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THE REFORMATION DOCTRINE OF THE BIBLE

CALVIN'S 'special work,' says M. Guizot, 'was to replace the authority and infallibility of the Church by the authority and infallibility of the sacred monument of Divine revelation, that is, to put the Bible in the place of the Pope.'[1] *To put the Bible in the place of the Pope:* this, or something equivalent to it, has been for long the favourite formula in which the popular mind has summed up the aim of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. But the formula, familiar as it is, entirely fails to do justice to the facts. Later Protestantism, it is true, to its own incalculable hurt, has often sought in the Bible an authority of the same kind as Roman Catholicism finds in the Pope; but in the beginning it was not so: Luther and Calvin and the framers of the early Protestant Confessions had their minds set on quite other ends. To correct so serious a misreading of the past is not only historically important, it might prove, could one accomplish it, practically serviceable; for if modern Protestantism is to weather the storms which have burst upon it from all quarters of the intellectual heavens, it must be—so at least it seems to the present writer—by a return to the principles which the Reformers were the first to set forth in all the might of their simplicity.

[1] *St. Louis and Calvin*, p. 182.

I have entitled this paper 'The Reformation *Doctrine* of the Bible.' It might, perhaps, be better to speak of the Reformers' attitude towards, or use of, the Bible. A 'doctrine' of the Bible they had not, if by the term is meant exact and carefully balanced definitions applied with logical consistency and precision. Again and again, in reading their judgements on Scripture, one is perplexed by a certain inconsecutiveness, as of men who have not wholly grasped their own principles, or seen to what issues they necessarily lead. Why, we ask ourselves, if this is cast aside, is that retained? How come these affirmations and denials on the same lips? Why does the fountain send forth from the same opening sweet water and bitter? The truth is, of course, that deeply as the Reformers had meditated on Scripture, and well as they knew their own minds concerning its central significance, they neither answered nor asked the questions which for us to-day are so inevitable and imperious. It was on other doctrinal fields that their great battles were fought and in which their chief interests lay. It is significant that the most authoritative symbol of the Lutheran faith—the Augsburg Confession (1530)—contains no doctrine of Scripture, that the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), with its one hundred and twenty-nine questions, is similarly silent, and that, even in Calvin's *Institutes*, out of eighty chapters but a few pages are devoted to this subject. Nevertheless, if the Reformers have left us little in the way of exact and rigid definition, their writings reveal an unmistakable attitude towards the Scriptures, and a way of using them, which were all their own. It is that use and attitude which it will be the aim of this paper to expound and illustrate.

I

And, first of all, let us endeavour to define with some exactness the true character of our indebtedness, as students of the Bible, to the Reformers. In the emphasis which is

sometimes laid on what is secondary or incidental, or belongs rather to the revival of learning than to the revival of religion, that which is really essential is easily lost sight of. Thus, for example, it is said that it was the Reformers who rediscovered the Bible, in that, for the first time for centuries they went back behind the Vulgate to the Hebrew and Greek originals; who cut down those monstrous jungle-growths of a fantastic system of interpretation which throughout the Middle Ages had darkened the sky and shut out the sunlight; who first translated the Scriptures into the common speech of the people, and then scattered them broadcast, so that not only the bishop in his palace and the monk in his cell, but the peasant in the fields and the housewife at her spinning-wheel, might read for themselves the words of life. These things the Reformers did, and the greatness of their doing no Protestant at least will question. Nevertheless, we must go deeper than any of these things before we come upon their best work for the Bible and for us. Moreover, honesty compels the admission that in the things just named the service of the Reformers was not quite all that uncritical admirers have often claimed for it. For example, there can be no doubt that, loudly as Luther protested against the senseless methods of mediaeval exegesis by which anything could be made to mean anything, the shackles of early habit and environment often proved too strong even for his sturdy good sense; his exegetical principles were better than his exegetical practice.[1] It has also to be said that the Church of the Middle Ages was neither as unvarying in its hostility to the Bible nor as ignorant of it, as has been commonly supposed. Restrictions upon its translation and circulation of course there were, but, as Robertson Smith has pointed out, it was never wholly withdrawn from the laity, there were translations

[1] For some examples see G. H. Gilbert's *Interpretation of the Bible*, ch. viii.

in the vernacular long before Luther, and his opponents made their appeal to it as confidently as did he.[1]

It is not, I repeat, in their work as translators, exegetes, or humanists of any kind, great as this undoubtedly was, that the distinctive service of the Reformers to the Bible is to be found; rather it is in their sense of the significance of Scripture as a whole, and the new use of it which they made and which they vindicated in the experience of believing men. To understand what is meant by this we must go back for a moment to that great experience of the saving grace of God out of which the whole Reformation movement sprang. 'In Luther's personal experience of sin and grace,' says Robertson Smith, 'lay implicitly all that was new in the Reformation';[2] and the Reformers' doctrine of the Bible can no more be understood apart from their personal religious history, their consciousness of God's dealing with them in Christ, than can their doctrine of justifying faith. Luther knew that salvation came by a personal trust on God in Christ. This was his own great discovery. He knew it, not as he knew something that he had learned in a text-book, but as he knew that the sun shone in the heavens, by daily experience of its light and heat and power. And this great experience governed all his thinking, and not least his thinking about the Bible. To a man to whom faith meant no longer the mere assent of his intellect to a string of propositions about divine things, but the reliance of his whole soul on a personal Saviour, the old mediaeval conception of Scripture was henceforth plainly inadequate and impossible. The theologians of the Middle

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[1] *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 9. For evidence in support of the statements in the text see Lindsay's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 149, and H. B. Workman's *Dawn of the Reformation: The Age of Wycliffe*, p. 208.

[2] *Lectures and Essays*, p. 222. Let me take this opportunity of saying how much, and very much, these pages owe to the writings of Robertson Smith. But for what I have learned from him they could hardly have been written at all.

Ages saw in the Bible only 'a sort of spiritual law-book,'[1] a system of abstract truths which the Church interpreted and the faithful accepted. Truth about God the Bible gave them, but God Himself they did not look to find there. No living Presence made the cold, dead page to breathe and burn, no living Voice held converse with the souls of men.[2] But to Luther with his new idea of faith, to whom religion was above all a personal thing, the Bible was not only something more than this, it was something different from this. His scorn knew no bounds—for, like other rough, strong natures, he was not careful to bridle either his lips or his pen—when he came to speak of grubbing theologians like Tetzel, to whom the Bible was merely a storehouse of texts, and who dealt with it, he said, 'like a sow with a bag of oats.' 'God Himself,' he cries, 'speaks with us in the Holy Scriptures,'[3] speaks words of love and life to the soul. The Bible is the declaration of what is still in God's heart with regard to us. It is a book of experimental religion, in which we find 'God drawing near to man in Christ Jesus, and declaring to us, in Him, His will for our salvation.'

Nor is this view of the Bible peculiar to Luther. 'This intense sense of the personal character of Holy Scripture,' says Bishop Westcott, 'was more or less characteristic of the whole period.'[4] It may suffice to quote Article V of the First Helvetic Confession: 'The whole Scriptures,' it declares, 'have no other end than to let mankind know the favour and goodwill of God, and that He has openly

[1] The phrase is Prof. T. M. Lindsay's (*History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 455).

[2] This is, I think, a just and true generalization; but it is only a generalization, and the exceptions must not be forgotten. Day in the spiritual world does not come as in the tropics 'at one stride.' There were children of the dawn, like Thomas à Kempis and the unknown author of the *Theologia Germanica*, before Luther; after him it was 'daybreak everywhere,' but even then not yet high, sunny noon.

[3] *Table Talk* (Bohn's edition), p. 20.

[4] *The Bible in the Church*, p. 246.

manifested and proved this goodwill to all mankind through Christ, His Son.' [1]

This new way of looking at the Bible carried with it a world of consequences. For one thing, it rescued the Old Testament out of the hands of the allegorists, who had pulled and pinched it into every conceivable shape but its own. If, as the mediaeval theologian assumed, the Bible is merely a storehouse of doctrinal truths and moral rules, what was to be done with those large sections of the Old Testament which, as they stand, clearly cannot be brought under either of these categories? It was at this point that the theory of the fourfold sense of Scripture was brought in to help the theologian over the fence; by its aid some kind of 'spiritual' significance could be found in even the most unpromising material. Thus, to take but one example, in the famous Commentary of Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, 'Job is no mere historical personage, or the leading character in a sublime and inspired poem, least of all an Arab chief. He is a representative, now of the Christ who was to come, now of the true Church which He was to found. The man who is introduced as dwelling in the Land of Uz is no Eastern patriarch. The opening words which seem to describe him as such, are written with another object than to specify the name and country of any inhabitant of earth. They convey, to those who can read them aright, the higher truth of Christ dwelling in the hearts of the wise. His three friends may to the eye of sense be Eastern chiefs, Arab sheikhs. To the pious reader they are the heretics who, in the first ages of Christendom, beset and imperilled Catholic truth. Job's seven sons are, now the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit, now, by a strange rearrangement of numbers, they are the twelve apostles, preaching the adorable Trinity in the four quarters of the globe. The sheep, the camels, the oxen, the asses represent different classes: the true disciples, the Gentiles, the Jews,

[1] Schaff's *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, p. 212.

the Samaritans. All is allegory; every word and every act is symbolical.' [1] All this elaborate trifling Protestantism brushed aside with a strong hand. And it did so because, as I have said, it had no need of it; it did so because to it the Bible was essentially the record of God's gradual self-revelation in history, and therefore even the smallest details of the history had their importance, not indeed as mystic symbols of some hidden spiritual truth, but as helping to complete the record and fill out the picture of God's communion with His chosen.

Not only so, but it is only as we remember that to the Reformers the Bible was a means of direct, personal fellowship with God, that we can correctly understand in what sense they spoke of it as the Word of God, and as the infallible rule of faith and life. Later Protestantism, unhappily, has often identified the Bible with the Word of God, and has treated all its parts, and even all its verses, as of divine authority. But this was not the position of the early Protestants. They distinguished clearly between the Word of God, and the Word of God written, i. e. between the Word of God and Scripture.[2] In harmony with this distinction they spoke—as, for example, in the Shorter Catechism—of 'the Word of God which *is contained in* the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments'; and though they might sometimes say as do we, 'the Bible is the Word of God,' the copula was no more meant to express logical identity than in the familiar formula of the Lord's Supper, 'This is my body.' When, with our hand on the Bible, we

[1] Dean Bradley's *Lectures on the Book of Job*, p. 179. Here is one other choice example of ancient exegesis: Cassiodorus, commenting on Ps. viii. 6, 7 ('Thou madest him to have dominion, &c.'), and interpreting the whole of the dominion of Christ, finds in the 'sheep' of verse 7, those whose business in Christ's Church is not to teach, but to learn, and in the 'oxen' those who labour in the word and doctrine, while the 'fowls of the air' are the saints who rise above the world and the fishes are ordinary Christians born of water and the Holy Ghost! (See W. T. Davison's *Praises of Israel*, p. 208.)

[2] *Westminster Confession*, ch. i, sec. 2.

declare 'This is God's Word, for in it God speaks, and speaks to me,' all the Reformers are with us; but when we go on to claim a divine authority for all that the Bible contains, we are disowned alike by the facts and by them. Similarly, the infallibility which they predicated of the Bible was not an infallibility of the letter of Scripture, but rather, as the Westminster Confession puts it, of 'the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.' In other words, the authority of the Bible is the authority of the divine truth which it contains and conveys.

And if any one had said to Luther, 'But how do you know that this truth of which you speak is divine and therefore authoritative?' he and his fellow Reformers would have had their answer ready at once. They would have said, 'We know by the witness of His Spirit in our hearts, whereby we are assured that none other than God Himself is able to speak such words to our souls.'

> Whoso hath felt the Spirit of the highest
> Cannot confound nor doubt Him nor deny.

On no point do the Reformers speak with greater unanimity and emphasis than on this, and it will be well that we should listen to some of their own repeated declarations. 'Nothing,' says Calvin, 'can be more absurd than the fiction that the power of judging Scripture is in the Church, and that on her nod its certainty depends. When the Church receives it, and gives it the stamp of her authority, she does not make that authentic which was otherwise doubtful or controverted, but acknowledging it as the truth of God, she, as in duty bound, shows her reverence by an unhesitating assent. As to the question, How shall we be persuaded that it came from God without recurring to a decree of the Church? it is just the same as if it were asked, How shall we learn to distinguish light from darkness, white from black, sweet from bitter? Scripture bears upon the face of it as clear evidence of its truth, as white and

black do of their colour, sweet and bitter of their taste.'[1] Charles Herle, the Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, states the Protestant position over against the Roman in this fashion: 'They (the Papists) being asked, why they believe the *Scripture* to be the *Word of God?* answer, because the *Church* says 'tis so; and being asked againe, why they beleeve the Church? they answer, because the *Scripture* saies it *shall be guided into truth;* and being asked againe, why they beleeve that very Scripture that says so? they answer, because the *Church* says 'tis *Scripture;* and so (with those in the Psalm xii. 8), they walk in a *circle* or on *every side*. They charge the like on us (but wrongfully) that we believe the *Word*, because it sayes itself that it is so; but we do not resolve our *Faith;* we *believe unto salvation* not the *Word* barely, because it witnesses to itself, but because the *Spirit* speaking in it to our *consciences* witnesses to them that it is the Word indeed; we resolve not our *Faith* barely either into the *Word* or *Spirit* as its single alternate *principle*, but into the testimony of the *Spirit* speaking to our *consciences* in the Word.'[2] 'We know these books to be canonical and the sure rule of our faith,' says the Gallican Confession (1559), after naming the books contained in our Old and New Testaments, 'not so much by the common accord and consent of the Church, as by the testimony and inward illumination of the Holy Spirit, which enables us to distinguish them from other ecclesiastical books upon which, however useful, we cannot found any articles of faith.'[3] And, in like manner, the Westminster Confession, after speaking of the many 'incomparable excellencies' of Scripture, 'whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God,' continues 'yet, notwithstanding our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the

[1] *Institutes*, bk. i, ch. vii.
[2] Quoted in C. A. Briggs's *The Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 152.
[3] Schaff's *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, p. 361.

inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts.' [1]

Thus, to sum up the whole matter in the words of the great historian of Protestant theology, for the Church of the Reformation, 'the great original certainty which attests all other truths, as it is not the authority of the Church, so also it is not the authority of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures handed down by the Church. It is rather the *subject matter of the Word of God*, which, however different may be its forms of expression, is able to attest itself to the hearts of men as the Word of God by itself and its divine power.' [2]

We may now see for ourselves how wholly wide of the mark is the familiar taunt that Protestantism did but substitute a paper Pope for him of Rome. In point of fact it did no such thing. Having got rid of one external authority it did not straightway put itself into bondage to another. Yet was it not therefore without authority. Free of men, it was the more bound to God. An authority that is simply imposed, a hard external thing, it would not have; but an authority that can impose itself, 'which can freely win the recognition and surrender of the mind and heart of man,' [3] it sought and found in that Divine Word which is the substance of all Scripture. And therefore into every man's hands it put the open Bible, saying to him, 'Read, read for thyself, and as thou readest, if it be but with open mind and heart, the Divine Word shall verify itself. This is no matter for Pope or Council; it lies all betwixt thyself and God. If thine own heart misgive thee, no word of man can make thee sure; but if thou hear Him, then shalt thou need none other to tell thee, *This is the Word of God;* then mayest thou say boldly, *This* is *God's Word; on this will I risk body and life and a hundred thousand necks if I had them.*'

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[1] Schaff's *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, p. 603.

[2] Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology*, vol. i, p. 231.

[3] Denney's *Studies in Theology*, p. 222.

