vernal equinox directly, it was already in Aries, and there, for aught they could tell, it had been for all past time. Prior to that the first month of the year had been identified by the conjunction of the new moon with the bright star Capella; if the moon and Capella were seen to set together on either the first, second, or third evenings of any month, that month was Nisan.[1] The method was simple and effective; it had nothing to do with imaginary

[1] *Date of the Passage of the Vernal Equinox from Taurus into Aries.* Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. lxiv. p 497

circles in the sky, but only with an actual bright star. And incidentally we learn that this method was still in force in 1063 B.C., for a total eclipse was observed at Babylon on July 31 of that year, and is recorded as having taken place on the 26th day of the month Sivan. Had the beginning of that year been referred to the vernal equinox, Sivan could not have fallen later than June.

From this time onward, astronomy began to advance. Thales of Miletus (born 640 B.C.) is said to have predicted an eclipse of the sun which took place on May 28, 585. Anaxagoras (born 499) explained the cause of eclipses, both of the sun and moon. Plato (born 429) proposed to astronomers the problem of representing the orbits of the planets by uniform motions in circles. Eudoxus (born 406) solved this problem by what is known as the system of 'homocentric spheres.' Eratosthenes (born 276) measured the obliquity of the ecliptic, and an arc of the meridian from which he deduced the size of the earth. The observatory of Alexandria was founded about 300, and here Timocharis and Aristillus observed the positions of a number of stars, and Hipparchus repeating their work a century and a half later, found (129 B.C.), that these stars had all increased their apparent distance from the equinoctial point in the interval. In other words, he discovered the precession of the equinoxes. As the equinoctial point was then just between the constellations of Pisces and Aries, Hipparchus called the zero of his system the 'first point of Aries.' The twelve constellations of the Zodiac as originally mapped out were irregular in form and of unequal length; hence, as soon as definite measures began to be made of the positions of stars, this was found to be inconvenient and the ecliptic was divided into twelve symmetrical and equal divisions, having no relation to the actual stars, and therefore purely imaginary. These imaginary divisions,—the "dōdecatēmoria" ascribed to Autolycus of Æolis (*circ.* 350),—are now known as the *Signs* of the Zodiac, in distinction from the *Constellations* of

actual stars. But at first the vernal equinox was supposed to be fixed and to lie near Hamal, the principal star of Aries, so that Hipparchus was the first to make the Signs move through the Constellations by connecting the 'first point of Aries' with the vernal equinox.

Since it was left to Hipparchus to discover precession, the idea of Jeremias that the Babylonians had any 'doctrine' of the astral ages, must be dismissed as an idle dream.

Further light as to the condition of astronomical science in Babylon may be derived from the two other books whose titles appear at the head of this article—books written by the men who are pre-eminently the highest authorities on their particular subjects. Prof. Morris Jastrow has made a special study of Babylonian divination, and, in the course of lectures delivered by him in 1910–11 under the auspices of the American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religions, he has treated this subject in a masterly and informing way. He shows that the dominant method of divination at Babylon was the hepatoscopy of a victim offered in sacrifice in order to draw forth omens concerning the future. For the liver was supposed to be the seat of the animal's life, and hence it was expected that the god would make his will known by modifying accordingly this vital organ in the sacrificial victim. But the heavenly bodies were themselves gods, and their movements and behaviour might be expected to afford a direct indication of their will. Here, then, was the foundation of astrology, and here the probable explanation of the word for planet, '*Lu-bat*,' i. e. 'dead sheep'; the sheep slain in sacrifice having become equivalent to an 'omen-giver,' so that when the planets were used for the same purpose the same title was applied to them. Here, perhaps, may also be seen the significance of the precedence of Sin, the Moon-god, over Shamash, the Sun-god; the moon gave a much greater variety of conditions from which omens could be drawn. The Babylonians had not then mastered even the monthly

calendar, hence their expectations of the new moon, and yet more of the full moon, were often in error; this furnished an important class of omens, and incidentally reveals their ignorance of astronomy; there were also eclipses, halos, and obscuration by cloud; all providing omens. But these were less convenient in one important characteristic than divination by the liver. A sheep could always be sacrificed, but the inquirer had to wait for the celestial omen; it was the *unexpectedness* of the occurrence in the heavens that gave it its value as a portent. Directly, therefore, it was brought home to the Babylonians that there was a regular cycle in the lunar changes, that fixed invariable laws ruled in the heavens, the function of the astrologer ceased, though hepatoscopy continued to flourish. 'It is significant that in the inscriptions of the rulers of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty—Nabopolassar to Nabonedos, 625 to 539 B.C.—we find no direct references to astrological omens' (*Jastrow*, p. 251).

So far Jastrow. He glances forward, indeed, from the decay of Babylonian astrology to the rise of the Hellenic form, but this latter is rather the subject with which the third book mentioned in the heading of this article is concerned.

The lectures by Dr. Franz Cumont were under the auspices of the same Committee as those by Jastrow, and were delivered in 1911–12; the subject, 'Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans,' being one upon which he is the acknowledged master. Following Jastrow and Kugler, Cumont denies that there was any true astronomical science in Assyria or Babylon before the era of Nabonassar. But when, chiefly owing to the efforts of Greek astronomers, the science of the celestial movements had advanced so far that the return of a planet to opposition, or the occurrence of an eclipse, could be foretold long in advance, an entirely new conception arose. Primitive astrology at Babylon had been founded on the occurrence of the unexpected;

the worshippers found in the apparently capricious happenings in the heavens a faithful image of the capricious actions of their numerous divinities. The new astrology, chiefly Hellenic, recognized a supreme Destiny, before which even the gods were powerless; and as the heavens proved to be subject to immutable Law, so that the movements and configurations of the planets could be foretold, it seemed legitimate to infer that events upon the earth were as certainly pre-ordained, and could be predicted with the same security. But the heaven is one; the sun, moon, and planets shine upon all lands, and a system of prognostication that was universal and unique, made an approach to a recognition of the unity of God, and, in Cumont's view, hastened the discredit of the polytheistic systems of the nations, and prepared the way for Christianity. This Hellenic astrology received its complete systematized form from Claudius Ptolemy about A.D. 137.

It may seem presumptuous to differ in any respect from two such high authorities as Jastrow and Cumont, men of world-wide reputation, distinguished by their profound researches into, and consummate mastery of their respective subjects. Yet the practical astronomer is obliged to differ from them on one or two points, and these of considerable importance. Both authorities speak of the patient labours of the Babylonian astrologers as laying the foundation of astronomy. One or two illustrations may suffice to indicate the astronomical standpoint on this question. Jastrow shows how, as is inevitable in a pantheon built up from the intermixture of different national cults, the names, personalities, and attributes of the Babylonian deities were in certain cases interchanged; a circumstance which is distorted in Jeremias's book into a riot of mythological confusion. But the planets also bear the names of the gods. Now it is clear at once that no such uncertainty could be permitted for an instant in the identity of planets when astronomically observed. In that field, Marduk must be

the planet Jupiter, and never more or less than that one particular planet; not until the observers had all adopted this absolute rule could the first foundations be laid upon which a science of the heavens could be built. The idolater might interchange his divinities; the astronomer could not interchange his planets.

So, again, even as late as the reign of Assurbanipal, 668–626 B.C., we find the royal astrologers sending in their reports, *undated*. From their point of view this was all right; an omen was an omen, whenever it happened, and would indicate the same consequences for all future time. But for the astronomer, an undated observation is no observation; such reports, though patiently accumulated for thousands of years, could never be used in the formation of any science or lead to any discovery. For 2000 years the astrologers had drawn omens from the position of the horns of the new moon, but had not recognized that this varies with the season of the year. Why had so obvious connexion escaped them? Because they were looking for omens, and if they admitted a law in the phenomenon, the omen would be gone. So, too, with the omens drawn from their ignorance of the lunar calendar. Astronomers would have observed the error of the calendar in order to frame a better and more accurate one. It was the last thing that an astrologer would do; the error was his stock-in-trade; if he did away with that, to use Jastrow's expression, 'he lost his job.'

Jastrow speaks of the 'pathetic yearning of men to peer into the minds of the gods.' The phrase is a misnomer; their fondness for divination was nothing of the kind; it was rather a desire to circumvent the mind of the gods if this was unpropitious to the inquirer; it was simply an eagerness to secure good luck for himself. Jastrow points out how powerful an influence toward higher ideals was brought into Babylon from three races with which they came into contact—the Hebrews, the Persians, and, later on, the

Greeks; and each of these races did bring forth men who desired fervently to learn the Mind of God. Ezekiel, Zoroaster, Socrates, sought after this, but sought it in utter scorn of the very object which divination was intended to secure—prosperity in material things.

The dream which Jeremias has entertained of a Babylonian doctrine of the ages is, therefore, not only baseless, without any evidence in its favour, but is directly opposed to our positive knowledge of the history of Babylonian astronomy, which has now become (as will be seen from the above brief summary) accordant and surprisingly complete.

With the foundation removed upon which Jeremias has built, the superstructure of his book also falls. Yet it may be worth while to give it a momentary attention, since there may be some ready to say: 'We grant that the premisses are false and the arguments unsound, but at least it is an epoch-making discovery.' In fact, Jeremias himself seems to take this very position (vol. i, p. 79).

The superstructure of the book consists in the application of the principle of *motifs* to the narratives in the Old Testament. These, according to Jeremias, if they are to be read aright, must be read in the light of the Babylonian conceptions of astral deities, and allowance must be made for the motifs of astral-mythology. Thus, when a new astral age dawns, it is ushered in by a 'Deliverer,' and the mention of a deliverer in any alleged history or prophecy is, therefore, from this point of view, merely an example of the use of the astral-motif of the 'beginning person of an age.' These motifs, according to Jeremias, are very numerous; in his Index he gives a list of eighty, but that list is far from exhausting the examples in his text. Every leading incident, every important instrument, of ancient life is held to constitute a motif in an Old Testament narrative, and is regarded as evidence of mythological treatment.

That myths take their form in correspondence with

certain motifs is obvious; but that which is too generally forgotten is that all such motifs must first have actuality before they can be introduced into mythology at all. The occurrence, therefore, of a motif in a narrative is not of itself any evidence of mythological treatment; since if the motif had not formed a characteristic of an actual occurrence it could never have done so with a mythological one.

Thus a clap of thunder is naturally conceived of as being like the bang of a hammer on an anvil, and storm and thunder gods are consequently often equipped with the hammer. But the hammer is given to Thor, not because the legends about Thor gave rise to the idea of a hammer, but exactly the reverse; the existence of a real hammer gave rise to the conception of the hammer-bearing Thor. The mention of a hammer does not in itself justify us in regarding the narrative in which it occurs as having been subjected to mythological treatment in any degree, however trivial. For, as hammers are real implements of actual life, their mention in narrative must normally be real, and can only be mythological under exceptional cases, and then in a secondary and derived fashion. Thus the hammer with which Sisera was killed by Jael—whom Jeremias confuses with Deborah—was clearly an actual hammer, for it was used as a nail-driver. Jael had no attributes of a thunder-god, and the hammer was not used as a noise-maker, as it should have been if it had been introduced in accordance with a thunder motif.

The actual always came before the mythical; it is the earlier, the simpler, and the myth is the perversion of it, due to the mental distortion of the myth-maker. *Tehōm* (Gen. i. 2) is 'the deep,' with its surging waves and booming sound; it is the actual object. Tiamat is its fanciful personification as a fierce she-monster. And the deep was first and men's knowledge of it came first; the weird idea of Tiamat came later. Hence the Creation poem of Genesis i. is beyond question older than the Babylonian story of creation.

and if there be any connexion between the two the Babylonian story must be a late adaptation from Genesis.

It is wearisome to read hundreds of pages in which the motifs of astro-mythology are forced into the interpretation of the Old Testament narratives. Let one example suffice. The Egyptians divided the year into twelve conventional months of thirty days each, with five days over; the *epagomenae*. The Jews and Babylonians did not use a year of this kind at all, but employed natural months or lunations, of which they counted either twelve or thirteen to the year, so that it was about 354 or about 384 days in length, and the five *epagomenae hemerae* did not enter into their system. But it pleases Jeremias to look upon these odd five days as giants, or as one giant; while the odd quarter of a day necessary to make up the 365¼ of the complete year, he considers should be a dwarf. Hence the duel of David and Goliath!

> The emphasis of David's smallness, no armour fitting him (1 Sam. xvii, 38 ff., corresponds to the motif that we find clearest in the fairy story of Hop-o'-my-Thumb. In the myth of the year, the giant who incorporates the five intercalary days before the beginning of spring is sometimes opposed by a little one, who corresponds to the fraction which is contained in the calculation of the equalized solar and lunar year: quarter in addition to five. The five smooth stones, (1 Sam. xvii, 40, correspond besides equally to the winter giants (vol. ii, pp. 182–188).

In his Introduction, the Editor of the Series, Dr. C. H. W. Johns, tells us—

> We owe him (Dr. Jeremias) our best thanks for making available rich stores of illustrative material for understanding the setting of the Old Testament (Introd., p. xvii).

Surely discernment has perished if absurdities such as these can be not merely proffered, but also accepted as being the fruit of scholarship and thought.

E. WALTER MAUNDER.

A GERMAN MINSTREL OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Walther von der Vogelweide. By FRANZ PFEIFFER. (Sechste Auflage. Karl Bartsch.) (Leipzig, 1880.)

Walther von der Vogelweide: ein Dichterleben. By ANTON E. SCHÖNBACH. (Berlin, 1910.)

Lays of the Minnesingers. By EDGAR TAYLOR, F.S.A., and MRS. AUSTIN. (London, 1825.)

Selected Poems of Walther von der Vogelweide. By W. ALISON PHILLIPS, M.A. (London, 1896.)

Old German Love Songs. By FRANK C. NICHOLSON, M.A. (London, 1907.)

The Minnesingers. By JETHRO BITHELL, M.A. Vol. 1. (London, 1909.)

THE first thing Heinrich Heine did when he arrived in Paris, in 1831, was to go to the Bibliothèque Nationale, to see a mediaeval manuscript, 'the precious sheets which have preserved for us the poems of Walther von der Vogelweide, the greatest of the German lyrists.' All later literary criticism has confirmed Heine's verdict. His own poetic contemporaries freely acknowledged Walther von der Vogelweide as their master, and during the last fifty years, which have witnessed such a remarkable renewal of interest in the lyrical poetry of the Middle Ages, Walther has been acclaimed afresh as the greatest of the Minnesingers. He would have been a great poet in any age, and a few of his lyrics are unquestionably amongst the finest in European literature.

The lyrical movement which is represented by the Troubadours of the south of France and the Minnesingers of the south of Germany is one of the most interesting

phenomena in the history of literature. It is difficult to say why there should have been such a poetical renaissance at such a time. Lyrical impulses which defy research visit the spirits of men throughout a country or throughout a continent in the destined age. The wind bloweth where it listeth. A general inspiration must be imagined to account for 'those melodious bursts that fill the spacious times of great Elizabeth.' And some such widespread stirring of the intellectual life must have caused the sudden springtide of poesy which blossomed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Two or three formative influences may be discerned. One was the spirit of chivalry. The exalted ideal of personal honour, and personal service on behalf of the oppressed, the devout homage paid to woman, the freer intercourse which became possible through the fact that the knightly order promoted equality—all these contributed to make life more gentle and gracious, and therefore to prepare the way for what used to be finely called 'the humaner letters.'

Then there was the unique event of the Crusades. Everything that breaks down national insularity, at least in its more extreme forms, tends to make literature flourish. The fact that multitudes of men had crossed Europe, and had mixed with warriors and priests and pilgrims of other nationalities, and had seen something of ancient and alien civilizations, was in itself an expanding discipline for the mind.

The influence of wandering scholars, passing from one university to another, with a tincture of classical learning in their conversation, and something of the lyrical spirit in their students' songs, still further helped to foster that eager minstrelsy of love and nature which is so distinct and delightful an episode in mediaeval literature, and which attained its highest point in the lyrics of Walther.

All that the average Englishman knows of Walther is probably derived from one of Longfellow's poems, and from

Wagner's references in *Tannhäuser* and *Die Meistersänger*. The fact that Walther wrote in Middle High German has frightened many. Yet the language is perhaps not more remote from modern German than the diction of Chaucer is from modern English. Moreover, many of Walther's best lyrics are to be found modernized in anthologies such as Bruno Obermann's *Deutscher Minnesang*. And of late years many of them have been made accessible to the English reader in the scholarly and skilful versions of Mr. Alison Phillips, Mr. F. C. Nicholson, and Mr. Jethro Bithell—though probably none realize how utterly hopeless is the task of translation, except those who have attempted it. A nameless charm evaporates in the process. What was delicate, subtle, airy, in the original, becomes inevitably stiff and laboured in the version. As the Italians have it, '*Traduttori, traditori*,' 'Translators are traitors.'

Walther von der Vogelweide was born about the year 1170. The tone of contemporary references witnesses to the fact that he was of gentle birth. He is generally described as 'hêr (Herr) Walther,' which was equivalent to *miles*, Ritter. *Fogilweida* (the Bird Meadow) signifies in Old High German a forest clearing, where birds gathered together. There are many German place-names of similar construction, and they mostly belong to places in the midst of the forests.

Walther's first appearance at the Court of Vienna, his friendship with other Minnesingers who belonged to the region, and some peculiarities of dialect, make it probable that he came from the Tyrol. It is almost certain that a hamlet called Vogelweide, lying south of the Brenner, in the Upper Wipthal, was his birthplace.

We find him first as a young minstrel at the brilliant Court of Austria. A famous minnesinger, Reinmar of Hagenau, was established here, and Walther became his pupil, or as others will have it, his rival. The younger man must have been both, in a measure, for it is equally certain

that he learned much of his art from Reinmar's poems, and that he speedily outstripped the elder minstrel's renown. One of Walther's poems is dedicated to the memory of Reinmar. The death of Frederick the First, in 1198, scattered the little coterie of minstrels, and Walther went to the Court of Philip of Swabia. He was present, in September, 1198, at Philip's coronation at Mainz. He does not seem to have got on very well with this prince, for he afterward addressed a poem to him reproving him for niggardliness alike in his gifts and in his thanks, and reminding him of the generosity of Saladin, who said that a king's hand should be like a sieve, and of Richard Coeur de Lion, who was freed from captivity by the payment of such a huge ransom. One may accept the magnanimous Saracen as an exemplar of liberality, but the extortion of a large sum from Richard (or rather from his subjects), as the price of his freedom, is scarcely evidence of generosity on the part of 'Eleanor's undaunted son.'

Later, Walther made a short stay at the Court of Duke Bernhard of Carinthia. Then we find him for some years with the Landgraf of Thuringia, at the famous castle of the Wartburg. Not many places in Europe have associations of such various and vivid interest. Besides its connexion with Walther, the Wartburg was the home of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, the sweetest saint of mediaeval Catholicism, and it was the retreat of Luther after the Diet of Worms, in that memorable year of seclusion when he translated the New Testament into German. Walther describes in a poem the bustle and the revelries of the Thuringian Court. He tells us that you can hardly hear yourself speak in the general buzz of talk, for the Landgraf delights in crowds of courtiers, and is so prodigal in his housekeeping, that if good wine were a thousand pounds a cask, still his knight's cups would never stand empty.

Legend makes Walther play a prominent part in the poetic contest known as the 'War of the Wartburg,' about

1206. Hermann, the Landgraf, summoned the best-known poets of the day to a trial of skill at his castle. Amongst them were Wolfram von Eschenbach, Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Reinmar von Zweter, Biterolf, The Virtuous Scribe, and Walther. The accretion of legend around the 'Sängerkrieg' makes it difficult to say exactly what happened. According to one narrative the competitors agreed that life should be forfeited by failure in the contest, and the executioner attended, rope in hand. The magician Klingsohr of Hungary is also brought into the tale, with a prophecy of the birth of a wondrous child, afterwards known as St. Elizabeth. Elizabeth was born about the time of the 'Wartburgkrieg'; she was the daughter of Andrew the Second of Hungary; and she became the wife of the Landgraf Hermann's son—these facts were probably the point of departure for this particular fancy. Some of the accounts declare that Walther was the victor in the poetic tournament. Every one will recall Wagner's use of the 'Wartburgkrieg' in *Tannhäuser*.

Walther left Eisenach about 1211. The Landgraf had joined the party who were attempting, with the Pope's approval, to give the crown to the prince afterward known as Frederick the Second. Walther disapproved this policy, and joined the Emperor Otto.

In 1217 he was at the Court of Duke Leopold of Austria, and remained until the Duke's departure for the Holy Land. After this he was under the patronage of the Duke's uncle, and then under that of the Patriarch of Aquileia. Still later, we find him in the retinue of the imperial vicar, Engelbert of Cologne. One of Walther's poems seems to imply that in these days he acted as tutor to Henry, the son of the Emperor Frederick, and found him a very intractable princeling, as his later history would lead one to expect.

So Walther passed his life, wandering from castle to castle, and court to court, depending on the fickle patronage of princes. The only direct reference to him in contemporary

records is a quaint entry in the travelling accounts of Bishop Wolfger of Passau: "Walthero cantori de Vogelweide pro pellicio V solidos longos.' It was at Zeiselmauer near Vienna, and in the month of November (probably of 1203) that the good Bishop bought this seasonable gift of a fur coat for the minstrel. Never, surely, did a prelate lay out five shillings to better advantage!

The episcopal gift may serve to remind us of what must strike the most casual student of the Minnesingers—the pathetic intensity with which the changing seasons are realized. Our civilization has made us largely indifferent to what Shakespeare calls—

> The penalty of Adam,
> The seasons' difference.

But in the Middle Ages the long daylight and the genial warmth of the sunshine in the summer, and the darkness and rigorous cold of the winter were facts which entered into the lives of all. The Minnesingers gave a passionate welcome to the spring, with the songs of birds, the budding flowers, and the returning sunshine; and they dreaded the dark discomfort of the winter as an annual hardship. The solitary benefit that it brought was the sudden repair of the roads in a keen frost, not a small advantage when every road in Europe was a quagmire during a good part of the year. Apart from this, winter was a season of unalloyed discomfort, which men endured as well as they might while they waited with touching eagerness for the spring—

> The frozen snow lies deep where we
> Once gathered flowers in summer's glee,
> The bird sits shivering on the tree.
>
> If winter stayed the whole year through,
> I would desert the cold world—ugh!
> And be a monk of Toberlu!

Toberlu was a famous Cistercian Abbey, forty miles or so north of Dresden. We have translated these lines from Walther's *Vokalspiel*, a poem of five stanzas, each of which

is rhymed throughout on one of the vowels—an example of the prosodical ingenuity that marked many of the Minnesingers.

Many of Walther's poems cannot be understood apart from the complex politics of the Empire in that age. The Emperor Henry the Sixth died in September, 1197. A few months later Celestine the Fourth, the Pope who had been his antagonist, died, and was succeeded by a Cardinal who took the name of Innocent the Third. The Emperor's heir (afterward Frederick the Second) was a child of three. His uncle, Philip of Swabia, became a claimant to the imperial throne. But the Archbishop of Cologne, and a party among the princes of Germany, offered the throne to Otto, the Count of Poitou, who was supported by the Pope, as well as by his uncle, Richard the First of England. Otto marched upon Aix-la-Chapelle, and was crowned there. A devastating war followed. Walther was a Ghibelline, like Dante. At first he espoused the cause of the Hohenstaufens, and attacked the Pope, who had excommunicated Philip. In the amazing changes which followed, the Minnesinger maintained a certain consistency of attitude. When Philip died by the hand of an assassin at Bamberg, in 1208, he supported Otto, who was speedily excommunicated; and after the battle of Bouvines, when Frederick succeeded to the throne of the Empire, and fell in his turn under the Pope's displeasure, Walther supported him. All through, he took the side of the Empire and German nationality, against the pretensions of the Holy See. He uses the boldest language in his denunciations of the Papacy. The Pope is a wolf among the sheep, rather than the shepherd of the flock, he is counselled by the Devil, he is a new Judas, and Christendom is in a worse plight in his reign than when the wizard Gerbert was Pope. Walther's political poems exercised a widespread influence. A contemporary writer on the Guelph side accuses him of leading thousands astray. One of the poems of this class begins with a lament over the Donation

of Constantine, at which, Walther tells us, an angel cried a threefold 'Woe!' for then deadly poison fell into the Church. The 'Donation' is a myth, but there was real insight in the lament.

Another poem is addressed to the 'money-box,' which Innocent the Third had ordered to be set up in all the churches in the year 1213, in order to collect contributions for a crusade. There can be little question as to the Pope's sincerity, as one of the German biographers drily remarks, for he taxed himself and the cardinals to the extent of one-tenth of their income, as against the one-fortieth paid by all other ecclesiastics. Walther, however, declares that the 'truncus' has been sent to befool and beggar the Germans, and that when it has gone back, full, to the Lateran, little of the money will find its way to the Holy Land, for little ever escapes from the hand of a priest.

As his political attitude would suggest, Walther was a devout patriot. In some pleasant lines—for which Pfeiffer has chosen as a motto the words of the patriotic song, *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles!* and Mr. Nicholson, with equal felicity, the Horatian 'Laudabunt alii'—the Minnesinger tells us that he has wandered from the Elbe to the Rhine, and thence into Hungary, but nowhere has he seen men so courteous, or ladies so beautiful, as in his own fatherland. Here is a version of one stanza—

> The Germans are a gentle race,
> And fair is every German maid,
> The traveller's in a parlous case
> Who doubts it; sure, his wits have strayed!
> My country is the gracious home
> Of virtue, love, and gaiety—
> Whoso would seek these, let him come
> With us, and live in Germany!

There is the strangest contrast between the airy lyrics of Walther, and his political poems. The one belong to a dainty world of fancy, the other to a region of squalid and strenuous fact. Here we are among gay ladies and gallant

knights, roses and lilies, nightingales and moonlight, garlands and kisses, wine and song; there in the midst of turbid politics, flattering courtiers and mercenary priests, Kaisers and Popes. Boccaccio made the narrators of the *Decameron* withdraw from Florence, when the plague was raging, to a beautiful garden, where they told their light tales in selfish seclusion. A world of pestilence without, and a world of pleasant fantasy within! There is a like contrast between the fierce polemic of Walther's political verses and his songs of springtide and youthful love.

The genius of Walther attained its final expression in the two unapproachable lyrics *Under der linden* and *Nemt, frouwe, disen kranz*. These poems are marked by a wonderful simplicity and spontaneity, undiminished by their strange metrical intricacy. *Under der linden* was first rendered into English by the eccentric poet Beddoes, in whose version the delicacy and dexterity of the original have wholly vanished. The only other version of which we are aware is that of Mr. Bithell. To say that this last is ineffective is only to say that he has essayed the impossible. The following attempt at that hopeless task at least retains the metre of the original—

A linden tree
Grows on the heath,
And we sat side by side thereby,
As you may see
There underneath
The tangled grass lies all awry,
From the forest in the vale
(Tandaradei!)
Sweetly sang the nightingale.

For I had turned
Into the shade
And suddenly my lover met,
And then I learned
(O Holy Maid!)
What makes me happy even yet.
Did he kiss me? With a will!
(Tandaradei!)
See how red my lips are still!

There he and I
The hours beguiled,
And scattered blossoms on the ground,
The passer by
Looked back, and smiled,
To see the flowers strewn all around,
By the roses still you may
(Tandaradei !)
Tell the place where our heads lay.

How he caressed
My heart knows well,
Alas ! I think of it and sigh !
As for the rest—
But none can tell,
For none saw that but he and I
And it chanced, a little bird,
(Tandaradei !)
Who will not say a single word !

Nemt, frouwe, disen kranz has hitherto seduced and baffled three English translators. There is a version, strangely free and incomplete, by Edgar Taylor, who was one of the first to introduce the Minnesingers to English readers. Another is included in Mr. W. A. Phillips' volume of translations from Walther. The third is the work of Mr. Bithell. We have again retained the original metre—an important matter, where the form is so essential to the charm (however impossible it renders the task of translation) —in the following lines—

'O take this wreath of flowers ! '
(Thus I besought with eager words a lovely maid)
'Be ready for the hours
Of the merry dance, and come with these bright blooms arrayed :
Had I instead a jewel rare,
My hands should place it now
Upon your pallid brow,
Believe me, fairest of the fair ! '

'Accept, O maiden shy,
What I have gladly offered thee, a fragrant wreath,
No better gift have I,
But there are sweeter flowers upon that distant heath,
A wealth of blossom scents the air,
High in the skies of spring
The gay larks soar and sing,
Come forth, and we will wander there ! '

She took it with a blush,
  She held the simple chaplet that I gladly gave;
I saw her pale cheeks flush
  As I have seen red roses where white lilies wave,
    Then to the ground her shy glance fell,
      But I am sure, meanwhile,
      I saw her sweetly smile—
    What more she did, I shall not tell.

Ah! I had never known
  Such boundless happiness as on that happy day!
The blossoms fluttered down
  From trees above, upon the meadow where we lay
    And laughed, and kissed, but scarcely spoke.
      —Alas! all this I dreamed!
      The early daylight streamed
    Upon my bed, and I awoke.

But how can I forget?
  Whenever merry troops of maidens trip along
I watch them keenly yet,
  For one may be the dear dream-damsel of my song.
    Can it be she who dances here?
      —Ah, lady, if you would
      Be kind, and lift your hood?—
      Alas! my garland is not there!

It is possible that Walther went on a crusade in 1228, toward the end of his life. This was the Emperor Frederick the Second's crusade, when Jerusalem was won back for the last time. The *Crusader's Song* probably belongs to this period. We give the sense of two stanzas—

To-day at last, I live indeed!
    What I have long desired, I see;
The land that has the mightiest meed
    Of praise from all humanity!
    Now my sinful eyes o'erawed,
    See the sacred soil which God
    As man with holy footsteps trod.

Through many lands have I gone forth,
    And of their glories much could tell,
But this is queen of all the earth—
    What mighty wonders here befell!
      Here a Virgin undefiled
      In Bethlehem bore a glorious Child,
      Is not this a wonder wild?

The Emperor Frederick bestowed a small fief upon the poet, probably in the year 1220. It was in the neighbourhood of Würzburg, and here Walther spent the last years of his life. He celebrated the king's gift in lines which may be rendered very literally—

I have my fief! hear, all the world, at last, I have my fief!
The February frosts no more shall bring my toes to grief,
I need not sue unworthy lords for niggardly relief.
The noble king, the liberal king, has all my wants supplied,
And I shall never lack the summer's air, the winter's fire,
The neighbours knows the happy news, and one and all admire
My prosperous looks: no more will they my poverty deride.

He had long desired a settled home. One of his poems laments the uncertainties of his wandering life, and expresses the Minnesinger's longing for a place where he could at last be a host, who had been so long a guest. He died about 1230, probably at Würzburg, and is said to be buried in the cloister garden of the Neumünster. A delightful tradition tells that he left directions in his will for the birds to be fed daily upon his tombstone. Hence Longfellow's familiar poem—

And he left the monks his treasures,
Left them all, with this behest,
They should feed the birds at noontide,
Daily, on his place of rest.

Walther is the master of all the Minnesingers, and the most memorable figure in the literature of mediaeval Germany. He deserves the remembrance desired for him in the naïve couplet which Pfeiffer quotes from Hugo von Trimberg—

Her Walther von der Vogelweide,
Swer des vergaes' der taet' mir leide!

which we may paraphrase—

Sir Walther von der Vogelweid',
Those who forget him may woe betide!

HENRY BETT.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT IN THE RIG-VEDA

BY the time Indian religious thought becomes philosophically valuable, it may be regarded as the answer to profound spiritual questioning on the part of men in whom a full sense of the gravity of the religious problem had been developed. Indeed, this sense of gravity might be described not only as full but as excessive, and almost pessimistic. The solution which is searched for is from the first of the nature of a remedy; it is deliverance from sorrow rather than a support of joy; and it is sought for with the intensity which we associate with the longing of the religious man for salvation.

Now it would seem that some explanation of this darkening of the problem is necessary, for when we look further back still to the pre-philosophical period of the earliest religious records in the Rig-Veda, we find an entirely different setting for religious speculation. The religion of the Vedas is for the most part an expression of joy—an expression of delight in being alive in a great and glorious world. The impressive phases of Nature are taken as the objects of religious worship—centres about which mythological fancy could group legends of an awe-inspiring but not terrifying character; and the worship itself was a cheerful one, directed towards the powers of Nature in their benignant aspects. Traces of fear may, indeed, be noticed, due to the intermittent influence of earlier animistic beliefs, but the persistent attitude is confidence and not terror, hope and not despair. What, then, is the reason of the change from the earlier Vedic period to the later philosophic attitude? Can we discover in the Veda itself any indications of the direction in which religious thought afterwards moved?

For the support of the statement that Vedic religion is a religion of joy we may first of all recall a few of its leading features. The heaven, the air, and the earth are the three regions of the gods; from the union of heaven and earth the other gods and the universe emerge. Dyaus—the sky—is amongst the earliest of the gods, and the slight personification of the sky which is indicated in him, is carried further with other deities, such as Varuna, Surya, Savitar, &c. Varuna is probably to be identified with the Greek οὐρανός, the encompassing sky. He is the source of steadfastness, he is the path of the sun, and the winds of heaven are his breath. The natural processes of the earth are of his causing, and—most important of all—he is all-seeing. 'He knows the path of the birds that fly through heaven, and, Sovran of the sea, he knows the ships that are thereon. He knows the pathway of the wind, the spreading high and mighty wind. He knows the gods that dwell above.' It is to this character, applied in various directions, that we may ascribe the degree of ethical aspiration he was able to evoke, the hymns addressed to Varuna forming the most elevated ethically in the Veda.

A further movement in the direction of the concrete may be traced in the worship of Surya, whose connexion with the sun is always emphasized. A closely allied deity is Savitar, interesting even to the present day as the deity invoked in the famous *Gayatri* couplet, repeated by every pious Hindu at the commencement of his morning prayer, 'May we attain that excellent glory of Savitar, the god, that he may stimulate our thoughts.' Ushas, the radiant goddess of the Dawn, is celebrated in many hymns of great beauty. Shining in the borrowed light of her lover, Surya, she awakens the joy of the morning, calling forth the glad songs of the birds and putting to flight the terrors of darkness. One of the most interesting of the Vedic gods of the upper regions is Vishnu, but he is interesting for historical reasons and in view of his later importance rather than on

account of the place he holds in the Vedic pantheon. Here he is a deity of quite secondary importance to whom only infrequent prayers are addressed. Already, however, we find mention of the three strides he takes over the heavens, and there is also a hint of the later doctrine of incarnation for the good of humanity which we find emphasized in the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

Another important deity of this group is the goddess Aditi, typifying the over-arching sky, and interesting as showing a tendency towards abstraction and unification of the gods. She is represented as the mother of a group of gods, called Adityas, of whom Varuna is the most important. She also shares some of the moral characteristics of Varuna.

The gods of the middle region or the atmosphere are mainly personifications of wind, rain, and storm. Indra—described by Monier Williams as 'undoubtedly the principal deity of Vedic worship'—is the centre of much mythology, and his influence is regarded as almost entirely beneficent. He is the slayer of demons, liberator of the waters from the control of the demon of drought. He is also the hero of a legend according to which he sends Sarama, the Dawn, to recover the rays of light which have been stolen by the powers of darkness. From his character as a slayer of demons it naturally follows that Indra should be the god of war.

Amongst the subordinate gods of the atmosphere is Rudra, the terrible one, the god of the thunderbolt. He is not, however, entirely maleficent, and is invoked to bestow blessings upon and care for the welfare of men. But in the course of development his terrible qualities become overwhelmingly important, and his benevolent qualities are almost forgotten. Further personifications of atmospheric forces are the Maruts or Storm-gods, Vata the god of wind, and Parjanya the god of the rain-cloud.

The principal deities of the earth are Agni, Soma, and

Yama. Agni is the personification of the sacrificial fire, and the anthropomorphism of the conception is slight. Sometimes he is called the 'Son of Strength,' because of the strength expended in the friction by which he is produced. He is also designated as the youngest of the gods, because he is born anew whenever the fire is kindled at the time of sacrifice. It is not, perhaps, strictly correct to describe him as merely a terrestrial deity. Sometimes a threefold birth is attributed to him—in heaven, air, and earth; and his qualities would seem to be to a certain extent interchangeable with those of Surya and Indra, the three forming a kind of trinity, bound together through their connexion with fire and light.