II

If, now, I have at all succeeded in making plain the general attitude of the Reformers to the Bible, it should not surprise us to discover with what reverent freedom and daring they turned the searchlight of criticism upon the sacred volume. The materials for a true and complete science of biblical criticism were not of course at that time available, yet no one can read the outspoken judgements of sixteenth-century Protestantism on the Bible without seeing how near it came to anticipating some of the findings of later biblical scholarship, and without feeling at the same time that even Luther and Calvin themselves would have fared rather badly at the hands of some of our modern Protestant ecclesiastics. Let me recall a few of their dicta by way of illustration.

All the leading Reformers admit errors in the Scriptures, but Luther goes beyond them all in the freedom, and sometimes even the recklessness, with which he expresses himself on critical questions. What matters it, he asks, even though Moses did not write the Book of Genesis?[1] 'The discourses of the prophets,' he says, 'were none of them regularly committed to writing at the time; their disciples and hearers collected them subsequently, one one piece, another another, and thus was the complete collection formed.'[2] The Book of Proverbs is 'a fine book,' but neither it nor Ecclesiastes is the work of Solomon.[3] He has no doubt that the Book of Job is a 'real history'; but, he adds, 'that everything so happened, and was so done I do not believe, but think that some ingenious, pious, and learned

[1] *Table Talk*, p. 17.

[2] Ibid., p. 12. 'The beginnings at least,' says Robertson Smith, 'of an historical interpretation of prophecy are to be found in Luther's prefaces to the German Bible.' (*Lectures and Essays*, p. 401.)

[3] Ibid., p. 11.

man composed it as it is.'[1] He says that the books of Kings are 'a hundred times better' than the Chronicles, and more to be believed.[2] As for Esther, he ranks it with the Second Book of Maccabees, and wishes it did not exist, because it Judaizes too much and contains much heathen folly.[3] Nor does Luther stay his hand when he turns to the New Testament. In his translation the Epistle to the Hebrews, James, Jude and the Apocalypse are placed by themselves at the end of the book as being, compared with the rest of the New Testament, of a lower degree of inspiration. Every one knows his almost contemptuous reference to James as 'a right strawy epistle.' Of the Epistle to the Hebrews he says it was certainly not written by an apostle, but by one who built upon another's foundation gold, silver, and precious stones: 'Therefore even if we find perhaps wood, straw, or hay mingled with it, that shall not prevent us from receiving such instruction with all honour; though we do not place it absolutely on the same footing with the Apostolic Epistles.'[4] Jude is 'undisputably an extract or abstract from the Second Epistle of St. Peter.'[5] The Apocalypse, especially, comes in for very unceremonious handling; and though he saw reason later to modify his judgement, at one time he counted it neither apostolic nor prophetic, and of little more weight than the Second Book of Esdras; 'I certainly cannot,' he says, 'detect any trace of its having been inspired by the Holy Ghost.'[6]

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[1] I give the passage as it is quoted in A. B. Davidson's *Job* (Cambridge Bible), p. xiv. As he says, the passage appears to exist under various forms.

[2] *Table Talk*, p. 12.

[3] Ibid., p. 11. See also Robertson Smith's *Answer to the Form of Libel*, p. 48.

[4] Westcott's *The Bible in the Church*, p. 268.

[5] Ibid., p. 264.

[6] Ibid. and Hagenbach's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 160. To the examples given in the text Dorner adds the following: 'He even says of a proof led by the Apostle Paul in the Galatians, that it is too weak to hold' (*History of Protestant Theology*, vol. i, p. 248). Pfleiderer has a

Calvin's name suggests a much more rigid type of biblical interpretation. Yet even of him Robertson Smith declares that he has left 'an ever precious example of believing courage in dealing with the Scriptures,'[1] while Bishop Perowne goes so far as to say that the view which he takes of some of the Psalms 'would undoubtedly expose him to the charge of rationalism were he now alive'![2] We may have some hesitation about the 'rationalism'—a good deal of water has run under the bridge since Perowne wrote—but there need be none about the 'courage.' Trifling discrepancies in the sacred narrative he treated with light-hearted unconcern. Thus, for example, commenting on Matt. xx. 9 (where some words which belong to Zechariah are attributed to Jeremiah) he says: 'How the name of *Jeremiah* crept in, I confess that I do not know, nor do I give myself much trouble to inquire. The passage itself plainly shows that the name of Jeremiah has been put down by mistake.'[3] The book of Malachi he ascribed to Ezra, and Psalms xliv. and lxxiv. to the era of the Maccabees; and still more clearly do his independence and good judgement come out in his treatment of the Messianic Psalms.[4] In dealing with the New Testament, as we should

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similar remark: *Philosophy and Development of Religion*, vol. ii, p. 159. But I have not been able to verify the reference. Luther does indeed say (in his note on Gal. iv. 24), 'Allegories do not strongly persuade in divinity,' and, 'if Paul had not proved the righteousness of faith against the righteousness of works by strong and pithy arguments, he should have little prevailed by this allegory' [of Hagar and Sarah]: but it is noteworthy that he defended Paul's argument in Gal. iii. 16, and we know what his own frequent practice was (see above, p. 8).

[1] *Lectures and Essays*, p. 282.

[2] *Book of Psalms*, vol. i, p. iv.

[3] Similar examples may be found in his notes on Acts vii. 14, 16.

[4] 'How different,' writes George Adam Smith, after speaking of a certain style of exegesis which has been the besetting sin of Catholic and Protestant alike, 'how different is the liberal and patient temper of Calvin! He examines every alleged type and prediction. He says this is "too forced"; that "too fine." "In these things we require not cleverness but *quid solidum*," something reliable, something sane. And

expect, he is more guarded than Luther. Nevertheless, he doubted the Petrine authorship of Second Peter, and it is significant that he gives no notes on Second and Third John or on the Apocalypse in his Commentary on the New Testament, and writes of First John as simply 'the Epistle of John.' [1]

Now, of course, to those to whom the whole duty of Protestantism is summed up in the saying, Thou shalt love the Bible and hate the Pope, all this will seem startling and revolutionary. It is none the less wholly consistent with the true and original Protestant position. In the Bible the Reformers found Christ; in Him they were made sure of God's love to them. But a book which brought them great gifts like these could need no outward guarantee. Rather it was itself thereby guaranteed. Such a book shone in its own light; it stood fast in its own strength. And if some parts of it lacked the guarantee, why then, as Luther said, 'A council cannot make that to be of Scripture which is not by nature of Scripture,' and he cared not what befell them. But of this he was sure, that the Bible does speak to the heart of man in words that can only come from God, and that nothing can deprive us of this conviction or make less precious the divine utterances that speak straight to the heart.[2] And it was this fearless confidence in the substance of Scripture which delivered him from that murderous tenacity about trifles which has been the bane of the Churches of Protestantism. The eagle that soars near the sun is not concerned about how it will cross the streams.

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therefore, when he does admit a type or prophecy of Christ, he makes us sure of it. We know that he seeks to learn what God means, rather than to find what his own ingenuity can prove. He is jealous to serve his Lord with truth.' (*Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, p. 146.)

[1] Westcott's *The Bible in the Church*, p. 271.

[2] See Robertson Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 19.

III

It is a great descent to pass from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century. Luther's was the golden age of Protestantism. But alas, the fine gold was soon exchanged for dull lead, Christian liberty for the bondage of a hard scholasticism. When we reach the Swiss *Formula Consensus* in 1675, the darkness can be felt; we are in the Middle Ages of Protestantism. The seventeenth century was a century of violent controversy and rigid definition. 'Methods of interpretation really inconsistent with Protestantism crept back in detail.'[1] The limits of the Canon were once more traced with unwavering lines.[2] The old misconception of the Bible as a statute-book of doctrine and morality once more gained possession of men's minds. Compared with the Reformed Symbols, the doctrinal formulas of the seventeenth century are harsh and stiff. They reveal rather the logical understanding than the glowing heart. The nadir is reached in the Swiss *Formula* already referred to, which asserted the inspiration and absolute accuracy of even the vowel points of the Massoretic text of the Old Testament.[3]

This decline of the true Protestant spirit is not difficult to understand. The early Reformers, in the strength of their own personal experience of religion, gained for themselves the true point of view for a just interpretation of Scripture. But the whole realm of exegesis and criticism could not be revolutionized in a day. Nor was it to be expected that all their followers would share their deep spiritual insight. Even Luther and Calvin themselves, as we have already seen, were often unable to break through the steel mesh of men's tradition. Moreover, in the seventeenth century, circumstances conspired to drive Protestant-

[1] Robertson Smith's *Lectures and Essays*, p. 402.

[2] Cp. for example, the certainty of the Westminster Divines with the uncertainty of Luther and Calvin.

[3] Schaff's *History of the Creeds of Christendom*, p. 479.

ism back from the outposts won by the heroism of its first leaders. It was a century of sharp and angry polemics. Protestantism was fiercely assailed on every side. Rome harassed it on the one flank, Socinianism on the other. The activity of the Jesuits was unceasing. Protestantism could only hold its hard-won territory at the price of sleepless vigilance. Is it any marvel, especially when we remember that to ordinary human nature it always seems easier to defend what it is easy to define, that Protestantism abandoned its front line of defence and fell back within the safer because the more familiar lines of authority, and over against an infallible Pope set up an infallible book?

It is not perhaps to be marvelled at; it is none the less to be regretted. To this day our teeth are being set on edge by the sour fruit of Protestant scholasticism. When, for example, men talk about the supposed perfections of Scripture 'as originally given,' claiming infallibility, not indeed for the Bible as we have it, but for some imaginary autograph which no man ever has seen or can see; or when, again, they seek to establish the book's authority by evidence which belongs to the sphere of literary and historical fact, rather than of faith, they show themselves no longer in the true Protestant succession of Luther and Calvin, but rather the descendants of their less discerning sons of the seventeenth century. Another sign of the same evil inheritance may be traced in the false and overstrained typology of some modern evangelicals. Interpreters of this school usually belong to the straitest sect of Protestants, yet, little as they realize it, they are in fact helping to perpetuate what is essentially the mediaeval as opposed to the Reformation idea of Scripture. The Bible for them is simply a storehouse of infallible truths about God and His salvation, and, as Professor Lindsay says, they use typology 'in much the same way as the mediaeval theologians employed the fourfold sense, to extract doctrinal truths from unlikely sources,

such as the description of the Temple and its furniture.' [1] Not until Protestantism has the courage to plant its feet firmly on the first principles of Reformation doctrine will it be able finally to rid itself of this dreary incubus of mediaeval exegesis.

IV

And this leads me to point out, in conclusion, how urgent is our need of Reformation principles to-day if we are to deal truly alike with Scripture and our Protestant freedom.

We need them, in the first place, for the dispersing of the clouds of suspicion which still hang about the science of Biblical Criticism. Reformation principles, rightly understood, not only give right of way to the critic, they call for him, they make his work a necessity. For if, as the Reformers never wearied of insisting, the Bible is not a body of abstract religious truth, but the record of God's gracious self-revelation in history, such a record must admit of investigation according to the recognized methods of historical research. Nor can the findings of honest and impartial inquiry in any wise affect the authority with which the Bible speaks to the souls of men to-day. Whether, for example, there be any, and if so how much, history in the Book of Genesis, whether the legislation of the Pentateuch is Mosaic or not in its origin, whether David wrote any Psalms, whether St. Paul is the author of all the letters which the New Testament attributes to him—all these are questions to be determined by the ordinary methods of literary and historical study. And whatever the answers to them may be, those to whom the Bible is what it was to the Reformers —God's self-authenticating message to the human soul—will not be put to shame. When, therefore, Professor Gwatkin says, ' Criticism has demolished alike the Catholic assumption

[1] See a most suggestive article, ' Professor W. Robertson Smith's Doctrine of Scripture,' *Expositor*, Fourth series, vol. x, pp. 241-64.

of an infallible Church and the Protestant assumption of an infallible Book,' [1] his words need very careful qualification. Later Protestant assumptions of a particular kind of infallibility, criticism has undoubtedly demolished. But against the only kind of infallibility that Luther claimed for the Bible—the infallibility of the Divine Word of which the book is the bearer—criticism is as powerless as a sword against a sunbeam. Criticism, once more be it said, is but the attempt to learn the witness of Scripture to itself; where it errs it must be corrected; when it goes beyond its own province and assumes an authority to which it has no right, it must be sternly thrust back; but where it is about its own business they who would stifle it with ecclesiastical authority are but repeating the blunder of those who sought in vain to silence the monk of Erfurt.

Further, it is by a return to the first principles of Protestantism that we can most effectually silence the taunts of our foes, and at the same time bring relief to the overburdened minds and hearts of many of our friends. So long as we find the ultimate authority of our religion in a book, so long—in other words—as the foundations of our faith are not really religious but rather literary and historical, what answer can we make to writers like Dr. Martineau, who tell us that we are at the mercy of learned inquiries which by their very nature are wholly beyond the reach of the vast majority of mankind? If the Bible is the kind of book that Protestants in a mistaken zeal have often declared it to be, then criticism must work its whole work upon it before it can be available for my use—which is only another way of saying that I can never use it at all. But if, on the other hand, it is what the Reformers believed it to be, then it is available now and always. Criticism is indeed free to do its own work, but I have not to wait for its findings before I can trust my soul to Him whose word of grace the book speaks to my heart. On this eternal

[1] *The Knowledge of God*, vol. ii, p. 289.

reality, a divine message which surely authenticates itself to those who meet it with a trustful mind and an obedient heart, let us boldly stake the whole issue. Hitherto we have wasted our strength on indefensible outworks; let us call off our forces and concentrate them in the citadel; and in so doing we shall both bring to an end much futile controversy—for men will not long go on shelling an empty fortress—and we shall quiet the fears of multitudes who, because they know that the outworks can no longer be held, often tremble for the citadel itself.

It will, of course, be said, as it has been said so often, that all this leads straight to a ruinous subjectivity. If we have no authority certified by adequate external guarantees, if that alone is true for us which appeals to us as truth, what is this but 'a subjecting not of ourselves to Scripture, but of Scripture to ourselves'?[1] And, undoubtedly, the gift of liberty means here as everywhere the perils of liberty. When we cut our cables and leave the quiet water of the land-locked harbour it is to face the dangers as well as the glories of the deep. No man knew the risks he ran better than Luther, or hesitated less. And are the risks so great after all? or is this charge of subjectivity quite the formidable thing it is made to appear? It is urged against the Lutheran position that it reduces the standard of truth to that which appeals to us individually. But, as Dr. Denney says,[2] is not this as if one should say that I do not see, or do not see truly, because I only see with my own eyes? What other kind of real seeing is possible to me? And how can the Bible speak with authority—with authority to me—except in so far as in it I find God and God finds me? But this does not at all mean that I am making my own spiritual perceptions the measure of all things. If I am shown one of the world's great pictures, and am told that it has commanded the wonder and admiration of those best able

[1] The phrase is Martineau's: *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 175.
[2] *The Atonement and the Modern Mind*, p. 10.

to judge, in many nations and for many generations, I must indeed see its beauty for myself before I can honestly profess to admire it; but if I cannot see it, I conclude that it is my own perception which is at fault, and I sit down before the picture hoping that the power that is in it will some day call forth in me the power to appreciate it.[1] And so, when I am told that the Bible is, in a sense that belongs to no other book, the Word of God, I cannot receive the saying merely on the authority of another, not even of the Apostles, nor of Christ Himself; for me it is God's Word only as I hear God speaking in it. Yet here again, in the presence of such a book, coming to me with such a history, I sit down with a humble and obedient heart that to me also it may be given to say, *Now I believe, not because of thy speaking; but because I have heard for myself and know that this is indeed the Word of God which liveth and abideth for ever.*

GEORGE JACKSON.

[1] The illustration is Dr. Dale's.

JAPAN'S STATUS AMONG THE NATIONS

Japan : an Attempt at Interpretation. By LAFCADIO HEARN. (Macmillan & Co., 1904.)
Japan by the Japanese. Edited by ALFRED STEAD. (Heinemann, 1904.)
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Fifty Years of New Japan (Kaikoku Gojunen Shi). Compiled by COUNT SHIGENOBU OKUMA. English version, edited by MARCUS B. HUISH. 2 vols. (Smith, Elder & Co., second edition, 1910.)
The Full Recognition of Japan. By ROBERT P. PORTER. (Oxford University Press, 1911.)
Empires of the Far East. By Lancelot Lawton. 2 vols. (Grant Richards, 1912.)

I

WHAT is Japan's status in the comity of the enlightened nations of the world? Have her victories on the battlefield and sea, coupled with her peaceful progress, secured for her a position of honour among the great Powers and entitled her citizens to treatment equal to that accorded to natives of the various Occidental countries? Or is she still an inferior race, somewhat superior to the other Asiatic peoples to be sure, but nevertheless occupying a rank below that of the members of the Western Concert?

These questions have been incessantly asked by both Orientals and Occidentals ever since the days when the soldiers and sailors of Japan grappled with Russia's land and sea forces. They have elicited much discussion, and have been answered by a host of writers, white and yellow, who have published numerous monographs relating to the

transition through which the Island Empire has been passing. An indirect reply has been vouchsafed by the treaties which Japan has been able to secure from the Powers, and the manner in which the Nipponese diplomats, financiers, commercialists, students, and immigrants have been treated in foreign lands.

However, when we come to dissect these answers, what do we find? Most of the books on Japan that are available are trashy, unreliable, and not worthy of the slightest notice. The few volumes that merit recognition do, indeed, give us much valuable information regarding the march of the Oriental nation on the path of progress: but some err by lauding the accomplishments of the Japanese to the skies, and others by disparaging their modernization as a mere surface veneer; on the one hand depicting the Nipponese as being equal in every way to the most enlightened of peoples, and on the other describing them as semi-barbarians. The number of works which are really discriminating is extremely limited. Therefore going through the conclusions arrived at either in the spirit of idolatry or of racial prejudice leaves one bewildered in a jungle of words.

Similarly, the indirect reply, when analysed, gives us but a confused notion of the existing state of affairs. So far as the Japanese treaties with the Powers go, the old, humiliating conditions requiring that Japan should not levy more than a small impost (five per cent. *ad valorem*) upon imports from Europe and America, and that she should exempt aliens living within her borders from the operations of her criminal laws, allowing them to be tried entirely by their own consular courts; which deprived her of the power of fiscal autonomy, subjected her to the interference of Western diplomats who, by nature of their office, had to be the henchmen of the commercialists of their own nations, and who, in some instances, were traders themselves, and laid her open to the anomaly of harbouring foreigners within her gates who were altogether out from

under her jurisdiction,—have been obliterated, once for all. Indeed, the agreements that Japan has recently been able to make with the Western nations enable her citizens and traders to enjoy rights and privileges similar to those which she has conceded to the subjects of those countries within her territories. These treaties, when examined in the light of the treatment accorded by the civilized world to Nippon's diplomatic agents and commercialists, distinctly signify that the Daybreak Empire is not a pariah amongst the Powers.

But the minute we begin to investigate the attitude of the British Colonies and the United States of America towards the Japanese immigrants, this assurance disappears almost to the vanishing point. The Nipponese are deemed undesirable in Australia, in British Columbia, and throughout the Western portion of the United States, where the authorities, overtly or covertly, actively or passively, are resisting their entry and seeking to prevent them from acquiring property rights. Until quite lately the statesmanship shown so conspicuously by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt during their incumbency of the Premiership of Canada and the Presidency of the United States of America in restraining the provincial and State authorities under their respective control from taking any action which would sting the national susceptibilities of Japan to the point of inciting her to engage in an avenging war, and the disposition to pour oil on the troubled waters displayed by *Dai Nippon*, which led her to make somewhat compromising 'arrangements' with the immigration authorities of the Western coast of North America, have prevented the Japanese grievances from flaming into a blaze. But the position of Nipponese immigrants in those portions of the world generally considered by the white man to be his own preserves has, to say the least, remained anomalous. The recent action taken by the State Legislature of California, U.S.A., in passing an Act which is principally aimed at keeping the Japanese from acquiring land within its

jurisdiction, carried the discrimination against the Mikado's subjects to a point which it never before has reached in America. As a consequence, meetings have been held in Japan to protest against the stigma of inferiority being cast upon the Nipponese by the action of California, and there has even been talk of settling accounts with those who have offered affront by this measure. Just what action the United States Federal authorities propose to take in the matter, or what they will be able to do to assuage the hurt Nipponese feelings, is not yet known, and is relatively immaterial to our immediate purpose. The way matters stand at present, the Japanese—despite legal fictions and despite the fact that they do not pay a head-tax, as the Chinese do when they enter British Columbia, for instance—do not enjoy an immigration status equal to the lowest and least-civilized of Europeans.

These considerations leave the issue as to Japan's position in the comity of nations in a confused state, warranting one in asserting that the world has so far utterly failed to return an authoritative reply as to just where the Japanese stand in the scale of nations, in the absence of which we have only the claims of the Japanese and pro-Japanese, and the attacks and calumnies of Japan's detractors, to furnish a vague, contradictory, and unreliable standard wherewith to gauge the status of present-day Nippon. However, since the action of the California Legislature and similar recent events have opened up the questions involved in American-Japanese relations, and the economic and racial problems bound up with the emigration of Asiatics to America, and, indeed, to all parts of the world appropriated by the Caucasians, an attempt may be made, in the light of what is known, to determine Japan's status in the comity of nations.

The best way to proceed with the inquiry is first briefly to recall the circumstances which led Nippon to give up her centuries-old policy of holding herself aloof from the rest

of the world, and to trace how, by stepping out of her seclusion, she was led to bring her institutions up to the level of those of Western nations; then to outline just what she has actually achieved in the way of modernizing herself; and finally to determine just how her present-day civilization compares with that of the Western peoples, and judge if it qualifies her to be received into the circle of enlightened countries.

I

In the middle of the nineteenth century Japan led an isolated life, with a subtle but impenetrable wall erected around her sea-girt kingdom. This barrier had only one opening, the port of Nagasaki. No foreigners were allowed to enter except a few Dutch and Chinese, who traded there under strict official supervision bought at the expense of some bribery and much humiliation. Though some slight attempt was made by a few naturally progressive Japanese to learn from the Dutch something of the world beyond the sea that surrounded Japan on all sides, yet, on the whole, the reactionary elements were much too strong to permit the dissemination of such knowledge amongst the Islanders. The least endeavour made by the Nipponese to climb over the barrier or have anything to do with the foreigners was severely punished. The United States of America, anxious to establish friendly intercourse with the natives of the land of the Rising Sun, sent Commodore Perry in charge of two frigates, the *Susquehana* and the *Mississippi*, and two sloops, the *Saratoga* and the *Plymouth*—which at that time appeared to be a formidable fleet to the secluded Japanese. The American Commissioner knew that *Dai Nippon* did not permit alien ships (even including vessels carrying ambassadors) to enter its waters at any other port than Nagasaki, but he boldly sailed into Uraga, then an outport to the Bay of Yedo (Tokyo)—on which was situated the

capital of the Shogun, in whose line for about 260 years had reposed the dictatorship of the country, the Emperor having been a mere puppet in the usurper's hands—arriving on July 8, 1853. Perry determined upon this move because he wished to show the Nipponese that he was in no mood to pocket the insults which had been meted out to the meek, money-grubbing Dutch and Chinese. He was asked by the Shogunate authorities to repair to Nagasaki, but he refused point-blank to do so, and took the occasion to inform them of his mission and urge upon them the advisability of meeting his demands. Uncommonly sagacious as he was, the Special Commissioner not only knew how to be firm in extorting respect for himself, but also when and where to yield, and could do so gracefully. Therefore, in view of the conditions that he found confronting him, he deemed it advisable not to press for an immediate response to his overtures, but decided to leave the dispatch which he had brought from Washington, and depart, promising to call for his reply later. Perry's arrival was taken to forbode ill for the Sunrise Empire, and was made a signal for the usurper to send for the feudal barons and urge them to prepare for war. These preparations continued during the time the American was stationed at Uraga, and were not relaxed after he sailed away. But though the Japanese strove hard to render their defences impregnable, when the Commodore returned after a short time for his reply the Shogunate divined the futility of offering resistance, and after some parleying signed a treaty at Kanagawa on March 31, 1854, in which Japan promised to accord kind treatment to shipwrecked sailors; to permit foreign vessels to obtain stores and provisions within their territories; and to allow American ships to anchor in the ports of Shimoda (100 miles south of the present capital), and Hakodaté (in the northern province of Hokkaido), nothing being said about Japan according trade or diplomatic privileges to America, an omission which again showed the

shrewdness of Perry. The commercial treaty came later, in 1858.

America's success in opening up relations with the Japanese in the face of European failures proved the opening wedge which, in a few years, was destined to shatter the conservatism which held Nippon aloof from the world. Shortly after the signing of the Convention at Kanagawa, the Shogun entered into similar agreements with Great Britain and other European Powers. The grant of concessions to foreigners, as was to be expected, threw the nation, hermit as it had theretofore been, into an anti-alien fever which kept increasing day by day, causing much concern to the Shogunate. This prompted the usurper then in power to endeavour to have his decision ratified by the Court, and thereby strengthen his position. But he had counted without his host. The Emperor Komei, like his immediate predecessors, had been brought up and had lived at Kyoto, his dynastic capital, entirely screened from any influences which might have enlightened him regarding the changes that were going on at the time in the land, and in the great wide world outside Japan, and around him were gathered equally conservative courtiers, many of whom nursed hereditary enmity towards the Shogun. Naturally enough, therefore, the appeal to the Mikado resulted in an adverse decision, which placed the 'power behind the throne' in a compromising situation and ruined his prestige in the eyes of those over whom he exercised authority and of the foreigners with whom he had negotiated as the Ruler of the country. The fiasco resulted in untold complications. Some outrages were perpetrated against the pro-foreigner Japanese and a few aliens, the latter leading to the bombardment of Kaogoshima by the British squadron in 1863, and of Shimonoséki by the combined fleets of England, France, America, and Holland, a year later.

Finally the last Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, desiring to settle the whole controversy and get rid of the com-

plexities that were harassing him and causing a constant uproar in the land, listened to the counsel of some of his sagacious advisers and issued a proclamation. This was remarkable because it showed that there existed at that time men who realized that dual authority was weakening the country and preparing the way for the swallowing up of the Empire by the land-hungry foreigners. But unfortunately for Japan, some of the followers of the usurper were not so willing as were those who counselled Yoshinobu to end the existing state of affairs. They protested against his surrender, and persuaded him to join with them. This action provoked their feudal enemies to open fight, which resulted in the definite defeat of the Shogun. This civil war came to an end in about a year, and as a result of it, the dual régime was gone, once for all, and the Emperor's rights were restored to him.

The Mikado, his Imperial Majesty the late Mutsuhito (a compound word meaning affectionate and humane) whom the turn of the wheel of Fate thus made supreme, had been born a year prior to the date when Commodore Perry landed at Yedo, and was therefore, at this time, about sixteen years old. He had succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, the Emperor Komei, on February 13, 1867. He was again crowned on October 13, 1868, to mark the change signified by the submergence of the usurper, on which occasion he took a solemn oath in which he promised that—

1. Public councils shall be organized, and all governmental affairs shall be decided by general discussion.
2. All classes, both rulers and ruled, shall with one heart devote themselves to the advancement of the national interests.
3. All the civil and military officials and all the common people shall be allowed to realize their own aspirations, and to evince their active characteristics.
4. All base customs of former times shall be abolished, and justice and equity as they are universally recognized shall be followed.
5. Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, and thus the foundations of the Empire shall be established.[1]

[1] *Fifty Years of New Japan*, vol. i, p. 141.

This is considered to be the *Magna Charta* of Japan, and well may it be so regarded, for in addition to laying down an embryonic constitution for the country, it boldly admitted the necessity of wiping out evil institutions and sitting at the feet of the enlightened nations to gain knowledge. When it is borne in mind that until five years previously the Nipponese had refused to have anything whatsoever to do with foreigners, the revolutionary change of attitude implied by this declaration of principles is better grasped, and makes one marvel at the wonderful adjustability displayed by the Mikado (and of his councillors) while their neighbours on the mainland of Asia were calling the aliens 'devils' and 'barbarians,' and disdaining their civilization —something which many of them continue to do in this, the second decade of the twentieth century.

In November, 1868, the birthday of the Mikado was celebrated with much éclat throughout Japan, and on that day commenced the *Meiji* (literally 'Restoration') era, which, as its name signifies, meant the period in which, on the break-down of the Shogunate, the power of the Emperor had been restored to him.

III

When this change occurred, the organization of the Japanese government and society was extremely inefficient. The land was split up into some 270 petty baronies. Each lord (*daimyo*) was semi-independent. He assessed and collected taxes and paid the stipends of his retainers (*samurai*), out of them. These followers bore two swords on their persons, acquired little else than 'ornamental' culture, disdained all productive work, considered themselves far superior to the farmers and artisans, who were not allowed to bear arms, and formed themselves into a rigid caste. Just prior to the fall of the Shogun some effort had been made to organize them into corps drilled and equipped in the Occidental style, and even to build battleships plied

by steam; but not much progress had been made in this direction when the change came. The cultivators and craftsmen worked without the aid of power-driven machinery, and employed the most primitive implements and methods. Below them was a class of people known as the *eta*, very much like the 'untouchables' of modern India, who were despised like lepers by their social betters. Such a state of affairs promoted jealousies and discord amongst the ruling class, gave an exaggerated opinion of their importance to the military men, and kept them from following any useful occupation; while it subjected the real producers of wealth to the injustice of being compelled to bear the whole burden of taxation on their shoulders,[1] made it impossible for them to acquire the ability to defend their own rights, and, by crushing their spirit, condemned them to continue to be beasts of burden, without any ambition to improve their condition by using better methods and implements in their farm work and trades. This disunited, inefficient organization was wofully ill-prepared to stem the tide of Occidental aggression which had already submerged an important part of Asia, and was at that time lapping against the shores of Japan.

Happily for *Dai Nippon*, the exigencies of the times roused a spirit of patriotism in the ruling classes which, until then, had remained an unknown source of strength, and which was destined to regenerate the nation in course of time, and render it secure against alien machinations. The Emperor, though a mere lad (or, if you insist upon it, those who advised him and acted in his name at that time), perceived that a revolutionary change was needed in Imperial life, and that unless he discharged the duties which the transformed circumstances had thrust upon him as Ruler, a dire fate would befall the land. Realizing this, he did not

[1] According to Captain Brinkley, the average rate of taxation during the Shogunate was not less than 40 per cent. of the gross produce, and fell altogether upon the lower classes.

hesitate to give up treading in the primrose path of dalliance pursued by his predecessors. He removed his court from the tainted atmosphere of the ancient capital, Kyoto, which, for over two centuries, had been associated with the impotence of the monarch, to the freer environment of Tokyo, which had served as the governmental seat of the Shogunate and which, during the later years of that régime, had become the centre of foreign influence, where, unhampered by past Court precedents, the foundations of the new administration could be laid. He also received the diplomatic corps, thereby shattering the tradition which held his person too sacred to be gazed upon by others than his immediate relations and the nobles. Similarly, the powerful feudal barons, alive to the danger that threatened from without, conquered their inordinate pride, cast aside their petty, personal jealousies, and, of their own free will, laid their fiefs at the feet of their Emperor and begged him to reorganize the Empire.