The oblation of the juice of the *Soma* plant (not now identifiable) was the chief element in the Soma sacrifice. The characteristics of the god Soma are borrowed from the magical and medicinal qualities of the Soma juice, and sometimes even its yellow colour leads to the assimilation of this god with the sun. Later on, however, he is identified with the moon, and its waning is explained as due to the drinking of the juice by the gods.

The personification of the god Yama is carried to a considerable extent. He is the god of death, but the conception of him is—at first, at least—by no means sombre. He was the first to find out the way to the world beyond, and, in virtue of his claims as pioneer, he now rules as chief of the blessed dead, governing a heaven of material happiness. Cf. Rig-Veda, 10–14: 'Yama first discovered the path for us. This path will not be destroyed for us. All men go to him. He takes men of virtuous deeds to the realm of happiness.' There are, indeed, certain perils to be gone through before we can reach the realm of Yama, and he himself is described as jealous of easy attainment of immortality on the part of men, but on the whole the conception of him in the Vedas is that of a kindly deity, the dispenser of bliss in the realms of the departed. It is

only later—in the Pauranic age—that he becomes a god of almost altogether terrifying aspect.

The emergence of attempts at explanation of the creative process leads to a certain deification of the process itself, and gods of a more abstract character thus come into view. Creative activity, which is originally a characteristic of many of the gods, becomes personified as a distinct god, separate from and often superior to the other gods. Thus, e. g., we have *Prajapati*, the name given to the Creator, and there are many allied names expressing the same group of ideas. Sometimes attention is concentrated upon what might be called the material cause of the world, and in this connexion we have the conception of *Purusha*, a mighty giant who passively submits to be dismembered in order to the production of the world. The *Purusha* hymn is probably one of the latest hymns in the Rig-Veda, but it is at the same time one of the earliest expressions of pantheistic thought. Later on the deity is conceived of less materially and less passively, and more active creative deities become the objects of worship. The distinction emerges between the material cause and the efficient cause. The material cause is described by the term 'wood'—almost prophetic of Aristotelian treatment. We find traces of a deity called Visvekarman, who creates the world out of passive material (cf. Rig-Veda, 10–81–82). A more poetical conception is that of Hiranyagarbha, or 'germ of gold,' imagined as floating on the primaeval waters (cf. Rig-Veda, 10–82–121). Activity of a creative character is also associated with the name Viraj, but probably Prajapati is the deity who most generally expresses the idea. These creative gods, both in their passive and active aspects, play a most important part in later Indian philosophy.

On the whole it may be said with truth that the Vedic religion is a religion of light and gladness. Occasionally the gods may be the object of terror, but this is not their prevailing characteristic, and the attitude towards them is

for the most part one of joyous trust. It perhaps indicates a somewhat easily satisfied materialism (cf. 1–131): 'Lead thou us, O Agni, to increasing riches, endow us with thy strength-bestowing favour;' and, again (1–48–2): 'O Ushas, waken up for me the sounds of joy, send us the riches of the great. Grant us a dwelling wide and free from foes, O Goddess; give us food with kine.' The gods may be kept in good-humour by sacrifice, they are interested in all the particular concerns of their worshippers, and are the sharers of their social joys. Occasionally they show a certain amount of jealousy of mortals, but usually they are well disposed, and under their benign rule men may live a life of innocence and brightness. The leading motive in mythological construction seems to be to show the triumph of the benignant processes of Nature over the destructive. There are, indeed, malignant demons, but they immediately meet a force in Nature ready and able to overwhelm them. There is no consciousness that life is an evil thing. There is, on the contrary, a prevailing optimism—a feeling that it is good to be alive in a world so full of propitious deities.

Nevertheless it is true that the gladness is somewhat superficial, and in this we have the first hint of the explanation of subsequent development. The joy is not the assured result of struggle. It is rather the happiness of innocence, possible only through an avoidance of the truly spiritual quest. Life did not lead to much searching of soul or to any serious attempt to penetrate beneath the surface. It may be said that this characteristic of careless joyousness is always discoverable wherever what may be described as the secondary stage of civilization is reached. It is not a characteristic of altogether primitive life, under the dominance of animistic religion. The terror of the ever-present multitude of malignant spirits is far too prevalent to leave much room for joy. But when religious belief has so far overcome these malignant deities through the

imagination of beneficent deities more powerful still, we have the emergence of gladness and unquestioning trust, like that of a child, who in the light of the morning and the presence of protecting friends forgets the terrors of the darkness. Questions as to the permanence of the light and the power of the protectors do not immediately arise, and as long as there is confidence there is happiness.

When such is the prevalent mood of a people, we cannot expect any deep development of the moral sense. Deussen speaks with a certain amount of justification of the 'moral deficiency of the Rig-Vedic age'; in most of the hymns the deepest moral fault is some omission or error in sacrificial ceremony by which the benefit might be prevented from reaching the worshipper. The general religious thought of the Vedic age is secure only through its unconsciousness of the deeper problems of the moral life.

Still there are here and there elements of a more sombre character, indicating a deeper ethical consciousness. As the experience of life becomes fuller and more complex primitive confidence is bound to disappear. Dr. Barnett says that Varuna and his cognate deities, Mitra, Aryaman, and Savitar are 'the living genii of the sky, who sustain, stimulate, and guide the bustling world under a rule of law that is half-way to morality. Varuna especially has become the counterpart of an earthly king sitting in a heavenly palace, directing the ordinances of Nature, and maintaining by his judgements the rule of law in the world of men' (*Heart of India*, p. 11). In the hymns addressed to this deity there is much questioning of heart and frequent confession of sin; cf. 'O Varuna, keep unrighteousness away from us, deliver us from the sins we have committed'; and again, 'O Varuna, with an anxious heart I ask thee about my sins' (7–86–3). This consciousness of sin is not, however, necessarily consciousness of sin in the ordinary sense of the term. The sin confessed is rather ceremonial than moral, as seems to be indicated by 7–89–5: 'In whatever

way we have sinned against the gods, in whatever manner we have through ignorance *neglected thy work*, oh do not destroy us for these sins.' It will be noticed also that they are sins of ignorance and error, rather than sins of wilfulness. In fact, wilful sin is explicitly repudiated. Cf. 7-86: 'All this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness has begotten sin.' Consequently the plea for mercy is not born of true ethical repentance; it is only 'half-way to morality.' It is a somewhat *craintive* pleading that the error should be overlooked because it was only an error and nothing more. It is a cry of helplessness that we hear, rather than of ethical despair, and is drawn forth from the suppliant through the need which he feels for coming to terms with an overwhelming power, capable of destroying him, in whose presence he must tremble 'even like a cloud driven by the wind.' Thus the pain arising from the felt need of confession does not carry its own healing with it. It does not result in ethical reinstatement, but only in a fear of consequences. It is a disturbance of confidence which does not succeed in being more than a disturbance. We can hardly, therefore, agree with Barth's assertion that 'with Varuna the religion of the Veda goes down to the depth of the conscience and realizes the idea of holiness' (*Religions of India*, p. 17). The sinner does not participate in the true ethical reaction. He does not feel that having got rid of the burden of his guilt, his force as an individual is increased. What is increased is only the sense of helplessness in the presence of overwhelming might. A truly ethical sense of sin connects itself with the idea of freedom. Real sin-consciousness is a consciousness of unused power to avoid certain actions in the past and to avoid similar actions in the future. It has, therefore—and this is the relevant consideration for our present purpose—an element of hope in it. On the other hand, the consciousness of ceremonial error, due to ignorance, does not imply more than the idea

that we have to do with an arbitrary power, who has not adequately revealed to us the terms of the relationship, and in whose presence we can safely maintain ourselves only by somewhat abject supplications for mercy. Further, the consciousness of sin in these hymns is not properly an individual consciousness, but rather a race consciousness. One of the Varuna hymns runs: 'O Varuna, deliver us from the sins of our fathers.' We have to do with a heritage of terror in these exceptional hymns, rather than with faults of the individual, and this absence of a sense of individual responsibility and consequent absence of an incentive to personal struggle probably explains why the slight ethical tendency revealed in these hymns was not able to maintain itself as a separate thought tradition, working through disturbance of confidence to deliverance and victory. The consciousness of truly moral defect was not able to develop itself and was overshadowed by the dread of ceremonial error. Thus the somewhat gloomy aspect in which the god Varuna appears in these hymns, even though it be exceptional to the general spirit of the Veda, is not counteracted at the beginning, and so serves only to reinforce other more implicit influences not at first obvious, but at the same time working destructively against the early careless confidence and joy. Some of these implicit tendencies we must now proceed to consider.

The logical outcome of certain tendencies of Vedic thought was a growing sense of the hopelessness of the individual and of the poverty and wretchedness of his life in the presence of universal forces. It is a natural development of thought, aided, perhaps, by the persistence of magical ideas drawn from lower and more primitive religion. As thought proceeds from polytheism in the direction of pantheism the insignificance of the individual life becomes more apparent. Its diversities and confusions become more striking in contrast with the one and permanent reality of which a dim consciousness begins to emerge. The path

from polytheism to pantheism is one which the Hindu mind has often travelled, and the journey seems to have become easier with the centuries, but the direction was indicated even in Vedic times.

There is in all peoples an implicit consciousness that above the popular gods there is one eternal and unfathomable unity, and there is a constant seeking after this unity. So we are not surprised to find even in the primitive times, which Max-Müller describes as 'the period of chaotic thought, half poetical, half religious which preceded the age of philosophy so-called,' a growing discontent with the diversity of the objects of worship. Deussen asserts categorically that 'as early as the times of the Rig-Veda a perception of unity had been reached.' The Indian development was curiously similar to the transition in Greece from the Homeric epics to the idealistic thinking of such a school of philosophers as the Eleatics. 'The individual and dramatic deities of the popular mythology remained, but behind them there was postulated the one god of which they were but the forms and manifestations. Slowly and silently the philosophic leaven worked. The doctrine of the secret names of the gods points to esoteric teaching which regarded the belief that all the gods were but names of the one as almost a mystery not to be revealed to the vulgar.' In the present connexion, however, we have to deal not so much with direct philosophic teaching as with the semi-popular tendency in the direction of abstract pantheistic unity.

First of all we may notice the slight degree of personification which is applied to the Vedic deities. They have not definitely distinguishable characters, but are to a very large extent simply names by which natural processes may be denoted, and the same natural process may have several names associated with it. From this it follows that the characteristics and functions of the gods are easily interchangeable. Instead of different gods representing different qualities, the qualities are combined, and one god is taken

to represent a group of qualities. The process might be described as one of generalization. The gods are seen to possess common qualities, and from this it is an easy step to substantialize the common qualities and declare that the gods are one in essence. One of the gods may be found to be the most complete embodiment of the essence, and to be worthy, therefore, of supreme regard. Then the further step is taken of regarding this 'essential god' as the ground or source out of which the other gods emerged, or of which the other gods were only various names. We may compare in this connexion the formula 'Agni is all the gods.' The result of the process is a system of exchange of qualities. Each god may become identical with any other god, and may attain also to supreme regard, gathering up the qualities of the other gods in himself. Hunt thus describes the process (*Pantheism*, p. 6): 'Every deity is in the first instance a natural object; it is then invested with all the powers in Nature, it has ascribed to it all the qualities of all things cognizable by the senses, and thus it becomes the supreme god, constituting the all of Nature.' Max-Müller applies to the process the term 'Henotheism,' by which he designate, a system of belief under which the god is, for the time being, arbitrarily taken as supreme, whereas, at another time another god may receive this honour. The term 'Chrematheism' might also be used to denote the arbitrary character of the selection, according to which that deity is taken as supreme which is of most use to the worshipper. The question immediately arises whether we can get beyond the view indicated by henotheism and chrematheism, and reach a position from which a deity may be regarded as supreme, not merely by the selection of the worshipper, but, as it were in his own right. Barth answers this question in the negative, and regards the henotheistic position as ultimate, denying a permanent hierarchy amongst the gods. 'Supreme sovereignty belongs to several. We find at one time absolute supremacy, and at another time subordination

ascribed to the same god. As soon as a new god is invoked, all the others suffer eclipse before him, and he attracts every attribute to himself; and the notion—at one time monotheistic and at another time pantheistic—comes in this way, like a sort of movable quantity, to be ascribed indiscriminately to the different personalities furnished by the myths' (*Religions of India*, p. 25).

It may be questioned, however, whether such a shifting pantheon is ultimately satisfying even to the minds of the composers of the Vedas. Such a verse as 'Firm is the seat of Varuna—over the seven he rules as king—let all the others die away' (8–41–10), indicates a craving for more permanent sovereignty; and their speculative genius also points in the direction of a more permanent unity, not, perhaps, explicitly stated nor indicated by an undetachable name, but still regarded as the goal of thought. This search for unity and the tendency towards an absolute monism may be traced back even to the Vedic period. We may agree with Barth that there is no permanent hierarchy, and even go beyond his position and deny that the tendency is towards monotheism. The process of thought is more abstract towards a somewhat characterless unity. It is towards monism rather than towards monotheism, but if the tendency is thus more accurately defined, its presence is unmistakable.

We may go on to notice other ways in which the distinction between the various deities is breaking down even in Vedic times. The grouping of the gods in different pairs and trinities has itself an effect. We have the primal Dyaus and Pritivi, and the trinity of Surya, Indra, and Agni (whom Yasha, about 500 B.C., takes to be representative of the whole Vedic pantheon). Gods are also grouped according to locality, as the gods of the sky, the air, and the earth.

In the third hymn of the first book we meet already with the curious conception of Visvedevas or all-gods.

This may mean a special troup of gods, or it may mean all the gods collectively. In the latter case it would be the equivalent of the Latin 'cuncti' rather than of 'omnes,' and would anticipate the German 'Gesammtgotter.' Some authorities take the conception to be a priestly manufacture invented in order to ensure that none of the gods may be omitted in laudations expressly intended for all. The Visve gods are the 'unassorted gods' to which no special name has been given. But any one of the interpretations would seem to show that the conception indicates a primitive mental effort to express the unity, always struggling against diversity, of the forces on which man ultimately depends.

The physical universality of the objects worshipped also assists in the progress towards a pantheistic unity. Especially is this the case with the gods of the sky and the air, who seem to be combined in the mind of the worshipper so as to produce a feeling of spatial immensity, overshadowing and all-embracing and all-pervading. Aditi typifies this material infinity. This deity is described, 'whatever has been and whatever shall be born.' The all-comprehensiveness of the air is also emphasized—it reaches as one universal element to the corners of the world. The same idea of all-inclusive and all-productive substance exists in the attempts at creative explanation to which we have already alluded. The conception of Purusha is that of one substance from which all things in the world are produced. We have already traced the development from merely material cause to efficient cause through the conceptions of Prajapati, Visvekarman, Hiranyagarbha, and Viraj, and we should notice that, throughout, the effort has been to reduce the materials and forces of the world to single explanatory principles. It is the effort after monism, an ultimate conception in which the creator shall be not only the king of the gods but himself the *All*.

We must not imagine, however, that such a progress of thought towards unity is at all widespread. The influence

of implicit philosophy reduces the number and increases the dignity of the gods, perhaps even elevating one to the rank of the supreme, but it does not necessarily follow that the popularity of the god increases with the growth of his dignity, or that he becomes more unpopular as he is degraded to lower rank. The tendency is rather the other way. The universal gods have lost such traces of individuality as they possessed, and do not now call forth the mythopœic fancy which has been described as the 'surest test of man's love for his gods.' As the circle of the connexions of a god with other gods widens, faith in him becomes somewhat void. He is too vast and incomprehensible to excite the interest of humanity. Hopkins points out that Varuna, e. g., is 'no longer a popular god in the Rig-Veda. He has become a god of speculation.' For popularity a god must be the embodiment of some near physical force. As he attains to the universality which satisfies the mystic and the philosopher, he loses the basis of his appeal to the masses.

We have traced various movements from polytheism in the direction of pantheistic unity, and we shall, I think, be justified in saying that in these tendencies is to be found the explanation of the gloom which overshadows the earliest philosophic thought. By the time we reach the Upanishads a full sense of the gravity of life's problems has been developed. As the number of the gods decreased, and their immensity and overpowering might increased, the contrast became more and more apparent between the fleeting circumstances of human life and the reality which lay darkly hidden behind these circumstances. The search after unity and the clearer revelation of it to thought threw into stronger relief the diversities and confusions of human nature. In one aspect, indeed, human vexations might appear to be trifling, but this would not be the immediate result. The first effect of the contact between philosophical speculation and human experience would be to increase the sense of the intolerableness of life. Men become more acutely

conscious of the imperfections of their lot when they have some great conceptions wherewith they may contrast these imperfections. In plain language it may be said that the gods were being removed to a greater distance from the worshipper. They were no longer the homely familiar deities who captured the popular fancy. For this reason the world became somewhat void for the ordinary man who was left with only a few rather uninteresting deities, while doubts had been cast upon the value of the popular gods towards whom his worship would naturally have gone forth. The demand for unity seemed to be the outcome of cold speculation, and could satisfy this alone. For him and the rest of his ordinary fellow-worshippers there was little left. Moreover, the characteristics of physical universality and immensity which, as we have seen, assisted the minds of the worshippers in their search after unity, became emphasized the nearer this goal was approached, the result being that the more awe-inspiring aspects of the popular gods overshadowed those which might otherwise have evoked general confidence. The contrast between the immensity of the divine and the little lives of men thus became more and more pointed. The sky was the all-embracing, the air was the all-pervading, and the sun was the light before which all other lights grew dim. Besides, the sky the air and the sun were permanent, and, along with the everlasting hills and the everflowing rivers, made men feel more than ever that they themselves were only the children of a day. We may notice also the gradual destruction of easy-going satisfaction with materialistic happiness. Prayers for riches, food, and kine are a constant refrain in the Vedas, and in abundance of good things joy and wealth and strength consist. But the developing spirit of the race could not be satisfied thus; the onward movement of thought brought with it a craving for more spiritual satisfaction; and as this craving could not be so easily satisfied, the first result was a mood of disappointment. Attempts at an

explanation of the problems of life might bring also another cause of disquiet. In primitive polytheism the explanation of evil lies near at hand. It is due to demons, who are powerful, indeed; but who may be overcome by still more powerful gods. Cf. 1–86–14: 'Indra, with thy flame burn every ravening demon dead.' With the unification of the gods, and the belief in one universal cause, the possibility of such an explanation is taken away, evil has to be traced back to the universal cause, and thus becomes for the worshipper a burden from which there is no relief, because it is bound up with the universal cause and shares in a world-necessity.

Now this burden of evil is the more depressing because it is not properly recognized as evil. It is vaguely conceived as a grim oppressive reality, and there is no 'thinking through' to an adequate solution. We may associate this failure to reach an adequate solution with two causes. One is the slightly developed sense of ethical personality which we have already alluded to in connexion with the Varuna hymns. The lack of a sense of responsibility and ethical freedom means that evil and misery are not regarded as to any extent intelligible and conquerable by human effort. Their incidence upon human life must be attributed to the universal cause, and the result is a sense on the one hand of the helplessness of man, and on the other of the mysterious, alien, and somewhat oppressive power of God.

The reconciliation of God and man through a sense of spiritual kinship is further prevented by the persistence of ideas borrowed from a lower stratum of belief. The idea of magic is by no means absent from the Vedas, and it is an idea which is associated with priestcraft and degradation of the worshipper. The hidden forces of the world are regarded as a fluid and semi-material reality which the worshipper by means of certain rites and incantations may participate in, and thus obtain divine power through a process of physical absorption. In one hymn of the first

book we come across an appeal to Agni to aid when the worshippers call upon him with 'unguents and with priests.' This idea of sacrificial materialistic participation is of a lower order, and is perhaps most apparent in connexion with the god Soma. The Soma juice has miraculous properties conferring might upon both gods and men. Indra is exhorted to drink the Soma juice in order to increase his might, and in 1–56–1 we have the line: 'Soma the juice which strengthens for great deeds.'

Now it may be contended that this conception of a world-reality consisting of some kind of magical fluid in which we may physically participate, with the attendant emphasis upon sacrifice and incantation, confines the human spirit to the materialistic level, and has an ultimately depressing effect. Before it can be spiritualized it becomes oppressive. Religious satisfaction can be reached only by emphasizing the lower aspects of human nature—by emphasizing physical participation. This probably had from the first a negative and ascetic tinge, due to the purely empirical discovery that ecstatic and apparently religious conditions could be induced by fasting and mortification of the body. The negative tendency is further developed when there is the slightest awakening of a sense of higher faculties in the human spirit. Religious satisfaction appears now as the negation of these higher faculties. World-reality is still materialistically conceived, and thus appears as an alien force, correspondence with which can be gained only by a denial of the essential characteristics of humanity. It is the support of the lower physical elements only, and the negation of what man is beginning dimly to regard as the most valuable part of his own nature. Here we have the germ of the negative idea which permeates the whole of Indian philosophy—the idea that communion with the divine consists essentially in denial of the chief factors in human experience.

It seems impossible to eradicate this negative idea when

once it has crept in. It spreads itself over all parts of human experience. If religious satisfaction is at first sought in the negation of the higher faculties and their reduction to a state of 'cataleptic insensibility,' it is but a short onward step to find this satisfaction in the denial of human experience altogether. If the reality of the universe is regarded as alien to our higher experience, it easily comes to be regarded as alien to the whole of our experience. With the advance of thought the ultimate reality may cease to be regarded as material, but the effect of the original magical conception still remains, and we are no nearer a reconciliation of the human spirit with the divine. In ceasing to be material, it has, through the influence of purely intellectual as distinct from ethical speculation, become merely an abstraction. The religious longing still goes out towards it, but seeing that the ultimate being is purely abstract, the religious ideal of communion can be reached only by deliverance from the conditions of human life, and not by elevation and completion of these conditions. We are now within sight of the later-developed conceptions of *Samsara* and *Karma* and *Mukti*, all of them indicating that the world of human experience is a ceaseless, meaningless round—'a bondage of everlasting sorrow, which we may escape from, but over which we can never hope to obtain the victory.' We have failed to establish the worth of human personality, that through it we may obtain an interpretation of the Divine Reality. It is thus longing for deliverance rather than salvation in the full sense of the term which the philosophical thought of the Upanishads sets itself to satisfy, but we shall be content here with indicating the sources of the longing and with characterizing it as the combined and significant result of tendencies which go far to explain the transition from the joyousness and confidence of Vedic religion to the serious and almost gloomy setting of the philosophical problem for Indian thought.

W. S. URQUHART.

NOT MADE IN ROME

The Knowledge of God, and its Historical Development. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, M.A. (Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark.)

The Church and the World in Idea and History. By WALTER HOBHOUSE, M.A., &c. (Macmillan.)

A History of the English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest. By WILLIAM HUNT, M.A. (Macmillan.)

Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church. (Cox.)

Bryce's Holy Roman Empire. (Macmillan.)

THE Italian national celebrations of 1911 were a kind of challenge thrown down by the Quirinal and taken up with all convenient speed by the Vatican. The current twelvemonth is separated by an interval of exactly sixteen hundred years from Constantine's traditional conversion at the battle of Milvian Bridge (312), the first necessary step to the establishment of Christianity as a State religion and the bestowal of Roman citizenship with all its rights upon the whole body of Christians throughout the Empire. The city of the Caesars thus formed itself into the earthly capital of Christ; His 'vicars' in the troublous state of the contemporary world soon identified the papal power with nothing less than the sovereignty of the Christian religion itself. Caesar, in the person of Victor Emanuel III, or his Government, had flaunted the unholy success with which the dominion of the Church had been usurped. Pius X, therefore, would have fallen lamentably short of the expectation of the faithful had he missed the opportunity of reminding all those whom it concerned that he still remained head of an empire, on which, not only could the sun never set, but which stretched from earth to heaven

itself, and was the visible symbol of the as yet unseen celestial city looking down upon the golden sea. His kingdom had, indeed, for the best part of half a century ceased to be of this world. At the same time his spiritual authority was secured, and his edicts ran their course throughout both hemispheres into every corner of the planet.

Thus while the secular rejoicings over Roma capitale were shared only by a few among those descended from last century's rebels against their lawful lord, the more than earthly Potentate filling the throne of Peter presided over a system that with untold millions meant the same thing as Christianity. The organizers of both celebrations had overlooked some important truths. As regards the papal jubilee of the current year, the conquest of the earth by the Church was not effected without the operation of forces less imposing perhaps, but not less indispensable than the august prerogative which placed the monarchs of the Vatican immeasurably above all wielders of world power. So, too, with the series of agencies and events that made the princes of the House of Savoy the representatives of a united if somewhat heterogencous people. Rome, as a spiritual and proselytizing power, has been during more than fifteen centuries a powerful part of Christianity. In like manner Italian patriots and leaders, civil or military, owed their final success always to the co-operation and the initiative of external allies.

Here one may compare the personal aspects presented by the development of national autonomy among the chief Latin races and in the smaller European nationalities. To begin with Switzerland. Doubt, to say the least of it, has been thrown on the authenticity of the Tell narrative, for the 'master-shot,' it seems, occurs in Aryan, Samoyede, and Turkish folklore. Further evidence against the ancient story is the fact that the most famous ballad containing it did not appear for the best part of a century after Tell's death. Whatever the virtues or vices of the

Austrian ruler Albert II, or of his lieutenant Gessler, the gradually successful mountaineer resistance to the imperial aggression and absorption grew up among the Forest Cantons and received no help from any foreign source. To the same order of home-grown patriots belonged Andreas Hofer, who, between 1767 and 1810, organized the stand among the Tyrolese peasantry against the Franco-Bavarian occupation of their picturesque mountains and pastoral plains. Not less independent of foreign friends at his beginning and in his most active years than Hofer was the Hungarian champion born shortly after the nineteenth century began and living almost to its close, 1894. Louis Kossuth, indeed, became the idol of the Anglo-Saxon race on both sides of the Atlantic midway in his great career. Isolation and obscurity were the surroundings of those earlier years during which, through the season of European upheaval, he created the motive power that was structurally to change the empire of the Hapsburgs, and that, guided by Deák's statesmanship, was, in 1867, to unite Austria and Hungary under a dual kingship.

In each of the instances just mentioned not only did the necessity produce the man, but the man himself belonged by birth to the country whose need he supplied. In Teutonic history that process was strikingly exemplified by the growth of the German Empire. The work completed for Prussia by Bismarck was the conception, at the meeting-point of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of a native of Nassau, who entered the Prussian service in 1780. Some twenty years later Stein received the control of the Prussian Excise, but found himself so hampered by traditional methods that he resigned the charge —only, however, to resume it in 1806. He then, within a twelvemonth, swept away the last remains of serfdom, abolished caste privileges and monopolies, replaced them by a system which might have grown into Free Trade, and introduced peasant proprietorship, together with municipal

government. Thus more than fifty years before the event, there were laid the foundations of that united fatherland without which neither Italian patriotism nor statesmanship could have transformed Rome into the capital of the whole peninsula.

From the particular point of view now taken there could, indeed, be no greater contrast to the characteristics of the national progress already dwelt upon than that presented by the experience not only of the Latin races but of the land which stands to these in the relation of parent to child. The Greek kingdom is the common creation of European gratitude for the services rendered by a gifted race to civilization, science, letters and arts. Not less exoteric than the forces that built up the Hellenic polity as it now exists are those which, personified in the first Napoleon, reconstructed France and which, with the help of contemporary events, have in our own day remade Italy. As a Corsican, the author of the Code Napoleon mingled Genoese and Saracenic blood in his veins, but not a drop of French. Italian, too, were some of the chief influences, diplomatic or military, of the second French Republic. The most prominent and strenuous figure in French politics after the Franco-Prussian War, Gambetta, was a Genoese Jew. Sadowa was not more the precursor of Sedan than Sedan itself had its sequel in the withdrawal of the French bayonets that supported the temporal power and the entry of the national troops into the city of the Cæsars and the Popes. But neither the politicians nor the soldiers, the pioneers or directors of those events were of Roman origin. They were mostly born Genoese subjects of the Sardinian king. Cavour, a native of Turin, was only one among the Italian liberators coming from a purely Piedmontese stock, and therefore, to speak with accuracy, only by courtesy and adoption. That this would be the case was foreseen by the first Lord Lytton so far back as 1885. Of all Italian states Sardinia, as he saw it fourteen years before, must, he

had no doubt, lead the van of Italian progress. The House of Piedmont alone could supply the peninsula with the power for combining its scattered parts into a single nation. Victor Emanuel I in his rise and progress symbolized the extra-Roman forces chiefly at work in the making of his crown.

Mazzini, the inspirer of the ideas that Garibaldi's soldiership and Cavour's practical wisdom was to translate into fact, was a Genoese. Garibaldi came from Nice, Cavour from Piedmont. The last of these had formed his mind in an atmosphere entirely free from Italian influences. It was not to his aristocratic paternal ancestors that he owed the moral and spiritual fervour which quickened and guided his statecraft. His mother, Adèle de Sellon, came of very remarkable Huguenot parents. The family had been settled for generations in Geneva. Her father had fed her mind, like his own, on those traditions of disciplined democratic policy which centred there. Next to his mother, his maternal uncle, who had been educated in England and imbibed there the doctrine of a Free Church in a Free State, chiefly formed the mind of young Cavour. The school, therefore, that trained Garibaldi's political colleague for his life's work was as much English as Swiss. Its atmosphere was not less heavily charged with Calvinism, sacred or secular, than that breathed by Thomas Carlyle at Ecclefechan. Nor did a nurture, moral and intellectual, owing nothing to Italian teachers, end with his earliest youth. The experiences of the Sardinian reactionary court decided and deepened his sympathies with progressive Liberalism. But the point of view from which he looked upon the successive movements of the time, the economical knowledge, the familiarity with affairs, and the insight into human nature that fitted him for his life's work, were gained during the prime of manhood on English soil and from English preceptors. To Adam Smith, Cavour owed as much as did the younger Pitt himself; he had studied Jeremy

Bentham not less deeply than had been done by William Molesworth. This severe course of instruction and self-discipline was to some extent softened and sweetened by the scarcely less valuable intercourse of his home life, and his varied Genevan acquaintanceship. Cosmopolitan first, Liberal afterwards, he was thus educated to patriotism in the school of humanity. The year of the Paris July rising against the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe saw him joyfully expecting the second French Republic. Soon afterwards his family's agricultural interests sent him on an extended tour through different parts of Italy. The personal observations then made first convinced him that the welfare of the country must soon require its consolidation under a single sovereign at the head of a constitutional government, with Rome for its seat. The completion of these stages in Cavour's development owed, it will be seen, scarcely anything to his native land, to its distinctive culture, to the contagious spell of its august or fascinating traditions. A boyhood ordered by the disciples of Knox and Calvin, followed by a graduating course in the university of the world was Cavour's preparation for the Italian premiership. 'I was,' were his words in after years to a former London host and intimate, 'an Englishman by adoption before being qualified to become an Italian.' Then, between 1815 and 1848, came the apparently futile Neapolitan and Piedmontese insurrections. While these were going on in March 1848, Pius IX devised a new Italian polity consisting of one papal and one popular chamber. Among those whom he first named as instruments of the abortive venture in sacerdotal democracy was Cavour. He, as we have seen, was a Lombard by birth, a citizen of the world by settlement; a Genevan Calvinist by training, intellect, accomplishments, and tastes; an Englishman by adoption; anything, therefore, but the product of the country where he had first seen the light.

During the Seven Years' War (1756–63) Chatham, as

he himself put it, won America for England in Germany. So, it might be said, with scarcely less truth, Italy was unified in lands where, since the epoch of the Caesars the Roman eagle had never flown.

The third Italy was the name given to the new kingdom by the official proclamation of 1861, whose Jubilee came last year. It had scarcely closed when the Vatican planned its counter demonstration—the celebration of the sixteenth centenary of the Emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity, October 28, 312. The papal Encyclical proclaiming this festival attributed to the events nationally celebrated last year, not only the irreligion prevailing in Latin countries, but the social and political evils of the age.

At the same time it congratulated the faithful on the compensation for her cruel losses and persecutions now granted to the Church in her undoubted and unexampled progress among the Anglo-Saxon peoples, largely within the British Isles, but even more conspicuously on the other side of the Atlantic. Canning could speak of himself as calling a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. Even so, Pius X can console himself for his advisers' intelligible objection to a census of his British subjects by the undoubted growth of his flock in the United States. As regards the celestial apparition that, on the day already mentioned, changed Constantine into the victorious soldier of the Cross,[1] Dr. H. B. Workman has conclusively shown in this REVIEW for April 1911 that, notwithstanding the first Christian Emperor's belief in the alleged experience, and in spite of Cardinal Newman's ingenious special pleading to the same effect, the story rests upon no broader or surer foundation than the version given by Bellarmine and Baronius of St. Peter's traditional, but, so far as the years

[1] Treves or Besançon was traditionally named as the scene of Constantine's Vision. The incident itself received unquestioning acceptance till discredited by Godefroy, 1643, but circumstantially reasserted by Abbé Voisin of the Sorbonne, 1774.

48 and 51 are concerned, hypothetical sojourn in Rome.[1] One or two supplementary observations, however, may be offered.

The anniversary of most personal interest to Pius X must be that, not of the beginnings of Latin Christianity but of the Papacy's first establishment on the ruins of the Roman Empire. For the sixteenth centenary of that event, however, he must have waited one hundred and sixty-four years; for it was in 476 that Odoacer sacked Rome. The last of the puppet Caesars, Romulus Augustus, fled to Naples. His abdication left Pope Simplicius the master of the city. Doing that, it established the Vatican's secular sovereignty on a basis not finally to be withdrawn till thirteen hundred and ninety-four years afterwards.[2] On September 20, 1870, General Cadorna at half-past five in the morning marching his troops through the Porta Pia made the town before nightfall the capital of the nation. So disappeared the most visibly impressive aspect of the institution with literal truth described by Gibbon as 'the ghost of the Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the tomb thereof.' There are historical reasons, now to be mentioned, which might have made the facts and fictions concerning Constantine rather a delicate subject for the Vatican.

'The king and the State!' exclaimed Louis XIV, interrupting one of his judges, who had just used the phrase, 'I am the State!' Similarly would the present occupant of St. Peter's chair ask in effect: 'Christianity, what is it but myself?' Dr. Gwatkin, in his encyclopaedic work, named at the head of this article, calls the Roman Curia a purely political body, with as much care for justice or religion as the Russian Foreign Office. The Papacy's present identification of itself with the faith embraced by Constantine will remind impartial and well-read judges that Christian is scarcely

[1] For a careful and compendious summary of this question in all its aspects, see Cave's *Lives of the Apostles*, pp. 216, 232.

[2] Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 25. Also Table of Emperors and Popes, p. xxi, at beginning of work.

the epithet best suited to it. Learning, tradition, discipline, and organization it has always embodied. Its territorial prerogative was based on a colossal forgery and fraud. Just four centuries and a half after Constantine's death the Roman priesthood fabricated the terms and the circumstances of what is called Constantine's Donation. This was the earliest of those official fictions in whose manufacture papal Christianity proved an adept long before its mediaeval achievement of the forged decretals. Constantine's religious development is connected with three different chiefs of the clerical polity, which the coming Vatican Jubilee causes Pius X to use as the synonym for Christianity. The Labarum became the imperial standard during the papacy of Melchiades; the august convert received the rite of baptism from Sylvester I; and the Caesar's gratitude for the healing efficacy of that pontiff's prayers was discovered by Pope Hadrian I to have shown itself in the endowment of the holy see with all the privileges belonging to the Emperor and his Senate, as well as with dominion, not only over Italy, but over the greater part of the then known Western world. No addition need be attempted to the remarks of the historian of The Holy Roman Empire[1] on this 'the most stupendous of all mediaeval forgeries.' The first authentic grant of lands received by the Papacy was Pepin's gift to Stephen II of the Ravenna ex-archate 752. Other presents of the same kind followed till, under Innocent III (1198–1216), the papal states extended from the Po in the north, nearly to Naples in the south. The area included between these two limits amounted to 15,774 square miles and contained a population of 3,000,000. So far from being reduced, these figures had been even raised till the war of 1859, and the popular vote of the next year left Pius IX with an estate of 4493 square miles. However controversial or obscure the details of the transaction, Constantine's undoubted benefaction to the Papacy was his withdrawal from Rome

[1] Bryce, p. 100.

eighteen years after his conversion. Constantine withdrew in 330 to his new capital Byzantium in order that Rome as the patrimony of St. Peter might belong absolutely and exclusively, for all time to those who followed the Apostle in the custody of the keys. The popes, therefore, inherited the Eastern pomp and splendour assumed by the Caesars after Septimus Severus (193–211), and dispensing with all show of the Senate, ruled absolute and alone.[1] They inhabited the Lateran Palace, as did their successors till the removal to the Vatican in 1377, and distinguished the Lateran Church, the most ancient of Roman temples, by the style metropolitan. They wore the regal diadem, the collar, the oldest of decorative insignia, and the purple cloak. They carried the sceptre. In their progresses abroad they were attended by a magnificently equipped bodyguard, mounted, like themselves, on white horses. The conformity at all points of the religious monarch to the civil formed the central idea of papal pageant. Even the practice of kissing the Pope's foot, a survival from the later Caesars' court, afterwards reappeared in that of the Holy Roman Empire. So, too, the canon law of the Church reproduced and rivalled the imperial jurisprudence. The Holy Roman Empire, which began with Charlemagne's coronation by Leo III (800), and ended with the abdication of Francis II (1806), caused Gibbon's sneer at the misnomer on the ground of its being neither holy, Roman, nor an empire. So Pius X is the latest living representative of bishops boasting their spiritual descent from St. Peter, but, for the most part, inheriting little of the spirit of Peter's Lord.