Taking advantage of the patriotic offers of the barons, all but seventeen of whom had joined in petitioning the sovereign, the feudalistic basis of government was gradually demolished. At first the lords were set up as provincial governors, and charged with the collection of the taxes, as of old, which they remitted to the Treasury minus one-tenth, allotted to them for themselves and their retainers. On August 29, 1871, this system was changed by the eviction of the barons from their gubernatorial positions and by ordering that the taxes be paid directly to the Imperial Treasury, the peers being allowed to enjoy their one-tenth tithe of the imposts and asked to live in Tokyo. The administration was organized into a bureaucracy by departmentalizing the governmental activities after the European fashion, with this exception, that the heads of the various bureaus were not responsible to a popularly elected assembly, but directly to the Emperor, who appointed them, and could dismiss or punish them. As was natural, the higher offices

were filled with the barons and nobles who had been instrumental in the restoration of the Emperor's power; and this arrangement was destined to continue for many years.

Quite early in the *Meiji* era the Government took in hand the matter of settling the status of the *samurai*, offering to commute their pensions on the basis of four years' purchase for a life pension, and six years' purchase for a hereditary stipend. In 1872, when the War department was bifurcated into the Army and Navy Bureaus, these retainers were relieved of their obligation to serve in the force, and the conscript system was introduced, requiring every male, irrespective of his class or rank, capable of bearing arms, to render military service. The men belonging to the old warrior caste naturally resented drilling beside those whom they had always despised as their social inferiors: and the conservatives openly doubted the wisdom of admitting into the army men who lacked hereditary skill. But the Government went ahead, firm in the faith that in the end all difficulties would disappear, and the policy would justify itself by its results. An edict issued in 1876 made it compulsory for the feudal retainers to commute their pensions; while another forbade them to wear two swords, which theretofore had been their birthright.

So far this reconstruction had proceeded in peace, but in 1877 Saigo Takamori, a leader of the Satsuma clan, made an insult offered to the nation by Korea a pretext to stir up all those who, lacking patriotism and far-sight, had resented the innovations that had been introduced, and embroiled the country in a civil war. The forces of order and progress were ranged on the Emperor's side, and these, within six months, subdued the insurrection. The rebellion, however, cost the lives of 30,000 men on both sides. But finally when the Imperial forces, whose ranks included the sons of peasants and artisans, vanquished the *samurai*, the ascendancy of the barons and their henchmen was shattered, and the foundation on which the feudalistic

structure had rested was destroyed. The feudal barons (*daimyo*) and the Court nobles (*kuge*) were shorn of their titles, and both were amalgamated into a class styled *kwazoku* (later partitioned into four subdivisions), as distinguished from the commoners, who were called *heimin*. Simultaneously with this, the pariahs (*eta*) were socially uplifted and their disabilities removed. The Buddhist Church was deprived of the distinction of being the State religion, and freedom of conscience was granted to all.

While these socio-administrative changes were being inaugurated, the authorities were busy opening up internal and external means of communication, developing agriculture and home crafts, installing improved machinery to ply industries and work mines, laying out forests, establishing an efficient army, navy, police, and judiciary, codifying laws, building prisons and systematizing their administration, organizing medical, sanitary, and educational systems, and, in the wake of literacy, decentralizing the Government by the institution of local boards, municipalities, and representative bodies. In other words, the task that the Japanese Government set before itself at the commencement of the *Meiji* era was not merely the performing of the functions of protecting life and property, opening up communications and keeping them in an efficient condition, and educating the rising generation, to which most administrations limit themselves, but in addition it undertook to modernize industry and finance, and revolutionize the structure of society, and especially feminine conditions. Since at that time the Government consisted of a coterie of a few statesmen, the descendants of feudal clansmen (known as *geniro*, or 'elder statesmen'), it meant that the face of their country was to be literally and not merely figuratively changed at their will and by them. Never did another oligarchy voluntarily assume such a stupendous task. Fifty years ago, when the most progressive governments in Europe hesitated to undertake anything worthy of notice beyond

the orthodox functions of administration, it needed a great deal of courage for Japan to shoulder this great responsibility.

This ambition was materialized by utilizing the knowledge gained by a few Japanese from their limited contact with Westerners; employing competent foreigners to help to initiate reforms, introduce American and European machinery and methods, and instruct the Nipponese in the liberal arts and sciences, professions and trades; and by sending promising young men and (mark you) women to the United States of America and several European countries to observe how the Occidental nations lived and worked, study their civilizations, imbibe their spirit, learn their methods, and master the use of their machinery and tools. Bearing in mind the fact that within a few years of the time when this policy was framed Japan had lived in strict isolation, screened off from the rest of the world, one cannot forbear marvelling at the progressiveness and longsightedness of its authors.

From what I have been privileged to learn from some of those Japanese statesmen who assisted in the framing of this programme, I gather that it was laid down that Japan was to ruthlessly pluck out of her social economy every institution that hampered the nation's progress, but, at the same time, she was to preserve and develop all that was good and useful in her old civilization. Nothing was to be taken from the West that the nation could not assimilate. The task was not to be regarded as finished unless and until the foreign institutions had actually become engrafted upon the Japanese systems so that they lived and thrived, and gradually the graft and parent tree became one and indivisible. Japan's ideal was not merely to be an imitator of America and Europe, but to so make Western knowledge her own that the natives would be able to improve upon that which had been acquired to meet their own requirements.

But as is inevitable in such cases, the Nipponese were

at first not able rigidly to adhere to this splendid course of action. Stepping out from the shadows of their ages-old exclusiveness into the mid-day sunshine of Western civilization, their eyes were so blinded by the glare that they could scarcely see anything wrong in foreign institutions, or anything right in their own; and many of them replaced their former habits and customs with foreign ones by wholesale. This indiscrimination inspired by excessive zeal led them to commit many mistakes, probably the greatest amongst them being the crushing out of the national system of local government. Their eagerness to make rapid progress also sometimes caused them to sacrifice quality, and infringe upon the patent rights of foreigners. During the years of transition some of them behaved towards the alien traders in a manner calculated to lay them open to the charge of lacking commercial morality. But the wide-awake amongst them have already realized these defects, deplored them, and sought to get rid of them. The Nipponese have been able, during the latter years of their development, almost completely to overcome these undesirable tendencies, and as a result their recent advancement has been better ordered, more even, deeper, and more abiding.

IV

What are the results of the activities set into motion by the impact of the Occident upon Japan? A broad, general outline of the changes effected during the four and a half decades that have passed since the *Meiji* era began may be given.

The face of the three principal islands, namely Hokkaido (80,275 square miles), Honshiu (86,770 square miles), and Shikoku (7,082 square miles), which constitute Japan proper, and, roughly speaking, at present possess a population of about 55,000,000 souls, has been changed by a network of elaborate, costly, and efficient means of communication of which any nation may justly be proud. Beginning

with actually nothing, or next to nothing, Japan has established railways, tramways, wire and wireless telegraphs, sea cables, telephones, and post offices; improved the existing roads and bridges, developed harbours and a merchant marine and made navigation safe in the Japanese waters, to such purpose that the ends of government, industries, trade and commerce and private communication are adequately and efficiently served.

Japan has greatly improved and extended its handicrafts and established gigantic power industries. Amongst the latter, that of shipbuilding has had probably the most marvellous career. At the beginning of the *Meiji* era little was attempted except the building of wooden junks. But since then, and especially since the passing of the Shipbuilding Encouragement Act in 1896, Government and private yards have been established where Dreadnoughts, protected and unprotected cruisers, torpedo boats, destroyers, submarines, and merchant vessels are constructed, and where armour plate and the heaviest and latest pattern of guns and machinery are manufactured. The biggest of them all is the Yokosuko yard, covering 116 acres, with a graving dock large enough to accommodate any ship afloat, and two big building slips, besides three smaller ones. The Kuré yard has to its credit the feat of building and launching an armoured vessel, the *Ibuki*, six months after the keel was laid. This yard can construct guns and mountings of the largest type, and can turn out all the armour plate to meet the needs of the navy for many years to come.

Equally remarkable progress has been made in the manufacture of weapons. The arsenal at Tokyo makes a speciality of rifles and their ammunition. Ordnance is constructed at the Osaka Arsenal, and powder is made at four explosives factories. A private explosives factory covers 800 acres, and manufactures 800 tons of explosives daily. The invention of the Murata infantry rifle and the Arisaka quick-firing gun,

and the ability to manufacture 12-inch guns, renders Japan practically independent of foreign supplies of this character, while a £1,000,000 foundry makes it possible to produce at home practically all the iron and steel needed for building and equipping ships of all kinds.

To insure her interests against foreign encroachment and internal disorder, Japan has reorganized her army according to the Western pattern, and established a navy and constabulary, both also after the Occidental model. The army and navy were, during the *Meiji* era, called to action in the Chino-Japanese War of 1894; in the Boxer Uprising of 1900; and the Russo-Japanese War of the past decade (in addition to which the soldiery suppressed the *Satsuma* Rebellion, to which reference has been made). Though of late some attempt has been made to belittle the achievement of the Japanese fighting forces during the conflict with Russia, yet all fair-minded critics admit that they demonstrated their prowess in a remarkable manner, and proved that the Nipponese can successfully fight the Occidentals with their own weapons. In 1862 the army consisted of 18,625 officers and men. In 1894, Japan was able to send an army of 240,000 trained men, 6,495 irregulars, and 100,000 coolies to fight China. In 1911–12 she had a war establishment of 1,650,000 and a peace establishment of 225,000, all recruited by conscription.

At present Japan's navy consists of sixteen battleships, including two of the Dreadnought type; thirteen armoured cruisers; two first class, twelve second class, and five third class protected cruisers; four unprotected cruisers; three torpedo vessels; fifty-seven torpedo-boat destroyers; fifty-seven torpedo boats; and twelve submarines. In 1918 she stands fifth in respect of battleships, having outstripped Russia and Italy in this respect. As regards 'Dreadnoughts and ships launched since 1906 which may be considered fit to "lie in line,"' as classified by the *Naval Annual* in 1910, she ranked fifth, and was ahead of Austria

and Italy. In the matter of ships building and built of Dreadnought or super-Dreadnought armament, she ranked fourth in 1912. She is, to-day, the only power possessing a Dreadnought in the Pacific, and this gives her a position of supremacy so far as those waters are concerned. Besides this formidable fleet ready for action, she has two battleships, four battle cruisers, two second-class protected cruisers, two torpedo-boat destroyers, and three submarines in course of construction, and is straining her finances to be the mistress of the Eastern seas as England is supreme in Western waters, having spent the better part of the £85,000,000 sanctioned at the end of the Russo-Japanese war for building new ships, repairing old vessels, and those captured from Russia, the whole of which sum will be exhausted by 1917.

The Japanese, in learning from the West how to butcher soldiers and sailors, have not neglected to adopt from the same source the system of Red Cross relief. Indeed, that work has enlisted the interest of the Nipponese from the Dowager Empress down to the mistress of the meanest cottage. The organization is now completed, and the Japanese Red Cross has been recognized by sister movements in Europe and America.

The campaigns in which Japan has engaged (or their aftermath) have resulted in extending the Mikado's Empire by the acquirement (permanent or temporary) of Karafuto or Japanese Saghalien (18,000 square miles in area and with a population of 26,000); Formosa (with an area of 18,500 square miles and a population of about 8,500,000); Corea (71,000 square miles in extent and with 12,000,000 inhabitants); a part of Manchuria; and the Kwantung Peninsula (covering 200 square miles, with 400,000 population). Space forbids reference to the changes inaugurated by the Japanese in these possessions, and we must content ourselves with the mere statement that she has introduced railways, roads, telegraphs, irrigation canals, public offices, schools, and

hospitals, and has established and developed agriculture and industries.

The Government, after its reconstruction in the *Meiji* era, gave almost immediate attention to the constitution and training of the police, and this attention has never been relaxed. As a consequence a constabulary system has been evolved which, though somewhat deficient as compared with those of Europe and America, yet is well organized and honest. It consisted, in 1904, of 38,478 officers and men, and carried on its operations in 15,521 offices and stations. The ratio of police to population in that year was about one to every 1,857 units.

The organization of the judiciary, the codification of laws, the building up of prisons, and the evolving of the prison system on the basic principle that all are equal before the law, that each individual has a right to be properly charged and tried, and that the State owes it to itself and to its citizens to concern itself with the care of the health of those convicted and to seek to enlighten their minds and reclaim their souls, was early taken in hand and has been satisfactorily completed. The civil, criminal, and commercial laws have gone through one or more revisions, and are patterned after the legal codes of France and Germany, modified in the light of Japanese customs and requirements. The best proof of the efficiency of the legal institutions of Japan was furnished when the European nations (so fastidious in such cases) recently surrendered their extra-territorial privileges and submitted their subjects and citizens from thence on to be tried by Nipponese judges and according to Japanese laws.

The efforts of the government to organize medical relief and give the people the benefits of modern hygiene and sanitation have borne abundant fruit. About a thousand hospitals are dotted over the land, many of them charitable institutions maintained by philanthropic ladies, some especially conducted for lepers, and others for poor children.

According to a recent census there were 35,160 physicians, 2,898 pharmacists, 26,887 apothecaries, and 25,959 midwives, all of whom were under the supervision of the Sanitary Bureau of the Home Department; while 9,664 school physicians made physical examinations of the pupils at fixed intervals, with a view to promoting the health of the rising generation.

Intellectual advancement has kept pace with all other reforms. When the Emperor Mutsuhito came to the throne, learning was very much restricted amongst men, and was practically non-existent amongst women. Education of a utilitarian nature was looked down upon by the upper classes, who acquired more or less proficiency in verse-making and the classics; while the lower castes did not possess the facilities to learn even to read and write and do simple sums in arithmetic. Starting without any nucleus whatever, a system of public instruction was established early in the *Meiji* era, based upon the idea that in course of time there should not be a single home with an illiterate member, and not a single village with an unlettered family; and that particular attention was to be paid to the education of agriculturists, artisans, and women. This aim has been kept steadfastly in view, and gradually an educational system has been built up comprising academic, agricultural, technical, professional, art, industrial and commercial instruction, from the lowest to the highest grade. Primary education for years has been compulsory and free. Special attention has been paid to physical culture and ethical development. In 1909–10 there were 7,819,899 children of both sexes, or 98·06 per cent. of schoolables attending institutions of learning; and by that year the stigma of illiteracy had been almost completely wiped off the face of Japan. No country in the world can show such a marvellous advancement towards literacy as that of the Daybreak Empire. Nippon, however, has not been made vain by this achievement, but continues to lavish attention and money

upon public instruction, spending over 9,000,000 yen a year on that head.

Japan's efforts to impart knowledge to her citizens, besides resulting in all the progress to which attention has been called, have enabled her to make noteworthy advancement in literature, journalism, fine arts, drama, and music, and have led to the amelioration of feminine conditions and to the reconstruction of government.

When the Shogun was shorn of his powers, the womanhood of Japan was benighted, abided in seclusion, segregated from members of the opposite sex except near male relatives, and lived solely to cater to the whims and caprices of man. By means of primary and higher education and pedagogic, industrial, technical, professional and commercial training for women, and the enactment of laws giving them more equitable property and divorce laws, these conditions have been greatly improved. Education and contact with foreigners have also improved male notions regarding women and worked toward the same end. Though the status of females is not, as yet, what modern requirements decree, the rate at which progress is being made gives promise that ere long the deficiencies in this respect will be removed.

The administration of the land has changed from absolutism to limited monarchy. The functions of Government have been departmentalized, and capable men have been installed as chiefs of the various bureaus. In 1889 a Constitution was granted to the people, and as the result of it, upper and lower houses of Parliament were organized —the latter an elected assembly. Considerable progress has also been made in municipal and local government. However, the complete sovereignty of Parliament is still to come; clamour for it is increasing year by year, and the authorities are bound to bow to the popular demand in course of time.

The most remarkable thing in connexion with the record of Japan's achievement is that it has been accomplished in

the face of much unthinking conservatism and with limited resources. In 1867–68, the first year of the *Meiji* era, the revenue was only 33,000,000 yen. With the development of agriculture, industries, mines, forests, and other national assets, this income has gradually increased until in 1909–10 the ordinary revenue stood at 488,241,169 yen. But even with such an amount Japan would not have been able to achieve one tithe of what it has done but for the most rigid economy in administration, sagacious finance, and recourse to foreign loans. The point to be noted is that the new régime started with a debased coinage of little real worth, valueless paper money of some 1,600 kinds, and that it had to pay nine per cent. interest on its first London bonds: and that gradually its financiers have adopted the gold standard, improved the coinage, organized banks, state-aided and otherwise, and so metamorphosed the monetary system that the foreign rate of interest has been cut in half. It would be wrong to disguise the fact that her militant policy has of late been pressing very hard upon her finances and making taxation heavy almost to the back-breaking point; but enough indications have been given of late to warrant the belief that with the wiser Nipponese statesmen alive to the gravity of the situation, and strong opinions on the subject originating with the populace and voiced by its representatives in the Diet, recklessness in this respect will be checked in the near future.

Such, in brief, is the tale of *Dai Nippon's* march forward since the day when Commodore Perry lifted the veil from off her face. Though the work of reform is not quite complete, and the political and social economists are cognizant of the defects and shortcomings in this progression, yet even the most caustic critics are forced to acknowledge that the accomplishment registered by the Japanese in the four and a half decades of the *Meiji* era, extending from October 13, 1868, to July 30, 1912, when His Imperial Majesty Mutsuhito died, and the present era of *Taisho* (Good resolutions or

Righteousness) began under the new Emperor, Yoshihito, forms a brilliant record, unparalleled for its rapidity and character by that of any other nation in the annals of the world.

When compared with Western countries, Nippon can give a good account of herself. In fifty years she has succeeded in actually outstripping all but four or five of the European nations in many respects, and is not far behind the most progressive amongst them.

Therefore the title of the Japanese to treatment at least equal to that accorded to the less-developed peoples of modern Europe can be denied only because of race prejudice and colour consciousness. Any course which would allot a lower position to Nippon in the comity of nations, besides being unethical, would be unwise, for that would imply that the West has not moved with the march of Asian progress, and is not willing to put aside its vain and empty boast that the white man is destined for ever to dominate his coloured *confrères*. Such provincialism is calculated to drive the yellow, brown, and black peoples, who far outnumber the Caucasians, and who, in the course of a few years, are bound to master the use of Western arms and armaments as the Japanese have done, to make common cause, the result of which will be the establishment of racial equality. Though at present the voice of some bellicose, blustering Occidentals who would set the whole pack of Western war dogs on little Japan, irrespective of the consequences, have the ear of the public, yet the Caucasian world, it is to be hoped, will see the folly of listening to the jingoes, and will decide the issue in favour of Nippon, granting to her a position of equality in the family of nations.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

PARZIVAL AND PARSIFAL

EVERY true Wagnerian holds that the Master's greatest drama is his last—*Parsifal*. Hitherto, according to Wagner's own disposition, no performance of *Parsifal* has been possible out of Bayreuth; with last August, when it was given at the close of the Wagner Festival, that limitation expired, and *Parsifal*, one of the most daring experiments in the whole range of art, will be no longer confined to the little town where the traditions of its creator are still unchallenged.

A great change has passed over the spirit of the musical world since Wagner was simply the 'Zukunftsmusiker,' the erratic and capricious musician of the future. No one now can despise the claim he himself made, to be much more than a musician. Starting from a desire to realize the persistent 'Anders-streben' of all the arts—the longing to pass out of themselves into something higher and fuller—he saw that neither music alone, nor poetry, nor the stage, could express all that the human spirit could conceive. Fired with enthusiasm for the new Germany, which revealed its sheer physical and material strength at Koniggrätz and Sedan, he was at the same time eager to clothe the deep and mysterious longings of his nation with a form which should be intelligible and clear to every one who spoke the nation's majestic language.

Hence the great series of his dramas, *The Flying Dutchman*, *Tristan*, *Tannhäuser*, and even *Die Meistersinger*, in which the burly figure of Hans Sachs becomes symbolical of Germany itself. Like Shakespeare and Euripides, he looked outside himself for his material; but what he used, he transformed. He turned to the old Teutonic cycle of the Niblungs, and shaped out of it another 'Paradise Lost' in the trilogy

of the 'Ring'; he turned to the treasure store of the legends of mediaeval chivalry, and gave the world another 'Paradise Regained' in *Parsifal*.

The story of King Arthur and the Round Table shared with those of Charlemagne and of Troy the allegiance of the Middle Ages. Its local associations enabled it to distance its rivals with ease in the affections of England. Sir Thomas Malory gave it to his countrymen in sonorous prose which delights us to-day as it delighted his contemporaries more than four centuries ago. Milton at one time, as is well known, thought of devoting his energies to the same subject. Watts, Rossetti, and Burne-Jones, Matthew Arnold and Tennyson, have all felt the charm of that splendid and secular narrative. Yet the story is not one but several. Myths and legends are always hospitable to one another. Christian traditions, German folk-lore, the Celtic twilight, and dim pagan faiths, have all gone to shape the adventures of Lancelot and Gawain, Percival and Galahad. And like all ancient stories, it is strangely susceptible to colouring. Malory moves in a different world from Tennyson; and how different, again, would have been the effect of the soul-animating strains of Milton from Tennyson's deliberate and sensitive studies of his impetuous yet reflective knights.

To most modern readers, at the centre of the Idylls stands the Grail. This wondrous vessel appears in the older stories as a wizard cup or a magic jewel, and only slowly became identified with the chalice of the Last Supper. A hundred and fifty years before Malory, the Grail legends were worked up into one of the most remarkable of mediaeval poems, by Wolfram von Eschenbach. A contemporary and friend of Walther von der Vogelweide,[1] he was, primarily, neither troubadour nor politician nor satirist, but one of the few to whom it is given to sum up the spiritual aspirations of a whole period of history. The Middle Ages were dominated by two great conceptions; the contrast between

[1] See the October (1912) number of this Journal.

the two worlds, the seen and the unseen; and the necessity for the soul's salvation. Keen as was their admiration for bodily prowess and their consciousness of bodily pain, all was shot through, for them, with the spiritual. Hence, an ideal was always floating before their thoughts; sometimes gross and repellent, sometimes startlingly ethereal; there was always a *plus ultra*.

Wolfram's Parzival has little in common with Tennyson's hero, except the name. He is equally distinct from Sir Galahad. Brought up, according to the older legends which Wolfram follows, by his mother in the deep seclusion of a forest, he develops a body which is as strong as his mind is inexperienced. His first sorrow comes from shooting a bird with a bow which he himself has fashioned. Soon after, he sees three knights riding in the forest, and thinks they must be gods. Hearing from them of the meaning and glory of chivalry, he too determines to set out on adventures; and his mother, longing to bring him back soon, if she cannot keep him to herself, clothes him in the garments of a fool. But he finds his way to Arthur's court, and with a mere hunting spear slays a mighty champion, thus winning his first suit of armour. He learns his first lessons in the courtesies of life from an aged prince, Gurnemanz, whose castle he reaches after leaving the royal court; and then, half in love with Gurnemanz's daughter, he is summoned to deliver a besieged queen, and marries her.

But he cannot stay in his new-found bliss. He sets forth again, to see how his mother fares. He is directed by a fisherman, dressed in the robes of a king, to the castle of the Grail, Munsalvaesch. Here he finds the lord of the castle, Amfortas, sick to death, through a wound inflicted by a magician when he was sinning against his vows. Amfortas, tended by many knights and ladies, guards the Grail, a sacred and oracular stone, which selects those who are to watch over it, and gives them strength and all manner of pleasant foods. Parzival is present at

the banquet, and sees the lord of the castle, covered with furs and mantles. He himself receives a sword from his host. All is mysterious; but Parzival, as taught by his mother, asks no question. On the morrow, he finds the castle empty. In perplexity he is riding away, when he hears the contemptuous voice of a squire. 'Had you used your mouth but to ask a question of your host! You missed it, goose!' Parzival, in his folly, knew not that to ask a question would have healed the king and made the questioner the Grail champion. But the words have filled him with remorse and self-contempt. His honour has vanished for ever. A mere chance has undone him. His bodily strength, however, is as great as it was. He rides sore at heart through the rough places of the earth, till he reaches the court of King Arthur again. All are amazed at his prowess; the boldest knights fall before his mighty spear. But a sorceress, Cundrie, rides in on her mule, and flings his brute folly in his face. He cannot escape his fate. He departs once more, shamed and miserable. Further adventures follow; in all he is victorious; yet he is conscious that he has done wrong, though he knows not how.

At last, on the morning of Good Friday, he meets an old knight, who rebukes him for wearing armour on that holy day, and after further talk directs him to a hermit, who counsels him to love and honour God. 'I have done so,' Parzival replies, 'and have gotten but sorrow thereby.' But he now learns the truth about the Grail. He also learns that in his wanderings he has unwittingly vanquished and slain two of his own kinsmen. Filled with penitence, he listens to words of pardon and further counsel from the hermit, and then sets out once more for Arthur's court. Cundrie reappears, and begs for his forgiveness. He grants it, and she offers to guide him to the Grail castle. Here he finds the sick king, longing and praying for death. He asks the destined question, and the king is healed. Parzival's honour is now restored; his joy is full, save for one thing. He is

still parted from his wife. Suddenly he finds her with the two sons who had been born after he left her; and all ends in peace.

Even a bare outline of the story is impressive. But no outline can convey the atmosphere of wistfulness, doubt, and shame, the passion for loyalty, and the longing for redemption, that breathes through the poem. Parzival is, in fact, a type of the mediaeval spirit; its inexperience, its superstition, its delight in reckless adventure, are all in the poem, and in the hero. Love dwells dangerously near to lust; and a selfishness that at times passes into brutality is yoked to a sublime self-denial. But with all this, the world is a world of magic. The Grail is only a talisman of special potency; the king's sickness is one that no medicine can remove. And—equally inevitable if the poem is to represent its age adequately—there is a formlessness in its composition which eludes and wearies the most careful reader.

As far as the magic and the formlessness are concerned, we find them also in Malory. Not, however, in Tennyson. Tennyson selects and arranges. Much that was of great interest to Malory he rejects altogether. The rest he works up into distinct episodes or, as he preferred to call them, idylls, grouped around the two dominating motives of Guinevere and the quest of the now Christianized Grail. Both these motives are of abiding interest; yet, as regards the first, many of the poet's admirers have felt that the demands of the situation have been almost too difficult for him;—to preserve our interest in the three chief characters, the wronged husband, the erring wife, and the too eager lover, and yet to keep all three in their true position to one another. As for the second, the emphasis on the spiritual lessons of the quest has wholly overlaid the buoyant adventurousness of the romance.

Wagner first discovered Wolfram von Eschenbach and his Parzival in 1845. He did not complete his own work till 1882. From the first, he was fascinated, yet repelled. He

saw in the work a mere farrago of romantic adventures; yet in the centre was the 'guileless fool,' a figure of vast dramatic and emotional possibilities. At the same time, Wagner fixed upon the idea of the Grail; it was to be, with him, no mere magic jewel, but the actual receptacle of the sacred blood, which, during the great office of the Sacrament in the Grail castle, was wont to glow with a heavenly light.

Interest then gathered round the sick king—sick, because he had once been enticed into the garden of a magician, and there wounded by his own spear, the spear which had riven the side of the Saviour on Calvary. The spear he lost; but from the wound he was fated to suffer, in spite of passionate longings for death, till it could be touched by the same spear. A voice from the Grail had bidden him wait for his deliverer; 'a guileless fool, made wise by pity.' Thus the rather unmeaning feature of Wolfram's story, that the sick man needed a bold piece of curiosity to heal him, is replaced by a profound symbolism; the instrument which was put to the profanest work becomes most sacred; the spear which caused the wound in a moment of sin, becomes, in the hands of the pure, the instrument of healing.

Parsifal has had as yet no adventures when he finds his way to the Grail castle of Montsalvat. In boyish ignorance he shoots a swan in the castle's sacred precincts; but the aged knight, Gurnemanz, tells him whither he has come, and allows him to witness the celebration of the Grail feast by Amfortas. At the end, he asks the youth whether he has understood what he has seen. 'No,' is the reply, though as he speaks he seems to feel a sharp pain; and Gurnemanz, disgusted, flings him out of the hall. 'Leave the swans, and away to your geese!'

In Wolfram's story, Parzival's folly is brought home to him by the sorceress, Cundrie. Wagner transforms Cundrie into an enigmatical figure, half enchantress, half penitent; she is a kind of wandering Jewess, once embodied in Hero-

dias; now enslaved to the magician, Klingsor,[1] to work the ruin of the Grail knights, and now searching the world for balm for the sick king's wound; like some spirit of passion, compelled to do evil, yet loving good. She had seen Parsifal at his first appearance in the castle garden, and feels a dim presentiment of his destiny. But Klingsor, her master, wiser, like the children of this world, than the children of light, sees Parsifal to be his great foe, and lures him into his magical groves of temptation. He is still a mere witless lad, and the simpler and coarser temptations of the place he brushes aside, protected by his very ignorance. Then Kundry approaches. Loathing her task, pitying her victim, longing herself for redemption, and yet forced to use the arts she hates, she begins by telling him of his mother. She almost has him in her power, when he feels a stab of pain. In a flash, he remembers the pain of the sick king, and he knows that he is to be the king's deliverer. Klingsor appears and hurls the spear at Parsifal. But it rests above Parsifal's head, and as Parsifal seizes it, the whole garden falls into ashes.

When next we see him, the guileless fool has become a mighty warrior. On a Good Friday morning, he finds his way to the garden of the castle once more. There he meets the aged Gurnemanz, and learns from him of the darkening cloud that hangs over the fellowship of the knights. There, too, he finds Kundry, who pours out the confession of her repentance, and, recognizing her deliverer again, bathes his feet, and is baptized. Then he enters the castle. The feast of the Grail is being celebrated, tragically interrupted by Amfortas' despairing prayer for death. Parsifal approaches, spear in hand, and with one touch of the holy weapon heals the wound. He then receives the cup and concludes the sacred office; a dove glides down a shaft

[1] Klingsor does not appear in Wolfram's poem, but in a somewhat later poem, the 'Wartburgkrieg,' where Wolfram is represented as the champion of Christendom against the pagan Klingsor of Hungary.

of brilliant light upon the cup; Kundry flings herself at the foot of the altar in an ecstasy of worship, amidst a great cry, from the assembled knights, of 'Redemption to the Redeemer!'

The music of the play cannot be discussed here. We are only concerned with Wagner's use of Wolfram's story. But it is difficult to exaggerate the effect of the 'leitmotifs,' as Wagner has learnt to use them in *Parsifal*. Each of these haunting musical phrases is associated in the mind of the understanding hearer with some dominant conception; the Grail, for example, or faith, or enchantment. Both Parsifal and the spear have their appropriate fragments of melody. The result is that by means of the orchestra Wagner can give us a continuous commentary—far more effective than that of a Greek chorus—on the action. He can bring the universal into the midst of the particular, and enable the hearer to interpret the present by the future. It is hardly a coincidence that one of the most striking of the motifs is 'faith.' From the point of view of pure music the use of these motifs may be criticized, though hardly by admirers of Elgar's compositions. But nothing could be more full of deep 'tragic irony' than the occurrence of the melody always associated with the words

> By pity enlightened,
> The guileless fool;
> Wait for him
> Whom I have chosen,

at the very moment when Gurnemanz flings Parsifal out of the Grail castle, or more impressive and arresting than a fleeting echo of it when Klingsor bids Kundry prepare for her hardest task, to subdue the knight whose folly is his shield.

To some readers, this mixture of ancient legend and Christian ritual and doctrine will be simply bewildering. Possibly, their very sense of reverence will make it objectionable. Tennyson never suggested so near an approach to

the central mystery of the Christian faith; and his poems were not intended for the stage. To Nietzsche, the play meant his final breach with Wagner. To his disgust, he said, Wagner had finally surrendered to Christianity. Probably his resentment was directed equally against the representation of Christian ritual as a solemn and splendid thing, and against the conception of redemption by a simpleton, or against any redemption whatsoever. How little Nietzsche understood the true characteristics of his superman!