The training and the impetus that prepared and urged on those who recreated the Italian monarchy in the nineteenth century lacked for the most part Roman or even Italian origin. In the same way papal Christianity at the height of its power bore small likeness to Christ, and

[1] For these developments, see Gibbon, Vol. VI, pp. 205, 207, and Bryce, pp. 100, 101 and 5, 6.

was only by accident the inspiring genius of European Christendom. Intellectual Italy, as Professor Gwatkin has shown, borrowed its philosophy at one time from Greece, at another from the Teutonic schoolmen. So, as a fact, the Italian ecclesiastical system, largely of Jewish descent, was improved on and reconstructed in Africa. The pagan world had not to wait the papal organization for the missionary movement resulting in its partial and not always permanent conversion. As early as 380 we read in Hardwick's *Church History* (pp. 228–230) how the Burgundians were helped to victory over the Huns by wholesale baptism at the hands of a Gallic bishop. The Christianity of Central and Eastern Europe resulted, humanly speaking, from the personal labours of the Gothic apostle of the Balkans, Ulphilas (311–381). To the districts that Ulphilas did not visit the gospel light was brought by Martin of Tours, and to the West by Aidan, Columba, and St. Patrick. The last of these, notwithstanding his Irish associations, was not of Irish birth. He recrossed St. George's Channel to become Abbot of Glastonbury, five centuries before Dunstan's day.

That centre of early middle age devotion and learning rivalled the Universities, not alone of Italy, but even of France, when as yet Oxford and Cambridge intellectually were unborn; like Iona, its alumni carried the good tidings into European corners, still unpenetrated by any emissaries from papal Rome. During the fifth and sixth centuries, the king of the Franks, Clovis, owed his conversion to the Burgundian Christian Princess, Clotilda, whom he had married. With her he knelt down before his troops on the day of the battle of Tolbiac. It was his resistance to Arianism that more than any other single cause preserved for European Christianity its catholic character. Another equally eventful conversion of this epoch came from Christian agencies not less unconnected with the Pope than those employed in the case of Clovis. The Russian Vladimir, acting on no priestly initiative, had

sent a commission of nobles to investigate and report upon the current modes of religious worship in different countries. The envoys so impressed their master by the account of the Constantinople services at St. Sophia that he vowed to embrace the faith if he were successful in an attack upon the Crimean city of Cherson. He more than fulfilled his oath by not only receiving baptism himself, but by compelling his new subjects in a body to do the same, standing breast high in the river Dnieper, whose waters had just overwhelmed the great wooden idol Perun, after it had been knouted across the country.

From 1054 dates the complete breach between the Eastern and Western Churches. That event had, indeed, been prepared for by a council held so far back as 692, as well as by the later council at Constantinople under Photius in 867 when each party began to excommunicate its opponents as heretics—a process not accomplished to its entire extent till midway in the eleventh century, when patriarch and Pope were fully and finally established in the most mortal feud that the exchange of anathemas between Rome and Constantinople could effect. A basis for Christian organization was supplied by Rome; but the Popes discovered for Christendom no new dynamic truths about the knowledge of God, nor did they produce any thinkers so inspiring as the Piedmontese Anselm or the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin and Bradwardine. As Milman put it, 'The East enacted creeds, the West, discipline.' Latin Christianity had Roman law for its model, Greek Christianity attracted and animated the keenest intellect of the time by adapting forms of Aristotelian and Platonic thought to the truths of revelation. As Rome was not distinctively Christian, so she had no claim to monopolize even the title of Catholic. Her whole system was copied from the old Jewish theocracy, while the genuine Eastern catholicity responded to changed conditions and to growing needs: the Papacy remained a strictly mediaeval institution, on

its political side perpetuating the exclusive Latin usages of the empire. Both the East and the West may have been in bondage to ceremonialism, but it was the Eastern Church that first emphasized the personal union between Christ and His followers, which throughout the ages has been the really energizing principle of the faith and of the fellowship that God sent His Son to establish. Nor this alone; the Greek, not the Latin, fathers were the first to expound the Christian dogmas; while their followers composed in the Hellenic tongue the primitive forms of Christian worship. Ecclesiastical nomenclature, it will presently be seen, supports the Eastern claim to a catholicity more genuine and venerable than was ever a Roman attribute. Well, therefore, might A. P. Stanley, in his lectures on the subject, call the Eastern Church 'the aged tree beneath whose shade the rest of Christendom has sprung up.' She only can boast direct continuity of speech with the earliest time, as well as the reading of Scripture in the language read and spoken by the Apostles. The first Oecumenical Council ever held, that of Nicaea in 325, placed Rome on the same level as Alexandria and Antioch. As a fact the early Roman Church grew from a union of Greek Christians with Hellenized Jews, and the very name pope is Greek, not Latin, every Eastern pastor having been called *papas*. Missionary achievement was shared in equally by all Christian churches. Lingard,[1] the most ardent of papal champions, who refused a cardinal's cap as the reward for his labours, dwells upon the birth at Crediton (680) of the evangelist Boniface, who did for the German races what Ulphilas accomplished for the Balkan tribes. On the other hand, though without Augustine, England would probably have been converted to Christianity—perhaps, it might be added, to Irish anarchy as well—neither Greek nor Celt could have supplied the chief needs of the Earlier Middle Ages. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. Not

[1] Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, Vol. II, p. 336.

less vital and fruitful to Christianity were the opportunities of religious construction which the Pax Romana secured. The value of the immense work thus done by Rome for England and Europe was only diminished by the persistent tightening of her hold afterwards when the time had come to loosen it, and by her obstinate effort to keep the rising nations in perpetual tutelage, and by the secularizing policy that was not Christian but Pagan.

Romam sub Roma quaerito was the old archaeological motto. Whether as regards the Vatican or the Quirinal, the facts now passed in review give the words a new application by reminding us that the religion whose establishment in the Western World dates from October 28, 312, owes so much to outside agencies as to divest the anniversary of a specially papal or even Italian significance. Last year's Quirinal would never have been held, nor the achievements it placed on record commemorated, but for the action of forces of by no means purely Italian origin or guidance. So, too, with the Vatican celebration of 1912. In both cases Rome and Italy supplied the stages on which were enacted the great dramas, first of religious, then of national transformations; but the chief actors often were brought in from outside, and the machinery that worked the change of scene and prospect was even for the most part of foreign manufacture.

What, it may be asked in conclusion, are the real grounds for the papal self-congratulation of to-day on the advance of Roman doctrine generally throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, especially on this side of the Atlantic? The facts and figures available date from the nineteenth century's beginning, and show that, within fifty years from that time, the papal increase in the British Isles was far greater than has been the case at any subsequent period. That, of course, is to be explained by the impulse given by Newman, as well as one or two other men of genius, with whom began the secessions following the Oxford movement. Later in the Victorian era and since, seasons of progress have been

followed by reaction. As a consequence the number of priests, churches, colleges, religious houses and 'verts' appear for some time to have been, and still to be, almost stationary. Passing accidents or noticeable instances of individual authority may easily cause so many exceptions to this rule from time to time as to rob it of all validity. The one chief fact in the present situation is this. Three-quarters of a century since, the high sacramental Anglicans, when they spoke of Catholic reunion, meant incorporation with the Eastern rather than with the Western Church. Their successors to-day, the ritualists, concentrate entirely on reunion with Rome—only, when they make any overtures in that direction, to be told by some blandly speaking Vatican monseignor that the Church always welcomes back truant children to her fold, and after a probationary interval, if the due qualifications be forthcoming, may deign to bestow upon them her Orders. Were Pius X, however, as satisfied as he professes to be with the broadening limits of his spiritual kingdom, his English agents, one may be sure, would welcome and promote that numbering of his Anglo-Saxon sheep instead of placing obstacles and difficulties of all kinds in the way.

'We must go to the people, for the people certainly will not come to us.' Such was the significant confession made by a papal dignitary at the recent Norwich Congress; though as yet even the up-to-date agency of motor missions has not produced any very impressive results. Meanwhile, however, the central figure of the approaching jubilee may regard with some satisfaction certain changes lately wrought in the national capital. Here visitors will miss certain once-familiar features in the landscape. Possibly the hotel they formerly frequented may have disappeared. How and why? The answer is that the Jesuits are carrying out with signal, if stealthy, success the policy that may be summed up as: 'We have lost Rome politically, but we will have it back as private property.'

T. H. S. Escott.

PHILIP HENRY, PURITAN AND SAINT

Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry, M.A. Edited by MATTHEW HENRY LEE. 1882.

Life of Philip Henry. By MATTHEW HENRY (his son), published in Vol. VI of *Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography.*

'I DON'T know where he comes from,' said Mr. Daniel Matthewes, a man of considerable property, to his daughter Katharine when she confessed her love for Philip Henry; 'But I know where he is going to, and I should like to go with him,' was Katharine's reply. No one who is acquainted with the life and writings of Philip Henry will be disposed to question the truth of Katharine's estimate. This paper is not written with the view of giving a biographical sketch of its subject, but the following particulars relating to his life and history will be welcome to those of our readers to whom he is known only as the father of a son more famous than himself, Matthew Henry, the Commentator.

Philip Henry was born August 24, 1631, being the eldest son of John Henry, keeper of the king's orchard at Whitehall. He received his Christian name from Philip Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke, who stood sponsor for him. As a child he was the playmate of the princes Charles and James. His father's death in 1652 left the family in great pecuniary straits. The boy was educated at Westminster, where he was one of Dr. Busby's favourite pupils. From Westminster he went to Christ Church, Oxford, taking his degree in 1651. To Dr. Busby it was that he owed the first religious impressions which ripened into a life of rare saintliness. In 1658 he became tutor to the children of Judge Puleston of Emral in Flintshire, who, until his death in 1659,

was young Henry's faithful friend and patron, installing him as preacher at Worthenbury in the parish of Bangor Isycoed, and building a house for his convenience. On September 16, 1657, Philip Henry was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry, 'a day never to be forgotten.' At the Restoration Henry Bridgeman resumed the rectory of Bangor Isycoed, which had been sequestrated, and dismissed Henry from his office as preacher at Worthenbury. Refusing re-ordination he became a silenced minister on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, the thirty-first anniversary of his birth. Leaving Worthenbury, where he had been far from happy with the Puleston family since the judge's death, he went to reside at Broad Oak, a property that had come to him with Katharine Matthewes, to whom he was married in 1660. From 1662 to 1689, when the Act of Toleration was passed, Philip Henry shared the general fate of nonconformist ministers. On several occasions he had to appear before the magistrates; his goods were distrained; and in 1685 he was imprisoned for three weeks in Chester Castle. In 1689 he resumed his public ministry, which he continued until his death in 1696.

In his domestic relations Philip Henry was singularly blest. Not only did Katharine Matthewes bring with her the prospect of considerable worldly possessions, but also a temperament and character which made her the true help-meet of her husband during the thirty-six years of their married life. What she was to him may be judged from entries in his diary from time to time. 1672. 'Married neer twelve years and never yet reconciled because no need of it.' 1661 (with reference to his own disablement from illness). 'I count it a great mercy that when the sun sets there is a moon to rise to perform duty in the family.' 1663. 'Home is home indeed to mee, blessed be God.' When, in 1688, he gave his last daughter in marriage, he enters in his diary: 'And now we are alone again as we were at our beginning. God be better to us than twenty children.' Writing to a

friend he says: 'We are now left as we were, One and One, and yet but One.'

Until the death of his father-in-law, Philip Henry's means were very narrow; indeed, so narrow that on January 31, 1661 (a few months after his marriage), he writes: 'Things are low with mee in the world, but 8^{d} left, but my hope is yet in the *Lord*, that in due time hee will supply more, Amen.' In 1666, when Daniel Matthewes died, Katharine Henry, his only child, inherited an estate which placed the household permanently beyond want. The only real drawback to domestic happiness during the early years of their union was not poverty, but the coolness of Mrs. Henry's father, who was disappointed that his daughter and heiress did not make a better match. He also took umbrage at Philip Henry's refusal to give the Christian name of Henry to his eldest son on the ground that his surname was already Henry—'at which my father Matthewes took such offence that from that time hee never darkened our doors after to the day of his death.' And when he visited his father-in-law his experience was otherwise than pleasant,—'qui recipit me aperta domo, sed, ut mihi videtur, clauso vultu.'

Philip Henry's diary begins in 1657, and the work was taken in hand very seriously. '1657. This was the firste year in which I began to keep an Account of my time in this method. If the Lord blesse mee I mean to hold on, and I hope Use will make mee more and more perfect in it; 'tis a pleasing, profitable, heavenly Art. O Deus, doce me numerare dies meos.' The diary appears to have been faithfully continued to the end of life, namely, for thirty-nine years; but little more than the half has survived to the present time. In the pages (written with inimitable neatness) which have come down to us, we see the man just as he was—as he was in his relation to God, in his relation to his family, in his relation to society, in his relation to the body politic, in his relation to the Church.

We may infer, as we read the graphic records of his life and experience, that while he was a man of simple piety and whole-hearted consecration, his religious life was somewhat fettered and shadowed by a morbid habit of self-introspection. 'I think never did poore creature passe through such a mixture of Hope and Feare, Joy and Sadness, Assurance and Doubting, downe and up as I have done for these two last yeares.' 'Sins ag^st Conviction border upon y^e sin ag^st the Holy Ghost; Ô how neare then have I been to ruine; there hath been but a step between mee and Death, but God hath had mercy.' 'I cannot get my heart into such a spiritual frame upon Sabbath dayes as formerly, which is both my sin and my affliction. Lord quicken mee with quickning grace.' 'Studying day, in much infirmity; things are not with mee as they should bee, nor as they have been—help Lord.' Such confessions are characteristic; but we must remember that Philip Henry was an avowed Puritan, and that the typical Puritan conscience was constitutionally morbid.

We should search in vain in these diaries for original thought, or even perhaps for any real contribution to the theology of the day, but they are valuable as vividly portraying the character, outlook, and spiritual life of the seventeenth century nonconformist. The following extracts from the diaries will indicate the manner of man he was in his inner life. 'Apostasy generally begins at the closet door.'[1] 'New suit. Lord cloth mee with thy righteousness, which is a comely, costly, lasting, everlasting garment.' 'Sin is the mother, payn the daughter. Ô y^t y^e daughter might kill y^e mother.' 'Daughter Agnes afflicted with quartan ague. Lord, cease this controversy.' 'Let him be afraid to die who is afraid to go to heaven.' 'Guilt in the soul is like a mote in the eye, not at ease till wept out.' 'Put Conscience upon an Answer and not like Pilate only ask y^e Question and then goe away.' 'Will Hayward dy'd

[1] But was Philip Henry the originator of this well-known aphorism?

this month. Hee had often obliged himself to leave the substance of his estate to pious uses, and I often warned him to doe it, but I hear it was not done: many good purposes lie in y^e^ Churchyard.' The following were his resolutions and reflections for the year 1665: 'Covenants renewed in y^e^ particu: 1. by y^e^ lords help and purpose to bee more substantial in secret worship. 2. more sparing of precious time. 3. more constant in reading the scrip. alone and meditating in them. 4. more careful to improve all opportunitye s of doing good to souls, not only taking, but seeking them. 5. less fearful about events, when in a way of duty, in all w^ch^ I have lately mist it; but y^e^ lord has pardoned mee in X Jesus. When y^e^ flail of Affliction, O lord, is upon mee, let mee not be as y^e^ chaff that flyes in the face, but as y^e^ Corn that lyes at thy feet. To one complayning of weakness in duty remember two th: 1. that you are not under the law, but under grace. 2. that you are on earth and not in Heaven. Hee that would not dye when hee must and hee y^t^ would dye when hee must not, both these are alike Cowards.'

From many entries we gather that the writer was on the watch for special judgements as well as for special providences. 'Two or three drown'd bathing themselves on y^e^ Sabbath day.' 'I read a book called Annus Mirabilis contayning a narrative of several strange Appearances of the great God this last year (1660) in all the Elements, chiefly witnessing ag^t^ Prophanes and persecution.' 'Dr. Burrel, chancellor of York and Durham, Parliam^t^ man for Rippon, made a bitter speech in the House of Commons ag^t^ the intended liberty, wherein hee reproached Calvin, calling him Jack Calvin; That night hee dyed suddenly in his chair in his lodgings. This is certain. 1673.' 'At Kingston the undersheriff, the first day of the Assize, being a bitter p.secutor, was struck with sudden death drinking in a Tavern.'

That Philip Henry was not free from superstitious fancies

and love of the marvellous may be inferred from the care with which he records any *lusus naturae* that is reported to him. 'At Spalding it rayn'd great quantities of wheat.' 'Three suns were seen shining at Reading.' 'At Northallerton ten rainbowes and 4 or 5 half ones.' 'In the Western parts of Somersetshire the moon shined in the night without reflecting the least shadow.' 'In the Isle of Wight dreadful appearances of Fiery meteors in the air, one of men and horses in a warlike posture.' From the *Annus Mirabilis* he takes the following tale and transfers it to his diary: 'At Ashover in Derbysh: one Dorothy Mately using to wish, I would the earth might open and swallow mee up —was washing lead-ore, and having stollen two single pence out of a youth's pocket, stiffly denied it, by and by y^e^ earth open'd and swallow'd her up 4 yards within the ground, the money found in her pocket. The ground adjoyning firm.'[1]

Philip Henry was pre-eminently a man of peace, but he could, on occasion, express himself strongly. Like many of the less bigoted nonconformists, especially of the Presbyterian body, he, when silenced by Act of Parliament, attended the services of his parish church. Himself a thoughtful and persuasive preacher, he naturally brought a critical ear to church, as may be seen from the following remarks. 'At Whitchurch, where preach^t^ Mr Bridge jun^r^ two empty, frothy, flashy, unprofitable sermons. I am ashamed to give such epithites to sermons, but truly such they were. Lord pity preacher and hearers.' 'At Whitchurch, Mr. Bower two weak, indigested, unprofitable sermons. Lord help us.' 'Mr. Bridge at chap. in the morning, text Rom. v. i. A most full text, a most empty sermon.' In the course of his diary he copies out a skit that

[1] In the burial register of Ashover for the year 1660 is the following entry: 'Dorothy Matly, supposed wife to John Flint of this parish, forswore her selfe, wheupon the ground open and she sanke over hed. March . . . and being found dead she was buried March . . . .' The day of the month is illegible.

he has come across ridiculing the title of 'My Lord,' as assumed by the Bishops—

> Christus dixit quodam loco
> Vos non sic, nec dixit joco,
> Dixit suis; ergo isti
> Cujus sunt? non certe Christi.
> Of y^e^ Praelates.

The success of a certain Dr. White as a pluralist is celebrated in the following barbarous couplet—

> Usury, Saint Dunstan's, Paul's, Christ Church, Salisbury, Windsor, Worcester, Westchester, Banbury, Bangor, Asaph.

Underneath these lines is written 'Dr. White's livings.' It is only fair to the memory of Dr. Thomas White (1550–1624) to add that Fuller acquits him of the charge of usury and to some extent clears his character from the stigma of pluralism. 'He was accused,' says Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies*, 'for being a great pluralist, though I cannot learn that at once he had more than one cure of souls, the rest being dignities; as false is the aspersion of his being a great usurer.'[1]

Many pages might be filled with notices of parliamentary and political affairs which occur throughout these diaries; many, too, are the allusions to current events of public interest, throwing a sidelight on the history of the period. We give the following as a sample—

'April 28, 1661. The King crowned, much sin, the Lord pardon. 'Twas a very wett evening, which prevented something of God's dishonour:[2] Great thunder at London

[1] Dr. White, however, certainly had more than his share of good things in the Church. He held the rectory of St. Gregory by St. Paul's in conjunction with the vicarage of St. Dunstan's in the West. In 1588 he became Prebend of St. Paul's, in 1590 treasurer of Salisbury, in 1591 Canon of Christ Church, in 1598 Canon of Windsor. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, which makes no mention of the places named in the second line of the couplet. So far from being a usurer, his benefactions were many, including the foundation of Sion College as a Clergy Guild.

[2] This would hardly be said now, when a wet public holiday means crowded public-houses.

that night the King was crowned.' We find several notices of the Plague of London. He paid a visit to the metropolis after its appearance, and notes June 1 (1665): 'The plague not yet raging, but increasing gradually—O london, london how often?'[1] Later on he records the rising rate of mortality. 'July 20. Dy'd of y^e^ Plague in London y^e^ last week 1089.' By August 8 the weekly deaths had risen to 8010; by the middle of the month they had reached 8880. In the following year he notes the Fire of London and moralizes upon it at some length. He does not forget special mercy to the ejected nonconformist ministers. 'Was there not mercy in it to poor silenc'd Ministers that they were banish't out of the City before this sweeping Judgment came upon it, and is not the case somewhat like that of lot fetch't out of Sodom?' Again: 'May it not be a further Voice to our Governors like that to Pharoh, saying, let my people goe that they may serve mee, and if ye will not, behold thus and thus will I doe unto you.' He points to the fact that the fire began on the Lord's Day, 'as if the Lord's controversy was more particularly for prophaning that holy day.' In January 1666 he writes, 'Trinity steeple in Coventry blown down this month.' The death and burial of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle are recorded. ''Tis sayd that he dyed with cards in his hand and that his last words were, who must have the stock? He gather'd a great estate in a short time, being

[1] Haydn (*Dictionary of Dates*) gives eighteen severe visitations of Plague in Great Britain before the Plague of London in 1665. In almost every case London suffered greatly. The earlier part of the seventeenth century had a peculiarly unhappy experience in this respect, viz. 1603, 1609, 1625, 1632, 1636, 1647. Haydn records no visitation in our country later than 1665. In Philip Henry's diary we find the following entry, 'Sept. 30 (1657), A day of Publike humiliation throughout the nation in reference to the present sicknesse. Lord, hear prayers, and in the midst of wrath remember mercy. O deliver us from the plague of a hard heart.' Evelyn in his diary, under date Aug. 21, 1657, records the extreme unhealthiness of the season, but it does not appear that there was any outbreak of plague that year.

possess'd at his death of £24,000 p. Ann., and £200,000 in ready money.'[1] Again, 'April 30 (1670), Duke of Albemarle bury'd with great solemnity but smal sorrow.' The unpopularity of the King towards the end of his reign is thus noticed. 'May 29 (Restoration Day), 1681, Sab. a general rayling day in all the churches and chapels round about—what I am well assured the Lord himself wil in due time reckon for. Jam. v 7.'[2] On December 10, 1680, he writes, 'We first saw the tayle of y^e^ comet smal.' On January 18 he remarks, 'It appears stil, but more dim than before, the matter being almost spent.'[3] The great frost of January 1684 is not forgotten. 'Feb. 1, a great frost for divers weeks past. The Thames frozen over, booths built on it—40 coaches seen on it at a time. Feb. 5, it began to thaw, a great mercy.' It may be questioned whether, except in one of Philip Henry's letters to his son Matthew, there is any record of a depression of the shire's staple industry in 1686; 'The chees-market is quite dead at present; something ayles the londoners with Cheshire thus to punish them.' The idea, if not the fact, of the 'boycott' was in the world before the nineteenth century. It is interesting to observe that the failure of the London market meant the failure of the market as a whole, most of the great towns of the North being hardly in their infancy.

We come across in these pages notes on social matters

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[1] Probably there is much exaggeration in this statement.

[2] King Charles's unpopularity was at its height in 1681. Two years later, as is well known, there was a reaction.

[3] *The matter being almost spent;* these words indicate an amusing misconception of the nature of a comet on the part of the writer. This was the famous comet of 1680, to which there are many contemporary allusions. Evelyn in his diary writes, 'Dec. 12. I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, in shape like the blade of a sword . . . Such another I remember to have seen in 1640, about the Triall of the great Earle of Strafford, preceding our bloudy Rebellion. I pray God avert his judgements.' This comet caused much terror on account of its apparently near approach to the earth.

which are not without interest. There are two references to the Act passed for burial in woollen. Writing of his eldest son, John, he says, 'Being Sabbath-day hee sickned of the measils attended with a Feaver, whereof hee dy'd Ap^l^ 12 (1667) about sun-sett . . . The Act requiring to bury in woolen, being then new, was generally observed, though soon layd aside, and hee wrapt in white fflannen to satisfy the law.'[1] Again: '1681, Jan: 10. Bill about Irish cattle and woolen burying pass'd.'[2] We have already noted the fact that Philip Henry was wont to attend the services of the parish church; it may surprise us to find that he was a pew-renter; yet so it was. March 31, 1681, has the following entry: 'Whereas Malpas Church is now pew'd and mine at 8/6 per y^m^ came to 11/8, this day paid it to Tho. Sherington, Churchwarden--the pew is in y^e^ North Isle.'[3] In 1671 he writes, 'The children of Norwich between 6 yeares old and 10 gain by working each year 12 thousand pounds more than mantaynes them.'[4]

As we read the diary we cannot resist the conclusion that gossip had its charms for the writer. Take, for example, the following jottings: 'Mr. Morgan's wife of Whitchurch was brought to bed of three sons, baptized Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, they all dy'd within the fortnight.' 'Mr. Richard Hampden of Hampden, finding a picture of

[1] This Act was passed for the encouragement of the woollen manufactures and came into force March 25, 1667. The statute quickly fell into neglect, and in 1678 a more stringent Act was passed, requiring an affidavit, noted in the burial register, of compliance. It became the practice of the parish clerk to call out at the grave-side after the conclusion of the burial office, 'Who makes affidavit?' On this one of the mourners took an oath that the law had been complied with. The custom fell into disuse long before the Act was finally repealed in 1814.

[2] It is difficult to explain this entry, since the Act for burying in woollen was passed in 1678.

[3] Pew-rents were not an innovation of the seventeenth century. They may be traced to pre-Reformation times. See *Parish Life in Mediaeval England*, Gasquet, pp. 68, 188.

[4] Norwich was the centre of the woollen industry, and at that time was the premier manufacturing town in the country.

the Trinity amongst his grandmother's goods which fell to him and his sisters at her death, for which he was bid £500, rather threw it into the fire and burnt it.' (So perhaps perished a Velasquez or a Murillo.) 'Mr. Sadler told of a child at Ludlow born with y^e^ print of a horse-shoe with 7 nayles in it, y^e^ mother when big being frightened with a blow from a horse.' 'Upon Dec^r^ 25 last (1684) there were buried 8 at Malpas, two men and one woman, whose ages together made betwixt 13 and 14 score.'

Here and there we come across notices of books that he has either purchased or received. On April 9, 1670, he receives 'the first volume of Mr. Poole's *Synopsis*, two more volumes to follow.'[1] In 1676 he writes, 'I have received the five volumes of Mr. Poole's *Synopsis* and doe acknowledge myself therwith super-abundantly satisfy'd, returning hearty thanks to him for his worthy paynes and hearty praise to God for his gracious assistance, without which it could not have been brought to pass. For Mr. Pool.' In 1666 Philip Henry was the medium for distributing to the Welsh in their own language one hundred and twenty copies of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, 'ex dono authoris.'[2] On September 10, 1678, he sends '20^s^ to Mr. Bury for 12 of his books, 6 of *Occasional Meditations*, and 6 *ag^st^ drunkenness*.'[3] In his will, dated August 24,

[1] This was the great work entitled *Synopsis Criticorum*, by Matthew Poole, himself a nonconformist, which long held its own in the theological world and is still consulted. He began the compilation in 1666, and laboured at it for ten years. His plan was to rise at 3 or 4 a.m., take a raw egg at 8 or 9, and another at 12, and continue his studies till late in the afternoon. The evening he spent in social intercourse, always ending in 'grave and serious discourse' ushered in with the words, 'Now let us call for a reckoning.' The *Synopsis* was to have been completed in three folio volumes, but ran to five; first volume published 1669, last 1676.

[2] The *Call to the Unconverted* was first published in 1657.

[3] Mr. Edward Bury was a well-known and much-persecuted nonconformist minister, ejected from Bolas, Shropshire; born 1616, died 1700. Amongst his literary efforts were the two named above, *The Husbandman's Companion*, containing 100 occasional meditations, and *England's Bane; or, The Deadly Danger of Drunkenness*.

1695, he bequeaths to each of his four daughters a copy of Mr. Poole's English *Annotations on the Bible*,[1] together with a copy of the last and best edition of Mr. Barton's *Singing Psalms*.[2]

We meet with many words in these diaries which were in common use in the seventeenth century, but are now, except in certain cases as provincialisms, obsolete. Quinsy was as yet squinancy, a miller was a milner, flannel was flannen, a pail was a bowk, a load of hay was a jag of hay. We read of chin-cough for whooping-cough and of owler for alder. The sheriff's officer was still known as the catchpole, whilst children and others went 'to table' instead of 'to board' away from home. Moreover, the diary throughout, like so much seventeenth-century literature, shows that, even in cultured circles, the spelling of the English language was still in a more or less tentative stage.

We must not prolong our study of these diaries. In conclusion we will only say that, although their writer's chief title to fame will always be that he was the father of Matthew Henry, he was himself no ordinary character, either as a man or as a Christian, and that no one can read these autobiographical records without both honouring and loving the man who wrote them.

G. S. STREATFEILD.

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[1] *Annotations on the Holy Bible* was a posthumous publication of Matthew Poole's. He died in 1679.

[2] William Barton, vicar of St. Martin's Leicester, died, aet. eighty, in 1678. He versified the whole Psalter. The book ran through several editions. He revised it shortly before his death. The revised edition was posthumously published and was entitled *The Psalms of David in Metre*, newly translated with amendments.

THE ETHICAL SAYINGS OF THE JEWISH FATHERS

'THE Pirqe Aboth—the ethical sayings of the Fathers—is a Mishnah tract in the Seder Neziqin, where it stands between Abodah Zarah and Horaioth.' It is to be found in the Jewish Prayer-book, and is closely wrapped up with the services of the synagogue.

To the Jew it is a document of much sanctity, and contains teaching of great antiquity. So it opens with the words: 'Moses received the Torah from Sinai, and he delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets handed it down to the men of the *Great Synagogue*,' &c. The Great Synagogue is a central historical fact to the Jews. But to the student it is shrouded with mystery. There seems little doubt that the traditions regarding it do not belong to a single epoch, but to the course of years. The 'name is not mentioned by Josephus or Philo; but some have imagined a reference to it in 1 Macc. vii. 12, xiv. 28. Little, however, is known about the Men of the Great Synagogue, except that the Mishnah regards them as having received the tradition from the prophets, and preserved it down to the age of Simon Justus.' [1]

When we pass from the Great Synagogue to Simon Justus and the names that follow, we are upon surer ground. The sayings which are written in the first four chapters of the Pirqe Aboth are put into the mouths of the Rabbis who lived 'from two centuries before to two centuries after Jesus.' Many interesting names are found. Simon the Just, Antigonus of Socho (perhaps the founder of the Sadducees), Hillel, Shammai, Gamaliel (the Rab of Paul), Aquiba, the martyr-scholar who for twenty-two years

[1] See Taylor's *Sayings of the Fathers* (2nd edition), p. 111.

investigated the uses of Hebrew particles wherever they occurred in Scripture.

In reading the Pirqe for the first time we are struck by a certain quaintness and pithiness. 'Morning sleep, and mid-day wine, and the chatter of youths, and attending the houses of the assembly of the ignorant put a man out of the world' (iii. 14). 'If one learns as a child, what is it like? Like ink written on clean paper. If one learns as an old man, what is it like? Like ink written on blotted paper' (iv. 25). 'Be a tail to lions, and not a head to foxes' (iv. 20). Here and there we find a gem, e.g., R. Jacob said, 'This world is like a vestibule before the world to come; prepare thyself in the vestibule, that thou mayest enter into the hall.'

Practical sense and devotion to duty are prominent. Messages here and there recall some of the passages of the New Testament; though noble sentiment trickles through the Pirqe, while in the New Testament the stream of inspired thoughts sweeps onward with the mighty rush of a great river.

The note of catholicity is refreshing. Compare the saying of Shammai: 'Receive all men with a cheerful countenance' (i. 15), and 'receive all men with cheerfulness' (iii. 18). (It is interesting to link this saying with Ecclesiasticus (xiii. 25), a book related in many ways to the Pirqe Aboth, 'The heart of a man changeth his countenance,' and 'a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance.') It says 'Who is wise? He who learns from old men' (Aboth iv. 1); and adds, 'He who learns from his fellow a single chapter, a single rule, a single verse, a single expression or even a single letter, ought to do him honour' (vi. 3). 'Despise not any man, and carp not at anything; for thou wilt find that there is not a man that has not his hour and not a thing that has not its place' (Aboth iv. 6). 'Be beforehand in saluting every man' (Aboth iv. 20). The literal translation of the last passage is 'anticipate the peace

of every man.' R. Jochanan Ben Zakkai, who was so urbane that 'no man ever anticipated him in salutation, not even a Gentile in the street' (Berakoth xvii. A), reminds us of Matt. v. 47: 'And if you salute your brethren only, what do you more than others?' Now and again a passage surprises us by its shrewdness. 'Conciliate not thy friend in the hour of his passion; and console him not in the hour when his dead is laid out before him: and interrogate him not in the hour of his vow; and strive not to see him in the hour of his disgrace' (Aboth iv. 25). The modern pastor may get some practical hints from this old saying.

For the Pirqe Aboth the main quest of life is the Torah. 'Wert thou to give me all the silver and gold, precious stones and pearls in the world, I would not dwell anywhere but in the home of Torah.' 'Torah is variously used for the Pentateuch, the Scriptures, the Oral Law, as well as for the whole body of religious truth, study and practice.'[1] 'Torah is greater than priesthood, than royalty, seeing that royalty de ands thirty qualifications, the priesthood twenty-four, while the Torah is acquired by forty-eight' (cf. Pirqe Aboth vi. 6). One cannot read through the list of qualifications without realizing how beautiful was the Jewish idea of a true disciple of the Torah. Ben BagBag said, 'Turn it (the Torah), and turn over again, for everything is in it, and contemplate it, and wax grey and old over it, and stir not from it, for thou canst not have a better rule than this.' 'If thou hast learnt much Torah, ascribe not any merit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created.' The Torah was not to be turned into traffic; nor was it to add worldly dignity to a man. It was something to bring the soul nigh to God (cf. 'Make not of the Torah a crown wherewith to aggrandize thyself, nor a spade wherewith to dig. He who makes a worldly use of the Torah shall waste away').

[1] Hebrew Daily Prayer-Book, p. 184.

The study of the Torah and the acquisition of heavenly knowledge becomes one of the great problems for life. It would be a splendid thing for our Churches if every minister laid to heart the words, 'He who does not increase his knowledge decreases it.' 'And he who does not study deserves to die' (i. 13). The house of a man has to become a seat of learning: cf. 'Let thy house be the meeting house of the wise, and powder thyself in the dust of their feet and drink their words with thirstiness,' and 'There is none poor but in knowledge' (Nedarim xli. A). Each man must buy up the opportunity for study: 'Neither say when I have leisure I will study; perchance thou wilt have no leisure' (ii. 5). There is a note of urgency. 'There is no room for mirth and trifling here': 'Merriness and lightness of disposition accustom a man to lewdness' (iii. 17). 'The day is short and the work is great, and the labourers are sluggish, and the reward is much, and the Master of the house is urgent' (ii. 20).

Our Lord appeared in an age when the wisest amongst the teachers taught the dignity of toil and the duty of service: 'Love work; hate lordship' (i. 10), says the Pirqe. 'Whosoever does not teach his son a business teaches him robbery' (Qiddushin 29 A). 'An excellent thing is the study of the Torah combined with some worldly occupation, for the labour demanded by them both makes sin to be forgotten. All the study of the Torah without work must in the end be futile and become the cause of sin' (cf. Pirqe Aboth ii. 2). The perils of the rash and extreme critic are not forgotten. 'Be cautious in study, for an error in study may amount to presumptuous sin' (iv. 16).

Strong emphasis is laid upon the claims of work: 'I have grown up among the wise, and I have found nought of better service than silence: *not learning but doing is the chief thing* (i. 17). 'Let thy works exceed thy learning—he whose works exceed his wisdom, his wisdom shall endure' (iii. 12). The last sentence which has striking

analogies with Matt. vii. 24–27 is quoted later in the form of a parable (iii. 22). 'He whose wisdom exceeds his works, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are many, but whose roots are few. And the wind comes, &c. But he whose works exceed his wisdom, to what is he like? To a tree whose branches are few and whose roots are many,' &c.

The man of affairs is advised: 'Lessen thy toil for worldly goods, and be busy in the Torah' (iv. 12). It was the great Hillel who said, 'Nor can one who is engaged overmuch in business grow wise' (xi. 6). For the devout soul, there is only one true quest—Study. There is no room for a rival; even the call of nature must be unheard—'He who is walking by the way and studying, and says, "How fine is that tree, how fine is that fallow," him the scripture regards as if he had forfeited his life' (iii. 9). The saying of R. Dostai—'He who forgets one word of his study, him the scripture regards as if he had forfeited his life,' should make us realize the possibilities of an oral preservation of scripture which would show almost the same accuracy as a documentary one.

To the Jews knowledge has its dangers, so the advice is given: 'Warm thyself by the fire of the wise; but beware of their glowing coals, lest thou be burnt, for their bite is the bite of a fox, and their sting is the scorpion's sting, and their hiss is the serpent's hiss, and all their words are coals of fire.'

Here are the seven marks of the wise man. 'He does not speak before him who is greater than he in wisdom, and does not break in upon the speech of his fellow; he is not hasty to answer; he questions according to the subject matter, and answers to the point; he speaks upon the first thing first and upon the last last; regarding that which he has not understood he says, "I do not understand it," and he acknowledges the truth' (v. 10).

Four qualities are found in those that sit before the

wise. 'They are like a sponge, a funnel, a strainer, or a sieve: a sponge which sucks up everything; a funnel which lets in at one end and out at the other; a strainer which lets the wine pass out and retains the dregs, a bolter-sieve, which lets out the bran and retains the fine flour.'

Jesus came as a Rab amongst the Thalmidim. He knew His kingdom would spread through the labour of the few who were taught by Him. He took up all that was best in the teaching of the Fathers. At first He did not quarrel with them, nor they with Him. The encounter with them in His boyhood shows that the element of wonder was alive in their hearts. 'They found Him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both teaching them and asking them questions. And all that heard Him were *amazed at His understanding and His answers.*' There is no break betwixt the doctors or Jesus here: to His mother He says, 'Wist ye not that I must be in the things of my Father'—i. e. inquiring as to the great truths of God and Man. To the disciples He is the true Rab. To the Jew God is the chief Rab. In the Mishnah Tract, Abodah Zarah, God is said to sit and teach school children the Torah. Jesus appointed twelve that they might be with Him. He realized that His disciples must be moulded not only by His words but His life. Gamaliel said, 'Furnish to thyself a teacher, and get thee a companion' (i. 6, i. 16). The Twelve were appointed also for His own sake. No true Rabbi is unconscious of the suggestions and helps that come from His pupils—'I have learned much from my masters; and from my associates more than from my masters; and from my disciples more than from them all' (Makkoth x. A).

In the Pirqe Aboth we find little reference to charity. Yet the saying of Simon Justus (226–198 B.C.) is striking: 'Upon three things the world is based: upon the Torah, upon the temple service, and the practice of charity.' If we are to choose pillars for the support of the world,

we could not choose three better than the above—Revelation, Worship, Charity. Jose, the son of Jochanan, (B.C. 170) says: 'Let thy house be wide open, let the poor be the members of thy household.' Even if this period is a social wilderness, it finds an oasis in the above-quoted words.

The 5th Pirqe points out that pestilence grows apace in the fourth year, for default of giving the tithe to the poor in the third year.

One maxim would solve many problems. 'He who says what is mine is thine, and what is thine is thine, is a saint' (v. 13); cf. 'He who gives and wishes others to give is a saint.'

We cannot pretend that there is any great reverence for woman in the Pirqe Aboth. Cf. 'More women more witchcraft' (ii. 8). 'Engage not in much gossip with women' reminds one of Wesley's Rule for his Helpers.

The Jew believes that man is the heavenly creation and woman the earthly. In the Prayer-book (Singer, p. 5) the Jews make the prayers in the following order, 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord God . . . Who hast not made me a Heathen; . . . Bondman; . . . Woman.'

Women, slaves, and children are mentioned together in Berakoth, iii. 3. Women are not to learn the Torah nor to teach. (Cf. Deut. xi. 19) 'Man is open to persuasion, because man was formed of the earth, which a little water dissolves, but woman was made of bone which will not melt' (Bereshith Rabbah; cf. Taylor, 52). To the Jew 'the woman shall be saved by child-bearing' (cf. 1 Tim. ii. 15). The wonder is not that Paul's teachings concerning women shows traces of Rabbinism, but that he reveals so few. There can be no doubt that occasionally the clay from the pit out of which he was dug clung to him (cf. 1 Tim. ii. 12; 1 Cor. xiv. 35—position of woman in the Church, silence, &c). It is no small marvel that one whose Rab was Gamaliel was able to write, 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, neither

bond nor free, *neither male nor female.*' It is becoming a cult to speak of Jesus as a child of His age. In a sense it is true, yet he had a strange way of shaking Himself free from its paralysing conventions: cf. 'They marvelled that He spake with a *woman*'; or in the Lewis *Sinaiticus*, 'He *stood* and spake to the woman' (John iv.).

There is no mention of Prayer in Pirqe i. This is, perhaps, a sign of the early date of this section.[1] In the next Pirqe (ii. 17) we read, 'And when thou prayest regard not thy prayer as a fixed mechanical task.' R. Jochanan said: 'Oh! that a man would pray all the day long' (Berakoth 21 A; cf. Paul's 'Pray without ceasing').

Kindly yet careful judgement is enjoined. 'Judge every man in the scale of merit' (i. 7)—i. e. lean, if possible, to the verdict of acquittal. 'According to the labour is the reward' (v. 26); 'It is not thy duty to complete the work, but neither art thou free to desist from it . . . and faithful is the employer to pay thee the reward of the work' (ii. 21). The divine Master remembers to pay his wages: 'Let thy works exceed thy learning; and crave not after the table of kings; for thy table is greater than theirs and thy Employer is faithful to pay thee the reward of thy work' (vi. 5). Another sentence fearlessly combines two ideas often regarded as mutually exclusive. 'Everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given: and the world is judged by grace, yet all is according to the amount of the work' (iii. 19).

Omar Khayyam writes retribution in letters of fire.

> The moving finger writes; and having writ,
> Moves on: Not all your piety nor wit
> Can lure it back to cancel half a line,
> Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

The same doctrine is as cleverly worded by R. Akiba: 'Everything is given on pledge, and a net is spread for all the living: the shop is open; and the dealer gives credit and the ledger lies open, and the hand writes; and whoso

[1] See Taylor, p. 18.

wishes to come may come and borrow; but the collectors regularly make their daily round, and exact payment from man whether he be content or no' (iii. 19).

The Pirqe Aboth throws light upon the New Testament not only by contrast, but by similarity. There is nothing vexatious or foolish in it, save its teaching as to cosmogony and as to women. The following similarities may be noted. 'He inherits Gehinnom' (Pirqe Aboth i. 6) (cf. Matt. xxiii.15); 'He who does not increase his knowledge,' &c. (i. 13) (cf. Matt. xxv. 29); 'If thou hast practised Torah, claim not merit to thyself, for thereunto wast thou created' (Pirqe Aboth ii. 9) (cf. Luke xvii. 10); 'Let the property of thy friends be as precious unto thee as thine own' (ii. 16) (cf. Luke xvi. 12); 'Whoso receives upon him the yoke of Torah, they remove from him the yoke of royalty and the yoke of worldly care' (iii. 8) (cf. Matt. xi. 30); 'And yielding to impressment' (iii. 18) (cf. Matt. v. 41); cf. Hillel (i. 13), 'A name made great is a name destroyed,' with Matt. xxiii. 12.

The teaching as to the good and the evil heart (ii. 13) has some affinity with the words of Jesus: 'Out of the heart proceedeth' (Matt. xv. 19). In Pirqe iii. 3: 'If two sit together and interchange words of the Torah, the Divine presence abides *between them*,' reminds us of 'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there I am in the *midst* of them' (Matt. xviii. 20). The Doctrine of 'Gain or Loss' is seen in the following passage: ii. 1, 'Reckon the loss incurred by the fulfilment of a precept against the reward secured by observance, and the gain gotten by a transgression against the loss it involves.' You run through your debit and credit account and strike your balance. Cf. 'What shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' (Matt. xvi. 26).

The sayings: 'And hatred of his fellow creatures put a man out of the world,' and (ii. 6) 'Beloved are Israel that they are called children of God' have some affinity with Johannine teaching. But when we come to the mention

of the Paraclete in the Pirqe, we note what a great advance is to be found in the message of John. 'He who does one precept has gotten one paraclete, and he who commits one transgression has gotten himself one accuser' (iv. 13). Now John uses both Paraclete and Accuser. Cf. 'If any man sin we have a paraclete with the Father' (1 John i. 2) and 'For the Kategor of our Brethren is cast down' (Rev. xii. 10). There is surely a great difference betwixt the idea of the Advocate who comes when the precept is rightly done, and that of the one who comes to us in our sins. As to Pauline teaching we can compare: 'Bringing them nigh the Torah' (i. 12) with Eph. ii. 17. Hillel used to say 'If I am not for myself who is for me? And being for my own self what am I? If not now when?' (cf. Rom. xiv. 1). The etymological affinity in Hebrew of peace and perfectness gives a clue to the genesis of some Pauline expressions: 'in love . . . in the bond of peace' (Eph. ix. 3); 'with the bond of perfectness' (Cor. iii. 14); cf. 'Nor is the passionate to teach' (ii. 6) with Titus i. 7. We could multiply these passages, but enough has been quoted to show the similarities which are to be found in the Pirqe Aboth and the New Testament. The Jews certainly did not use the New Testament and the speakers and writers of the New Testament did not systematically use the maxims of the Jewish schools. But it is pleasing to know that the best and noblest sayings of the Fathers find their parallel in the New Testament and that they have left their impress upon it.

The Pirqe Aboth knows something of the need for repentance: 'And repent one day before your death' (ii. xv). This saying is quoted in the Jewish Tractate—Shabbath; and is explained as meaning that a man should repent *to-day* because he may die *to-morrow*.[1] 'Better is one hour of repentance and good works than all the life of the world to come' (iv. 22), 'Repentance and good works are as a

[1] See Taylor, p. 86.

shield against punishment' (iv. 13)—cf. 'The Perfection of wisdom is repentance' (Berakoth xvii A). The fear of sin gives stability to life: 'He in whom the fear of sin comes before wisdom, his wisdom shall endure' (iii. 11).

In the Pirqe Aboth, as in all Rabbinic writings, we find God spoken of with great awe (i. 3, i. 12, &c.). But to the thought of Holiness we must add that of Homeliness: to Fear we need to add Love. Our Master has taught us both ideas in one prayer: 'Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name.' It is only as we think of Him as Father and God that we can enter into the true meaning of the saying of Hillel: 'Do His will as if it were thy will,' or of the beautiful saying of Antigonus of Socho (i. 3): 'Be not like servants who minister to their master with the condition of receiving a reward; but be like servants who minister to their master without the condition of receiving a reward,' or of the saying of Judah, the son of Tema, which in its last clause, comes so near to the saying of our Master,

'Be bold as a Leopard,
Swift as an Eagle,
Fleet as an Hart,
Strong as a Lion,

to do the *will of thy Father which is in heaven*.'

W. B. Brash.

THE NEW TELEOLOGY

The World of Life. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, O.M., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. (Chapman & Hall, 1910.)

The Nature of Personality. By the Rev. WILLIAM TEMPLE, Head Master of Repton. (Macmillan, 1911.)

Life and Matter. By SIR OLIVER LODGE. (Williams & Norgate, 1906.)

Questions of Faith. By JAMES ORR, D.D., and others. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1904.)

IT is an assumption much too easily made by many writers in the fields of Science and Philosophy, that the Argument from Design has wholly lost its cogency. No claim is made that it has been logically confuted, but there is a disposition to take for granted the conclusion that it has suffered resolution in that potent solvent of theological formulae, modern thought. As fairies are banished from the world of realities because they have ceased to appear, and miracles are no longer credible because they do not happen; so the ancient proofs of design have vanished, not because the facts of adaptation in Nature have changed, but because, studied in the light of the new knowledge, they accommodate themselves to an alternative interpretation. Such is the attitude that has found a ready tolerance, and it can scarcely be said to have done justice to the many able attempts of Christian thinkers to restate the design argument in modern terms. Happily, the quality of contemporary thought is not wholly negative; it has synthetic as well as analytic power, and if its forces have shaken old fabrics, they have also attempted new constructions. Nor have these ventures been wholly unsuccessful in relation to the argument in question—which, for a discredited theory, seems to possess

remarkable vitality. Many citations from the pages of gifted men who are not professional theologians might be given to illustrate this statement. Thus Sir Oliver Lodge says—

> The essence of mind is design and purpose. There are some who deny that there is any design or purpose in the universe at all: but how can that be maintained when humanity itself possesses these attributes? Is it not more reasonable to say that just as we are conscious of the power of guidance in ourselves, so guidance and intelligent control may be an element running through the universe and may be incorporated even in material things.[1]

Again—

> The universe, as we perceive it, does not set to work after our conscious manner and put things together to a design—no; but that is no adequate reason for denying an aim, a super-consciousness, and an ultimate goal.[2]

Another distinguished champion of the position is the veteran scientist, Alfred Russel Wallace, in his recent book *The World of Life*. Of this work he says—

> It concerns itself with the great question of Purpose. Is there guidance and control, or is everything the result of chance? . . . My contribution is made as a man of science, as a naturalist, as a man who studies his surroundings to see where he is. And the conclusion I reach in my book is this: That everywhere, not here and there, but everywhere, and in the very smallest operations of nature to which human observation has penetrated, there is Purpose, and a continual Guidance and Control.[3]

The kind of design for which Wallace finds such abounding evidence may not be precisely the sort expounded by Paley; but it is, as one reviewer of the book truly says, 'sufficiently like it to warrant all the inferences drawn from it by the theologian. It is Paley's design pushed back to the ultimate analysis of matter and life, or brought abreast of recent researches and knowledge.' On the whole it would seem safe to repeat to-day the judgement passed upon the argument by Illingworth in his Bampton Lecture of 1894:

[1] *Life and Matter*, p. 118.
[2] *Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1912.
[3] Harold Begbie's interview in *Daily Chronicle*.

'"E pur se muove." It still retains a weight and impressiveness which show that there is more in it than logical analysis can either detect or refute.'

It is the work of the constructive thinker to define the limits within which the new knowledge modifies the old teleology; and, then, if it can be shown that modern criticism has not touched the essence of the argument, to utilize all available new material for the refashioning of its form. Along these lines much useful and suggestive work has been done.

The Paleyan method, which started with highly developed organisms and insisted upon the necessity, in each particular case, of an intelligent designing mind for the contriving and determining of their forms, was beset with one very obvious peril. The force of the argument was cumulative; its weight depended upon the number of particular instances of design that could be adduced. It was almost inevitable that, now and again, some secondary, or even some wholly imaginary adaptation of an organism would be advanced to the dignity of a final purpose by some incautious expositor. And one such discredited case of adaptation would create a prejudice against the whole argument, for, while the idea of design might survive, the method of the apologists who elaborated it in the interests of theology would fall under suspicion. That there were many such incautious exponents of design in Nature may be illustrated by the remark of Hegel, quoted by the biographer of Dr. James Martineau from Schurman's *Belief in God*, that, 'though wine be useful to man, neither religion nor science is profited by supposing the cork-tree to exist for the sake of the corks which are cut from its bark to serve as stoppers for wine bottles.' Modern Temperance reformers, armed with the science of their cause, might see in the assumption which underlies this quotation a folly as great as that at which the philosopher pokes his fun. To them the conclusion that God created the grape in order that man might drink its *fermented* juice

is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument from design. But even the man who agrees with Prof. Wallace that wine and beer are, 'when used in moderation, among the choicest gifts of Nature,' [1] would pause at the cork theory. To the modern spirit, with its leaven of reverent agnosticism and its feeling that though there be a plan in the universe it is a plan impossible to formulate, all presumptuous pressing of the argument in detail is peculiarly repugnant.

Among the movements of thought which have tended to weaken the force of this polemic the scientific movement must be counted first. By many, indeed, the doctrine of Natural Selection is thought to negate the whole idea of design. 'See,' cries the materialist, as he traces the action of this principle—which, he reminds us, obtains throughout the organic world—'what you attribute to purposeful design is really due to accidental variation; there is appearance of design certainly, and you may be excused for being deceived by the deceptive semblance, but it is appearance without the reality.' So we have, as the final word of the materialistic school on this problem of teleology, such confident assertions as that of Ernest Haeckel—

> The development of the universe is a monistic mechanical process in which we discover no aim or purpose whatever; what we call design in the organic world is a special result of biological agencies; neither in the evolution of the heavenly bodies, nor in that of the crust of the earth, do we find any trace of controlling purpose—all is the result of Chance.

It has been shown by many who have countered this scientific attack—or rather, let us say, this unscientific misuse of an accepted scientific generalization—that there is here a dangerous kind of shuffling with the word Chance. Here the logician has a field, and will contribute much to the final result. In this controversy we need to bear in mind Bishop Butler's caution against the philosophical misuse of a popular word. There are some laws, he reminds us,

[1] *The World of Life*, p. 327.

which are 'so wholly unknown to us that we call the events which come to pass by them accidental; though all reasonable men know certainly that there cannot in reality be any such thing as chance, and conclude that the things which have this appearance are the result of general laws, and may be reduced into them.' [1]

But there are some particular answers to this objection which perhaps shed more light upon the form which the new teleology is likely to take: First, it may be said that, even though natural selection could be admitted to be the *sole* cause of organic development, the varieties of organism with which that principle deals would still require explanation. 'The variations of to-day have issued by necessity from those of yesterday, and those of yesterday again from others, thus carrying us back to the original variability of matter. The present condition of the world is therefore a necessary consequence of that variability; and if the present state of the world is full of adaptations that suggest design, the primitive variability from which those adaptations have ensued must suggest it in no less degree.' [2] Such is Illingworth's reply to the materialist, and, as an answer to those who recognize in the development of the universe merely a mechanical process, it is both valid and sufficient. It does not, however, lead us any nearer to that teleological idea towards which modern Christian thought is tending. Purpose, stamped upon primaeval matter and evolved through the action of fixed cosmic laws, would still be purpose; but the universe so evolved would be absolutely determined by a Power and Wisdom external to itself, and the evolutionary process would be purely mechanical. There would be no room for freedom and the play of life.

A better reply to the materialist, because one that leads us a little nearer to the true conception of Purpose, is to remind him that *life* also is a cause of organization. This

[1] *Analogy*, Part II, ch. iv.

[2] Illingworth: *Personality*, p. 96.

is now admitted, and it follows that if organization suggests design it suggests also that the life principle is purposeful. And it is along these lines that the controversy between evolution and teleology has been most fruitful. It has forced us to think inwards as well as backwards. The doctrine of natural selection has not invalidated the argument from final causes, but it has unquestionably modified its form. As one writer has put it—

> Paley's idea of contrivance is only applicable if we suppose a highly developed organism to be dropped suddenly into foreign surroundings. But the relation of an organism to its environment is not of this external nature, and the adaptation of the one to the other must be regarded as the result of a long process of interaction in the past history of the species. In thus substituting the operation of general laws for Paley's continual invocation of a supernatural cause, evolution passes no judgement on the question of the ultimate dependence of those laws upon intelligence; but it evidently alters profoundly our general conception of the relation of that intelligence to the world.

It does indeed! Any teleology which can satisfy the modern mind must be what Sir Oliver Lodge calls 'immanent teleology.' The questions to be answered, therefore, are: (1) Does the evidence warrant us in concluding that the immanent spirit of the universe is controlled by reason? and (2) Supposing that proved, can we infer anything as to the nature of the Supernatural? is an immanent purpose compatible with an infinite and eternal Purpose for all created things?

Before passing, however, to a consideration of the evidence for, and the difficulties involved in an 'immanent teleology,' it may be noted that another and very different influence, that, viz., of poetry, has been at work co-operating with science in destroying that external and mechanical view of Nature which gave to the old design argument its characteristic form. That argument treated many things in Nature as though they had no meaning apart from the purpose they were designed to serve in the general scheme; they were only means to ends. For us, however, in so far

as we have assimilated the teaching of the Wordsworthian school, nothing in Nature is mere mechanism or simple art. Nature is alive—

> An active principle subsists
> In all things, in all natures, in the stars
> Of azure heaven, the unenduring clouds,
> In flower and tree, in every pebbly stone
> That paves the brooks; the stationary rocks,
> The moving waters and the invisible air.

And all life has its own meaning. This view cannot be better expressed than in a recent article in this REVIEW.[1]

Now, to one who has been deeply influenced by this interpretation of Nature, the argument that trees were created in order that man might have timber to build houses, is crude and unconvincing. He recognizes the adaptation of the tree to human needs, and even follows Wallace in his contention that certain qualities of wood—hardness and durability, e. g.—which are so exactly suited to the needs of civilized man that it is almost doubtful if he could have reached civilization without them, 'seem unessential to trees themselves as vegetable growths.' But he feels the necessity of fitting these facts into a larger scheme of Providence in which the tree shall be treated with greater reverence. For the teleologist, as well as for the rustic maiden of the poet's thought, there is a meaning in the caution—

> Move along these shades
> In gentleness of heart; with gentle hand
> Touch—for there is a spirit in the woods.

It cannot be admitted, however, that this view of Nature weakens the *idea* of design. Indeed it strengthens that idea, for, as Illingworth says: 'A system whose every phase and part, while existing for its own sake, exists also for the sake of the whole, is, if possible, more suggestive of rational design than even a machine would be.'[2]

[1] E. J. Brailsford: *L. Q. R.*, Jan. 1912, p. 16.

[2] *Personality*, p. 98.

We now turn to the question: 'What has Nature to say as to an immanent purpose? Coming to her, as we do, with certain experiences and expectations in relation to the operations of mind, it is not too much to say that Nature irresistibly suggests conscious purpose as a quality of, or at least as in effective control of the forces which constitute her reality and govern her development. For what do we find when we scrutinize the inward operations of Nature, assisted by all the resources of modern physical and biological science? Take, e. g., the mystery of growth. Huxley's suggestion of the invisible artist in the egg at once occurs to the mind. But a still more impressive illustration is worked out, with great skill, in Wallace's fourteenth chapter of *The World of Life*, on 'the marvel and mystery of feathers.' After reminding us that the whole organization of the bird is built up from the same protoplasmic material, and that the wing, considered in the light of its evolutionary history, as well as in that of its obvious purpose as an instrument for flight, seems to be 'of all the mere mechanical organs of any living thing that which most clearly implies the working out of a preconceived design,' he asks—

> What then is the selective or directing power which extracts from the blood at every point where required the exact constituents to form here bone-cells, there muscle-cells, there again feather-cells, each of which possesses such totally different properties? And when these cells, or rather, perhaps, the complex molecules of which each kind of cell is formed, are separated at its special point, what is the constructive power which welds them together, as it were, in one place into solid bone, in another into contractile muscle, in another into the extremely light, strong, elastic material of the feather—the most unique and marvellous product of life? Yet again, what is the nature of the power which determines that every separate feather shall always 'grow' into its exact shape? Again, what directive agency determines the distribution of the colouring matter (also conveyed by the blood), so that each feather shall take its exact share in the production of the whole pattern and colouring of the bird, which is immensely varied, yet always symmetrical as a whole, and has always a purpose, either of concealment or recognition or sexual attraction in its proper time and place?

Surely the conclusion suggested in this remarkably

vivid passage is irresistible. To explain all these wonders as the result of the properties of protoplasm or the innate forces of the cell is only evading the problem. We must infer power in the only form really known to us, i. e. as the expression of will, power directed by thought. Thus we have an argument from design enriched rather than impoverished. The old argument said, when it discovered an adaptation of means to ends, 'a designer has been at work upon this.' The new argument says: 'A designer is here, within the organism, constantly at work, utilizing a prepared material indeed, but manipulating it with the freedom of a mysterious knowledge, producing varying results by subtle combinations of the same elements, bringing into play, controlling and guiding the physical, chemical and vital forces of Nature with such delicate and unfailing precision and towards such obvious ends that the impression of conscious mind and definite purpose is inevitably conveyed to the spectator.'

At this point the question may be raised: How far are we justified in bringing to the interpretation of Nature the *a priori* expectations furnished by our own conscious life? And here the familiar reasoning of that distinguished advocate of design, Dr. James Martineau, seems unanswerable—

> Man is equally your point of departure whether you discern in the cosmos an intellectual, a physiological, or a mechanical system: and the only question is whether you construe it by his highest characteristics, or by the middle attributes which he shares with other organisms; or by the lowest that are absent from no physical things.[1]

The force of the teleological argument will depend upon the extent to which we allow our minds to be swayed by the prejudice against anthropomorphic analogies. The works of Nature, of themselves, do not prove mind. They suggest it to us because of what we already know of the workings of human intelligence. But, if the marks of

[1] *Study of Religion*, Vol. I, p. 316.

purpose ' are apparent in the structure of a cottage, are they absent from the hut of the beaver and the nest of the wasp ? Does the granary of the farmer provide for the future any better than the storehouse of the squirrel ? Is there more skill in a pair of spectacles than in a pair of eyes ?—in a guitar than in the vocal chords of a Malibran or a Santley ?—in the hunter's snare than in the spider's web ?—in the lover's serenade than in the nightingale's song ?—in the oars of a boat than in the fin of a fish ? ' [1] The answer is obvious and irrefragable, given the initial conception on which the argument rests. The human adaptations described are works of reason, examples of foresight and intention. What are the parallels in external nature ? They, too, must be construed, if at all, in the terms of Mind. And here perhaps we may urge that Science at least can have no reason to quarrel with the method. This point has been put very forcefully by Dr. James Orr in an address intended to justify to the modern mind the Christian conception of God as a personal intelligence—

> The postulate on which the whole of our modern science rests is just this postulate of the rationality of the universe. If I interpret it aright, the whole meaning of science is that the universe is construable to intelligence. It admits, that is to say, of being rendered into terms of thought, and that a thought kindred with its own, else we could never penetrate its secret. A man of science stands before his facts and says : Tell me, I pray thee, thy name; and he expects to understand the answer. There is in rational speech the power to give back an answer to him. It is a system of law, of order, of rational connexion which he finds around him—as we say a *cosmos*. But to say this is, to a man who understands his own language, simply to say that thought has been at the making of it; but for thought it would not and could not have been there. And whatever philosophers may pretend to the contrary, the mind of man will never be persuaded that the reason which produced this wondrous frame of things can be, or is, a reason unconscious of itself, or of its own operations and ends, in what it does.[2]

The question remains: What use can theology make of this immanent teleology ? Can Christian philosophy find

[1] *Study of Religion*, Vol. I, p. 247.
[2] *Questions of Faith*, p. 12.

a place for it in the Theistic argument or utilize it for the strengthening of our faith in a rational and purposive First Cause? Is the 'immanent Reason' Divine Immanence? May the *cosmic* purpose be identified with the purpose of the Infinite and Eternal God?

The difficulty of finding room for the conception of a Designer within the doctrine of the Divine Immanence has been stated with much impressiveness by Dr. John Caird.[1] His argument, however, is directed wholly against the Deistic conception of God as an *outside* creator or designer, and, while he rejects the word 'Designer,' he leaves us with a God who is 'an immanent spiritual presence, the inner life and thought of the world.' This is enough for the man who values ideas rather than words, but it does not decide the crucial question: Is 'the inner life and thought of the world' God?

Prof. Wallace, in the book to which such repeated reference has been made, settles the problem after a fashion of his own. He says: 'To claim the Infinite and Eternal Being as the one and only direct agent in every detail of the universe seems absurd.' He suggests that we find in the universe and in the Life World, not so much Mind as minds, —'infinite grades of power, infinite grades of knowledge and wisdom, infinite grades of influence of higher beings upon lower.' This seems also to be the position of Sir Oliver Lodge who closes his article on 'Balfour and Bergson,' in the *Hibbert Journal* for January, with these words: 'I am impressed with two things—first, with the reality and activity of powerful but not almighty helpers, to whom we owe guidance and management and reasonable control; and next, with the fearful majesty of still higher aspects of the universe, infinitely beyond our utmost possibility of thought.' It would be a little off the track of our inquiry to discuss this Gnostic interpretation of the suggestions of design in Nature, but it seems pertinent to remark that we might, even along

[1] *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 119.

these lines, ascend to the conception of a First Cause who is at least an intelligent Being. This Wallace does, for his subordinate creators, hierarchies of spirits, angels, demi-gods and the rest are assumed to be under the control of a co-ordinating power and wisdom whose purpose they fulfil and who is Himself the Infinite and Eternal God. Yet how far off is such a God—'infinitely beyond our utmost possibility of thought'—still, to our universe, external and absentee. It cannot, one must think, be beyond the power of Christian philosophy to show that such an interpretation of the facts presents greater difficulties for thought than the doctrine of the divine immanence—that doctrine which, implied in the message of Wordsworth, and now reinforced by the marvellous revelations of Science, by the influence of Eastern philosophy and also by a refinement of the religious consciousness, has attained the importance of a formulated and dominating idea in Christian theology.

Leaving aside these speculations, however, there are two difficulties in conceiving the divine immanence and interpreting it teleologically which press upon the modern mind. The first relates to our idea of God, and has been well expressed by the head master of Repton, the Rev. W. Temple, in his suggestive little book on *The Nature of Personality*. Speaking of the relation of the Father and the Spirit in the Trinity he says—

> A problem arises with regard to Knowledge and the Progress of the World. . . . Now either the whole history of the universe was contained in its earliest moment (to use a loose expression) or not; to say that it was is to adopt pure Determinism. . . . But to admit variety of form—as when vegetable life arose, and when animals first set themselves in motion, and men began to live as civilized societies, and so on—introduces a great problem as to the nature of the Omniscient Spirit from whom all this proceeds. And I think we must say that, just as the artist finds his own meaning in the successful struggle to express it, so, from one point of view, God realizes His own intention in the process of effecting it.[1]

This leaves us with an immanent God who, as immanent,

[1] *The Nature of Personality*, p. 106.

lacks the attribute of Omniscience; but need we fear that necessity of thought if our doctrine of immanence lies in our theology like an island in the larger sea of the divine transcendence? Is not the difficulty that insuperable one of which no philosophy can ever relieve us—the difficulty of presenting adequately to our finite intelligence the mode of the divine existence? We have for thought an immanent reason and a transcendent reason—both divine. That both are aspects of a higher unity we cannot doubt, though the mystery of their essential and eternal oneness eludes our grasp. For the explanation of the mystery we must be content to wait. Meanwhile, is it a greater mystery than the Incarnation or than the unity of the Persons in the Trinity? Is it, to come directly to our question, a mystery that should be allowed to interrupt that process of thought which bids us recognize in Nature, not merely the marks of intelligence, but an immanent divine reason, the cosmic manifestation of a Wisdom that is supreme and eternal?

The second difficulty to which allusion was made above is really another aspect of the same perplexity. It relates to the cosmic process and involves the question of its freedom. The modern conception of spontaneous, creative evolution is inconsistent, so it is urged, not only with mechanism but also with teleology of any kind; for, if the world simply realizes a prearranged plan, it is tied down, determined absolutely from the very first. 'Teleology,' M. Bergson is quoted as saying, 'is only inverted mechanism, substituting the *pull* of the future for the *push* of the past.' It may surely be answered, however, that this objection is valid only against a teleology which may fairly be so characterized, one, i. e., which means an end imposed upon the world from *without*. But in the teleology for which modern Christian thought contends, the end is not so imposed; the whole drift of that thought is towards the conception of *immanent* purpose. Does immanent—that is, self-imposed—purpose in the sphere of human conduct rob man of freedom,

spontaneity, creative energy? Does it prevent him from changing, revising, enlarging his ideals? Does it make impossible initiative, variety, new departures? Surely not! Then why should an immanent cosmic purpose, a purpose imposed from within, be described as inverted mechanism? Why should such a teleology be destructive of the idea of cosmic freedom? This answer is elaborated with much skill and force in a note on the discussion in the *Hibbert Journal* to which reference has already been made. It is not possible, of course, to bring together, in any single clear conception, the freedom of the immanent spirit, and the absoluteness of that transcendent Being whose purpose all created things fulfil. But it is at least a problem which has its dimly suggested analogue in that freedom within self-imposed necessity which is an experience of our finite personality.

The New Teleology is not yet completely fashioned, but it may be confidently affirmed that the essentials of the old argument from design have not been destroyed. There is good hope that those who value the idea and those who dread its influence may draw nearer together when they understand each other better. Sir Oliver Lodge thinks that M. Bergson may yet assent to the kind of Teleology for which Mr. Balfour pleads. Meantime Christian thought owes much to the workers who, along varied but converging lines of research and of reasoning, are accumulating the material for an Argument from Design which shall be to the faith of the present age what the Paleyan apologetic was to that of a former generation.

E. MIDDLETON WEAVER.

Notes and Discussions

THE CHURCHES AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST

IT has become a mere commonplace to refer to our time as one of serious social unrest. Unrest indeed there is, and of a serious kind, though not more serious or remarkable than has manifested itself at recurring epochs during the last hundred and fifty years. It is natural to view the disquietudes of our own time as unusual, revolutionary, perhaps portending a final reconstruction of society. But 'I have known four-and-twenty leaders of revolts,' said Ogniben, and no one of them ushered in the millennium. The periodical social upheaval which from time to time disturbs the arm-chair philosopher is not to be viewed as heralding the end of all things, but neither is it to be ignored, or treated lightly. In our complex Western civilization it is to be welcomed as a mark of life and progress, as surely as the cracks in the soil at springtide indicate that the seeds beneath are germinating and will soon appear. The unrest of a sleeper may mean fever and disease, or it may mean that a time of awaking and renewed activity has come.

It is from the latter point of view that we regard certain current signs of the times which to others appear sinister and ominous. 'Contentment is a virtue' makes an excellent copy-slip, but there is a divine discontent which leads to higher virtues still. Not all the discontent of our times is divine, by any means. Others besides professed anarchists are accustomed to fish in troubled waters, and do not mind how often, or how mischievously, the waters are troubled, so long as their opportunity of profiting by disturbances is provided. But we cannot believe for a moment that the uneasiness which marks the wage-earning classes of our day springs from envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness. Some are suffering under serious grievances, more or less generally acknowledged, for which redress has long been sought in vain. Others—and these, as it seems to us, need to be listened to with care and sympathy—are not so much complaining of actual hardship, as dissatisfied with the present distribution of wealth and social opportunity, and they are determined to secure for their class, if possible, a fuller and fairer share of the amenities and advantages of life. So far from regretting this, we may consider it a matter of rejoicing, if we believe that the progress of a nation is more important than the comfort of a coterie, and that a Christian is called to work for the progress not of a class, but of mankind.