On the other hand, to pass from Wolfram to Wagner is like passing from the Old Testament to the New, or (if Wolfram will forgive the comparison) from the Babylonian creation stories to the first chapter of Genesis. 'But Wagner has not got rid of the magic.' That is true; yet as Parzival changes into Parsifal, magic is transformed to parable. The garden of Klingsor is really an illusion, like all the suggestions of sensuality. Did not all Percivale's goodly apples turn to dust? As for the spear, was it a wizard who uttered the great words, 'No weapon formed against thee shall prosper'? The chosen and destructive weapon of evil, in the hands of innocence, becomes sacred and redemptive. Kundry, no longer a sorceress, is a kind of type of the body, forced against its will to lure into sin, yet waiting for the revealing of the sons of God. The Grail is simply the cup of blessing which has been blessed through two thousand years wherever Christians have remembered their dying Lord.

And what of Parsifal himself? With unique daring, Wagner has not shrunk from reminding us of the Gospels. Parsifal goes scatheless through temptation; his feet are wiped by the repentant harlot with her hair; he is saluted as redeemer. Yet what a vast difference between him and the tragic figure of Isa. liii., or the majestic hero of Matt. xxvi. There were indeed two great moments when Parsifal felt the pain of the sick king; but into the mystery of supporting the load of another's iniquities, Wagner could not pass, even

when the great author of Isa. liii. had led the way. And if the disciples *invented* Jesus, as some unbelievers say, what consummate genius must have been theirs, to enable them to tread so firmly where even Wagner faltered!

Such contrasts are beside the mark. The highest praise of the achievements of art and literature is that they remind us of the visions and memories of certain Jews. The reason for the subtle yet unmistakable difference between the works of man in classical and in modern times is that outside the walls of a provincial city one Jesus of Nazareth was crucified between two thieves. Yet, in the realm of human thought and creation, explanation and illumination are always mutual. No great modern work of art can be understood apart from the cross of Christ. But no great work of art fails to cast some of its light, thus gained, upon the significance of that cross. There are many who will understand that significance the better because of Wagner. His daring representation may not exhaust the whole truth of the Atonement; but it is true. The secret of redemption is that the fang of sin is drawn by a pure hand. Pity does enlighten; and guiltless folly, touched by love, grows up into the mighty and formidable innocence that brings the structures of evil in ruins to the ground, and uses the very instruments of temptation for the healing of the soul.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

A NEW HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS

Histoire des Vaudois: Refaite d'Après les Plus Récentes Recherches. Par TEOFILO GAY, Dr. Theol., Président de la Société d'Histoire Vaudoise. (Florence, 1912: Typographie Claudienne, Via Serragli, 51.)

ON November 27, 1912, there died in Naples, in the home of his children settled there, the 'Cavaliere' Teofilo Gay, Doctor of Theology and Waldensian Pastor. A long illness had worn down the strength which had sustained him during forty years of courageous Christian ministry in various places—beginning in 1872 with a year in London, and after, terms of varied length in Rome, Florence, the United States, Brescia, and Naples, ending with a twelve years' pastorate at S. Giovanni in 'the Valleys' of Piedmont, the ancient home of his fathers and his faith. Such leisure as his pastoral toils permitted had been given to researches into Waldensian history; and from time to time he published in French, Italian, and English—all of which he wrote and spoke with grace and facility—narratives and sketches dealing so ably with the Vaudois annals as amply to justify the position accorded him of 'President of the Society of Waldensian History,' and the title of 'Cavaliere,' bestowed only on distinguished merit. His last years were employed on the work before us, a really exhaustive *History of the Vaudois*, summing up the results of his life-study of the authentic records of that singular people, whose obstinate survival through seven centuries of savage efforts for their annihilation is one of the standing miracles of history.

Only the ancient People of God has shown equal tenacity. But the tiny 'Israel of the Alps' has been happier than its tragically-illustrious prototype in one particular. Its

invincible attachment to its wild mountain-refuge, its fiery defence of the poor possession, did so triumph, that for only four years—from 1686 to 1690—were the Vaudois a people without a country. Not for them the age-long homeless wanderings of the Jewish race, nor its 'wealth and woe,' exaltation and degradation. But a task and trust assigned to them has never been relinquished; to keep, as their chosen motto and emblem imply, a light ever burning amid surrounding darkness; faithfully to defend the mountain home enshrining that 'guarded flame' and to diffuse everywhere the light they possessed, despite the most formidable difficulties.

Many obscure points in the age-long story of this struggle are conclusively dealt with in the pages before us, to which Dr. Gay devoted his failing strength, until compelled to relinquish their revision to his son, the Rev. Gaio Gay, pastor at Naples.

The true origin of the Vaudois churches; their pre-Reformation discipline, far-extended operations, and mode of working; their relations with the Reformed Churches in the sixteenth century, the changes wrought in their methods but not in their teaching by those relations, the benefits they brought to the Reform (among which may be reckoned the first complete French translation of the Bible from the original); the beneficent attitude of Protestant England towards the Churches of the Valleys during many generations; the stormy and changeful Revolutionary period, when the Valleys actually enjoyed 'fifteen years of liberty' under the Republic and Napoleon; Vaudois literature, Vaudois warfare, Vaudois heroes and heroines, Vaudois sufferings, successes, and glories—on all these new light is poured, with richness of detail, profusion of illustration, minuteness of accuracy.

We can imperfectly show how the vexed question of the origin of the Vaudois appears finally set at rest. Already some cherished fables had been disposed of by a

previous Vaudois historian, Prof. Emile Comba; it was no longer possible to trace the Vaudois Church back to Apostolic times or to those of 'good Sylvester'; nor had it, as some enemies alleged, any connexion with the Manichaean Cathari.

It was left for our author to show that though such a Church, as separate from the Papacy, cannot be traced before A.D. 1100, there are superabundant documentary evidences, in the fateful twelfth century, of the existence of a great body of Christians (styled 'Vallenses' by their opponents), no longer willing to submit to the See of Rome, which had now so clearly formulated its gigantic pretensions, and initiated so many perilous innovations, that such as loved the primitive doctrine and discipline must needs separate from her; he adduces convincing evidence of the existence of a vast Western schism practically contemporary with that in the East.

A single Patriarch, Michael Cerularius, headed the Greek revolt; four separate leaders in Southern France and Northern Italy captained the Western resistance; the close of the century found their followers compact in one body, rejecting the Papacy, and resolved to continue the Apostolic Church. First in order of time was *Pierre de Bruys*, a priest of the Dauphiné; almost contemporary with him *Henri de Cluny*, an eloquent and 'literate' monk from the great Abbey of Cluny; *Arnaldo da Brescia*, a layman though trained for the priesthood; and *Pierre Valdo*, a prosperous Lyons merchant.

Each made his definite contribution to 'Vaudois' faith and practice. Pierre de Bruys, contemporary with Gregory VII, began in 1100 a twenty years' campaign against such Romish 'innovations' as Transubstantiation, Prayers and Alms for the Dead, and the Cross as an object of worship, upholding the Bible against tradition as the one rule of faith. His great success, especially at Toulouse, was alarming to Rome; but he perished in 1120 at the hands

of an enraged mob; he had been too zealous in destroying what he deemed 'idolatrous' Crosses. His many followers, styled 'Petrobrusians,' became merged with the 'Henricians,' followers of Henri de Cluny, whose tenets were all but identical with those of de Bruys. An opinion of the latter, hostile to the erection of 'temples,' since 'the Church should be composed of "living stones," that is, of the faithful wherever they may meet,' would seem to have governed Vaudois practice up to the Reformation era.

Henri de Cluny, first evident at Le Mans as a Lenten preacher, denouncing clerical vice and enforcing strict scriptural morality among the many converts of his eloquence, soon aroused violent Romish opposition by his Evangelical preaching; yet for twenty-one years of mingled triumph and peril he passed from place to place, preaching the Word. Toulouse was won by him, but lost again through Bernard of Clairvaux; Henri ended his life there in a Papal dungeon. As his teaching apparently was purely scriptural, his followers blended easily, fifteen years later, with those of Pierre Valdo.

Far better known to fame than these two clerics is the valiant *Arnaldo de Brescia*, formidable to the Papacy for advocating 'the separation of Church from State for the good of both.' He, once a disciple of Abelard, flings himself in 1185 into the revolt of Brescia against its Bishop Maifredo; is found in 1140 at Sens striving to uphold the fainting courage of Abelard in that Council where Bernard of Clairvaux triumphed; and again, in 1145, in Rome, whence Pope Eugenius III has been driven by a revolution. Here Arnaldo becomes head of the 'Lombardi,' or Arnaldists, who hold with him that 'the Pope, following neither the teaching nor the example of the Apostles, merits neither respect nor obedience.' Despite Papal excommunication, his influence is great in Rome till 1155, when the populace forsake him, terrorized by an Interdict; Frederick Barbarossa surrenders him to Adrian IV; and the heroic

'schismatic' is strangled and burnt. But his followers were still numerous when, about 1178, they, with the Petrobrusians, Henricians, and the obscurer 'Humiliati' of Lyons, blended with the 'Leonists,' or 'Poor Men of Lyons,' followers of Pierre Valdo, in the one body henceforth known as 'Vaudois.'

Valdo's story is comparatively well known; it gains in significance from the fact that, unlike his forerunners, he began his work from no conscious hostility to any aspect of Romish policy. A simple layman, the merchant of Lyons who, at the height of his prosperous happiness, was moved to cry, 'What shall I do to be saved?' thought only of seeking for himself and teaching others to find 'the steep and thorny way to heaven,' when, having provided for his family, he distributed his worldly wealth to the poor and gave himself wholly to the work of spreading the gospel, having procured a Provençal translation of the Latin New Testament which he studied and learned by heart; and when, in 1178, he and his disciples, two by two, went forth as itinerant preachers throughout the land. Henceforth devotion to the Scriptures, care in multiplying and preserving copies of them in the vernacular, zeal for their diffusion, become a chief note of Vaudois work. There is something quite touching in Valdo's repeated futile efforts to obtain the Church's sanction for his enterprise; the astute Romish ecclesiastics knew well the risk to their pretensions it involved; and though at one moment it seemed as if his appeal from an unfriendly Archbishop to Pope Alexander III might succeed, the Lateran Council of 1179 rejected his plea for licence to preach the gospel. Our shrewd English Walter Map, there present, saw only absurdity in Valdo and his comrade Vivet. At Lyons a new Archbishop again forbade their preaching; then Valdo, uttering the historic words—the Vaudois watchword, 'We must obey God rather than man'—resumed his work, careless of consequences.

Excommunication and condemnation by the Council of Verona, and expulsion of Valdo and his followers from Lyons, followed in 1184; the unsought separation from Rome was complete; and the fusion of the four original sects into one body seems to have been accomplished, quite naturally, before 1180. Rome had manifested her true character, had vindicated the insight of those earlier champions of the Truth who had warred against her, and whose followers now formed one phalanx with those of Valdo.

'In 1215, at the Lateran Council,' Rome proved decisively on what path she was embarked; not content with the Mass and Auricular Confession, she instituted the Inquisition. Other unscriptural developments were to follow.

'The Vaudois Church was not a mediaeval sect founded by an obscure man; it resulted from the blending of the four great movements of Reform in the twelfth century, from the continuation of the Apostolic Church, whose footsteps it has steadily followed,' through what conflicts, what trials, what triumphs, our author tells in many a glowing page. During the three centuries that divide Valdo from Luther, its work of paving the way for the Reformation never ceased. That work had a much vaster scope than is generally known.

Driven from Lyons, the Vaudois spread gradually through great part of known Europe. Their vast extension is proved by the testimony of their enemies—priests, monks, inquisitors, recording information gathered during persecutions carried on from generation to generation. For, up to the dawn of the nineteenth century, the Vaudois annals are written in blood; and it is by the glare of their martyr-fires that we follow the steps of Vaudois missionaries from land to land through the otherwise obscure pre-Reformation period.

Spain was early visited by them; their success was so great that 'two Councils and three Kings were employed

in their destruction,' which was completed by a hard-working Inquisitor, Nicholas Eymerich, towards the middle of the thirteenth century. They were more strongly rooted in Provence, where Toulouse, Beziers, Castres, Lavaur, Narbonne, stood for them, where peasants, citizens, nobles, all supported them. It needed the most infamous of all Crusades, a true war of extermination, massacres in which 100,000 victims—'Vaudois and Albigeois'—perished, to check their growth. The work was done at the bidding of Innocent III by his ferocious servants, the Legate Arnold de Citeaux and Simon de Montfort. Yet while many Vaudois fled, so many remained in Provence that the Inquisition, devised for their destruction by that sanguinary Saint, Dominic Guzman, was installed there about 1230.

The Provençal Vaudois were numerous enough in 1498 for the Borgia Pope to require, and Louis XI to refuse, repressive measures against them. The astute monarch pronounced them 'a praiseworthy people'; and his example in this respect was followed by Louis XII. In fact these two sagacious monarchs issued many edicts in favour of those profitable subjects, the temperate, industrious, unambitious Vaudois; yet could not always save them from the bigot rage of high Romish ecclesiastics.

Vaudois fugitives were numerous in Dauphiné even at the Reformation, among valleys and hills only less friendly to them than those of Piedmont; and Vaudois churches still surviving there at Val Queyras and Freissinières prove that the utmost rage of persecution had not availed to hunt out the scattered remnant from the 'dens and caves of the earth,' often their kindliest refuge.

During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries the great success of the Vaudois propaganda, from the Rhine to the Danube, can be traced in the violent efforts of the Inquisition to check it, and in the great number of its martyred agents. Alsace-Lorraine had welcomed them; Toul, Metz, Strasburg, were once Vaudois centres. It was

at Strasburg that the too-famous Inquisitor, Conrad of Marburg, warred fiercely against them; another Inquisitor, Eckhard, actually embraced the faith of his destined victims; a Vaudois church still survived there in 1458, a Vaudois Bishop, visiting it that year, was seized and martyred. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found persecution raging on the Rhine; Nuremberg, Saxony, Stettin, Worms, Berlin, Spires, have their tale of martyrs.

Bohemia proved one of the most fruitful lands for the Vaudois work. There Pierre Valdo, a fugitive from Provence, died peacefully in 1217; there the Vaudois martyr-Bishop Hardek, before he went to his fiery death in 1467, beheld the foundation of the 'Unitas Fratrum'—parent of the Moravian Church—and consecrated its first Bishop. The proceedings of more than one Inquisitorial mission in this region demonstrate the great extension of the Vaudois churches; recently-discovered documents, relating to the cruel persecution of 1885, show, from a Romish point of view, the formidable character of the movement, all the more 'dangerous' from the pure and noble character of its adherents and ministers. It was no friendly pen—that of the Inquisitor of Passau—which traced that ideal picture of the humble wandering evangelists. 'Orderly and modest, they shun ostentation in their attire, which is neither costly nor mean. They avoid commerce, lest they should be tempted to deal falsely and deceive. They live by the labour of their hands. They do not heap up money, being content with what is necessary. They are chaste and temperate; they watch against anger. Always at work, they yet find time to study and teach. You may know them by their talk; they abstain from slander, from idle words and jesting and falsehood; they will not swear, will not even say, *in sooth*, or *certainly*—expressions which seem to them like oaths.' These tokens the Inquisitor considered decisive; by them the destined victims could be recognized.