The causes of unrest are not far to seek. It is not the object of this Note to enter into detailed figures, but there can be little doubt that, taking into account wages on the one hand and rising prices on the other,

life has become distinctly harder for the working classes during the last few years. A careful observer has estimated that, comparing 1911 with 1900, coal-miners are nearly 20 per cent. worse off than they were, textile workers 2 per cent., agricultural labourers from 7 to 10 per cent. and those engaged on railways in about the same proportion. And this, be it remembered, when the difference between a sovereign and eighteen shillings means something very different from the difference between £200 and £180 per annum, and what that implies is little understood by the man whose income drops from £2000 to £1800 a year. The pressure upon the middle classes of to-day is severe enough, but if a loss of income were experienced by the wealthier portion of society at all corresponding to that felt by the man who earns 25*s.* per week and has to pay 7*s.* 6*d.* a week for rent when his income is reduced 20 per cent., the 'unrest' occasioned in high quarters would soon make itself heard.

But it is not a mere question of wages, though that in itself is vital and carries much else in its train. The growth of intelligence, arising from the spread of education, has largely altered the relation of classes. The artisan of the better type to-day has not been taught to compose Latin verses, but he is better educated in a score of things that matter, than the average public schoolboy. Further, in all classes of society a spirit of questioning is abroad to which our grandfathers, if not our fathers, were strangers. Laws, habits, institutions that for generations have been taken for granted, are called on now to give account of themselves. Religious faith, as most people know, has been called in question in quarters where of old it reigned calm and undisturbed. 'Leave thou thy sister when she prays, Her early heaven, her happy views,' wrote Tennyson in 1850, but more than 'shadowed hints' have arisen to confuse the lives and raise questions in the minds of girls and women in the generations since. So the working man of to-day, contemplating the dull, ill-paid, monotonous round of daily work, asks Why? and To what end? in a tone which would not have been understood by his stolid, matter-of-fact predecessor of twenty years ago. The spectacle of luxury enjoyed by others may, or may not, have sharpened the sense of social injustice which animates many thoughtful wage-earners to-day; we fully believe that the English working man is very little moved by envy of others, though quick to resent what seems unjust to himself.

But any men who can read can easily get hold of such figures as the following, and any men who can think find no difficulty in interpreting them. (They were quoted, we believe, by Mr. Arthur Henderson at the meeting of the last Wesleyan Conference, though not exactly in the same form.) In 1911 in this country 700,000 people died: 660,000 left virtually nothing; 32,000 left 49 millions between them; 5000 left 216 millions as their share of the world's accumulated wealth. The moral is not, of course, Let the rich share their wealth with the poor, or, Let the poor squeeze a larger share out of the rich. But the inference which is rapidly being drawn from such facts is that society must turn its attention very seriously to the distribution, as well as the acquisition, of wealth in these days, for what is not done willingly may soon have to be done on compulsion.

It is easy to point out evils—the difficulty is to remedy them. Mr. Vernon Hartshorn, regarded by many as a mere firebrand, when asked to formulate for a *Daily Mail* inquiry 'What the Worker Wants,' put the whole in a few lines which we may sum up thus—a living wage, decent housing, and a reasonable amount of leisure. To which a large employer of labour, who confessed that he had hitherto regarded Mr. Hartshorn as 'a violent demagogue,' replied that 'his demands were most reasonable. Is there any one who does not want them to have all three?' But how are these elements of a decent livelihood to be attained? Part of the unrest arises from a kind of despair—a deepening distrust of sources of relief to which it has been usual to look for help. Co-partnership promises well, but it can be applied only in certain industries. Will the workers who share profits share losses also? Strikes cure nothing. A strike is a war, of which labour feels the first, and still more the last, pinch. Parliament can do little. Another part of the unrest we are describing is due to disappointment at the results of recent legislation. Railway strike, coal strike, transport strike, general strike—when these have at great cost been engineered, and the public at large compelled to feel more or less keenly that the welfare of the whole community depends upon the heavy toil of one section of it, and when Parliament is compelled to intervene, it is said that the position of the working man is very little improved. In reply it may be asked, How can Acts of Parliament redress complex social inequalities? When Parliament has intervened with a Trades Disputes Act, a Miners' Eight Hours Bill, a Minimum Wage Bill, has it done more harm or good? Those best qualified to judge hesitate to answer.

None the less, social reform is needed and it is coming. Slowly, unevenly, with fluctuations and vacillation on the part of those who find that all studies are simple compared with this all-important one of the due regulation of forces making for the welfare of a nation in this complex civilization of ours—reform comes slowly, but it is coming. We have learned, it may be hoped, some lessons from the past, for we have been through a part of the process before. There was a time when the British working man had a minimum wage secured him, the amount being carefully regulated according to the number of his family, and when work was given to every one who asked for it. The result was—what? An overwhelming increase of pauperism and the scandalous condition of things which gave rise to the Poor Law of 1885. Poor Law Reform is imminent again. Old Age Pensions and Labour Bureaus and Contributory National Insurance are to be followed by further provision for unemployment, and this, it is hoped, will complete the preventive measures intended to meet the needs of the sick, the aged, and the out of-works. This is the statesman's side of the problem—difficult enough in all conscience, if all the money were provided; but when in addition he has to devise the wherewithal by means of taxation that no one will seriously feel, no wonder he is at his wits' end.

But our concern is with the churches. The evils of society are partly material, and material remedies must be found for them. But, looked at closely, they are seen to be spiritual, and none but spiritual healing will reach

the root of the disease. Three generations ago Carlyle denounced the attempt to settle the relations between employer and employed by a mere 'cash nexus.' 'Will siller do 't?' asked the laird of Dumbiedykes in a well-known emergency, and the answer in this case is, 'Siller will na do 't.' One of the chief reasons put forward for the distrust and suspicion between employers and employed in many quarters to-day is the substitution of companies for personal heads of firms, the removal of employers from the localities where the work is carried out, and the loss of close, living personal relations as between man and man, for which nothing can compensate. 'A new spirit is required on both sides,' says Mr. Frederic Harrison. But where is it to come from? For we fear that Positivism is not likely to inspire it. Mr. Harrison might reply, and many would agree with him, that the Christian churches are quite as little likely to inspire it—and the remark brings us to the practical point of this note.

Are the churches on the right track in their contribution to the solution of these problems? The attitude of those who represent them seems to be one or other of these three. One man says, Let the churches attend to their business of saving souls and leave politics and economics alone. Another says that there is no use in a church that does not lead public opinion: let the clergy master these difficult questions for themselves and guide the people to a solution of them. Both of these seem to us to be wrong. Souls cannot be saved in the abstract. If men and women are to be saved, account must be taken of their bodies, of their condition and environment, and if members of Christian churches care nothing for these things, so much the worse for the churches. But neither the minister nor the sincere and earnest Christian worker is capable of mastering the details of the apparently insoluble social problems of our time. He has not the time, nor the brains: and if he had, he has something else to do with both.

A third course remains open, which seems to us the only sound one. The Christian church exists for the purpose of providing a dynamic by means of which this, as well as other kinds of work for the welfare of man is to be accomplished—of generating an atmosphere in presence of which many of these difficulties would disappear. The church of the Lord Jesus Christ can do this and no power besides on the face of the earth can. Surely the spiritual side of this problem is hard enough by itself to occupy all the energies of Christian Churches as such. Members of churches as individuals will take their own course. Some are qualified to take active and intelligent part as politicians or expert advisers; others may render effective practical service in some department of helpful citizenship. The church as such is not called to concern itself with work of this kind. It has the higher and harder duty of shaping and sending forth men and women so endued with the Spirit of God that obstacles which would otherwise be insuperable vanish before them. Archimedes sought for a place on which his lever could stand that it might move the world—the lever he found to be the smaller part of the difficulty. The world will not furnish a ποῦ στῶ. The only power that can move mountains is faith, and faith is the one thing lacking to this busy and successful generation. It is whispered

that it is lacking in the church as well as in the world. That we need not discuss, but certain it is that to preserve and propagate an atmosphere of invincible faith, indomitable hope and inextinguishable love, and to prepare men and women who shall go forth equipped with such faith, hope and charity to help in solving social problems and removing the causes of social unrest, is task enough for any community. Why should Christian ministers be ambitious to provide their own socialistic schemes or panaceas—Morrison's pills against an earthquake? State Socialism may be wise or unwise, Trade Unionism may or may not prove to be all that its friends desire; there are levels on which such questions may be discussed, but the minister of Christ is too busy to travel upon them. He has his own work to do and it will tell more mightily upon the issue than any ingenious political scheme. It may be said without irreverence that such a one may surely hear a voice across the ages saying, 'Leave the dead to bury their own dead; but go thou and publish abroad the kingdom of God.' The world as well as the church would rejoice, for there is nothing that the world needs more than a gospel believed in to the utmost by the man who preaches it.

W. T. Davison.

WHISTLER THE CRAFTSMAN

Whistler is one of the outstanding figures of modern art. The Ruskin trial made him notorious, and since his death books and articles on the man and his work have appeared in quick succession. The exhibition of thirty-eight of his works in the Tate Gallery has again called public attention to his art, and though the collection lacked his 'Carlyle' and his 'Lady Meux,' as well as a famous portrait of his mother which hangs in 'unsympathetic surroundings' in the Luxembourg Gallery, it included his beautiful 'Valparaiso,' painted in 1867, his 'Miss Alexander,' which reveals his delight in children, and his 'Chelsea Nocturne,' with the barge moving on the moonlit water. *The Times* describes him as 'the last of the Old Masters, and the slightest and most exquisite of them all.'

Mr. T. R. Way has chosen a fitting moment to issue his *Memories of James McNeill Whistler, the Artist.* (Lane. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.) It is full of personal memories of the man at work, and the facsimiles of sketches with which it is freely illustrated show us the artist actually thinking out his pictures. Many of them were pinned to the wall of his studio for years. Mr. Way's father had always been keenly interested in lithography, and was eager to enlist for his art the sympathy of Whistler, whom he recognized as a man with powers altogether out of the common. He printed the little pamphlet which Whistler wrote on the wonderful Peacock Room, and the two men were soon drawn very close together. Young Way first saw the painter when he was sent on a message to 96 Lindsay Row, where Whistler was then living. The artist was working in his studio and the visitor was asked to wait. Fortunately Mr. Howell came in and took him to the studio

where Mr. Winans was sitting for a full-length portrait. As they entered he exclaimed that time was up, but Whistler begged for 'only another quarter of an hour.' That stretched to three-quarters before the message about an excursion down the river for the 'Limehouse' drawing could be delivered.

Young Way had been brought up amongst painters, but he realized that here was an artist of unusual powers. He says, 'This little man with the crisp, curly black hair, extraordinary white lock, dark complexion and eye-glass, and the curious loose black neck ribbon round the muscular throat, impressed me as very serious and earnest in all matters connected with his art, intensely vivacious, but with a curious disregard of time, certainly of other people's time.'

Whistler, in due course, went with the elder Way to Limehouse, where he made the lithotint of the old wharves and shipping as he sat in a barge. The first proof was too heavy and flat, but he repeatedly retouched it until he gained a satisfactory result. Mr. Way remembers, 'as showing his constant reliance on a reference to Nature, that he had the stone set up in the office window, so that he might get ideas from the people across the street, when he was working upon some little figures of men tarring the sides of a ship, which forms one of the incidents in the picture. He only went to Limehouse once for this complicated drawing.'

The next subject was the 'Nocturne,' which reveals the peace of the Chelsea Reach at night. The picture was done in wash on a prepared ground, and although 'executed in the office at one sitting from memory, needed but the slightest retouching. It was at first proved upon a very delicate, Japanese paper, mounted on plate paper, and then finally a pale cool grey was chosen, as giving more closely the tone intended.' He lavished his skill on his illustrations for the *Piccadilly* magazine—the Toilet, Early Morning, and the two Battersea Bridge studies. The proofs of the last two are amongst the most beautiful of all his lithographs. He never began any piece of work without knowing what he meant to do and making due and proper preparation.

Mr. Way was a frequent visitor at the White House in Tite Street, which was built for Whistler. His studio was 'a long, not very lofty room, very light, with windows along one side, his canvas beside his model at one end, and at the other, near the table which he used as a palette, an old Georgian looking-glass, so arranged that he could readily see his canvas and model reflected in it.' This mirror, which he used constantly, was a merciless critic. His brushes were three feet in length, and were held from the end with his arm stretched at full length. He darted incessantly back from his canvas to the end of the long studio to look at his painting and his model. 'Each touch was laid on with great firmness, and his physical strength enabled him to do without the assistance of a mahlstick, whilst the distance at which he stood from the canvas allowed him to have the whole of a large picture in sight, and so judge the correct drawing of each touch.'

Mr. Way says that the only artists, with whom he was familiar at the time of the Ruskin trial, who in that critical hour really acknowledged

and appreciated Whistler's art were C. E. Holloway and E. J. Gregory. They were enthusiastic admirers of the 'Valparaiso Harbour' sunset picture. After the trial came bankruptcy. Whistler always practised 'The Gentle Art of Making Enemies.' He painted three caricatures of Frederick Leyland, 'on whom he chose to lay the responsibility for all his financial troubles,' but his old patron bore the onslaught with dignity. After his death Mr. Way found the Peacock Room untouched. 'The blue china, which was part of the scheme, was still in its place on the shelves, still the "Princesse" presided from above the fireplace; still the two peacocks fought as they had done since the painter put the last touch upon them. By the side of the staircase were the panels Whistler had painted, and higher up was the portrait of Leyland.' The caricatures survive as a reminder of the unpleasant side of Whistler's character. Mr. Way says, 'He felt any attack intensely, no doubt; and, being most sensitive, resented it.'

In 1879 Whistler set out for Venice, where he spent the next fourteen months. Mr. Way's father gave him a box of new copper plates and etching materials, and he took a supply of a special brown paper on which he drew his Venice pastels. He was sometimes in great straits for money, and would not sell his works, with which he intended to make a special show when he returned to London. The winter was very severe, yet he worked out of doors, holding the icy copper-plate in his hands. His clothes wore out and his soft felt hat got badly torn. A friend surreptitiously mended it, but Whistler ripped the stitches out, quoting the saying, 'A darn is premeditated poverty, but a tear is the accident of a moment.' On his return he set to work proving his set of plates. Mr. Way was his assistant and had to damp the old Dutch paper, brush off any loose hairs, and press the proofs carefully to make them quite flat. The young art student was well repaid by watching Whistler at work. The plate of 'Little Venice' had been drawn by the needle on a steamboat excursion. In London he bit it in holding the plate 'in one hand and moving the acid about with a feather, and without any stopping out. The first impression of it printed was quite satisfactory, and he did not need to rebite or reduce any part of it, which, considering that it must have been at least two months, perhaps far more, since he drew it, showed not only wonderful skill in biting, but an amazing memory as well.' He took endless pains. One of the figures in 'The Beggars' was redrawn again and again. It is said sometimes that he ignored criticism, but Mr. Way heard him constantly appeal to those about him as to how they liked his work. If the young student ventured to hint that he did not understand some point or another, he was not 'jumped upon,' but it was explained or modified.

The Venice etchings were succeeded by the Venice pastels, which aroused much enthusiasm among his brother artists. He told Mr. Way that when on one Lagoon 'the reflections were actually clearer and more brilliant than the objects reflected, a condition which astonished him, and which he could not understand. He also described a subject which he saw one winter evening, so absolutely beautiful and so perfect a picture

(a courtyard with a statue in it, I think), that it was not possible for him to draw it, and he said that there are some things, as the Venus de Milo, for instance, which in themselves are perfect, and which it would be vain to try to reproduce.' He once astonished Mr. Way as they were walking together near Chelsea Hospital by turning his back on a scene which had impressed him, and repeating a full description of it as one might repeat a poem. Presently they came to a scene which impressed his companion more than the first. Mr. Way says, 'I tried to call his attention to it, but he would not look at it, saying, "No, no, one thing at a time." In a few days I was at the studio again, and there on the easel was the realization of the picture.' Whistler's 'Ten o'clock' Lecture delivered at Prince's Hall in 1885 was an appeal for sincerity and truth in art. He said to Mr. Way on many occasions 'Nothing matters but the Truth.' He might almost have doubled the number of his pictures if he had not wasted so much of his energy in 'press correspondence, and fights with people of no importance whatever.' He was as careful about everything connected with writing, as he was about his etchings or pictures. Even the address on a letter had to be in harmony with his artistic ideas. Mr. Way has known him go to the post office himself rather than trust any one to fix the stamp on an envelope, lest it should not be exactly in its right place.

Mr. Thaddeus, in his *Recollections of a Court Painter*, tells how Whistler flamed out when he ventured to assert that Landseer could paint animals better than Velasquez. He shows us Whistler in some of his least attractive moods. The Ways had their own painful experience when Whistler claimed some pictures which belonged to them, and broke off the old friendship with a letter of 'such a character that I trust it has been destroyed.' These blemishes do not blind his former friend to Whistler's 'special note, which differs so greatly from that of most other artists, above all in its sameness, simplicity, reticence, and unsurpassable mastery of colour.' Our real understanding of Whistler owes much to Mr. Way and to the Pennells, and if the day ever comes when his letters themselves can be published the world will find them wonderful reading.

JOHN TELFORD.

JAPANESE BUDDHISM [1]

NEARLY half of Prof. Lloyd's learned work, which discovers to us a new world, is taken up with the rise and growth of Buddhism in general, and gives much information about early Buddhist leaders and the place of the system in the history of philosophy and religion. We note a few points. Buddha's age, the 6th century B.C., was an age of great beginnings. Speaking generally, the great Greek thinkers, also Zoroaster, Confucius and Lao-tse belong to this period. Buddha's own teaching was much more a philosophy than a religion, if it was a religion at all. For forty-six years he itinerated in India, preaching the way of deliverance

[1] *The Creed of Half Japan*, Historical Sketches of Japanese Buddhism, by Arthur Lloyd, M.A., Lecturer at Tokyō University. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 7/6 net.)

he had found from the ingrained misery of human existence, raising no claim to superiority over his disciples. Religion soon overshadowed philosophy. Buddha himself was worshipped as one in a succession of incarnations appearing from age to age. The best part of the system is its ethics, well summed up in the precept: 'Do not commit evil, Do all that is good, Cleanse your own heart; This is the way of the Buddhas.'

The most striking feature of Buddhism is its missionary activity. Under King Ashoka of Magadha (3rd cent. B.C.), an Indian Constantine, it overran a large part of India. But afterwards falling into the hands of weaker leaders and into deadly feud with Hindu caste and doctrine generally, it was driven out of India, where it now has a corporate life only in Nepal in the far north and in the southern half of Ceylon. But it has won ample compensation by its missionary conquests in Burma, Siam, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan and the Eastern Archipelago. In all these fields it has dominated or deeply influenced the nation's life for many centuries. As its policy has been in part one of accommodation and compromise with existing religions, this missionary enterprise has reacted strangely on Buddhism itself. In different countries it has been more than coloured by moral soil and climate. *Japanese* Buddhism differs from Chinese and other forms. The numerous forms it has taken are grouped as Mahâyâna (Large Vehicle) and Hînayâna (Small Vehicle), the former representing the wider missionary field, the latter keeping closer to the original Indian type.

Buddhism reached Korea from China in the 4th century of our era, and Japan from Korea in the 6th century. In 545 and 552 a Korean king sent presents of Buddhist images and writings to the Emperor of Japan with letters and messengers advocating the new faith. The progress made over the whole field of the East represents centuries of patient, zealous work by carefully trained agents. The methods followed, as in Buddha's own case, were entirely intellectual and moral. Buddhist 'priests' are simply teachers; the system has no doctrine of sacrifice. Misery, disappointment, sorrow, are the evils to be overcome rather than sin. The wages of sin are more to the front than its moral aspect. The monastic order of Buddhism for both sexes appeals strongly to the brooding, contemplative temper of the East. It appealed especially to the women of Japan, many of whom went over to China for study and returned to do missionary work. One of the earliest converts in Japan was the Crown Prince Shotoku (572–621), a genius in politics, philosophy, and religious zeal, who instead of ascending the throne gave his whole life to the propagation of his new faith, playing the part of a Japanese Ashoka. That faith was certainly better than the native Shintoism, a degenerate, tyrannous worship of spirits of the air and waters and everything else, as in China. Sectarian division runs riot in Buddhism as in Brahmanism and Mohammedanism, and to a less extent in Christianity. Prof. Lloyd gives particulars of twelve sects or schools of Chinese Buddhism which were transplanted to Japan. Many of the sects show strong affinities with Gnosticism and Manicheism. Religious syncretism was the order of the day.

It is not encouraging to record that 'there is practically no credible history of Japan and Japanese events before the introduction of Buddhism.' We can only refer in hints to subsequent periods of Buddhist history in Japan. In the century and a half after Shotoku's death the ruling sect seems to have been the Hosso sect with its pantheist dictum, 'God is one and beside Him there is nothing.' All else is illusion, or difference of form only. The old Japanese deities were so many waves in the ocean of deity, and Buddha was no more. He was more recent, more worthy, but as impermanent as all that preceded. During the 8th century Buddhism was at its flood-tide of popularity; and the Court, dissolute and luxurious, encouraged a very magnificent system of ritualism as a make-weight for its moral deficiencies. We are reminded that the elaborate ceremonialism and church discipline of Buddhism in the missionary field were in utter contrast to the simplicity of its early days. These tendencies found strong opponents in two eminent monks, Saichō and Ganjin. The latter was an enthusiast for foreign missions. He asked for volunteers, but no one responded. When he declared he would go alone, twenty sprang to the work. Our author speaks of Saichō as 'the celebrant at High Mass,' an indication of the trend of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The story of Japan in the Middle Ages is the story of innumerable defections from orthodox doctrine, conflicts between Church and State, and Reformers of strong personality who did their best to check the decline of faith. The 'Namudaishi' is a popular poem which celebrates the teaching and deeds of Kobo, whose life is wrapped in clouds of fabled miracles. The conclusion of his studies was 'Many are the ways, but Buddhism is the best of all.' 'Life's a dream,' he said. 'Death is the waking of the soul from some poor drunkard's nightmare misery. All things are full of change. The flowers that fragrant bloom will change and droop.' 'All phenomena are impermanent, because subject to the law of origin and decay.' When this law comes to an end, 'calm will be found to be the true happiness,' a favourite Buddhist principle. The most outstanding figure of those days was Nichiren (13th century). A fearless popular preacher of truth and righteousness in the Buddhist sense, a Japanese John the Baptist. His fidelity brought him into conflict with the government. Tried, sentenced, led out to execution, he was saved at the last moment by the relenting of the Regent. He did not spare the quarrels and divisions of the Buddhist sects, sounding a loud call to unity and insisting that internal strife spelt ruin. 'Awake, men, awake,' he cried, 'awake, and look round you. No man is born with two fathers or two mothers. Look at the heavens above you: there are no two suns in the sky. Look at the earth at your feet: no two kings can rule a country.' He summoned men back to the memory of Shakyamuni (the tribal name of the Buddha). 'There are many saints, many Bodhisattvas, many Buddhas. And yet there is but one Buddha—eternal, unlimited in past, present and future, and that Buddha is he whom men know as Shakyamuni. The teachings of that one Buddha are absolutely true and conformable to reason and nature, for the oneness is more than a mere unity of person. The one eternal Buddha is one with all reason and all nature. There are not

two, there is only one,'—pantheism again. Prof. Lloyd gives the substance of a book in dialogue form in which Nichiren expounds his doctrine. During the 9th and 10th centuries the supreme power in the country lay in the hands of the celebrated family of the Fujiwaras, reminding us of the Medici family in Italy. They were the generous patrons of art and letters. The painting, music, poetry and drama of Japan owe them a lasting debt of gratitude. As to the influence of Buddhism to-day our author writes, 'Buddhism is the religion of the great bulk of the people. The farmers are Buddhists, so are the shopkeepers, so are the rank and file of the people. The ladies of the upper class are Buddhists, so are most of their husbands, if they will be honest with themselves. . . . One has but to learn the Japanese language, and study the literature of to-day's daily life, to understand what a hold Buddhism has on the thoughts and affections of the people.'

The Roman Church has long been at work in Japan. British and American churches are represented in missionary effort there, as also in Korea, which has been annexed to Japan. The Koreans have shown themselves docile hearers of the Christian message. The churches formed there are large, intelligent, and well organized. The response in Japan is slower. Buddhism requires special training and adaptation in missionary workers. Education will probably play a large part in the evangelizing of the country. The need for the preaching of Christian ethics, of the law of God, is urgent. Prof. Lloyd bears witness to the gulf between Buddhist theory and practice. 'Yet it must be remembered that there have always been in the ranks of the Buddhist clergy a certain number of devout and pious men whose lives and precepts have served to keep religion alive and in popular estimation.' Ethics must be reinforced by the authority of religion. Only in this way can a true sense of sin and of the need of redemption from it be created.

JOHN S. BANKS.

ITALIAN MODERNISM

IN the July number of *Religion und Geisteskultur* Dr. Otto Lempp, of Kiel, concludes his article on *The Significance and Prospects of Italian Modernism*. A notice of the former part of his article appeared in the April issue of this Review. Referring to the various parties styling themselves Modernists, Dr. Lempp says that they are not to be regarded as divided into hostile camps. They represent various embodiments of the reforming tendency, and in their present loosely organized condition the possibilities of combination amongst themselves are manifold.

The central figure in one of the most interesting groups is the ex-priest, Romolo Murri, now a member of the chamber of deputies. The movement led by Murri differs from other forms of Modernism by reason of its strictly political character. In the year 1898 a band of young clerics, with Murri at their head, founded the *Democrazia cristiana*, their purpose being, as enthusiastic Roman Catholics, to put into the hands of their Church a new weapon with which to combat the materialism and the atheism of the

Italian people. The policy of the Vatican, and especially its refusal to recognize the constitution of the Italian kingdom, had alienated the democratic party. Murri and his friends are not content that the attitude of the Church towards the Fatherland should be one of mere protest. They hold that the duty of the Church towards the State is to inspire it with new ideals, and to leaven it with the moral and religious principles of Christianity. But in order to have influence in the State, the Church must have understanding of its problems. To promote this object the journal entitled *Cultura sociale* was founded. At first the attitude of the Vatican towards the new movement seemed to be sympathetic; but soon the Jesuits became suspicious, and their influence led to its reluctant subjection to an official organization (*Opera dei congressi*) under clerical direction and control.

When it became evident that the political Modernists were gaining the upper hand, Pius X intervened. The familiar processes of deposition and excommunication were instituted against men who earnestly desired to serve the interests of the Church. Some of its most devoted adherents were by these tactics driven into opposition. When Murri was suspended, no charge of false teaching was brought against him; his only offence was his political activity. But the Church treated as rebels against its authority those who refused to comply with its demand of unconditional submission of the conscience even in political affairs. Murri's reply to the Curia was that religion cannot be identified with the hierarchy. He claimed to be a true son of the Church in his opposition to the hierarchy which brought religion into contempt by its pursuit of political ends under the pretence of serving the interests of religion.

The peculiarity of Murri's position, however, is that notwithstanding his bitter experience with the Vatican, he still cleaves to the Roman Catholic religion. Dr. Lempp describes him as a Neo-Catholic, opposed to such Modernist critics as Tyrrell and Loisy, and agreeing with the *Encyclica Pascendi* so far as its denunciations of the agnosticism and immanentism of some Modernists are concerned.

In his booklet, *Filosofia della Fede*, Murri strives to show how a young Romish cleric may welcome the new learning, refusing to submit blindly to authority, and yet may avoid the perils of agnosticism, remaining a good Catholic. On the one hand, he despises the obscurantism which attempts to silence criticism, as e. g. when he says that a thousand decrees cannot create a fragment of an ancient codex containing the verse which refers to the three heavenly witnesses. On the other hand, he calls attention to the philosophical and mythological vagueness of the historico-critical school of Modernists; he describes their teaching as a combination of French Contingentism with its criticism of the theory of knowledge, of English new Idealism with its exaggerated cult of Personalism, and of American Pragmatism with its utilitarian conception of truth.

Murri seeks, and claims to have found, the kernel of religion beneath the facts. By philosophical rather than by historical methods he would distil the essence of Christianity. Inasmuch as he is true to the spirit of mediaevalism, he contends that he has maintained his continuity with

the Church of Rome. He laments that in Italy religion has been linked with reactionary politics, and he desires to see them separated in order that religion, freed from its fetters, may fulfil its task of moral regeneration. But to attain this end he holds that the Church must be deprived of political power, that there must be reform in religious education and legislative guarantees of religious freedom. Murri would not abolish clerics, but he reminds them of the teaching of the Gospel that authority implies service. 'The clergy are to serve the laity, not to rule over them; in the Church obedience is the virtue of those who command.' In 1905 Murri founded the *Lega Democratica Nazionale*. Priests who join this league are threatened with deposition, but it has not been suppressed. It numbers amongst its members Count Gallarati Scotti, who was formerly the editor of the *Rinnovamento*. Since 1909 Murri has been able to support the league energetically in Parliament. In its interests he has edited, since 1910, the journal *Il Commento*. A weekly newspaper, published in Florence—*L'azione Democratica*—is the organ of the league.

As regards the prospects of political Modernism, Murri is himself somewhat pessimistic. He complains of the indifference of priests who 'take the Modernist oath, but do nothing.' As to the people, their absorption in materialism leads too frequently to their confusing opposition to clericalism with opposition to religion. Dr. Lempp calls attention to facts which, in his judgement, warrant a more hopeful view of the present situation. Of late Italy has been too busily occupied with foreign politics to give adequate attention to the remedying of the consequences of centuries of mismanagement of her internal affairs. But there are welcome signs of a change of policy. Gradually the financial position of the universities is being improved. Amongst the educated classes Idealism is making progress. At the public libraries there is a marked increase in the demand for religious literature. In short, political Modernism seems destined to become a factor of growing importance in the intellectual life of Italy.

Another influential group of Italian Modernists consists of Mystics. The clerical press has denounced them bitterly, charging them with secretly working against the interests of the Church, although amongst them are to be found some of her most devoted sons. Antonio Fogazzaro represents the best-known type of these Modernist mystics. Of other forms of Modernism it may be fairly said that they take away from Roman Catholicism features which specifically distinguish it from Protestantism. But in Fogazzaro's *The Saint*, and in *Leila*, his latest work, not only is the religion of the leading characters anti-Protestant, but Modernists are portrayed as radical critics, neither given to pious observances, nor having any deep inward religious experience. Fogazzaro's yearning is for a return to the piety of the mediaeval saints. He would revive the monastic ideal with its purely negative asceticism. Perfection is to be realized in states of mystical ecstasy; the devout life necessitates withdrawal from the world.

Fogazzaro can rightly claim to be, in all these respects, a true son of Rome. But he stoutly maintains that nothing but piety of the mediaeval

quality can be regarded as of the essence of Catholicism. The offence of present-day Romanism is that it is so much more than a religion. Indeed Fogazzaro goes so far as to say that it is not, in the first instance, a religion, but a political system, using its power in unscrupulous intrigues, and an ecclesiastical corporation, whose fixed dogmas cannot be revised in the light of modern knowledge, and whose treasures of grace are mechanically conveyed through sacramental channels. The reason why Fogazzaro is banned as a Modernist is that he strives to combine modern culture with mediaeval piety. Hence he is brought into antagonism with Romanists, who cleave tenaciously, not only to mediaeval science, but also to mediaeval philosophy. Both in Italy and elsewhere, Fogazzaro has now an influential following. Notwithstanding minor differences, Modernists of his school agree in their endeavour to promote a mystical deepening of Roman Catholic piety. Some, like Fogazzaro, derive their inspiration from mediaeval sources; as e. g. a highly educated priest, threatened with excommunication, who has recently used the enforced leisure due to *suspensio a divinis* in annotating a new edition of these ancient mystics, his favourite author being Nicholas von Kues. On the other hand, Friedrich von Hügel published last year in the *Coenobium* an erudite article, entitled *Religione ed Illusione*, in the course of which he vindicates the truth of religion against modern forms of scepticism, making use of the basal thoughts of Eucken's philosophy. Dr. Lempp also refers to the increasing activity manifested in connexion with the *Bibliotheca filosofica*, a private society of Italian idealistic philosophers, which has its head-quarters in Florence. One of its members, Piero Marruchi, is known as an accomplished translator of the works of Harnack and Eucken.

The idealistic or mystical form of Modernism seems to be that which is most likely to find favour among Romanists, if the time should ever come when the Roman Church will waver in its opposition to reforming tendencies. One thing is certain, namely, that Modernists of the mystical school are rendering the Church a service of inestimable value in their endeavour to promote an appreciation of the Romanist type of piety amongst educated people who retain their interest in religion. But before the Church even partially opens its doors to modern culture, as the mystics desire, much more is needed than a change in the Pontificate. Idealism must spread far more widely amongst the people as well as amongst the clergy, and this is the work of a generation.

Dr. Lempp's judgement concerning Italian Modernism as a whole is that it is a reflection within the Roman Catholic Church of certain tendencies characteristic of modern culture. Therein may be discovered the secret both of its strength and of its weakness. The movement has strength because outside the Church these Modernist ideas are accepted by many as self-evident, and in manifold ways these ideas are permeating modern literature. The movement has its own peculiar weakness, for the Modernists must fight simultaneously on two fronts; on one side they are opposed by the anti-clerical party, who cannot forgive them for their bias towards ecclesiasticism; on another side they are opposed by the Church, which regards them as traitors within the camp. Moreover, the

Modernists have no programme acceptable in all its details to the various schools of thought represented in their ranks. Dr. Lempp deplores the indisputable fact that the present strained relations between the Church and culture hinder both religious progress and educational advance. All that he can say to those who share his sympathies with Modernism is that its future, and indeed the deeper question whether it has a future or not, depends upon the issue of a struggle which is only in its initial stages, a struggle in which not only politicians, secular and ecclesiastical, but also all religious people are called to take their part.

J. G. TASKER.

THE LIBERTY OF A CHRISTIAN MAN

LIBERTY is one of the great words of human speech, one of the few by which men have been divided into opposing camps, or united into compact and highly organized armies. Men have understood it differently, and some of the advocates of liberty would scarcely recognize each other as colleagues. But amid all such differences of thought or expression the fact remains that the Idea of Liberty has captured and held the imagination and constructive thought of successive generations. Liberty has been regarded as an essential element of that fullness of life for which man has hoped and striven.

Each generation has used the terminology of Liberty with a different accent or emphasis. Occupying a fresh standpoint, men saw life and its duties in aspects different from those in which they were regarded by their predecessors. But with all the differences of vision and expression the men who contested for Liberty were at one. All the greatest conflicts of history have been made memorable by their relation to liberties which were therein won or lost, regained or enlarged. And though the fair idea of Liberty has been often disfigured, and its message to mankind misconstrued, it would argue a defective sense of proportion if one were to emphasize these misfortunes of the campaign. They are unpleasant incidents of a glorious war.

To obtain that which they called Liberty men have died under torture, and others have done that which involved more heroic suffering than dying. They have left home, kindred, and fatherland, though it tore their hearts to do it, and have ventured on unknown and perilous seas, settled on strange shores, and wrestled there with inclement seasons, wild beasts, and, not seldom, with men who were more fearsome than the beasts of the wild. As we read the story of such people we do not find a hint that they regarded their own conduct as heroic. They did such things, and endured them, because they were assured that it was well worth while. They had chosen their course in order that they might secure for themselves and their children the Liberty of a Christian People. New England, which for two centuries supplied brains and character to the United States of America, was colonized by men and women who loved liberty more than life. They forfeited material comfort in England, in order that they might enjoy the

greater riches of a good conscience, and have liberty to worship God after the manner which they deemed seemly and right.

But the best of good things is not beyond the reach of fraudulent imitation, and therefore Liberty did not escape. The very name is offensive to some by reason of the shameful crimes of men who were most prominent as advocates of Liberty. As Madame Roland passed to the guillotine the symbols of liberty, equality, and fraternity surrounded her, and the watchwords of a really great struggle were on the lips of her enemies. Yet she was going to her death for no crime, unless indeed it were a crime to have aristocratic kindred. Frenchmen professed to be in love with liberty, equality, brotherhood, but were unable to distinguish between aristocratic tyrants and a refinement of face, form, and speech which proclaimed kinship with the aristocratic families of France! The passion for liberty had turned sour in the hearts of its advocates before they could seek to extend civil liberties by the wanton and shameful murder of delicately nurtured women and children.

It is not only in the field of political activity that such perversions have been witnessed. Awful things have been done in the name of Christ, and under the authority of the Church. Earnest men have in their pursuit of high ideals not only sacrificed the substance for the shadow, the genuine for the fictitious, and turned their backs on the essential spirit of liberty while professed followers of it, but have, in addition, forged new and grievous bonds for the mind and heart, riveting the fetters not only on others but also on themselves. Under the delusion that they were freeing the hands of the Church, the Bride of the Christ, they have established a new tyranny, more grievous than all others, because it invades the spiritual realm. In this respect the difference between priest and presbyter has, often, only been one of degree.

Happily such delusions cannot last. The word of Christ cannot be bound or held in any system of man's devising. The Spirit of God is ever active interpreting the word of grace to the mind and heart of man. Therefore, no sooner does error appear to establish itself than its power is threatened, its authority is undermined. Wherever the disease is at work, there also the antidote is present, and, like the leaven, is constant and effective in its action. When the night of error has seemed darkest, dawn has not been far away, to be ushered in as ever by the dauntless and suffering few, by whose lives and labours God saves the world from perdition. And, because this is so, liberties which have been lost are not only regained but are enlarged in their exercise, and enriched in their content and significance. The world under the governance of God does not simply move round, it moves forward and upward too.

How shall we explain the failure to retain liberty, and to protect it when it has been secured? By recognising the prevalence of a fatal confusion between totally different things, Liberty and Licence. There is a liberty which disparages law, and disowns control; a liberty which demands to be served, indulged, at whatever cost, and whoever suffers in the process. And they who espouse this spurious liberty say that Desire should rule men, whatever its quality or tendency may be. This is the

spirit of a brigand not a citizen; it is Lawlessness not Liberty; however attractively it be presented, it is unmitigated selfishness. When this temper stands forth fully revealed, it is manifest also that the law and order of the world in which we live is against it.

Those who speak of Liberty and think of it on the lines of Lawlessness, are never so deluded as when they think that they have gained their ends. When liberty is only another name for the assertion of the Self and the refusal of control, disaster is already on the way; and many who imagine that they are enjoying their liberty are walking into a bondage more serious than any physical slavery because it springs from their own depraved will.

There is much in modern life to enforce reflection at this point. We see youths and maidens asserting their unrestricted right to their earnings and their time, refusing to be restrained any longer by the obligations of the home and family. If, as in too many cases, they succeed in this, throwing off the control of the home whilst retaining its shelter, decay has set in. They become drags on the wheel, barriers in the way, a dead-weight to be borne by others in addition to their own load. Before they are within sight of the years which should be their prime we see men and women who have lost their natural place in life, and are learning by painful experience that in the universe of God there is no room for the soul who despises authority, and refuses to be controlled. This common but false notion of liberty is not only anti-religious, but anti-social. No state can be built up on the liberty to do as one likes. Wherever that principle is at work Decay is a fact to be faced. The only antidote is the Religious Principle, by which every soul is bound to God, and Society becomes possible as a family in which each member serves and is served. The Spirit of Christ is the enemy of everything that fetters the life of man; but is equally antagonistic to all forces which relax and disorganize life. God is the author of order, not confusion; Religion is a breaker of fetters but a binder of ties; she frees the slaves and then unites them in the fellowship of service. The New Testament furnishes the highest example of Liberty and Obedience in Him who 'though He was a Son yet learned obedience by the things which He suffered,' never seeking His own will as though it could be realized apart from and independently of the Father's will. All to whom Jesus Christ is Lord and Master imbibe His spirit, and learn what liberty is. They know that fetters of evil desire and thought have been loosened, and are falling away; that they walk now in the way of Duty without any sense of task-work. They have been inspired with new purposes, and endowed with power to realize and fulfil them. Hence they move through life facing its problems, and bearing its responsibilities with a sense of freedom and confident hope. That is, they are not simply at liberty to do right if they can, as a prisoner who has been long confined and cramped in a narrow and pestilent dungeon might be told that he can go free. He endeavours to move, but finds that though the door is no longer shut and barred he is powerless to avail himself of his liberty. He needs power, not simply permission to move. The soul surrendered to Christ receives Power to do that which is appointed for him. It is this gift of Power that

makes all the difference. Its possessor is not at liberty to do that which is mean, any more than that which is wrong. So far as he is loyal to his Lord he is increasingly incapable of doing such things. He pursues the aims which constitute his Master's purpose for the world, and is guided and empowered for that pursuit by the Spirit of God. He is at once in the enjoyment of liberty and under the authority of law, but the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus is holy, righteous, and good. All life teaches us that there is no liberty without law. They go farthest and safest at sea who are loyal to the testimony of experience, the law of their life. Ignoring the chart will not remove perilous rocks, or dissolve and redistribute treacherous sands. If this truth could be driven home to the judgement and conscience of the youth of our day one of the gravest perils of Society might be averted, and that liberty won with which the apostolic teachers were concerned. 'Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.' The true Libertarian is he whose life is the daily expression and outworking of his loyalty to Christ. He is at once Christ's free-man and His willing bond-servant.

J. Stainer Wilkinson.

THE PROGRESS OF NATURE STUDY

It is quite an education to turn over the leaves of Dr. Miall's volume on *The Early Naturalists: their Lives and Work (1530–1789)*. (Macmillan & Co.) These old naturalists have occupied so much of his leisure that it has been a pleasant task to write about them, and he enables his readers to form a fairly comprehensive view of biological history. Aristotle dealt with the whole range of science, and shows a surprising knowledge of the migration of birds and fishes, of the laying of eggs by worker bees, and of the sound-producing mechanism of the cicada and the grasshopper. 'Hardly any of his stories are perfectly right, but what a range of curiosity they indicate!' He is the founder of Comparative Anatomy, and 'perhaps no science ever made so prosperous a start.' Galen, who died about A. D. 200, is the last of the Anatomists, and his contemporary Oppian the last of the Ancient Naturalists. For the greater part of a thousand years there was a despair of progress. Man seemed to have shrunk into a smaller being and Nature was thought to show signs of decay. By 1200 this time of fear had passed, and every generation since has enlarged the field of knowledge.

In the middle ages Nature herself was neglected. The books of beasts are full of marvels. The lion sleeps with his eyes open, fears a white cock, makes a track with his tail which no beast dares to cross; the crocodile weeps when it has eaten a man; the elephant has but one joint in his legs and cannot lie down. Men repeated these tales instead of using their own eyes. Intellectual life abounded, but science scarcely received any attention, and Roger Bacon suffered much because he exposed the ignorance and presumption of the scholastics.

The medical profession barred the way against the emancipation of the biological sciences. Botany was looked upon as a main branch of

medicine. 'It was generally believed that for every ill that flesh is heir to, Nature had designated some plant as the appropriate cure. Some believed that Providence had caused particular plants to grow in those districts where the diseases which they cured were prevalent.' Every physician professed to be a botanist. The reform of pharmacy and botany was largely due to the Reformation, and for many years almost every botanical treatise published in Germany or Flanders was written by a Protestant. Otto Brunfels, town-physician of Berne in 1533, initiated modern systematic botany by figuring from nature a large number of native plants. 'It was soon discovered that pictures would not suffice without methodical descriptions, that philosophical arrangement can be attained neither by logic, nor by ingenious contrivance, nor by consideration of the wants and wishes of mankind, but only by patient study of the groups which actually exist in Nature.' Fuchs, whose name was given by Father Plumier to the beautiful flower that comes to us from America, published his *Historia Stirpium* with five hundred woodcuts which 'probably surpass in artistic quality any long series of historical figures that has ever been published.' They are not very accurate, but Fuchs rendered real service to botany. Conrad Gesner was the most learned naturalist of the sixteenth century. He died before he was fifty in fighting the plague at Zurich, of which city he was physician. 'He distinguished varieties from species, and demanded proof of constancy in the characters before he would allow that they were of specific value.' Matthias de L'Obel, whose name still lives in *lobelia*, was a refugee who fled to London to escape Alva's persecution in the Low Countries. He died at Highgate in 1616. L'Obel opened a wide field of study by calling attention to the fact that the mountain plants of warm countries descend to low levels farther north.

Zoology owes much to Belon, whose *History of Birds* was for many years the best book on this subject. He took long journeys to study birds and fishes and to talk with fowlers and fishermen. His descriptions are 'unmethodical, and often very slight,' but his History is a notable book for the sixteenth century. In 1546–9 he visited the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and describes the menagerie of the Sultan in an ancient temple at Constantinople. 'Lions were tied each to its own pillar; and sometimes they were let loose. Besides lions there were wolves, onagers, porcupines, bears and lynxes. Genets were kept in the houses like cats. Belon says the Turks loved flowers, and were skilful in gardening.' Dr. Miall has a delightful chapter on 'The Natural History of Distant Lands.' Joseph de Acosta, a Jesuit father in Peru and Mexico in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, often doubted whether the humming-bird was not a bee or a butterfly. He says that he saw monkeys at the Isthmus of Panama tying themselves together by their tails for the purpose of crossing a river. The story has often been repeated, but Humboldt places no confidence in such tales.

The passion for mere acquisition has often stood in the way of real knowledge. Dr. Miall says 'the infinite wealth of natural facts is to this day an impediment to all naturalists except the few who are content to remain ignorant of many things in order that they may learn what is best

worth knowing.' Harvey, Swammerdam, Linnaeus and Cuvier all pursued one purpose until it was accomplished. 'Influence is gained most easily by those reformers who neither move fast nor attempt many things at once.'

Readers of this volume will gain many amusing bits of information. John Caius, whose name is supposed to be a latinized form of Kay, is known as the second founder of Caius College, Cambridge. As a naturalist he is famous for his book on *The Dogs of Britain*, and in his own time was renowned as physician to Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. Swammerdam was intended for the Protestant ministry, but could not be kept from science. His labours on his *General History of Insects* were superhuman. He died in 1680 at the age of forty-three, yet his description of the internal organs of the bee is wonderfully exact and detailed, and would rank with the best work of modern times.

We owe to Réaumur the first attempts 'to introduce into France the artificial incubation of eggs, practised from time immemorial in Egypt. He showed how to preserve eggs by smearing them with fat, how to hinder the evaporation of spirituous liquors by mercury, and suggested many other processes of greater or less practical utility.' His Memoir on spiders' silk, dated 1710, was translated into Manchu for the Emperor of China, whose curiosity had been stirred by its title. His famous thermometer was brought out in 1731. One of his school was Abraham Tremblay, the Genevese naturalist, who was tutor to William Bentinck's two boys at the Hague. His manipulative skill was astonishing. He 'cut hydras into very minute pieces which completed themselves into natural polyps; he divided them longitudinally as well as transversely, and actually succeeded in cutting a polyp into four strips each of which yielded a perfect animal.' The story of Linnaeus, whose teachers all regarded him as a dunce, furnishes some of the most delightful pages in this book.

Dr. Miall's book is a wonderful panorama of the progress of natural science. Linnaeus led many botanists to spend their strength on cataloguing and definition, and the deterioration was specially manifest in England, where students thought of little beyond the naming of plants. It is easy to see as one goes through this record how much depends on constant fellowship with Nature, and how a happy generalization may easily become a kind of fetish barring the way to future progress.

JOHN TELFORD.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

London Theological Studies. By Members of the Faculty. (University of London Press. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THE members of the Faculty of Theology of the University of London are teachers in six separate Theological Colleges. But for ten years they have worked together in the Faculty and on the Board of Theological Studies in the University, and the completion of ten years of this association in work is signalized by the publication of the present volume.

The volume consists of a collection of independent studies. The advantage of this lies in the fact that each writer is free to choose a subject congenial to his own thought and outlook at the moment; the disadvantage in the lack of any strong connecting-link binding the different contributions into a single unity.

After an Introductory Note by Prof. S. W. Green, Dr. W. H. Bennett writes what, for the general reader, will probably be one of the most valuable essays in the collection. His subject is 'The Historical Value of the Old Testament,' and in the course of its discussion he furnishes us with a very clear and illuminating outline of the principles of historical method. Detailed points of interest are that Moses is accepted as an historical person, while the historicity of Abraham is viewed as very doubtful. The general conclusion is that 'for long periods of the history we are practically certain as to the general relations of Israel to its international environment, as to the main course of events, and the parts played by political and religious leaders. This is specially true for the great age of Revelation from Amos to the close of the Exile and, again, for the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. We have an assured framework into which we can fit the various stages of development of the religion.'

Prof. Andrews of Hackney and New Colleges has an interesting paper on 'The Significance of the Eschatological Utterances of Jesus.' The subject is timely and the discussion careful, though we cannot but feel that on this important question the last word has not yet been spoken. Principal Headlam's contribution on 'Prolegomena to the Study of Theology' is an able piece of work, and other noticeable essays are those by Dr. Forsyth and Dr. Garvie upon 'Christ and the Christian Principle' and 'The Study of Religion' respectively. But perhaps the outstanding section of the volume is reached when the reader comes to Principal

Davison's thesis on 'The Holy Spirit and Divine Immanence.' Within the brief space of thirty-four pages a wide field of philosophical and religious thought is surveyed, and from the first word to the last we feel that we are in the hands of a master. It is a brief study of a great question which should certainly not be overlooked. And as Dr. Davison's essay is one of the ablest in the volume, and that which brings the work to a conclusion, it stands out by virtue of its peculiar freshness and suggestiveness. Writing on 'The Emotional Element in Religion: a Vindication,' Prof. Caldecott puts forward a delightful defence, from the philosophical standpoint, of the part played by emotion in religious experience. He maintains the position 'that in our feelings, as elsewhere, we are called upon to look for "system" as the ideal, the true norm, and to be confident that the emotional manifold can be unified: that affections and desires, varied as they are, can be organized into a stable and healthy polity.' Dr. Caldecott's contention is one of very great importance, and by Methodist thinkers it will be studied with peculiar interest.

The Christian View of the World. Taylor Lectures for 1910–11 at Yale. By Geo. J. Blewett, Prof. of Moral Philosophy at Victoria College, Toronto. (Oxford University Press. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This volume is ample and welcome evidence that the work of original thinkers like James and Royce is telling on the higher literature of America. Both are mentioned with honour in the discussion. Prof. James was one of the first, if not the first, leaders in philosophy to recognize the claims of religion in any true sense. Others, even the greatest lights, never came within speaking distance of religion as known to Paul, Luther, or Bunyan. The data they worked upon were miserably inadequate, dry bones, and few of them. James has effected a complete change. Future Hegels, Höffdings, Wundts, not to say Cairds, will understand philosophy in a wider sense. Prof. Blewett takes the wider outlook. The Christianity which he advocates as alone reconcilable with reason and a complete survey of the facts is the Christianity of evangelical faith. He evidently comes to the task with full knowledge of the trend of modern thought. His style is admirably clear and pleasing. He speaks of his 'brief lectures' and their enforced limitations; but the four lectures which make up the course average eighty-five pages each. Indeed, we are inclined to think that condensation here and there would have still further enhanced the effect. In any case the work is full of suggestive thought, and will well repay careful and repeated study.

The subjects of the four lectures are 'The Christian Consciousness and the Task of Theology'; 'Human Experience and the Absolute Spirit'; 'Nature'; 'Freedom, Sin and Redemption.' We are told at once that 'Christian consciousness is primarily a consciousness of salvation; a salvation of individuals, and therefore of society; of society, and therefore of individuals.' This involves three things—consciousness of sin and its

effects, of a power in the world able to save us from our sin, of the drawing near of that power to us and of its search for us, so that it may find us and save us. All this is simple and familiar enough, although the debate is often carried on in the language of philosophy. But we know the mighty problems which are wrapped up in the simple words, problems incapable of any solution without patient, strenuous thought, and even at that price incapable of absolute solution. At all events nothing is gained by shutting our eyes to the difficulties. Even the Christian explanation leaves much to faith, but without that explanation the position is worse. One of the best features of the author's discussion is its frankness. Difficulties are treated as questions to be answered as far as possible. Take, for example, the question of moral freedom in the fourth lecture. The justification of our faith in it is, not metaphysical reasoning, but its necessity for any true explanation at all. We can only understand ourselves, the world, and the facts of life on the supposition of God freely creating and redeeming, and ourselves freely accepting or otherwise. This principle alone enables us to hold our ground in presence of the existence and power of evil. Several attitudes are possible and are taken on the subject. Some simply accept the fact and trust in God, without seeking a rational solution—an admirable position in a sense. Others bluntly declare any explanation impossible and thus accept a divided world, the old Manichaean position. The chief points in the Christian argument are God's creation of an order of free spirits, the abuse of this freedom on a vast scale by man, then the divine institution of a counterworking system of grace. The question is asked, Would not the better course in prospect of the result have been no creation at all? Philosophies of despair in our day say yes, but they have a slender following. In favour of the third strand in the explanation is the actual working of the redemptive scheme in the world. And this is the justification of the Christian hope. 'In a free spirit the overcoming of sin cannot be brought about by forces that act mechanically or externally. It can only take place by the winning of the loyalties and devotions of the sinful heart to that which is the opposite of sin, to God and righteousness, to love and truth. So that what we must believe about the heart of things is that it is on its negative side an order directed to the overcoming of evil; on its positive side an order constituted for the winning of human hearts, through filial love, into the likeness of God.' We have given only the merest hint of the wealth of suggestion in the work expressed in graceful words.

The Preacher and the Modern Mind. (42nd Fernley Lecture.) By the Rev. George Jackson, B.A. (London: C. H. Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The author undertakes his task under the most favourable conditions—the theme is a popular one in his own Church, and he is himself a master of the art he expounds. The difficulty he has to face is not light—the transitional stage through which opinion on the historical growth of

Scripture is passing. The difficulty is dealt with perhaps as successfully as was possible from the critical standpoint. In any case the lecture is the most valuable contribution to the subject which has been made for many a long day; and we do not doubt that preachers, who are always on the watch for counsel, will turn to good account the store of help which the volume provides for them. The critical question inevitably looms large, recurring three times, in the introductory chapter, in the section 'The Preacher and the Bible,' and in the section 'The Preacher and Miracle,' in relation especially to the Old Testament. It is quite impossible to deal here with the wide field covered. The lecturer is far from being unconscious how the position the lecture represents will appear to many (see p. 150). We think there can be no doubt that every Church has to find room for different schools of opinion on the subject, and that there is need of large tolerance and charity. The strenuous claim of the critical school itself, a claim made in this volume, is that the unique, supernatural character of Scripture is more plainly established on the new ground.

Against the objections, which may be raised by some against the lecture on this subject, must be set the solid mass of able, altogether helpful exposition of the conditions of efficient preaching in our day. It would be hard to find anything to surpass, or even to equal, the wisdom and pertinence of the chapters on 'Ethical Preaching' and 'Doctrinal Preaching.' There can be no question that the note of admonition sounded is necessary, and that if the counsel given were generally followed the power of the pulpit would be immensely increased. We heartily subscribe to the warnings against the substitutes that are being tried for religious teaching. Men want God. Who or what even attempts to supply the want but Christianity? 'If religion will not fill our empty churches, and keep them full, there is nothing that will.' Even Christian ethics is no substitute for religion. Stoicism was a noble attempt to make ethics do the work of religion, and it failed.

Another strong and excellent part of the lecture is the able, convincing argument for the historical character of Christ's own miracles (pp. 131–144). Their congruity with everything else in Christ's life and their necessity for the completion of the Christian message are forcibly dwelt on. Another fine, strong chapter is the one entitled 'The Preacher and Christ'; the citadel of the faith is admirably described. The argument for the Virgin Birth is well put. St. Luke's historical trustworthiness is wisely emphasized. As the lecturer remarks, to pass from these subjects to The Preacher's Style and The Preacher's Passion is like leaving the mountain for the plain. Young preachers at least will be thankful for the healthful counsel given in these chapters. It is the fruit of wide experience. The abundance of literary reference and quotation throughout the lecture is remarkable. We could almost catalogue Mr. Jackson's library from it. May his example find many imitators! Dale, Church, Sanday, Garvie, Horton, Denney are samples of the names often recurring. Denney's great book, *Jesus and the Gospel*, is often appealed to. These authorities do not encroach on the writer's independence. He keeps the reins in his own hands.

The Religion of Israel Under the Kingdom. By the Rev. Adam C. Welch, Theol.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume contains the Kerr Lectures, delivered in the United Free Church College, Glasgow, during session 1911–12. They justify their claim to be 'a strict historical study of the period to which they refer.' Dr. Welch is familiar with modern criticism of Old Testament history, and he has learnt much from it. But he exercises an independent judgement, and his conclusions are based upon well-reasoned inferences from data which he has spared no pains to ascertain or to verify. His studies have confirmed his 'conviction that the great figures Hebrew tradition set at the beginning of its religious history are no mere reflexes of the later development, and that behind JE must lie a great past.' The test to which every theory, however widely accepted, is rigidly subjected is: Does it correspond with the facts of history? For example, 'it has become almost an axiom since Wellhausen promulgated it that the prophets were the stormy petrels of the Hebrew State.' This theory is examined and is found not to accord with facts. On the one hand, there were serious troubles upon which the prophet looked with calmness; and, on the other hand, 'there are many cases in which a prophet intervenes although the Kingdom is at peace.' A prominent characteristic of this work is its fair-mindedness. Dr. Welch is not misled by exaggerated statements of the prophets' dissatisfaction with the worship of Israel. In commenting on Hosea's attack on the old ritual, he shows that the prophet had 'a real sense of its influence and value, and therefore was fitted to lead men to seek, not its rejection, but its purification.' Those who interpret Hosea's great saying, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' as though it signified 'an absolute rejection of sacrifice' are rightly said to 'ignore the fondness of the Hebrew writers for such antithetic statements,' and to 'apply a criterion to the language of the Old Testament which they never think of applying to the words of the New.' Alike for its insight into the historical development of the religion of Israel, for the soundness of its criticism, the lucidity of its exposition and the sanity of its judgements, Dr. Welch's book is to be heartily commended to all students of the Old Testament.

The Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch translated from the Editor's Ethiopic Text. By R. H. Charles, D.Litt., D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Charles's second edition marks a great advance on its predecessor. The Introduction, Notes, and Indexes have been wholly recast, enlarged and rewritten, and the results of twenty additional years spent on Apocalyptic and Biblical studies appear on every page. The translation of 1893 was from Dillman's edition of the Ethiopic text, based on five MSS. Dr. Charles amended Dillman by the help of nine hitherto uncollected MSS.

in the British Museum, and the Greek and Latin fragments that had recently come to light. His text was published in 1906, and from it the present translation is made. A discovery of the poetical structure of a considerable portion of the work has also enabled the editor not infrequently to recover the lost original. Extensive parallels given in the Introduction, show that a knowledge of the Book of Enoch is indispensable to New Testament students. It has had more influence on the New Testament than all the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books taken together. 'The Lord of Spirits has caused His light to appear on the face of the holy, righteous, and elect' may be compared with 2 Cor. iv. 6; and many other parallels adduced are of great interest. Dr. Charles shows also how 1 Enoch influenced Jewish literature. It is largely drawn on in the *Book of Jubilees* and in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Patristic Literature also contains many references to the book. Most Jewish writers have ascribed 1 Enoch to the Essenes, but this is indefensible, for the Essenes condemned marriage, while in 1 Enoch it is glorified as having its place in the Messianic kingdom. The teaching of the books on the chief doctrines of Judaism is drawn out at length. Dr. Charles is the acknowledged head of this branch of study, and the laborious learning lavished on this work shows with what confidence other scholars may build on his foundation.

The Gospels. By the Rev. Leighton Pullan. (Longmans & Co. 5*s*.)

Mr. Pullan's book is largely based on work with his pupils in Oxford. He has sought to make everything intelligible to readers who do not know Greek, and has called special attention to questions bearing on the Person and teaching of our Lord. It is encouraging to find that he recognizes the superiority of recent Christian scholarship over that which is non-Christian and the marked superiority of genuine English work over that produced in other countries. In the more important centres of Christian life the Four Gospels had vindicated their unique position before the close of the second century. In the second half of that century the Church believed that St. Peter, St. John, and St. Paul 'taught one Gospel, one plan of salvation, and that the books written by them, or as a result of their influence, were in fundamental agreement.' The whole chapter is instructive and helpful. Mr. Pullan next deals with the Criticism of the Gospels. His historical sketch is compact and valuable. As to the Synoptic Problem, Mr. Pullan shows with illustrative detail how St. Luke and St. Matthew are based on St. Mark. The critical investigation of the last three generations has made it practically certain that the great bulk of the matter in the Synoptic Gospels dates from the lifetime of persons who had seen and spoken with Jesus Christ. We are also reaching sounder principles in determining what is well attested. Anything which has the double attestation of Mark and the written collection of our Lord's sayings has very strong support. Mr. Pullan agrees with Sir John Hawkins that The Sayings or Logia included about 191 verses in Matthew and 181 in Luke,

and his chapter on them is of special interest. He gives a chapter to each of the Synoptists, and then discusses their relation to the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Pullan strongly defends the position that St. John was the writer. The book is very clear and full, and the whole discussion is marked by strong sense and fine scholarship.

A Parson's Defence. By S. C. Carpenter, M.A. (Longmans. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Carpenter is Warden of the Gonville and Caius Mission and Settlement in Battersea. He wishes to conciliate all reasonable laymen by what he describes as 'an essay on the principles of priestcraft.' He begins with Christ, of whom every priest feels that he is in a very intimate and personal way the servant. He says, 'Like most parsons, I live among simple people who have a nominal Christianity, not much imagination, not much appreciation of beauty, not much beauty to appreciate. I have, therefore, become accustomed to play my strongest lead, the appeal of Christ to poor men, and I have not the smallest doubt that this is the most Christian thing to do.' The whole chapter is suggestive. When confronted with heroic social workers who are aloof from Christianity, the clergy 'yield their tribute of respect to men who can do such splendid work on such meagre inspiration, but they are more convinced than ever that what such people want is Christ.' He holds that if 'we are going, as I hope we are, to preach Jesus only, we must have theology, to save us from being crude.' The truth of Divine Immanence is wisely stated. It is 'part of a larger truth. God is not only over, but within, the world; He is not only the driving and the carrying, but also the sweetening and preserving, force, the Will behind the Universe.' Mr. Carpenter's description of a Nonconformist will amuse his Nonconformist readers. 'There is no doubt that their eye is single and their view of life is straight. The only thing is that it cannot by any stretch be called artistic. The artistic eye has been plucked out and cast away. They are the teetotallers of Christendom.' There are some flowing words about the Observance of the Christian Year and the blessing to be found at the Lord's Table. But surely that Sacrament is not one of the 'things that divide' Churchmen from their Nonconformist friends. It is treasured and blessed among us all. Mr. Carpenter's book is outspoken and thought-provoking. We do not share all his views, and his words about baptism are specially disputable, but we are glad to pay tribute to his zeal and his manly plainness of speech.

The Nature and Purpose of a Christian Society. By F. R. Glover. (Headley Brothers. 1*s.* net.)

The 'Swarthmore Lecture' for 1912 traces the Church's Unity amid all its confusions by the persistence of the Christian type of character and of the great Christian doctrines. Dr. Glover thinks that we do not make the use of our past that we might. The story of the Christian religion is that of

personality influenced by personality—'rebirth constantly the product of the influence of the reborn.' The great Christian characters form an immense fund of spiritual capital. Each life may be used to interpret our own. Dr. Glover lights up his theme with many suggestive quotations from these masters of the past, and dwells on some of the chief doctrines by which character is moulded. The Christian Society can only be realized as each individual member follows Christ as Teacher, Master, Friend and Saviour, and the Society exists for worship and witness. This is a message for the day, and it is put in an impressive and attractive way.

The Origin and Aim of the Acts of the Apostles. By the Rev. J. M. Wilson, D.D. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

We owe much to Canon Wilson for a series of little volumes on great Christian topics; and these six sermons preached in Worcester Cathedral last Lent are a true help to faith. They are luminous presentations of the salient features of the Acts of the Apostles, dealing with the transformation of the disciples, the meaning of Pentecost, the Conversion of St. Paul and other subjects in a way that throws light on the whole course of early Christianity. He shows how St. Paul was transformed by the vision on his way to Damascus: 'From henceforth he saw everything with the eyes of Christ. Like other beacon-lights of the world he felt that the secret of his new life and faith and power was that the life of Christ had entered into him; he was in Christ, and Christ in him.' Converging discoveries have led scholars to the definite conclusion that the Acts must have been written in A.D. 62, and St. Luke's Gospel was already written, and St. Mark's was earlier still. The account of Codex Bezae given in an Appendix will greatly interest students, and the catholic spirit of the sermon on Christian Unity will make a deep impression. The book is one for which many will be truly grateful.

Rays of the Dawn. By A Watcher. (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This remarkable anonymous work, by one who was once a 'sceptical critic' of the New Testament, but is now a convinced believer in the integrity and authenticity of its several books, is properly described in the title-page as 'Fresh Teaching on some New Testament Problems.' And it is worth reading, even by those least disposed to accept the author's assurance that the bulk of it was communicated to him by his 'spirit guide.' He writes as 'a cautious theosophist,' who is thoroughly up to date in his discussions, and has an intimate knowledge of both the letter and the spirit of the Scriptures as a whole. He does not teach the proper deity of Christ, but, at times, he seems 'not far from' that vital and illuminating truth. He is far away, too, from the orthodox standpoint when treating of the Atonement; but instructed and experienced theologians may profit by his fresh, ingenious, and not seldom helpful lucubrations.

The Epistle to the Hebrews: An Experiment in Conservative Revision. By Two Clerks. (Cambridge University Press. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This revision of the A.V. is intended to be strictly conservative. Alterations have only been made where mistranslation, needless ambiguity, or considerations of text seemed to require them. The most familiar passages have been most sparingly touched. The revisers say, 'At this late hour, when the revision of King James has won for itself acceptance with the whole English-speaking race, we are convinced that if changes are to be made in what have become "household words," they must be such as will generally escape the untrained reader's notice. Happily it is the best known passages that least require alteration.' Aorists are treated on their merits; much freedom is used in the translation of any given word, and the irritating use of italics for 'is' and 'are,' which are implied in the Greek usage, is abandoned. Some brief notes on selected verses in the Appendix show the grounds on which certain renderings have been preferred. 'Brightness' is used instead of the R.V. 'effulgence' in Heb. i. 2, and in the next verse 'person' is altered to 'substance.' In ii. 16, we read, 'For verily he taketh not angels for his, but he taketh the seed of Abraham'; and in iv. 2, 'not being wrought by faith into them that heard it.' In ix. 15 the rendering presents 'quite unusual (and virtually insurmountable) difficulties,' but if one rendering is to be taken 'covenant' seems to them to have better claims than 'testament.' The revision is profoundly interesting, and has been made with great skill and fine caution. A little more of that spirit would have smoothed the way of the Revised Version, but deeply as we appreciate this masterly piece of work, we do not think such a conservative revision would be likely to win the field to-day.

Egypt to Canaan. By A. H. Tuttle. (1$ net.)
The Apostles' Creed. By Henry Wheeler. (75 cents net.)
The Gift of Suffering. By Bishop H. S. Hoffman, D.D. (New York: Eaton & Mains. 75 cents net.)

Dr. Tuttle delivered his 'Lectures on the Spiritual Meaning of The Exodus' to his own congregation, and the interest felt in them encouraged him to publish them. They give a vivid bird's-eye view of Egypt at the time of the Exodus, with its teeming industry, its magnificent art, its intellectual culture, its stimulating pleasure, and the magnificence of its religion. The Promised Land is next described and the deliverance from Egypt, and the events that followed up to the death of Moses. Everything is living and pictorial, and the lessons of the story are forcibly put.

Dr. Wheeler examines the history and expounds the contents of the Apostles' Creed in a very complete and instructive way. A large library has gathered round the Creed, but this is an excellent addition to it. The New Testament foundation, the authorship and name of the Creed are

discussed, and some of its expressions are traced back to the Early Church fathers. Then each article is clearly explained in a way that will greatly help students. It is a really good piece of work.

Bishop Hoffman belongs to the Episcopal Reformed Church, and has written these 'Meditations on the Mystery of Pain,' during a protracted illness. Their appeal is chiefly to sufferers who need words of comfort and light for dark hours. To such readers they will prove a real blessing. The book is full of sound sense and true tenderness.

The Lord's Day. By G. Beesley Austin. (C. H. Kelly. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

By the subtle and delicate beauty by which it is informed, and by the fragrant and reverent devotional spirit which breathes throughout its pages, this little booklet lifts the duty and the privilege of Sabbath-keeping to a loftier plane, and sets them forth in their most winsome and impressive forms. It is dedicated to the memory of Westcott, Church, and Browning, from whose 'spacious teaching' the author has derived 'wisdom to direct and strength to sustain,' but it is also redolent of Ruskin and of Wordsworth, and their names might be included even in this brief inscription with propriety and grace. Naturally, and almost inevitably, there is some repetition in the various sections—'Saturday Evening: the Golden Gate of Approach'; 'Sunday Morning: the Threshold of a Great Opportunity'; 'Sunday Noontide: the Secret of the Great Apocalypse'; 'Sunday Evening: a Session of Sweet, Silent Thought'; and 'Monday Morning: Translating the Vision into a Reality'; but it is the repetition of the theme in a symphony of praise of the Sabbath as God's great provision for man's imperious needs of rest, recuperation, inspiration, peace. The author's thought is uniformly fresh and kindling, and there is colour, music, and occasionally magic, in his style. We thank him for this bright and timely contribution to the higher life and culture of the day.

The Diary of Judas Iscariot; or, *The Gospel according to Judas.* By Gregory A. Page. (C. H. Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

An imaginative presentation of the motives which may have actuated the traitor—envy of the other Apostles, ambition, greed, &c. Incidentally, the Gospel narrative is vividly, and often picturesquely, reproduced and new light from many sources is thrown upon familiar and obscure scenes alike. The author has a copious vocabulary and a bright and vigorous style, a style as biblical as Bunyan's, and often captivating by its combined strength and charm. He is not always sufficiently dramatic, Judas being sometimes made to reason like a twentieth-century divine; nor is the author's theory of the traitor's conduct consistently worked out; but, taken as a whole, he may be complimented on producing a similar

and equal work to Dr. E. A. Abbott's *Philochristus*, *Onesimus*, and *Silanus*, and one, we think, that will be found to be more plausible, if not at all points quite convincing.

Does Faith Need Reasons? By Frank Ballard, D.D. (Kelly. 2*s*. net.)

Dr. Ballard's book is in some respects an apologia, and it will be received with the respect due to a master in the great subject of Christian evidences. He sees the vital necessity of facing the unbelief of the age, and is not inclined to lay too much stress on the work of Prof. James or the philosophy of Bergson and Eucken. Experience has its proper place, but it rests on certain assumptions which must be tested by reason. To it the final appeal must be made. Dr. Ballard believes that the failure to restate Christian doctrine in accordance with the latest assured modern knowledge is responsible for much of the modern defection as to Church membership and absence from Christian worship. He has strong views as to the public reading of the Bible and as to the musical portion of our worship. As to hymns, we think that the critic is rather too much in evidence. Poetry must be allowed some freedom in expressing great thoughts, but ministers will do well to remember Dr. Ballard's strictures, and his appeal for a larger element of clear teaching seems to us forcible and timely. Some things in the book are strongly put, but that may arrest attention and lead to the best results.

The Silences of Jesus, and St. Paul's Hymn to Love. By the Rev. Percy C. Ainsworth. (Kelly. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

These studies first appeared in *The Methodist Times*, and are marked by the rich thought and deft literary touch which have won the writer so high a place among modern preachers. The first nine sermons begin with The Silent Years at Nazareth. Those years were not spent 'in dreamy self-absorption, unresponsive, persistently reticent'; but for us they are silent. 'They hold in their keeping much with which the world could not be trusted.' All these studies are suggestive and beautiful. The thirteen on St. Paul's Hymn to Love are if possible still more beautiful. 'There is a path to truth that lies right through the throng of life's familiar things, never far from the murmur of the daily round—a path where one may sometimes gather old-time flowers, and gaze upon well-read faces. And the one word over its immemorial gateway is the word "Experience." And this is the path the Apostle takes.' Those who know the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians best will find much that is fresh and stimulating in these fine expositions. The Ainsworth Library is growing, and this is a noble addition to it.

John Wesley's Translation of The Imitation of Christ; or, *The Christian's Pattern, by Thomas à Kempis.* (Kelly. 1*s*. net.

It was a good idea to reissue in a cheap and tasteful form this admirable rendering of a devotional world-classic, and it is to be hoped that the

Book-Room will be encouraged to continue these welcome reprints. We believe that Wesley's Extracts from William Law's *Spirit of Prayer*, for example, and from his *Address to the Clergy*, would be welcomed by a considerable number of readers.