The great Hussite movement in Bohemia attracted the Vaudois of that region, who joined it about 1480; and here is one visible link between the Vaudois and the English Wyclifites, quite independent as was the work of Wyclif. In the sixteenth century the still vigorous Bohemian Vaudois were quickly in touch with Luther and with Calvin. Persecution driving them into Poland, forty Vaudois churches which arose there entered into fellowship with the Swiss Reformers in 1560; but four years later they could return to Bohemia. In Austria, in Styria, the Vaudois can be tracked during two centuries by the fires lighted to destroy them. German researches have quite lately brought to light the vastness of the Vaudois pre-Reformation work in German regions; the German branch of the Vaudois family at one time was strongest of any; it maintained its communion with the Lombard branch and sent students to its Milan school for many years. The high value set by the Vaudois on religious education is incidentally evident by the existence of many 'schools,' no less than by the fact that their itinerant ministers were assiduous instructors of youth.

In the fifteenth century the existence of a most important branch of the Vaudois family in Central and Southern Italy is proved by the records of the Inquisition which too successfully crushed it out. Then 'the principal Barbes' (or pastors) 'and the Grand Master of the work were in Apulia or the Abruzzi'; and in Calabria a prosperous Vaudois community during 250 years enjoyed a measure of religious liberty under feudal lords whose vast territories they enriched by their peaceful industry. But in 1560–61 a relentless persecution broke forth and destroyed them. They had dared to unite in *public* worship! The Marquis Spinelli, their over-lord, lent himself treacherously to their destruction. At the end of June 1561, all the Vaudois men and women who had not fled had perished. The little children alone were spared to be trained as Papists; their descendants are found to-day at 'Guardia Piemontese.'

In the vast plain of Piedmont Vaudois fugitives are seen at Saluzzo in 1800, winning much love; but while their faith continues to spread in the Marquisate of Saluzzo and the Valley of the Po, martyr-fires continually shed their sinister light on its history. An immense development came with the dawn of the Reformation; the region had many flourishing Vaudois churches in the sixteenth century; but the year 1688 saw all these swept away by successive waves of persecution under Princes of the House of Savoy. Many illustrious fugitives found refuge in 'the Valleys,' where they joined the faithful posterity of earlier refugees from France.

These 'Valleys'—Luserne, Pérouse, Saint Martin—have the greatest place in modern Vaudois history, since there the Vaudois continued a separate people, while in other lands they were either quite exterminated or absorbed into Reformed Churches. They are found first in 'the Valleys' in the early thirteenth century, when the Emperor Otho ordered their repression; but the lords of Luserne seem at first to have welcomed these peaceable settlers into their ill-peopled territory; later, these lords joined hands with the persecutors. More than one such fluctuation marks the obscure Vaudois annals of the fifteenth century, when 'the Valleys' passed definitely under the dominion of the often unfriendly Dukes of Savoy.

It is when settled in this rugged mountain region that the much-persecuted Vaudois begin to show that military prowess which won them just renown. Far from offering their throats to the butcher like helpless sheep, they resist oppression valiantly, and often successfully. We may reasonably trace this change largely to the 'natural bravery' of the mountain-dwellers, whose perfect knowledge of crag and cave and ravine often enabled a mere handful to discomfit thousands; something, too, might be owing to the better knowledge of Old Testament Scripture due to the wide diffusion of the *printed* Bible, translated admirably by

Olivétan, and published in 1535 with the aid of the Swiss Reformers. Familiarity with the example of Old Testament heroes, who 'waxed valiant in fight and turned to flight the armies of the aliens,' might well fan the martial flame in these later heroes of faith. Be this as it may, it was at the very dawn of the Reformation—with an armed attack successfully repelled by the Men of the Valleys, and a treaty of peace consequently signed at Pignerol by the regent-Duke of Savoy—that began in 1494 that long, wonderful, terrible epic, the ever-renewed war between the Vaudois of Piedmont and their persecutors. The heroes of this epic are often those who were now called 'Pastors,' but in pre-Reformation time 'Barbes,' a homely quasi-Italian word, said to have meant 'Uncle.'

The change of title was significant. The itinerant and generally celibate 'Barbes,' after some years of strict probation, entered on a life of complete self-abnegation; two by two they went on vast evangelizing tours, preaching in secret, earning their living by handicrafts, practising medicine and surgery, in which they were skilled, instructing youth, and finding their only home in the 'Hospices'—an important early Vaudois institution, where a few devout women, under a 'Rector,' cared for the itinerants, who conducted worship there privately. To these 'Barbes' was due the immense diffusion of Vaudois teaching; often, studiously unobtrusive though they were, they sealed their testimony with their blood. Some 180 names of these 'Barbes' are rescued from oblivion by our author. Their work, it will be seen, went on the lines first traced by Valdo.

The Vaudois adhesion to the Swiss and German Reformers brought great changes; not of doctrine, for there was no departure from the simple Confession of Faith which had been submitted to and approved by Luther; but of method. The Vaudois churches had had three Orders—deacons, presbyters, bishops—henceforth we hear of Pastors only, who, often married, in charge of special churches,

conduct worship openly in 'temples,' not in private houses as of yore. Of these heroic Pastors many were eminent writers, and some the most trustworthy historians of their people, as well as their steadfast champions. Chief of these are *Scipione Lentolo*, *Pierre Gilles*, *Jean Léger*, and *Henri Arnaud*, who rather made history than wrote it, in the *Glorieuse Rentrée*, a feat of arms which won the admiration of Napoleon. Of the first three, whose writings are the best authority for the three epochs when they flourished, Lentolo is the least known, for he could never publish his monumental History of the three persecutions which the Vaudois had already undergone before 1561. The manuscript remained lost to view in the Library of Berne, where our author found it and copied it, publishing it, with a *Life* of its author, in 1905; rescuing thus from undeserved oblivion a work of prime authority, and a character of heroic excellence. An anonymous historic sketch which Lentolo put forth in his lifetime supplied priceless material to Vaudois historians.

Lentolo, born in 1525 of an ancient Roman family at Naples, was famed as an eloquent Franciscan preacher when, about 1549, he was welcomed at the court of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara. Perhaps the influence of that princess aided to transform the gifted friar into the bold advocate of the Reformed faith who, in 1555, was imprisoned by the Inquisition at Rome, kept in durance, and even tortured, until 1558, when he escaped to Geneva. His great powers and sincere zeal induced Calvin to send him as Pastor to the Vaudois Church of S. Giovanni; the last minister, Varaglia—noble son of a former persecutor—had died at the stake. Lentolo's seven years' pastorate at S. Giovanni earned him a high place among Vaudois worthies. Two successive persecutions signalized that period; the first, an armed invasion by the ducal troops under the Count della Trinità, raged for seven months, and ended in May 1561, with the complete discomfiture of the enemy by the Vaudois under

their valiant captain Jean Croi, and with the Treaty of Cavour, securing freedom of conscience to the Valleys, signed by the Duke of Savoy on June 5. Lentolo, who with tongue and pen had defended and encouraged his fellow-believers, who had striven vainly, through Renée of Ferrara, to avert the storm, had had no small part in the victory. He and his fellow-pastor, Gilles des Gilles, had acted both as chaplains and captains to the formidable 'Flying Company' of the Vaudois; their sagacious counsels had availed much. He employed the short breathing-space secured by the Treaty of Cavour in active work for the Vaudois impoverished by the war, enlisting the sympathy of the Swiss Reformers, who were generous in their help, and gathering materials for his great History, with its mighty muster-roll of martyrs. But the more insidious persecution of Castrocaro, Commandant of La Tour, drove Lentolo from his post, where he had too ably defended the rights of his flock against perfidious aggressions. He was exiled as a Neapolitan 'foreigner'!—in 1566.

In the Valtelline the Reformers of the Grisons welcomed him, and made him pastor of their church at Chiavenna. Here he warred long and well against Arians and Anabaptists on the one hand, and that persecuting Saint, Carlo Borromeo, on the other. Age and infirmity could not check his amazing activity; he preached, taught, and wrote; publishing much, and gathering priceless authentic material for his great History, even to advanced years. It was in 1599 that he died peacefully, after a ministry of some forty years.

To have enriched the Vaudois portrait-gallery with this gallant figure, and to have retrieved the buried treasures of Lentolo's *Historia*, are achievements for which his Church may well thank Dr. Gay.

Lentolo and Gilles des Gilles found many followers. Pastors and captains are immediately seen co-operating, in 1573, in the triumphant repulse, after *one month* of brief, sharp warfare, of the invading force of Laradde, dispatched

by Charles IX against his Vaudois subjects of Val Pérouse. A favourable peace was wrested from the foe; and there followed an imperfect truce of sixty-five years, when the rulers of Piedmont merely harassed the Vaudois with oppressive exactions, and teasing irritations by monks and friars. A visitation of the Plague, lasting a year (1630–31) made this period terrible. Thousands of Vaudois and almost all their pastors perished. One noble figure dominates the horror of this time; it is that of *Pierre Gilles*, Pastor of La Tour and Moderator of the Synod, who almost alone of his brethren survived to save the Vaudois Church from extinction. Already well known as a brave, able champion of the faith, his appeal to Geneva brought a sufficient number of French-speaking Pastors to take charge of the decimated parishes. Thenceforth the Valleys, where the old Provençal tongue had long been disused, adopted French as their official language; and Gilles, who survived till 1644—fourteen years of successful controversy with persecuting monks—had the courage to re-write in French his *History of the Vaudois*—a masterly work, accurate, impartial, moderate, which had the double honour of being placed on the Index and translated into English. It is noteworthy that in his lifetime we first find England, through the Envoys of Charles I, interesting herself actively for the Vaudois. One of these Envoys, Morton, introduced the potato into the Valleys—a useful gift, with which Vaudois missionaries afterwards enriched Germany.

Thanks to the wealth of detail in the *History of the Vaudois Churches*, by *Jean Léger*, third hero-Pastor and historian of his people, and in the *Autobiography* with which he enriched it, no period has been seen in fuller light than those terrible years from 1648 to 1680, memorable for persecutions of incredible ferocity, and for the feats of a legion of brave Vaudois captains—the best-known is the heroic *Janavel*—who won surprising victories over enemies far superior in number. No part of Vaudois story is so

familiar as the 'Piedmontese Easter' of 1655—a scene of murderous treachery resembling, but far outdoing, the ever-infamous Massacre of Glencoe, which roused the indignation of all Protestant Europe, earned endless shame for those responsible—the rulers at Turin and the Council 'De Propaganda' who planned, and the Marquis of Pianezza, who carried out, the fiendish work—and won for the Vaudois a host of faithful friends, chiefly through the agency of Léger, who, 'at once pastor, diplomat, warrior, and writer, moved Europe in favour of his people and thus saved it from destruction.' To English students of history this part of Vaudois story is the best known, because of the vigorous action of Cromwell on behalf of the sufferers, the manly boldness of Morland, his Envoy at Turin, and the deathless lines of Milton 'On the Late Massacres in Piedmont.' It is interesting to find that the English subsidy which Cromwell first secured to the Vaudois continued to be paid by successive English sovereigns, from William III to George III—being withheld only when the Valleys accepted French protection under the Republic and Napoleon.

Warm acknowledgements of benefits conferred by many less famous English sympathizers abound in Dr. Gay's pages, where we may also learn how far-reaching and enduring were the results of Léger's appeals to Protestant Europe at large for his oppressed brethren. They might have emigrated freely into Protestant States and their possessions, but for their invincible attachment to their own wild land. Some few families did seek the Dutch colonies in North America and in South Africa. At a later date, when the persecuting zeal of Louis XIV sought their complete extirpation, fifty Vaudois colonies settled in Protestant Germany, after many strange vicissitudes. In one of these colonies, Schoenenberg, founded by himself, *Henri Arnaud*, last and most renowned of the Vaudois militant-pastors, ended his noble career of eighty years in 1721. There may be seen his tomb, now sheltered by 'a fine temple,' which Würtemberg,

his adoptive home, raised over his grave a few years ago, in place of the humble thatched church where he had been laid to rest. The hero who with consummate military skill conducted his little army of exiled Vaudois over the Alps from Switzerland to reconquer the 'Valleys' (thus anticipating the famed exploit of Napoleon) had shown his practical good-will to friendly Germany by introducing with the mulberry-tree the silk-worm industry, and in 1710 the culture of the potato in all the Vaudois colonies. Arnaud's history is intimately connected with that of Europe at large. For, after the twenty years' peace which Léger's efforts, ably seconded by the Protestant Swiss, had secured for the tormented Valleys, Louis XIV, revoking the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and aiming at the total ruin of Protestantism, entered on the persecuting career which led shortly to that armed duel with William of Orange which was to prove so disastrous to the 'Roi Soleil'—and to which we may not uncertainly trace the ultimate ruin of his House. Louis put cruel pressure on the unlucky Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II, before the latter would consent to measures for exterminating his Vaudois subjects—measures which nearly succeeded. By pitiless violence and treachery the forces of France and Savoy had quite subdued 'the Valleys' before June 1686; such Vaudois as had not fallen or fled (about 12,000) had been flung into loathsome dungeons where they must needs perish; by the end of the year 9,000 were already dead.

The destroying armies having left the unpeopled Valleys, Catholics hastened joyfully to buy up the forfeit Vaudois property at the lowest prices. Short was their joy! As they began to reap the harvest they had not sown, little bands of Vaudois, descending from inaccessible fastnesses, fell on them and despoiled them, to their great terror—desperate men, who cut to pieces the troops sent against them, and always escaped to their secret 'dens and caves.' A single document, copied by Dr. Gay, in the Berne Library,

proves that these faithful few numbered 200, not 80, as has been commonly supposed. They had not believed the false, fair words by which their comrades had been lured into captivity! The Duke, finding them unconquerable, had perforce to treat with them. Counselled from Geneva by Janavel and Arnaud, they held out till they obtained free emigration into Switzerland, with the most favourable conditions, not only for themselves, but for their 3,000 comrades yet alive in the ducal prisons. With much grudging, and not a little bad faith, the Duke carried out the singular treaties signed at Lucerne in October 1686, with the Swiss, in favour of his oppressed subjects; and at 'la Peirela de Bobi' in the same month, with the brave 200 themselves.

It was thus that the little Vaudois people escaped extermination; and on this incident, surely unparalleled in history, much new light is thrown by Dr. Gay.

The Vaudois exodus lasted six months. What were the sufferings of the rescued remnant in their passage of the Alps, which began in the depth of winter, what the magnificent hospitality shown them by Protestant Switzerland, and what the ready helpfulness of Protestant Holland and Prussia, can only be indicated here; nor may we dwell on the relations established in 1688 between William of Orange and Henri Arnaud, when the one was planning his peaceful invasion of England, and the other seeking counsel and aid, which did not fail him, towards the 'Glorieuse Rentrée' of the exiled Vaudois into their little fatherland—an exploit the more amazing because the Swiss, pledged to prevent it, were quite hostile, all measures had to be taken secretly, and it was only 600 valiant men who, led by Arnaud, forced the passage of the Alps and reconquered the Valleys in the teeth of a far more numerous foe. Our author gives details, full of vivid interest, of this ten months' campaign, which ended triumphantly in May 1690. Then the Duke of Savoy, breaking with Louis XIV (whose able General Catinat had been foiled by the Vaudois), made peace with his own sub-

jects in the Valleys, sanctioning the return of all the exiles; and in the following October the Duke leagued himself with William III of England against France.

A Vaudois regiment took part in the campaign, and serving under William's own generals, Schomberg and Galloway, won brilliant successes for their sovereign. They were repaid with new teasing oppressions in times of peace. These, and similar incidents in the strange career of Victor Amadeus II, are brought into strong, unfamiliar prominence by Dr. Gay. To the splendid story of the *Rentrée*, first published by Arnaud himself in 1710, told and re-told since, translated into English, Dutch, and German in the nineteenth century, there was not much perhaps to add; it is otherwise with later events. It was with 'quite Royal ingratitude' that the Duke, on whom the Treaty of Utrecht conferred the title of King of Sicily, treated the loyal Vaudois, to whom, in 1706, he owed his personal safety, and who largely aided in his final triumph over the troops of France.