Four Apostles. The Training of Christian Missionaries. By James P. Lilley, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Lilley has always been deeply interested in the second group of Apostles. Philip, Nathanael, Matthew, and Thomas, and his studies of their character, training and work, are singularly fresh and beautiful. We seem to gain a deeper insight into our Master's methods, and missionaries will find many a hint for their own task of training workers on the foreign field. The sketch of Thomas is specially suggestive. Bible students will feel the book to be a treasure.

Faith and the New Testament. By the Rev. A. W. F. Blunt, M.A. (T. & T. Clark. 2*s.* net.)

This booklet clearly presents to the general reader interested in the New Testament 'the main facts and conclusions of modern biblical scholarship,' on such subjects as the settlement of Tradition, Canon, and Text. The position of Mr. Blunt, aptly stated and well supported by evidence and argument, is that the Christian Church needs to harmonize the three witnesses: 'the witness of the Church, the witness of Scripture, and the witness of the individual conscience.' What is essential is 'a creed based on Scripture, developed on that basis by the living Church, and apprehended by the free act of faith of each individual.'

Exploring in New Testament Fields. By Ada R. Habershon. (Morgan & Scott. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) This little volume aims to give those who cannot buy expensive books a clear view of the results of recent exploration in Palestine, Asia Minor and other lands. It is well informed, brightly written, and those who can supplement it by visits to the British Museum will find that they have gained a reliable introduction to a fascinating field of study. We can heartily recommend it to teachers and young preachers.

The second edition of Dr. Beet's *The New Testament: Its Authorship, Date, and Worth* (Kelly, 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) has a new preface and a final chapter which discusses the chief questions that divide modern Scholars. Of these the historical truth and religious worth of the Fourth Gospel is of chief importance. Dr. Moffatt's conclusion that John the son of Zebedee was not its author is examined with special care. Dr. Beet finds nothing which disproves the confident and unanimous tradition that the Fourth Gospel was written by St. John. This book is the best general Introduction to the New Testament that a young student could have. It is so clear and every point is so well sustained by quotation that to use it carefully is no mean education in biblical study.

The Great Texts of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, D.D. St. John 1–12; 1 Corinthians. (T. & T. Clark. 10*s.* per vol.; subscription

price, 6*s.*) These are two rich volumes. Preachers and teachers will find the best material gathered together from all quarters and put in the most convenient form. The exposition is careful; illustrations and quotations abound. There is much here to enrich sermons and lessons, and each volume will be of great service to every one who is fortunate enough to have it on his shelves.

Genesis Unveiled. (Nisbet & Co. 3*s.* net.) The writer thinks that the book of Genesis is composed of ten entirely separate narratives, drawn up by different authors and at different times. He works out his theory with much detail, but he leaves us quite unconvinced.

The Returning King. By the Rev. J. H. Townsend, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. 1*s.* net.) A little book on the Second Coming, which may be commended to those who wish to see the position taken up by many Churchmen. Dr. Townsend actually interprets the note at the end of Psalm lxxii. as meaning that 'after the wonderful vision of the happiness, magnificence, and glory of Messiah's reign upon earth, *David has nothing left to pray for.*'

Lieut.-Col. Mackinlay's paper on *Some Lucan Problems*, published in the 'Victoria Institute Transactions,' is an attempt to explain the two insertions [Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14 and Luke vi. 20—viii. 3] and the omission between verses 17 and 18 of Luke ix. or Mark vi. 45—viii. 26. The writer's explanations and the criticisms of them form a very interesting study.

The Recovery of the Ancient Orient. By Robert W. Rogers. (Eaton & Mains. 25*c.* net.) This address delivered in an American College is an expert's view of the way in which Egypt, Israel, Babylon, and Assyria have yielded up their treasures to the excavator and the student. Dr. Rogers brings out the romance of his subject in a delightful way, and shows that the Old Testament has not suffered a whit in the process. 'It is better and truer and richer than ever.' This is a valuable and most instructive address.

The Giant and the Caterpillar. By John A. Hamilton. (Allenson. 3*s.* 6*d.*) These addresses to children make good use of the element of surprise. Attention is kept alive to the end, the moral is not obtruded, and there is freshness and power in all the sixty-two addresses.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

History of Rome and the Popes in the Middle Ages. By Hartmann Grisar, S.J. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 15*s.* net.)

STUDENTS of Papal History owe no inconsiderable debt of gratitude to Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co. for their enterprise in undertaking the publication of a series of works which together tell, with much fullness of detail, the story of the Papacy from early times to the period of the Reformation. Of these works, Prof. Grisar's, of which the first two volumes have so far appeared in an English press, is by no means the least important. Planned on a very generous scale, it will, when complete, link on to Pastor's great work—another member of Messrs. Kegan Paul's series—and will be equally indispensable to the serious student. The learned Innsbruck professor knows his Rome well, and perhaps the most striking feature of his volumes is the vast amount of topographical and archaeological detail which they contain. In this respect they will, we think, to a large extent, supersede Gregorovius, whose work has been a sort of stand-by, so far as these matters were concerned, to some of us for many years past. This is not necessarily a reproach to the earlier historian. It is now more than half a century since Gregorovius's great work began to appear, and more than twenty years since the writer passed away. It need not be said that during the last two or three decades much spade-work has been done, the result being a notable addition to our knowledge of Roman archaeology. Prof. Grisar has himself borne some part in this work of exploration in Rome, and enjoys the advantage, as compared with his predecessor, of having at his disposal the results of his own and other men's investigations. Extremely interesting and vivid is the picture which these noble volumes give of Rome in, shall we say, the fourth century. With Prof. Grisar as his guide the reader is conducted through the ancient capital, and almost literally seems to see it. At one moment he gazes on some mighty senate-house or temple, even then full of antiquarian interest as a memorial of a world that had almost entirely passed away. Thence he is led on to admire the noble proportions and rich decoration of some now vanished basilica, or he turns to contemplate the bridges, the turreted walls, the theatres, the baths, or the amazing aqueducts which reach away to the distant horizon. The illustrations, the carefully drawn restorations of now ruinous or vanished buildings do really illustrate the text, and assist the reader to grasp what Rome actually looked like fifteen hundred years ago, to an extent which no other book that we are acquainted with enables him to do.

To the Protestant reader, not the least interesting feature of Prof. Grisar's work will be found in the fact that it is written by a Roman

Catholic, and a Jesuit; but at the same time by one who writes far more as an historian than as an advocate or an apologist. He frankly admits, for example, that the 'magic name of the city' contributed not a little to enhance the prestige of her bishop, and ultimately to exalt him far above his peers. But, allowing this, it is hardly a matter for surprise that, even where there may be a fair measure of agreement as to facts, we cannot always unreservedly accept his interpretation of them, nor follow him to the conclusions to which they lead him. The venerable Hosius, for example, is regarded, almost as a matter of course, as having presided at the Council of Nicaea as papal legate. That he did so sit certainly cannot be proved; and it appears to us to be a matter of no great difficulty to bring forward that which is something very like disproof. Again, while the relations of Basil the Great with the Roman See are duly chronicled, nothing is said of his very outspoken criticism of its then occupant—criticism which is very difficult to reconcile with any recognition on Basil's part of autocratic papal authority as belonging to his brother of Rome. The order of precedence of the greater sees is connected by Prof. Grisar with their Petrine associations. But, on this hypothesis, it is difficult to see why Antioch should not precede rather than follow Alexandria; for the traditional connexion of the Apostle with the former Church was personal and direct, while with the latter it was at best indirect, and at second hand. On another hypothesis it is, of course, not difficult to explain why Alexandria should have taken precedence immediately after Rome.

Turning now to the popes, the treatment accorded to Innocent I hardly seems to us to do full justice to his historical importance. This is, however, a feature by no means peculiar to Prof. Grisar. Indeed, it is our opinion that this Pontiff, in some sense the Father of the Papacy, was greater than he has generally received credit for having been. He still awaits a biographer. Innocent's successor, Zosimus, tactless and headstrong, yet weak, must be ranked among the failures in the papal chair; and his pontificate, appraised at its true value, presents no small difficulty in the way of an ultramontane interpretation of papal history. Prof. Grisar, however, hardly recognizes the significance of this inglorious pontificate, and presents it in a somewhat too favourable light. The treatment of the wretched time-serving Vigilius, though by no means flattering, also does not err on the side of severity. Leo I is handled in a way which strikes us as being on the whole fair, full recognition of the legendary element in some of the records connected with this great pontiff being allowed. At the same time no record of Leo can be regarded as complete which does not deal with that *cause célèbre* of his reign, the affair of Hilary of Arles—even though the writer, in a footnote, does refer to his treatment of it elsewhere. It may also be pointed out that, if Leo did, in some measure, maintain his authority against a General Council, he invoked the findings of an earlier council to do it.

There is much else upon which it would be a pleasure to linger—the very vivid picture of Theodoric, for instance, or the relations of the Papacy with the new nations of the west, or with the imperial court.

But our space is gone, and we can do no more than call attention to this work as one of first-rate historical importance, and quite romantic interest. The price is, it is true, somewhat large, 15*s.* net per volume; but it is not too much. For Prof. Grisar's *Rome and the Popes*, a monument of learning and research, has been sent forth in a sumptuous and splendid form.

A Chronicle of the Popes from St. Peter to Pius X. By A. E. McKilliam, M.A. (Bell & Sons. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a book for which many will be grateful. It gives a biography ranging from half a page to five or six pages in length of each pope, putting the facts in a pleasant way, and helping a reader to understand the main events of each pontificate. The work has been done carefully and dispassionately. The sketches of Pius IX, Leo XIII, and Pius X, should be read by all who wish to understand the modern history of the Papacy. Leo XIII, a statesman of unusual ability, and a profound scholar, 'must be reckoned as the greatest pope of modern times.' Had it not been for his Jesuit training he would probably have advanced much further than he did in the way of progress. After his death those who desired a non-political pope secured the election of Cardinal Sarto, whose well-known piety and conciliatory views seemed to promise well for some amicable arrangement with the Italian Government. So far those hopes have not been realized, and the uncompromising attitude towards France and the Modernists has disappointed many, though Mr. McKilliam says, 'his blameless life and earnest zeal for the welfare of the Church places Pius X in the rank of those who have done much to advance the spiritual power of the Apostolic See.'

The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogios. Transcribed by Agnes Smith Lewis. Horae Semiticae IX. (Cambridge University Press. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Here are two stories taken from a palimpsest which Mrs. Lewis bought in Egypt in 1906. The martyrs were monks who lived at Raïtho in the Desert of Sinai. One day they were attacked by barbarians—perhaps, as Mrs. Lewis suggests, Saracens in their first enthusiasm and converts to Islam—and all but three or four of the monks were slain, some being beaten with stones, others made into targets for arrows and others hacked limb from limb. But they died bravely, rejoicing that they were suffering for Christ.

One of their number, however, still clung to life, and escaped by hiding himself among some palm-branches. When the enemy had gone, he came out of his hiding-place, and helped to bury his dead comrades. Afterwards, being unable to endure the loneliness of the spot, he went and joined another settlement of monks to whom he told his mournful story.

The other story is of a different kind. It tells of the strange changes which took place in the circumstances and character of a certain Eulogios.

This Eulogios was in the earlier part of his life a stone-cutter—a saintly man living an ascetic life himself, but to strangers most hospitable. In consequence of the prayer of one of his guests, Eulogios suddenly acquired considerable wealth and became a great man. But the change in his fortunes produced an unfortunate change in his character too, and he became harsh and overbearing. The man to whose prayer he owed his prosperity was greatly distressed by this alteration in Eulogios, and prayed again for him, that he might be saved from his evil ways. Again the prayer was answered: Eulogios lost his possessions and came back to the old work of stone-cutting and eventually to the old saintliness and hospitable practices.

Both the stories were worth preserving. The first is a plain and unadorned record of early Christian faith and courage, the truth of which there is no reason to doubt. The second is a romance, very possibly founded on fact, and intended to convey a warning against the moral peril of suddenly acquired riches, from which even the best of men is not exempt.

The original text of the stories is of considerable linguistic interest; for it is in that dialect of Syriac which is known as the Palestinian, and, with the exception of a few fragments, constitutes the only example of the dialect as yet known in a non-biblical document. Its value is great, therefore, for those who seek to recover the original language of the words of Jesus. A valuable Glossary of uncommon words and forms appearing both in this manuscript and in the Codex Climaci Rescriptus (Horae Semiticae VIII) adds another to the already long list of services rendered to Semitic students by the learned editress.

Early Church History. By Henry Melvill Gwatkin. 2 vols. Second Edition. (Macmillan & Co. 17*s.* net.)

The present edition of this learned and impartial work, which we reviewed in January, 1910, has been revised with a view to recent study on the subject. A few paragraphs have been added and many small changes made, but the general position is unaltered. Bishop Collins sent some useful notes almost from his deathbed, and many other friends have helped Prof. Gwatkin with their criticism and advice. A few more books are mentioned for further study at the end of the chapters, but the scholar is referred for a fuller bibliography to Von Schubert or the new work of Dr. Gustav Krüger. Dr. Gwatkin has sought to trace the growth of Christianity in its connexion with the general history of the time, indicating the lines of thought and noting the forces that made for change, and his discussion of the organization of the churches of the Apostolic age is of special value. He says, 'The rough, general equivalence of bishops and elders in the New Testament, has very seldom been disputed since the controversies of the seventeenth century. Upon the whole their position and duties (apart from the question of a possible superior) are not unlike those of the priest as described in the English Ordinal. . . . Upon the whole we meet with elders quite early in the Apostolic age, and deacons

rather later, but we find no trace of bishops in the New Testament.' The note which sums up the evidence as to Peter's visiting Rome, will be useful. The new edition will be welcomed by students, and those who take an interest in Church history will find Prof. Gwatkin's volumes not merely scholarly but really picturesque.

The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research. (1550–1641.) By Champlin Burrage, B. Litt. (Camb.). In 2 vols. Illustrated. (Cambridge University Press. 20*s.* net.)

Mr. Burrage has done lasting service to students by these scholarly volumes. The first is devoted to 'History and Criticism,' the second to 'Illustrative Documents' of unique value and interest. The work is complete in itself, but is part of a larger work which will continue the historical and critical studies and contain an extended bibliography of the literature of the English Anabaptists and Baptists before 1745. The present volumes are not an exhaustive history of dissent, but an introduction to that history and its literature. In his Introduction, Mr. Burrage has some critical notes on the literature of the subject, and notes on 'the strong points of each library' to which a student must turn. That of Lambeth Palace is especially rich in unique or exceptionally scarce books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, collected by Archbishop Bancroft. Dr. Dale described the 'Privy Church' as the 'first regularly constituted English Congregational Church of which any record remains,' but Mr. Burrage shows that its ideal was not a permanent separatist Congregationalism, but a National Church movement led by the queen herself, her princes, and ministers, to 'bryng hence the people of God to the purity and truthe of the apostolycke Churche,' utterly to destroy and remove all relics of Roman Catholicism, and set up what may be described as 'the Apostolycke Church.' Robert Brown was 'the first to outline that religious Utopia which they longed to enjoy, but had no hope to realize.' The particulars here given about John Smyth, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, are of great interest. He became preacher of the City of Lincoln in 1600, but was deposed 'for having approved himself a factious man in this city by personal preaching, and that untruly against divers men of good place.' Mr. Arber's statement that Smyth was 'the Se-Baptist of Church history' is too strong. He was neither the first nor the only Se-Baptist, and his baptism 'consisted merely of his sprinkling himself with water from a basin and probably pronouncing the customary baptismal formula.' Bishop Creighton says, 'None of the English Separatists had a finer mind or a more beautiful soul than John Smith.' Among the documents in the second volume are depositions as to the 'conventiclers at Bocking and Faversham in 1550–1.' Cole of Faversham on 'Lammas daye laste paste saide and affirmed that the doctryne of predestynation was meter for divilles than for *Christian* men.' Other documents relate to the early Barrowists, to

John Penry, Henry Barrowe, and the earliest English Anabaptist congregations. Every student of the period has been laid under a great debt by Mr. Burrage's painstaking and fruitful research.

The Royal Miracle. By A. M. Broadley. (Stanley Paul & Co. 16*s.* net.)

Mr. Broadley dedicates this handsome volume to his companions in the pilgrimage made on September 8–9, 1911, 'over the route followed by Charles II during his wanderings between September 3 and October 15, 1651, and to those good friends who welcomed the pilgrims at Worcester and at Brighton.' The drama entitled *The Royal Oak*, produced by Sir Augustus Harris at Drury Lane in 1889, first drew Mr. Broadley's attention to the close association of West Dorset with the king's flight. The high hedges of Lee Lane are visible from the house where Mr. Broadley was born, and where his preface was written. He gives an interesting account of his collection of all that related to the flight and the happy pilgrimage made last year over the royal route: the papers read to the pilgrims, the itinerary, and a description of the pilgrimage, with a photograph of the pilgrims and of those who took part in the Miraculous Divergence, which was a chief feature in the West Dorset pageant of July 1911. All these are of great interest. But the historic importance of the volume is due to its collection of rare tracts, broadsides, letters, prints and ballads, concerning the royal wanderings. An 'Historical Introduction' gives many details about these curiosities, and the places where Charles found shelter. A rare little volume printed for Th. Jenner in 1651 gives the first version of the legend of the Royal Oak. The humorous author of the *Miraculum Basilikon* says that the 'long-windedness' of Bartholomew Westley, 'the puny, pittiful, dwindling parson of that place,' led to the king's escape at Charmouth, on September 23. The reprints are of the deepest interest, and they are adorned with portraits, facsimiles and other illustrations. The book is a delightful introduction to one of the most romantic events in the history of English royalty. The publishers have entered into the spirit of the pilgrimage, and have made this memorial volume a real treasure.

History of South Australia. Second Edition—Revised, Enlarged and Continued to a Later Period. By the Rev. John Blacket. (Adelaide: Hussey & Gillingham.)

Mr. Blacket has secured a 'foreword' to this second edition of his History from the pen of Sir Samuel Way, who pays a deserved tribute to the original research undertaken by the author and to the animated style in which he tells his story. Every one who is interested in South Australia will be grateful for such a record. It begins with the early explorers, Lieutenant Grant and Captain Flinders, who reached South Australia in the beginning of the last century, and gives much interesting information

about the discussions in Parliament and Press as to the founding of the colony and the arrival of the first party of emigrants in 1836, their social life, their early struggles, the rise of social institutions such as banks, mechanics' institutes, temperance and benevolence societies, with the growth of responsible government, are recorded, and we watch all the various life of the colony unfolding. Mr. Blacket has much to say of religious work in the colony, and gives a special chapter to the 'three pioneer brothers'—Samuel, Edward, and John Stephens. The book is a mine of information as to South Australia, and many portraits and other illustrations add much to its value and interest. We are glad that this able and comprehensive history has reached its second edition. Copies can be ordered through the Methodist Publishing House in London.

The Story of Canterbury. By G. R. Stirling Taylor. Illustrated by Katherine Kimball. (Dent & Sons. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Fliccius's portrait of Cranmer from the painting in the National Portrait Gallery makes a striking frontispiece to this volume of the *Mediaeval Town Series*, and the illustrations throughout are dainty and delicate pieces of work. The story of the city is told in a way that helps a reader to reconstruct the Canterbury of the Middle Ages. To this end the visitor is advised to begin with the little flint-walled parish churches which are still scattered all over the city. The tiny church of St. Martin takes us nearer to the beginning of Canterbury than the Cathedral itself. The history is given in chronological order from the time of the Britons down to our own days, and special chapters are devoted to the city and to the Abbey of St. Augustine. An itinerary of the city and the Cathedral and Priory brings out the distinctive features in a way that visitors will find very serviceable. Good plans and maps add to the value of a brightly written book for which students and visitors have real reason to be thankful.

Letters of William Cowper. Chosen and Edited with a Memoir and a Few Notes. By J. G. Frazer. 2 vols. (Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* net.)

Prof. Frazer has snatched some time from the graver studies in which he is a master to select and edit these letters. Cowper would have felt that a rare compliment, and so will all who love him. Letters have been chosen which bring out the charm and grace of the writer's style and illustrate his life and opinions. Here and there a note has been added, and the Memoir, which covers seventy pages, will enable a reader of the letters to understand most of the allusions and enter into the spirit of the correspondence. It is a beautiful description of the poet's life and friendships, touched with keen sympathy for his sorrows, and some just resentment against those who darkened his mind by their sombre religious teaching. Prof. Frazer finds in Cowper's letters 'the fresh perfume of the flowers

and the fields he loved.' Pope's letters show how he sought to pose before the world as a paragon of virtue and genius. Cowper wrote solely for the eye of his friends, never dreaming that his letters would be published. Hayley's kindness to Cowper is pleasantly recognized, and the enthusiasm of the critics for Hayley's long-forgotten poetry supplies material for much lively satire. 'The bard was swept up to the seventh poetical heaven in a halo of glory and a whirlwind of praise . . . He stood for a time on the lofty pedestal which had been lately vacated by the imperishable Pye, and was afterwards adorned by the immortal Tupper.' Cowper's letters, with one exception, have been printed from Southey's edition, but the selection has been guided somewhat by the editions of Canon Benham and Mr. E. V. Lucas. The two volumes form a mirror of Cowper's character, with pictures of his friends and the rural England of his day. It is a charming lesson in good taste and pure living, and such letters will never lose their attractiveness.

John Hungerford Pollen, 1820-1902. By Anne Pollen. With Portraits and Illustrations. (Murray. 15*s*. net.)

Mr. Pollen's mother was the great-granddaughter of John Jackson, nephew and heir to Samuel Pepys. Her brother, Charles R. Cockerell, was the architect of the Bank of England. She was married in 1815, and on her honeymoon rowed close round the '*Bellerophon* at Plymouth when Napoleon advanced to the side of the ship, and markedly honoured the young bride by a low salute.' John Pollen was trained at Eton and Christ Church. He was ordained by Samuel Wilberforce, and worked for some time in connexion with St. Saviour's, Leeds. Dr. Hook had just become Vicar of Leeds and was deeply distressed by the Romish teaching at St. Saviour's. There is a gross caricature of Methodism in a description of Hook's attempt to purify the life of the town. 'At the start he perceived the inefficiency of the old systems; whether of the Church, held in contempt, or of Dissent, whose total faith and works consisted in the Wesleyan doctrine of Assurance, maintained as it might be through a life of profligacy to an unrepentant deathbed: "Believe that you are saved, and you are saved."' This is a strangely ignorant and ungracious verdict. In 1852 Pollen was received into the Catholic Church. He married the daughter of Mr. La Primaudaye, who had been Manning's curate at West Lavington, and became Professor of Fine Arts in Newman's University at Dublin. On his first interview he found Newman 'most kind, ever so nice, and full of fun.' They became close friends and fellow workers. 'Newman shed cheerfulness as a sunbeam sheds light, even while many difficulties were pressing. Delightful it was to be on his staff, and to hear him draw out, with the gentlest possible forceps, what each friend or professor had to say on his own particular theme, or on some aspect or view that might have escaped himself.' Pollen had a keen dramatic sense and a rare power of mimicry, and was an altogether charming companion. Thackeray was one of his intimate friends, and some pleasant glimpses are given of him. Pollen acquired distinction as a decorative artist and architect.

His work at Blickling Hall, shown in some fine illustrations, was very beautiful and original. He paid many visits to English country houses, and his bright letters to his wife are pleasant reading. In 1868 he was made Assistant Keeper at South Kensington Museum, where he did valuable service for thirteen years. In 1877 he became private secretary to the Marquis of Ripon. The biography gives many glimpses of eminent men and women, and allows us to see the inner life of a Catholic layman whose ability and goodness made a deep impression on all who knew him. The illustrations are a notable feature of the book.

Recollections of a Court Painter. By H. Jones Thaddeus. With Seventeen Illustrations. (John Lane. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is emphatically a readable book. Mr. Thaddeus is a native of Cork, who has enjoyed extraordinary opportunities of mixing in Court circles in England and in Italy, and he has a painter's faculty of observing and depicting the scenes in which he has moved. He gives an amusing account of his experiences as an assistant-master in the Cork school of Art at the age of fourteen, and of the boisterous Bohemian life of the schools in London and Paris. There are passages here and there which we wish he had omitted, and in various matters the tone of the book is not high, but the writer has many pleasant things to tell about his friends and patrons. He was on intimate terms with the late Duke and Duchess of Teck, whom he met at Florence in 1883. Theirs was the happiest household imaginable. Queen Mary, then a girl of seventeen, 'exhibited a remarkable maturity and soundness of judgement, a judgement on which her mother relied, and which, later, guided most of H.R.H.'s actions.' At Florence in 1887 Mr. Thaddeus painted Mr. Gladstone, being duly warned by the statesman's wife, 'above all things, my dear, agree with him in everything he says.' The fine portrait now hangs in the dining-room at the Reform Club. Of Florence and Rome the artist has much to tell which is deeply interesting to English readers. He painted Leo XIII twice, and took the first portrait of the present Pope. Many little incidents throw light on the life of the Vatican, and Mr. Thaddeus is very frank in his criticisms. He made friends with the General of the Jesuits, Father Anderledy, and when he was suffering from a severe attack of bronchitis the painter got a stove placed in his icy bedroom and insisted on a doctor being called in. The General was in a bad way, and was quite without proper attention till Mr. Thaddeus came to the rescue. The account of Whistler is painful, and we are disposed to add prejudiced also. Some glimpses of the luxury of fashionable society will open the eyes of the reader, but the tribute to Lord Cromer's work in Egypt is impressive. Gordon does not win the painter's approval, but we do not think the strictures passed on him here will carry much weight. Mr. Thaddeus has a pen full of colour, and his descriptions of the railway collision which he witnessed at Monte Carlo, the earthquake at Nice, and his travels in Australia are very vivid. The paintings here reproduced are instinct with life and character, and the whole book is full of spice and spirit.

Recollections of the Life of Miles MacInnes. Compiled by his sister, Anna Grace MacInnes. With Illustrations. (Longmans & Co. 5*s*. net.)

Miles MacInnes was one of the directors of the London and North Western Railway, who inherited the estate of Rickerby, near Carlisle, from Mr. Head, the banker. He became one of the most honoured and beloved laymen of the North, sat in Parliament for some years as member for the Hexham division of Northumberland, and took an active interest in the work of the Church of England. A more honourable or true-hearted man it would have been difficult to find, and these Recollections show his happy home-life, his love of fishing and shooting, and the zest with which he threw himself into his duties as a railway director. His father had been in the service of the East India Company and owed his commission to Mr. Charles Grant, who is here described as author of his son Robert's hymn, 'When gathering clouds around I view.' Miles MacInnes went to Rugby and Balliol, and was much liked by his old master Dr. Tait, who spent his last week at Rickerby before going from Carlisle Deanery to Fulham Palace. There are some interesting notes of travel in Europe and America. Mr. MacInnes was at Sedan on the first anniversary of the battle. An intelligent German pastor, whose church had been converted into a hospital, said 'the wounded Germans were always comforted by hymns or verses of the Bible; the French cried out for their mothers.' The whole book is homely and unconventional as befits a record of one whom Dr. Jex-Blake called 'the most lovable man I ever knew,' and of whom Miss Kingsley says, 'No man, except my father, has ever more impressed me with what God's nearness means, in actual daily life to a man of action, a sort of steadfast serenity, a boundless tolerance, coupled with an absolute hatred of what was low, or mean, or wrong, that permeated every look and thought and word.' The illustrations add to the interest of a pleasant biography.

Reminiscences of my Early Ministry. By F. W. Macdonald. (Jarrold & Sons. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Mr. Macdonald's four years of probation as a Wesleyan minister have yielded a rich crop of reminiscences. Three of them were spent in Burslem and one in Liverpool. He had been studying at Owens College, where he gained the prize in the Greek Testament class; then he suddenly found himself in an important circuit with large congregations that drew out all that was best in the young minister. How splendidly Mr. Macdonald met the situation this volume shows. He had a wise counsellor and a true friend in his noble and gifted father, to whose memory this book is dedicated, and he did not fail to profit by the advice given him. Some of the most charming pages of these Recollections describe Mr. Macdonald's relations to the working men and women of the Potteries. How generously they entertained the young preacher and what care they took of him when

he ventured to hold a service for the navvies! The humorous and the pathetic lie close together in this record, and no story loses when Mr Macdonald tells it. He visits the dying, takes the drunken man upstairs for his 'beauty-sleep,' acts as friend and counsellor of all the flock. The chapter on 'Sermon-making' is short, but it is a plea for extempore preaching in the best sense. On the whole, Mr. Macdonald thinks the best plan is to put the stress of preparation into the mastering of the subject and to care less for well-written pages than for such cultivation of his powers as will enable a man to clothe his thought in words that will carry his meaning direct to the hearts of his hearers. The book is full of spirit, and many a preacher will profit by the ripe wisdom of a very touching and beautiful record.

History of London. By Helen Douglas-Irvine. (Constable & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This history begins with London before the Conquest, and comes down to our own times. It is picturesque in style, and is well mapped out. Some good illustration and plans add to its value as one of the best popular histories of London yet written. The first notice of the city is in the pages of Tacitus, in A.D. 62. It was then unwalled, but had risen to some importance as a fort. The houses were scattered about in gardens and orchards. The Romans made it the chief centre of their road system, and this gave it a unique place in the country. After the Romans had withdrawn, its trade and population probably dwindled almost to nothing. The city is re-discovered through the writings of Bede in the beginning of the seventh century. Saxon London, then built of wood, was 'a centre of trade, the capital of a kingdom, and a cathedral town. Its life probably centred in the cathedral precincts, for there, where until the sixteenth century stood the city belfry, was the meeting-place of the folkmoot.' William the Conqueror granted the city a Charter in which he declared the citizens to be law-worthy. 'I grant that every child shall be his father's heir after his father's days; and I will not suffer any person to do you wrong.' It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of the Church in Mediaeval London. Religion was the supreme fact in the citizen's life, and he believed that he could only obtain it by means of the Church. The book is a delightful record of the history of our great city.

Mr. Mackail's *Life of William Morris* has now been reprinted in Longman's Pocket Library (2 vols. 4*s.* net), with a portrait and Mr. New's drawing of the Manor House, Kelmscott, as frontispieces. It is a dainty edition bound in neat green covers with gold back. The type is good, and every one who wishes to have his own copy of a recognized classic will welcome such a charming reprint. The merits of Morris as poet and artist are being recognized as they never were before, and this biography admits us to a delightful intimacy with a noble-hearted man.

David Livingstone. By C. Silvester Horne, M.P. (Macmillans. 1*s.* net.) There are many books on Livingstone, but this has its own charm, which will win it a welcome everywhere. It describes Livingstone's work

as explorer and missionary in a vivid style, and allows us to see the motives that lay at the root of his heroism. It is just the sketch that will arrest the attention of young readers and busy men and women. To read it is an inspiration to fortitude and high Christian purpose.

William Owen. By S. Parkes Cadman. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.) This is a brief biography of a Shropshire miner, a Wesleyan local preacher and class-leader, who did heroic service in the district lying round the Wrekin. Dr. Cadman knew him well and had a warm admiration for him. The homely miner had rare gifts as a spiritual teacher and guide, and this book is not merely pleasant to read, but is a living picture of a class of men to whom Methodism owes a debt which it can never pay.

Analecta Bollandia. Tomus 31, Fasc. 2 and 3. (Bruxelles.) A portrait and sketch is given of R. P. Albert Poncelet, who died last January. For a quarter of a century he had been one of the most learned and sagacious of the Bollandists, whose dissertations, critical studies and editions of texts bear witness to his knowledge and untiring industry. The chief feature of this number is the memoirs of saints and martyrs of Thrace and Mesia. Some of the texts are well known, others have almost entirely escaped the attention of scholars.

Mr. Francis Griffiths sends us the first three numbers of *The Lecture Library*, a series intended to supply material for writers and speakers and to give busy men a general view of subjects of special interest. Three or four are to be published in a month. Sixty-four octavo pages give room for much interesting detail, and bibliographies are added. The place of honour is given to *John Wesley: The Evangelist of England*, by G. Herbert Bloye. He quotes many racy passages from the *Journal*, gives a clear outline of Wesley's life, with a table of dates and much good material for lecturers. Mr. J. Lee Osborn's subject, *The English Prayer Book*, is of great interest and is well handled; and *Crusades and Crusaders*, edited by Percy Aclan, gathers up much lively old-world matter for which a whole library would have to be ransacked. The series promises well.

Dr. Lansdell has just published the third part of *Princess Aelfreda's Charity* (7*d.* by post), which gives the personal history of Sir John Morden, the Founder of the College at Blackheath. In 1669, seven years after his marriage, he purchased the estate which is now Blackheath Park, and he and his wife lived there for the rest of their days. Dr. Lansdell gives many details as to the foundation and the rules of the College, and as to Sir John's burial in 1708. The care lavished on this little history will make it of real service to all who wish to trace the history of a foundation which is still doing valuable service.

Some Palestinian Cults of the Graeco-Roman Age. By G. F. Hill. (Frowde. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) In this learned paper from the Proceedings of the British Academy, Mr. Hill examines some evidence as to the existence in Hellenistic and Roman times of local cults and mythology in certain districts of Palestine. The evidence is drawn almost entirely from coins, of which some interesting representations are given. The paper will be of special interest to Semitic scholars.

GENERAL

London's Underworld. By Thomas Holmes. (Dent & Sons. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Holmes is master of his subject, and he knows how to bring out all its sombre, pitiful interest. He holds that some of the methods now in use for coping with great evils really increase them. The poor creatures who congregate on the Thames Embankment and enter the cheap shelters 'constitute the lowest grade and the least hopeful class of the submerged.' Nothing but compulsion will ever induce them to submit to disciplined life. The number of lodging-house habitués increases year by year, and no redemptive effort has had the slightest effort in checking the increase. He would detain such nomads in places that will allow permanent detention and segregation, and thinks that then prisons would be less numerous, workhouses, casual wards and asylums less necessary, and England be happier, sweeter, and more free. Some terrific stories of marriage in the underworld show how terrible a risk any girl runs who marries a man with the hope of reforming him. The little children of the underworld will compare in beauty and in mental gifts and graces with those of the upperworld, though their faces become prematurely old and many splendid qualities wither from disuse or perish from lack of development. The Bethnal Green shoemaker who had been paralysed for years and read everything he could get hold of forms a pleasant picture, and so does 'the cultured family of the slums.' We are surprised that Mr. Holmes defends 'pitch and toss,' but his idea is that it supplies real play for which the underworld youth is for ever crying. But what of the gambling instinct and its fascination! Mr. Holmes allows us to see how he has been cheated and thwarted in the underworld through which he leads us, and his toleration and clear-sighted view of realities make this book very impressive and intensely interesting.

The Four Men. A Farrago. By H. Belloc. (Nelson & Sons. 2*s.* net.)

Mr. Belloc has got the Sussex atmosphere into his book of wanderings. He loves his native county with all his heart, and as the four men wander over it singing snatches of song and discoursing on old inns and telling stories of St. Dunstan's encounter with the devil at Mayfield, the spell of Sussex seems to lay hold on the reader, though he will wish that some of the discussions had been pruned and room found for more of those little glimpses of scenery which Mr. Belloc gives with such mastery. The goal of his pilgrimage was 'the great platform just above Balston, where all the world lies out before one. Eastward into the night for fifty miles stretched

the wall of the Downs, and it stretched westward towards the coloured sky where a full but transfigured daylight still remained. Southward was the belt of the sea, very broad, as it is from these bare heights, and absolutely still; nor did any animal move in the brushwood near me to insult the majesty of that silence. Northward before me and far below swept the Weald.' Those who love Sussex will treasure this book, and every reader will want to know more of a glorious county which to many is almost unknown.

The Westminster Hymnal. The Music edited by Richard R. Terry, Mus. Doc. (R. & F. Washbourne. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This Hymnal is that approved by the Roman Catholic prelates, with seven additions, which bring the number up to 250. There is also a beautiful little set of Latin hymns. Dr. Perry, the organist and choirmaster of Westminster Cathedral, has selected or written the tunes and harmonies. The hymns are already familiar to Catholic congregations, but the musical setting is more scientific and satisfactory than anything yet available, and the Bishop of Newport strongly recommends the book to all concerned. Dr. Perry says in his Preface that many of the tunes have been in use on the Continent, where they have stood the test of centuries. All the popular tunes in common use amongst English-speaking Catholics are included. Up till now each congregation has had its own version to the melodies of even the most popular hymns. In this collection the earliest form of such melodies is given, and the keys chosen put the tune within the range of the average singer's voice. Both tunes and hymns are from Catholic sources, though in the case of continental tunes constant use among Catholic congregations has been deemed sufficient warrant for inclusion. The plainsong melodies are from the Vatican Gradual or the Solesmes Antiphoner. The number of hymns to 'The Blessed Virgin' will impress a Protestant reader. Dr. Terry has done his work with care and skill, though tradition has compelled the inclusion of some unworthy music, and beautiful tunes have been excluded because they were by Protestant composers.

An Examination of the Philosophy of the Unknowable as Expounded by Herbert Spencer. By W. M. Lacy. (Philadelphia : Sherman & Co.)

This is the reprint of a book first published in 1883. It was welcomed at the time in our pages as a courteous and effective criticism of several of the fundamental propositions in Herbert Spencer's philosophy. Nor on re-reading it do we find any reason to change or seriously to qualify our original opinion. The author was a gifted man of acute and logical mind, shrewd in analysis, the master of a literary style not unlike Spencer's own, but superior in finish and vigour. He died twenty years ago; this

book, if less in season than when it first came from the press, is still a useful summary of the defects in a philosophy now no longer in the ascendant. A letter of five pages on the freedom of the will is prefixed. It would have been better omitted, as it represents a past phase of the controversy, and shows that the writer was more skilled in metaphysics than in psychology.

Gardening for the Ignorant. By Mrs. C. W. Earle and Ethel Case. (Macmillans. 1*s.* net.)

Compared with Mrs. Earle we are all ignorant, and few pleasures are greater for a lover of flowers and plants than to sit at her feet. Miss Case had to plant and arrange a garden for herself last year, and in doing so found that her ignorance of the vegetable garden was hard to dispel, and that all the books she consulted gave vague directions. This experience led her and Mrs. Earle to write a book of practical counsels for beginners. It is arranged according to the months, but what cannot be done in January must be done in February. Here are hints as to the best seedsmen, directions as to soils, names of seeds, &c., hardy annuals, with lessons in planting, pruning, and all the work of each month in the year. Vegetarians will find many things of special interest to them. The book is delightful reading, and those who follow its counsels will soon find that they have passed out of the crowd of the ignorant into the circle of those who really know and love garden work.

The Mechanics of the Aeroplane: A Study of the Principles of Flight. By Captain Duchêne. Translated from the French by John H. Ledeboer, B.A., and T. O'B. Hubbard. (Longmans & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The purpose of this book is to explain the main principles of dynamic flight and give the ordinary reader an insight into the various problems involved in the motion and equilibrium of the aeroplane. It shows how to calculate in the simplest possible manner the various elements and conditions of flight. The translators, who are themselves masters in the new science, warn us that the intricate problems here handled are not given in their final and conclusive form. The range of experiments is as yet too narrow to give anything save approximate results. Those who have a simple knowledge of mathematics and mechanics will be able to follow Captain Duchêne's arguments and calculations. He is one of the brilliant French engineer officers who have taken such an important part in the development of the aeroplane, and his work was awarded the Monthyon prize of 1911 by the Academy of Science. The first and longest part of the treatise deals with the support of the machine in still air, apart altogether from any question of equilibrium or stability; the second is devoted to the consideration of longitudinal, lateral, and directional stability in still air, and of the difficult art of turning; the third part treats of the effect

of wind on the aeroplane. Regular winds, irregular wind-currents, atmospheric pulsations and gusts are all considered in detail. Such a book is a notable sign of the times.

Oahspe. (Letchworth Oahspe Home. 4*s.*)

This extraordinary book is described in its title-page as 'A Light of Kosmon in the Words of the Creator through his Angel Ambassadors, revealing unto mortals the creation of worlds, and the history and dominion of Gods and Lords on earth, even down to this present time, and also gives a new lesson to show how to build "Our Father's Kingdom on earth," in love, wisdom, peace, and righteousness.' It is not necessary to comment. Christianity with a fine disregard of chronology is linked with Brahmin, Buddhist, and Mohammedan as the four heads into which the Beast (self) divides itself. Much material is drawn from the Old Testament, but it is a medley that baffles description, and the plates at the end are a series of wonders.

Poems. By Clifford King. (Kegan Paul & Co. 5*s.* net.)

Mr. King's volume covers a wide field. It gives Coronation odes, dramatic poems, sonnets, classical subjects and miscellaneous poetry. They are carefully wrought by a thinker and dreamer but they do not move quite easily. The lines 'To the River Wye at Hay' have a pensive note which is impressive. The river is compared to Time—

> The sighs, the prayers, the tears, of mortal man
> Waste on the mocking ear of both, and are
> Absorbed like dewdrops and the common things!

'Only Thou,' a little love song, is one of the gems of the volume. There is power and deep feeling in some of the poems.

The Tree of Knowledge. In four acts. With prologue. By W. Day. (Gresham Press. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. Day has rather a sombre subject, the death of Pharaoh, and the tragic fate of his son, who loses his memory and is married to a woman who does not love him. Court intrigue fills a large place in the drama, but the old soldier, who is the strong man of the story, comes at last to a strong faith in a God of Almighty Power. The thought is well worked out and well expressed. There is a quiet strength about the whole, and some passages linger in the memory.

> True prayer is all attention—it refines,
> And truly felt can wondrous changes work,
> So that affliction passes as a cloud—
> Its work done for it, as it hovers by.
> The call is answered and the seed is sown.

John in Prison and other Poems. By E. J. Thompson. (T. F. Unwin. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. Thompson's gift is growing. His verse is well polished, and it has rich thought as well as dainty phrase. The sonnet on p. 47 is a striking achievement for a boy of sixteen, and the pair of Sunset verses have a fine suggestiveness. The lines on the tiny bunny pinned

beneath a cap form a pleasant wayside picture, and the sacred pieces touch some very fine chords.

The Religious Tract Society has issued five beautiful Copping Calendars. The large one (*2s. 6d.*) has four fine pictures printed in sepia with great skill. It is a real pleasure to look on these Bible scenes. The smaller Calendars (*1s.* each), have six pictures printed in the same style. Each has its own individuality, and all are excellent.

A new edition of *Lotus Buds*, by Amy Wilson-Carmichael, (Morgan & Scott. *6s.*), should not be overlooked by those who wish to know something about Indian children. Fifty beautiful photographs enrich the volume, and its accounts of the little folk are very attractive. The way in which many of them have been saved from the horrors of Temple life is really heroic.

Scripture Teaching in Secondary Schools. Edited by P. N. Wood, M.A., B.D. (Cambridge University Press. *1s. 6d.* net.) These papers were read at a Conference held in Cambridge last April. The importance of giving sound and adequate Scripture teaching to senior scholars is so great that the opinions of Prof. Burkitt, who acknowledges his personal debt to Edward Bowen's lessons at Harrow, Dr. Swete, Dr. Foakes-Jackson, Dr. Kennett, and other experts will be eagerly studied. There is much sane and judicious counsel in these addresses, and teachers will find real help for their own work.

Iscariot's Bitter Love. (Headley Bros. *1s.* net.) Judas is represented in this poem as a jealous lover of Christ, who would not have grudged Mary's spikenard if only she had left his Master to him. He is seized by a kind of madness which he can explain to none. The closing scenes of our Lord's life are described with force and beauty, till in the final scene Judas calls on the powers that 'deal in darkness' to sell him their fullest measures:

I buy the darkness now with all my blood.

The Tragedy of Amy Robsart. A Play in Five Parts. By Harold Hardy. (R. Banks & Son. *2s. 6d.* net.) Mr. Hardy has entered into the spirit of this old story and makes it live again. According to his version, for which recent research gives ample warrant, Leicester is innocent of Amy's death. She throws herself down the stairs in despair. The play is well phrased, and has much force and not a little beauty in its blank verse.

The Official Year-Book of the Church of England, 1912. (S.P.C.K. *8s.*) This is the thirtieth year of issue. The number of Candidates for Ordination has been 711, an increase of 89 over 1910. So high a total has not been reached since 1895, when the number was 720. The volume is edited with great care, and is full of information as to all sides of the Church's work.

Burlesques and Parodies, by G. H. Powell (Heffer & Sons. *1s.* net), is a little budget of learned fun. There is some real amusement to be got out of its bright pages.

King Solomon, by Mary, Princess Karadja (Kegan Paul & Co. *6s.*), is a strange drama with still stranger commentaries intended to bring out its mystic meaning.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

An article of great present public interest and of permanent value in the current *Quarterly* (July–Sept.) by Mr. A. F. Tredgold gives the substance of ten recent publications on 'Eugenics.' The writer's own attitude towards the movement he discusses is one of caution and discrimination. 'There can be no doubt,' he says, 'that, although recent advances in medical science, social reform, and philanthropy have benefited the biologically fit, they have had a far greater effect in making easier the conditions of existence of the biologically unfit. In fact, the whole tendency of modern sentiment and present-day civilization is not so much to aid the fit as to favour the survival and propagation of the unfit. I do not suggest for a moment that we should revert to the methods of Nature or primitive man. Altruism is a quality which marks a higher evolution of the race; and it is not for its abolition, but for its further extension to posterity, to the well-being of future humanity, that I would plead. The future happiness and progress of man requires that the race should be healthy and vigorous; and this can only be secured by taking such steps as will prevent the propagation of the degenerate. I would lay it down as a fundamental principle that, as soon as the development of civilization and humanitarian sentiment reaches a stage at which it causes the survival of the unfit, then the highest interest of the race, the most perfect altruism, demand that measures should be adopted which will prevent these unfit from propagating their kind.' Other papers of much literary interest are Mr. Stephen Reynolds's fine appreciation of 'that master of sea fiction,' Joseph Conrad, and the Rev. A. Fawkes's critical estimate of 'The Ideas of Mrs. Humphry Ward.' Of Mrs. Ward's art the writer says: 'She is an artist, but her art is not instinctive. It suggests the collector or the critic who is master of this subject and of the various ways of treating it, but whose lips are untouched by the sacred fire. Her characters, particularly her women, are skilfully drawn and often finely coloured. Moreover, they are alive, but there is nothing inevitable about them. They stand for an idea, a moral, an association; they are by-products of thought, not up-wellings of spontaneous life. This is even more markedly the case with her men. Elsmere, Meynell, Raeburn are in the first instance preachers; the message is more than the man. . . . This was Wordsworth's point of view: "I wish," said he, "to be considered as a teacher or as nothing." . . . Her style, at times, reaches distinction. The sense of landscape is, perhaps, readier than the instinct for human nature. . . .'

The July *Edinburgh*, under the new editorship of Mr. Harold Cox, has, for the first time, several signed articles, among the most striking of which

is Mr. Francis Gribble's on the *Rousseau Bicentenary*. 'One may vote his fiction unreadable,' he says, 'but one has to admit that it founded a school which came to prevail, not in France only, but throughout Europe. One may declare his philosophy unsound, and his political opinions deplorable; but the fact remains that they shook society to its foundations. . . . There were many men among his contemporaries of stronger character and acuter intellect, who were far less successful in capturing the popular imagination and influencing the popular mind—Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert, for instance.' The rest of the article, with the help of French writers like Faguet and Lemaitre, is devoted to answering the question, 'How is this?' 'His writings,' says Mr. Gribble, 'were vital in this sense: that they embody a principle which was new when he propounded it, and of which the world, having once laid hold of it, will not willingly let go. That principle is, of course, the essential equality of all men, the essential artificiality of those differences between them upon which the "privileges" of privileged classes are based.'

The Dublin Review (July–September) opens with a brilliant article on W. G. Ward, *Ideal Ward*, by Canon Barry, who dwells especially on his relations with Newman, and remarks upon the fact that 'Newman deliberately passed over Ward's name in the *Apologia*.' He thinks that 'Neither in the Oxford Movement nor in the Catholic Revival did this undeniably keen intellect, with its great driving force, win the acknowledgement it deserved'; and he sums up a fine and not unsympathetic estimate as follows: 'The acquisitions he has left us are—a vision of the Church, not as a memory or an antique, but as here and now speaking to all men; a method of silencing the sceptic by compelling him to see primary truths with his own intellect; a way into the realm of Ethical Law by conscience guiding and judging; and the singular pathos which hangs about a life touched with brilliant rays of comedy, with suffering, and with a warmth of benevolence unquenched by years of polemics, or by the misunderstanding that cost him his dearest friend, the St. John of the nineteenth century.' Other notable articles are: *Leo XIII and Anglican Orders*, by the editor, Mr. Wilfrid Ward; *The Preternatural in Early Irish Poetry*, by Mr. A. P. Graves; and *The Work of Robert Schumann*, by Mr. P. A. Harris. Schumann, says Mr. Harris, shares with Wagner 'the honour of being the most didactic of the great composers.' He wrote few 'catchy melodies.' 'The word "romance" is not more appropriate to the work than to the life' of this poet-musician. 'The composer of *Paradise and the Peri* is never trivial, never commonplace; his most striking characteristic was originality and romanticism; he showed an extraordinary faculty for blending classical forms and modern feeling.'

In a luminous article in the August *Contemporary* on the causes, consequences, and lessons of the London Dock Strike, Mr. Harold Spender condemns the whole system of casual labour at the Port, and discusses the duty of the Government in relation to this and other labour troubles. The present system, he says, is immensely costly to the country. The wages of casual labour have to be supplemented out of the rates; and the

income of the charities of the Metropolis, most of which go to the East End, is enormous. It now exceeds £12,000,000 a year. As to the cost of the strike, Mr. Spender estimates the loss to the community for the month of June alone at £7,000,000, and he observes that 'if this sum of money, instead of being thrown into the mud of the Thames, had been spent on the improvement of the East of London, it is not too much to say that all the dreams of East London reformers, from Arnold Toynbee, Canon Barnett, and Walter Besant, down to the latest missionary from our Universities that goes to Toynbee Hall or Oxford House, could have been realized.' 'The aim of the future,' he says, 'must be to take East London and its like out of the sphere of philanthropy and the Poor Law, and to raise them into the atmosphere of serious political and social endeavour.' In the same number, Mr. W. G. Kingsland, a friend of the poet for twenty years, details some interesting *Browning Memories*, dwelling on his 'exceeding kindness of heart,' and throwing welcome light on his religious views. In one conversation, 'the talk veered round to matters of high moment, and he spoke with rapt certainty of the soul's immortality, expressing concurrence with the vital doctrines of the Christian faith.' Once he said 'he saw nothing incredible in the recorded miracles of Christ, or in the greatest miracle of all.'

The Oxford and Cambridge Review, which was once a quarterly, is now issued monthly, and the price has been reduced from half-a-crown to a shilling without any alteration in size or quality. Its contents are both grave and lively, and its range is wide. The paper most likely to interest our readers in the August number is that by Mr. John Straight, on *The Decline of Religion in England*; but its conclusions will surprise them and give rise to much dispute. 'Anglicanism,' he says, 'has lost enormously during the last fifty years. It has lost chiefly to secularism, but also in a certain measure to the Free Churches. The active membership of the Free Churches is, however, declining absolutely as well as relatively, showing a further loss for Protestant Christianity to secularism. The Catholic Church is the only form of organized Christianity in this country which has not been losing members either to the Church of England or to the Free Churches or to secularism. Thus even if it has done no more than increase its membership in proportion to the increase of the total population, it has, at least, held its ground, while all other denominations have been steadily declining round it.'

In the *National Review* for August, writing on *The Intellectual Bankruptcy of Socialism, and Syndicalism as a Proposed Substitute*, Mr. W. H. Mallock says that Syndicalism, as an economic theory, 'represents a harking back to everything in the Socialism of the past which the educated Socialists of to-day have rejected as crude and obsolete. It is a harking back to the doctrine, together with those directly associated with it by Marx, that all wealth is the product of manual labour alone. Such doctrines are like the stale dregs of beer which Socialists of the more thoughtful kind have left in their abandoned glasses; and with these dregs the new Trade Unionists fuddle themselves, and reel into the world mistaking

inebriety for the illumination of knowledge, and advertise their condition by shouting that they are going to stagger humanity.'

Hibbert Journal (July).—This number presents fewer features of interest than usual. Dr. Max Nordau preaches a characteristic sermon on degeneration. Civilization is not imperilled by it, he says, but civilized people are 'Anthropologically, the large town is ruinous, for progress it is indispensable.' The town represents the last outposts, it wins in the Olympic games of the mind and succumbs; the county areas keep the nation organically sound, and give it 'a fund of character, warriors, a stock for human breeding.' These cheap generalizations only partially correspond with facts. Mr. C. G. Montefiore thinks that 'the significance of Jesus for his own age' was that he caused the fundamental beliefs of Judaism to become the possession of the world at large. If there were no more in Christianity than this, why the age-long feud between Jews and Christians? The Bishop of Tasmania writes on 'The Church, the World and the Kingdom,' pointing out how the three interpenetrate at many points, and 'are joined into an organic unity by an infinity of living fibres.' The question is, Can the Church win the world for the Kingdom? Rev. A. W. Blunt tries to answer this question in the next paper, on *The Ungodly Organization of Society*. He holds that if the Church is to show the world a better and more abiding corporate life than modern society can boast it must be upon a broader basis than sacerdotalism and the sacramental system. We quite agree, but a large portion of Christendom persists in identifying Christianity with sacramentalism, and in the Church of England this tendency increases rather than diminishes. Rev. E. W. Lummis writes on the Great Ejectment of 1662, and Rev. G. E. French contributes a somewhat belated article on the *Interpretation of Prophecy*. Two very interesting papers in our judgement are those on *The Sistine Madonna*, by A. A. Bowman, illustrating the principles of sacred art and a plea—quite unconvincing, but very suggestive—for *The Gods of Epicurus*, by B. A. G. Fuller. Dr. Dawes-Hicks's review of Ward's *Pluralism and Theism* is singularly able and good.

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—The first article on *The Meaning of Mysticism*, by Rev. H. Kelly, contains a criticism of a very able paper on the same subject published in a recent number of this *Review* by Mr. Quick. Mr. Kelly's temperament is anything but mystical, his style is colloquial, not to say slangy, and some of his illustrations are quite irrelevant. His banter about a 'collar-stud' is unworthy of the subject. The Notes and Studies this quarter deal with the Introductions of the West-Saxon Psalms, and The Rule of Truth in Irenaeus, whilst Prof. Burkitt, in a short comment, brings out the meaning of 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' in John ii. 4. Mr. Burkitt's review of Schweitzer, Gardner and Lake on St. Paul is also illuminating.

The Expositor (July and August).—Prof. E. König contributes two papers on the Consummation of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ, which build up a cumulative argument of solidity and cogency. Dr. Forsyth

writes characteristically on *Self-Denial and Self-Committal*. The distinction between true and false self-abnegation in Christianity needs to be continually pointed out afresh. Dr. Forsyth's evangelical position is shown by his sentence, 'Christianity is not the sacrifice we make, but the Sacrifice we trust.' Rev. W. L. Walker's paper on *The Sub-Conscious, the Super-Conscious and the Person of Christ* will repay perusal. Dr. Sanday has not won many converts to his speculative views on this subject. Mr. Walker not only points out their weakness—very respectfully—but shows in what direction lies the solution of the problem with which Dr. Sanday was occupied. The serial articles in this periodical are continued—each with an interest of its own—Dr. Kennedy's *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, Prof. Oman's *Personality and Grace*, and Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day*.

The Expository Times (July and August).—Amongst the heavier and abler articles at present being published in this magazine are Dr. Garvie's papers on the *Doctrine of the Incarnation in the Creeds*. We would especially commend that in the August number to the careful study of theological students. Dr. Paul Feine's articles on *Positive Theological Research in Germany* give an instructive view of present currents of theological thought in Germany. Dr. J. A. Beet contributes a paper on *The Writings of John*, in which he adduces 'important overlooked evidence,' and criticizes some of the positions taken up by Dr. Moffatt in his recent *Introduction to the New Testament*.

Church Quarterly Review (July).—Dr. Headlam writes on Newman. His proposal to establish a religious community in Oxford failed. 'He found himself then as always met by a narrow, cruel, tortuous ecclesiastical policy, and by the ineradicable mistrust of the more extreme and active members of his Church, and the scheme was prohibited.' Dr. Headlam regards Dean Church as 'in some ways the most able man that Tractarianism sent forth' with 'the deepest knowledge and the finest judgement on the Church History of England of his own time.' Prof. Briggs of Union Theological Seminary, New York, has an article on *Symbolics and Irenics*, which deals with the three Creeds, and that last and highest development of Christian Symbolics, which 'studies the concord of Christendom, and on that basis shows the true unity of the Church of Christ.' It is 'the resultant of all the previous theological disciplines, and it puts the capstone upon them all.'

Holborn Review (July).—The place of honour is given in this number to *Newmanus Vinctus*, by Wilbert F. Howard, B.D., a discussion of Newman's position in the Church of Rome as described in Wilfrid Ward's life of the Cardinal. The title is an apt one for the description of a tragedy ending in a triumph. Dr. James Lindsay's fertile pen is occupied with a paper on *Literary Criticism and Creation*, but it is too short for the consideration of so large a subject. The article on *Mysticism* is a brief review by Thomas Dale of Miss Underhill's standard book on the subject. The statement of the writer that 'no temperament is less slothful than the mystic one,' shows

the dangers of aphorizing. *Ariel . . . the Shorter Catechist* is the title of a charming little sketch of R. L. Stevenson by A. W. Harrison, B.D., and the *Centenary of Robert Browning's Birth* is commemorated in a paper by W. E. Lead. Other articles are on *Some Great Historic Hymns*, by J. Dorricott, and *Agnosticism True and False*, by F. Hobson. The contents of the whole number are varied and interesting.

The International Review of Missions (July).—Chéng Ching-yi, pastor of a self-supporting Church in Peking connected with the London Missionary Society, thinks that the time has come for a United Chinese Christian Church, self-supporting and self-governing. The existing missions might, he thinks, be more active in training men and women for the Chinese Christian Church and be its advisers in things spiritual and material. The ground should be apportioned to various councils all linked together, and separate parts known only by the places where they work, such as 'The Chinese Christian Church at Peking.' The writer calls attention to the advantages which China possesses for such union in its own language and its splendid means of communication. It is a great help to see such a problem through Chinese spectacles. Sir Andrew Fraser's article on *The Educational Situation in India and its Bearing on Missionary Policy* deserves special attention. Government and people alike realize the necessity for vigorous advance. It is significant that the percentage of educated women and girls is very much higher among Christians than among the adherents of any other creed. The *Review* is full of important missionary papers.

British Journal of Inebriety (July).—The Rev. J. H. Bateson's paper on *Alcoholism in the Army* gives a most encouraging account of the progress of the Army Temperance Association. The Government of India sanctioned the allotment of a separate room in each soldiers' institute for the use of the Association, where alcohol was not admitted. To this temperance room principally, it is due that in India to-day there are no fewer than 31,211 soldiers who are total abstainers. That counter-attraction to the canteen has won the day for temperance. 'The needs of the total abstainer are as much cared for as those of the drinking man.'

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (July).—Dr. Warschauer's article on *Liberal Theology in Great Britain* hails 'a coming triumph' of the liberalism in which he believes, 'for the sole and simple reason that we can see nothing to stop it.' The three main arguments against the rationalizing Christianity he advocates are alleged to be the sceptical, the scriptural, and the eschatological. Of these he considers the second to be the strongest. It is the only one of the three on which evangelical believers really rely; and it is impregnable unless the critical views popular in a certain school come to be generally accepted. Dr. Warschauer holds that if 'liberal theology' were triumphant it would still retain a firm faith in 'the historic Jesus, who is also the Divine Christ, the Express Image of God's Substance.'

We wonder what the latter two phrases precisely mean, and how many of the school in question would subscribe to them. Dr. H. R. Mackintosh's able paper in another part of this *Review* should be read in this connexion, in which he urges that 'judged by the massive trend of Christian life and achievement, the liberal conception of Jesus cannot stand.' The New Testament and Christian experience together, we may add, have nothing to fear from the rationalistic speculations of the twentieth, any more than of the eighteenth, century. An interesting paper on *The Alleged Persecution of the Christians at Lyons in* A.D. *177*, seeks to show that the account in Eusebius is not to be trusted, and that Marcus Aurelius was not the persecutor that tradition asserts him to have been. The 'psychological definition of religion,' suggested in a paper by W. K. Wright of the University of Indiana, attempts to include all 'religious' acts—a magic spell or incantation, the counting the beads of a rosary, the repetition of 'Om' and the silent prayer of a Christian believer. It is thus expressed: 'A distinct act of his consciousness, enlisting in his service an agency other than the ego of that moment of his consciousness for the purpose of securing a value.' Readers who study psychological definitions will doubtless be edified by this explanation of religion. A paper on *Practical Theology and Ministerial Efficiency* is an additional illustration of the tendency just now on the other side of the Atlantic to subordinate everything in the training of ministers to immediate 'efficiency'—very narrowly interpreted—in practical work. Education of this type does not, as a rule, last long, though it is easy to understand the reasons for a reaction against some old-fashioned and ineffective methods of ministerial training.

The Methodist Review (New York) (July–August) opens with an interesting article by E. W. Miller on *Adolf Harnack in the Class-room*. Prof. W. J. Davidson of Evanston writes on *The Psychology of the Pulpit*, and it is refreshing to see a paper on *Lancelot Andrewes and the Minister's Prayers*. Pray with Bishop Andrewes for a week, it has been said, and he will be thy companion for the residue of thy years. The writer is evidently indebted to Dr. Alex. Whyte for an inspiration which he is handing on to others. Two articles on art may be mentioned, one on *Josef Israels*, and another on *The Moral Meaning of Italian Art*.

The Methodist Review (Nashville) (July).—President Faunce, who delivered the Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University this year, publishes one of them as the opening article in this *Review*, entitled *The Aim of Education*. Dr. E. C. Dargan, student and historian of preaching, contributes a study of *F. W. Robertson, The Man and the Preacher*. Dr. H. C. Sheldon's paper on *John Henry Newman as Roman Catholic Apologist*, points out the real grounds of objection to Newman on the part of Manning and men of the traditional and dominant type of Romanism at the time of his conversion. Mrs. Gross Alexander, wife of the editor of the *Review*, in an article on *American Women going after Heathen Gods*, shows that the chief promulgators of non-Christian faiths in recent years in America have been women—e. g. Mme. Blavatsky, Mrs. Besant, and Mrs. Eddy. Dr.

S. P. Cadman, in a highly appreciative article on Dr. Davison's *The Indwelling Spirit*, points out the need in the Churches of to-day of a fuller and more living faith in the work of the Holy Spirit. Other articles are on *A Christian University for Japan*, and *The Church and the Poor*.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville) (July).—The chief articles are *The Contemporaneous Origin of the Gospels*, by J. Palmer, *Ultimate Authority in Moral Truth*, by Dr. R. Knight, *The Challenge of the New China*, by H. W. Provence, and *John Stuart Mill on Nature*, by Dr. J. C. Hiden.

Princeton Theological Review (July).—Prof. Greene's article on *The Church and the Social Question* takes the line that, while Christians as such cannot but be interested in social problems, and form and express their own opinions, the Church should concentrate attention upon spiritual ends, being in fact little qualified to handle economic questions well. An elaborate paper on the hymnology of the eighteenth century by Louis F. Benson, is entitled *Dr. Watts's Renovation of Psalmody*. The other leading article, by J. Ritchie Smith, is on *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*. It deals only with external evidence, the contents of the Gospel are to form the subject of a later article. The writer is strongly in favour of the Johannine authorship and makes out a good case on the external side.

Harvard Theological Review.—Prof. Eucken, who is to serve as 'Exchange Professor,' at Harvard University, contributes a short article to the July number, entitled *What is Driving Men to-day back to Religion?* He recognizes that 'our work has separated itself from our souls, and it now reacts over-masteringly upon them, threatening to absorb them utterly.' But he derives comfort from the fact that the accompanying loss is keenly felt: 'the craving that life should have more soul and depth is expressing itself with elemental power. . . . We are again driven into the path of religion, since without religion life cannot find the longed-for depth.' To those who 'unreflectingly live merely for the moment,' Prof. Eucken says: 'in giving up eternity we have also lost every inner bond of the ages and all power of comprehensive view. Without a guiding star we drift on the waves of the time.' In men's craving for 'more love and more solidarity in the human race than modern civilization affords,' another force driving men to religion is found. 'Selfishness, which separates all from all, turns out to be too narrow for the man himself; irresistibly a longing arises for a greater harmony of our spirits, and for a value for each individual that shall transcend himself. But how could such a longing push its way to victory against the indifference of nature and the corrupt doings of men, unless a kingdom of love, a world of love come to man and lend him a value?' Prof. Eucken pleads for a true optimism as distinguished from a false optimism which 'ignores complication and unreason.' He holds that 'without religion genuine optimism is impossible'; what his argument assumes is that the Christian religion, in the attenuated form in which it commends itself to his mind, places optimism on secure foundations, 'possesses a resource superior to

every hindrance, and from opposition only gains new might and courage.' Other noteworthy articles are *Is Faith in God Decadent?* by Prof. G. T. Ladd. It is 'practical faith' in a Living God 'immanent in nature, in history, and in the soul of man, for the redemption of the world,' which imparts to social co-operation 'religious enthusiasm, confidence, and patience in hope.' Dr. Le Bosquet writes on *The Evil One: a Development*, and concludes that 'it is not far from the truth to say that the reality of the power of evil is congenial to all the present-day opponents of absolute idealism. . . . The belief in an Evil One is not necessarily a superstition.'

FOREIGN

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 12 Dr. Dorner reviews Prof. Eucken's latest work, of which no English translation has yet appeared: *Can we still be Christians?* Eucken maintains that Christianity can be of service to the present age, if only it can be modified. 'Like Fichte he demands a combination of mysticism and ethics.' But Eucken's modifications of Christianity involve the rejection of the atonement of Christ and of His miracles. As a creative personality Christ still remains, but what is of chief importance is personal experience of an immediate relationship to God, the supremacy of the spiritual over the sensuous life. Eucken is of opinion that the existing Churches will not be able so to develop what he holds to be the central truths of Christianity as to adapt them to the modern mind. Even present-day liberal Protestantism tends towards Panentheism, and those whose motto is 'Back to Jesus' have not a basis sufficiently broad for a world-religion. Dorner reminds Eucken that mere actuality does not of necessity imply truth, and bids him learn from Origen, whom he holds in high esteem, that spiritual life cannot be separated from intellectual life. 'Knowledge has its own laws which he who desires to know must follow.' Eucken's point of view reminds Dorner of the metaphysical empiricism of Schelling, 'The immediate certainty of intuition needs to be supplemented by a rational knowledge of truth. Truth is a necessity to reason, for if the only support of truth be that it is in accord with fundamental present-day tendencies, this is in itself no guarantee of truth.'

The German edition of the Rev. R. J. Campbell's *New Theology* is reviewed by Prof. Wernle in No. 10. Mr. Campbell's teaching is fully and fairly stated at considerable length. The speculative basis of his theology of immanence is monistic idealism. Wernle is attracted by a certain mystic intuition which discerns the living God in the universe and in man, but he also finds that fundamental moral questions are inadequately treated. 'Notwithstanding all the fine words about selfishness and love, the radical opposition of good and evil seems never to have been grasped . . . Intellectualism has always the last word. Selfishness rests solely upon error.' The central truths of Protestant Christianity are misunderstood. Sympathy is expressed with the practical teaching of the book, especially with its courageous faith in a kingdom of God to be established on earth, in which social brotherliness is to take the place of

the self-seeking which is dominant in the struggle for existence. But Wernle contends that this practical religion gains nothing by its connexion with monistic philosophy. The attempt to surround it with the nimbus of the latest science deprives it of power and ultimately of inner truth.

Theologische Rundschau.—The July number opens with an elaborate review of Dr. Schlatter's *Christian Dogma* by Prof. Stephan of Marburg. Dr. Schlatter is a broad-minded conservative theologian, and his latest work has been warmly commended by Prof. Wernle, an able representative of the advanced liberal school. Schlatter expounds an individualism which is not atomistic, and therefore not destructive; an individualism which is the true organic form of society. Hence he regards it as 'an essential feature of Christian dogma that it recognizes the variety of types which have their origin in the individual's relation to Christ and finds a place for each within the unity of the Church.' Stephan thinks that this principle is not always consistently applied by Schlatter, as for example when the early meaning of the word 'Christ' is regarded as normal for Christians. The force of this objection depends, of course, upon acceptance of the premisses of the liberals. Approval is expressed of Schlatter's method, for he begins with the phases of experience in which God reveals Himself to us, and by means of which He arouses in us a consciousness of the reality of His working. Of the four parts into which the work is divided, 'Anthropology' and 'Soteriology' occupy much more space than 'Christology' and 'Eschatology.' By Anthropology is meant the doctrine of man as the work of God; man is treated as a personality, as a part of Nature, as a member of society, as well as in his relations to God, both normal and abnormal. The result of this enlarged conception is that subjects are treated under this head which are generally included in ethics and in the philosophy of religion. Stephan's discriminating review of this important work leaves upon the mind a conviction of its value. He commends it to all theologians who are seeking an enrichment of their dogmatic theories and a deepening of their faith. Its readers will gain from it 'a genuinely religious understanding of the Bible.' Lic. Friedrich Büchsel, of Halle, contributes a highly appreciative article on *J. G. Fichte's Philosophy of Religion*. The result of Fichte's conflict with atheism was a deepening of his religious consciousness. The philosophy of religion was no longer a mere part of a system, 'his entire philosophy became religious. . . . In his view of the world historical Christianity has a dominant position.' Herr Büchsel shows that Fichte's estimate of early Christianity and of the Person of Jesus was greatly influenced by his study of the fourth gospel. His philosophy is described as ethical mysticism, which cannot fairly be called pantheistic. Nevertheless it is acknowledged that Fichte's philosophy is one-sided, it lacks a philosophy of nature; his thought is too exclusively occupied with the unity of God and the world. What is of present-day value in Fichte's writings is a mysticism which is not naturalistic; he condemns all who wrongly identify mysticism and naturalism, and he protests against the severance of religion from knowledge. 'Our knowledge of God is God's living presence in us. He who claims to have knowledge of God and yet does not ascribe existence to

God and truth to his thoughts of God has no real knowledge of God.' Dr. Friedrich Moerchen discusses from a physician's point of view *Irregular Manifestations of the Religious Life*. He advocates a thorough psychological study of the phenomena of the religious life, in order that a distinction may be more accurately drawn between what is wholesome and what is abnormal in expressions of spiritual experience. It is necessary, however, to insist on the limitations necessarily belonging to a psychological study of religion. It cannot, by itself, decide as to the truth of a religion. This is established in the first instance by immediate subjective certainty, but it is confirmed by demonstrating that the religion rests upon a rational basis and that it is ethically fruitful. Dr. Moerchen states that modern psychiatry disallows the existence of 'isolated religious mania.' What has been formerly thus described is a symptom of several mental diseases. It follows that 'religion is never the cause of dementia.' The origin is to be sought in the degeneration of some elementary function ultimately due to physical defect. If the content of consciousness be predominantly religious, then in the unhealthy state of mind thoughts, emotions, and volitions will be abnormally affected by religion. Whilst pointing out the dangers attending upon religious excitement, Dr. Moerchen maintains that intellectual development and mental health furnish the conditions most favourable to the highest spiritual experiences of which human nature is capable.

In the *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* for July more than fifty pages are given to recent literature on the *Science of Religions*, and the books of importance appearing in Europe and America are carefully reviewed. Such a survey would seem indispensable to the thorough-going student. Of almost equal interest and value is the exceedingly able article of M. L. de la Vallée Poussin on the *History of the Religions of India in its Bearings on Christian Apologetics*. It contains an elaborate discussion of the supposed parallels between Buddhist writings and the canonical and apocryphal gospels. The contentions of certain German and American writers are subjected to a minute and searching criticism, and the matter is discussed with learning, acuteness, fairness and good temper. The theory of borrowing from the Buddhists on the part of our evangelists is pulverized and scattered to the winds. From the *Chronique* at the end of the review we learn with much regret that M. Alfred Fouillée, one of the most brilliant and prolific of French writers on philosophy and sociology in recent times, passed away at Lyons on the 16th of July at the age of seventy-four. 'In idea-forces, M. Fouillée saw the principle of being and traced its action in all domains—metaphysical, psychological, sociological, political, moral. In his later works he set himself to differentiate his doctrine from empirical and pragmatist evolutionism, and to safeguard the rights of the intellect.'