Arnaud, prescient of the coming change, had no choice but to leave the Fatherland he had redeemed. We catch a glimpse of him in London, 'magnificently' welcomed, and of Van Somer painting his portrait; then, in 1709, we see him seek his final retreat at Schoenenberg.

With Arnaud ends the tragical period of Vaudois history. What follows is of great and varied interest—a tale of faithful service to thankless sovereigns, of invaders strenuously combated, of wearisome persecutions that could not shake Vaudois constancy, up to the Revolutionary epoch, and after it—until the great Emancipation of 1848; but in a sketch like ours it is impossible to follow it. Through all, and to the present day, Vaudois faith and character remain essentially unchanged.

The generous friendship of England and Holland for 'the Valleys' still endures, and this brief record may perhaps do something towards the continuance and quickening of English sympathy!

ANNE E. KEELING.

THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF REVELATION

IT is of course a commonplace that the Christian revelation is the highest of all, that the light of the knowledge of God shines in the face of Jesus Christ with a fullness of splendour to be found nowhere else. It is perhaps not so familiar an idea that for and in Christianity the very term 'revelation' carries a significance which it does not carry when other voices speak it—that revelation, for and in Christianity, differs not only in degree, but actually in kind, from revelation given through other channels than Jesus Christ Himself. Revelation in the Christian conception of it does not mean the mere imparting of knowledge about God, but something much greater. Revelation in Christ was a real happening within the life of God Himself. It was not mere teaching *by* God, but an actual movement *of* God to a new position in relation to man. In and through Christ, something really took place in God as well as in the world; and what passed from God to the world in Christ was much more than new knowledge about God for human minds to grasp. God not only showed man something of Himself which man had not previously been able to perceive, God became, in regard to man, what He had not been before. Jesus Christ stands for a real 'becoming' within God's own life, the result of which is concurrently embodied in Jesus Christ Himself. In Jesus Christ God made an actual new fact, simultaneously within Himself and within the history and order of the world. And the making of this new fact, together with the necessary implications concerning man's appreciation of it and use of it, was and is the revelation given in Christ.

I

It is worth while to take a little space in making clear the distinction between revelation in the common acceptance of the term and revelation in the full Christian sense. I have ventured to suggest that the distinction is not always apprehended; and I now venture to add that precisely because of this failure, the claim of Christianity to be the absolute and final religion is often wrongly or inadequately based, becoming in consequence unnecessarily difficult to defend. If we understand better what revelation, as given in Jesus Christ, really is, we shall also understand better how the revelation given in Him is the utmost that even God can ever bestow. Christianity brings a more complete knowledge of God—that is the point as commonly stated, the proposition set out for proof. Of course, I am not hinting for a moment that it cannot be proved, for I make no doubt that it can, as also I make no doubt that it is well worth proving. But we confine ourselves to that point too strictly. For, valid as the argument is, it is not the strongest in favour of the uniqueness and the conquering finality of the revelation of Jesus Christ. It does not put half the case: it leaves the true and special grandeur of the revelation given in Christ unstated; and it lets our best weapon lie unused upon the ground. You may press your comparisons as to the amount of knowledge concerning God and God's nature and God's will, and as to the sort of God, so to put it, in whom we are invited to put our trust—you may press your comparisons between Christianity and other religions, including that of the Old Testament, to the utmost; and although it is not to be said that the process will be a useless one (for even so all other religions are to Christianity 'as moonlight unto sunlight and as water unto wine'), yet you will not at the end have put your finger on the point whereon not only does comparison redound to Christianity's greater glory, but whereon comparison is impossible and even absurd.

If we want to touch the heart of Christianity's surpassing excellence, we must take hold upon the real, ultimate distinction between revelation in and for Christianity and any revelation given elsewhere.

Now to repeat what we may call our text—the revelation given in Jesus Christ was not merely the supply of information to the mind. It was not merely the bringing to man of new information concerning God, God's nature, God's man-ward dispositions, God's will—information wherefrom man was to derive new encouragements, in the light of which man was to direct his spiritual strivings more successfully and correct his spiritual adjustments to the true standard, from which man was to benefit in various ways. It was not merely new light on facts—it was an addition to the total sum of facts. Suppose that there is some topic into whose secret mysteries I have penetrated far more deeply than have most, and suppose that in virtue of my greater understanding I become the instructor of the less favoured, telling them what they have never known and, if you like, what they never could or would have known without my aid. I am a revealer in a sense, of course. But still I do not, in the imparting of my knowledge, exclusive as it may be—I do not interfere with actualities, or alter them, or add to them, in the slightest degree. I simply stand among them, out of the central mystery to which I have been privileged to win my passage describing and explaining them, and transferring the lessons of them from my own mind to the minds of those who hear me. The whole thing is a communication *of* thought to thought, and *from* thought to thought. There may be, of course—if my special knowledge is of a kind that has any bearing on conduct or character—there may be all manner of practical effects in a quickening of conscience and a heightening of morality and a purifying of general spirit in those who learn what I have to teach. But in its essence, my revelation is just that—a communication *of* thought to thought, and *from* thought to thought. From revelation in that

ordinary and limited sense revelation in Jesus Christ is entirely distinct—so distinct that while it includes the descriptions and the impressions and the lessons, the essence and substantiality of the revelation is of a quite different order and on a quite different plane. That a new revelation came in Jesus Christ means something more than that Jesus Christ was the supreme spiritual specialist of all the ages. So long as we only take Him so, we have not really—whatever clauses as to His special divine nature we may incorporate in our doctrinal scheme—we have not really got beyond the Unitarian conception of Him. It is not enough to take such revelation as I should be giving under those hypothetical circumstances I have just described, transfer it to the spiritual realm, multiply it a thousand or a hundred thousand times, and say, '*That* is revelation as given in Christ!' It is not. To stop at drawing parallels of the kind is to miss one of Christianity's points, however far beyond its fellow one of the parallel lines be produced. Instead of drawing parallels, and adding a few thousand extra lengths when we draw the line standing for revelation in Christ, better draw distinctions. For we get much nearer the heart of the matter so. Revelation in Jesus Christ was not, as my revelation of specialized knowledge would be, a voice issuing forth from remote regions which the speaker was the first or only one to explore. Revelation in Jesus Christ was as truly the emergence of a new actuality from God as was the first creation of the world. Revelation in Christ is distinct from the mere specialist's revelation in that while the revelation of the specialist is simply a movement in the specialist's own mind, revelation in Christ was a movement in *reality*, in the sum total of things—a movement first of all in God, the source and ground of things, and afterwards or concurrently (this of course in the earth-known Christ Himself) a movement introducing itself among and pressing itself into the facts and forces of the world and of world-history—so that in the end, when

revelation in Christ had been given, there was not only more knowledge, but there was veritably something more to know. Revelation in Christ is distinct from the specialist's revelation in that while the specialist's revelation makes nothing, but only reports, revelation in Christ was a making, a literal making, of something non-existent before. Revelation in Christ is distinct from the specialist's revelation in that while, after the specialist has spoken, nothing is true in regard to the universe at large that was not true before he spoke, the coming of revelation in Christ did actually make something freshly true both of God and of the world. The Christian idea of revelation includes what we may dare to call (of course one speaks after the manner of men) an actual 'event' in the life and being of God Himself, an 'event' which, taking place in God, shows itself, even as and while it happens, through Jesus Christ to the eyes of man. Falling back upon an earlier phrase—in Jesus Christ God made an actual new fact, simultaneously within Himself and within the history and order of the world. And the making of this new fact, together with the necessary implications concerning man's appreciation of it and use of it, was and is—in itself constitutes—the revelation given in Christ.

II

This new movement in the sum total of things—in God and in the world—was a definite new planting-out (that word is one which Martineau uses in another context, and is just the word which for our present purposes we require) of God's creative power in the midst of the world-order, so that man, instead of merely improving and accentuating those processes of spiritual development and culture which he had carried on till now, might attach himself to and sink himself into that creative power, and thus be morally and spiritually created afresh. For Jesus Christ came to bring and to be life to men—not merely to talk about it or to

explain it or to indicate how and where it might be found, but to *be* it; and God's revelation in Jesus Christ is God moving, not something which He has created, but His actual creativeness itself, down to the earthly plane, and offering it there for the uses of mankind. God reveals Himself in Jesus Christ because in Jesus Christ the whole of God (not of course quantitatively, for you cannot talk quantitatively about the Infinite, but qualitatively)—the whole of God, including that creativeness which, since it is inherent in and diffuses itself from every one of God's qualities and attributes, is really another name for God Himself, makes its entry upon the world-stage. At the first beginning of things in the remote past, when God created the heavens and the earth, when He said 'Let there be light' and there was light, when He set going that long evolution of things which came to its crown of glory in man, God had flung forth something *out of* His creativeness; and He had thereafter, with worlds on worlds hanging on His hand, sustained by the breath of His power and by the ceaseless pressing out of the forces of His will the universe He had made. But God had never, from the earliest day to which the first chapter of Genesis looks back up to the day when there was born in Bethlehem of Judaea One who was to be the life and the light of men—God had never put His own creative power forth out of Himself and planted it among the facts and forces of the temporal order, the facts and forces which made direct appeal to and were immediately usable by the family of mankind. This is what He did in Jesus Christ; so that as the Father had life in Himself it was given to the Son to have life in Himself—to have life in Himself, note the force of the saying—*to have life in Himself*, a thing which could have been said of no one else in all the centuries gone by. The new fact in the sum total of facts and realities, the new fact constituting the new revelation, was this—a movement, not of something *out of* God's creativeness, but a movement *of* God's creativeness from its eternal hiding-place in the

infinite divine Personality to its temporal (but not temporary), to its temporal and thereafter permanent dwelling in that Jesus whom it is eternal life to know. It was the coming of God's creative power to join, and necessarily in great part to supersede, the moral and spiritual forces already at man's command. God's revelation in Jesus Christ was God putting Himself as Creator—potential Creator, if it be so preferred, since this is a matter of re-creation rather than of creation, and until man surrenders himself the re-creative work cannot be done—God putting Himself as potential Creator in Jesus Christ alongside of man: it was a veritable approach of one of the component elements in a projected vital relationship to meet and seek out the other: it was the planting of the eternal and inexhaustible spring of life right down upon the path where human feet were travelling, so that men, instead of digging deeper such springs of life as they already possessed and improving the existing channels whereby the scanty streams were reaching them, had but to stoop and drink, with no fear that they need ever thirst again: it was the whole of God offering Himself from a new source and from a new direction for the acceptance of every one who was willing to receive and submit and be re-made. Having sent forth from Himself, and supported through all its successive steps, that long and curving process of things which ended in man, God now in Jesus Christ—it is not enough to say sends forth from Himself something He had not sent before—God now in Jesus Christ takes one step which at once brings Him over, as if by some other and swifter and straighter path, from the point at which the process started to the point which the process has attained, presents Himself there in that creativeness which is in truth the whole of God, and arrests man thus: 'All this that has been—the growing world and all the run of its history—did indeed come forth from Me; but now I Myself am here in this My Son, so that henceforth, if you will have it so, and

will maintain your side of the relationship between us as I offer and maintain Mine, it shall be no more you that live, but I that live in you.' God's revelation in Christ is God moving, not something which He has created, but His actual creativeness itself, down to the earthly plane, and offering it there for the uses of mankind.

Now in doing this, God of course provides a new revelation in that narrower and smaller sense in which the term is commonly employed, but He does much more. Of course fresh knowledge of God comes to man when God thus sets Himself by a fresh movement among the actualities of the world-order, enters at a fresh door. God cannot so stand there, with His own creative life palpitating at a newly-established centre, without telling those who care to learn many secrets about Himself which they could not know before. But while fresh knowledge comes, its coming is almost an incidental thing, and certainly does not exhaust the significance of the tremendous and transcendent event. We set the emphasis wrongly if it is upon the new knowledge about God we concentrate our thought. This planting-out of God's creative power in the world is the advent of a new fact added to the world's total sum of facts, and moreover, the advent of a new fact which is in itself a new dynamic—not in any metaphorical or semi-metaphorical sense like to that in which the sudden out-starting of a great idea or a great hope or a great purpose may be a dynamic, but in a sense entirely literal and exact. I drew just now a sort of negative parallel—indicated, perhaps it is better to say, for no parallel holds good—between God's revelation through Jesus Christ and the revelation given through any human specialist in any department of human thought. It may be worth while to indicate at this point what, if it ever happened, would afford some sort of analogy, though a faint one, to the greater thing. Imagine, then, what it would be, what it would mean, if electricity were to-day, not discovered, but actually *created*, for the first time—if we could

say that yesterday it was not, but that to-day it is. Would it not be a real addition to the sum total of actualities of our world, a new fact, and moreover, the addition of a veritable dynamic in the strictest sense of the word? It would mean the entrance among, the superimposing upon, those physical forces which had hitherto energized the physical development of the world, of a new force which would work according to its own nature and along its own lines: it would signalize the presence, not so much of a new product as of a new producer; and it would be a breaking into the hitherto closed circle of powers of a fresh power from out of an eternal and boundless deep of powers lying outside and beyond. And all the formulae as to the method of the world's working and development would require re-stating now, because that method would itself have changed. In some feeble way the poor imagination may serve as an analogy to the advent of the new life-dynamic in Jesus Christ. God's revelation in Jesus Christ was God in His creativeness putting Himself afresh among the moral and spiritual forces at the disposal of man; and this life-force it was which was meant thenceforward to take the moral and spiritual progress of man into its charge, all the other moral and spiritual forces adjusting themselves to the sway of this, grouping themselves round it and having still their own work to do, but occupying now a quite secondary place. It is not by teaching and illuminating and revealing in the ordinary sense (though by its very presence it necessarily does all these things), but by working, and working creatively, that the creativeness of God, set in Jesus Christ in among the actualities of the temporal world, must fulfil itself. To take added knowledge as the chief matter is in this case to mistake a subordinate member of the retinue for the King. It is as veritable, literal dynamic, life-dynamic, life-force whereby and wherefrom man is meant henceforward to live, that God's revelation in Jesus Christ must—because that revelation is God Himself coming in His creative power—be viewed.

The sense of being in this way a revelation of God—a true apocalypse *of* God, not merely a communication *from* God—the depository of God's true creative power—this it was that moved ceaselessly through the consciousness of Jesus Christ Himself. And the idea of revelation here suggested gains support when this is perceived. If you take the conception of an incarnation of God's own veritable creativeness, and hold it up against the inner consciousness of Christ as the records of His earthly life enable us in part to discern it, you find that the conception corresponds with all the deepest words wherein that inner consciousness of His expressed itself, and with that indefinable atmosphere—so wondrous, so majestic, so charged with influences which yielded their secret to no known test in the laboratory of men, and withal so ineffably sacred that halo rather than atmosphere is the name whereby it ought to be called—with that indefinable atmosphere which ceaselessly diffused itself out of that inner consciousness of His as He passed to and fro. I have quoted already that central word of Christ's—that word which surely no man of spiritual sensitiveness can read without seeming to see doors opened in Heaven and God Himself coming through—that as the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself. And you can crowd words together for witness, if you like—there are so many of them. If, indeed, Christ felt the veritable creative power of God dwelling in Him, then I know how He could say, 'I *am*' (not 'I talk about,' not 'I teach,' but 'I *am*') 'I *am* the Way, and the Truth, and the Life'; I know how He could say that He had come in order that men might have life and might have it more abundantly; I know how He could say that to know Him (implying by the very manner of putting it that to know Him was really to know the only true God) was in itself eternal life. There are words enough. But it is not only nor mainly a matter of words. Such words stand in the Fourth Gospel alone, some tell us—and they tell us, too,

that the Fourth Gospel is suspect. Well, such words do not stand in the Fourth Gospel alone; but let that pass. Go to the other three Gospels; and you find in them a Christ who, if He does not utter so profusely there the profundities of the Fourth, is in Himself and in His view of Himself as baptized with uniqueness, as endowed with something for which earthly vocabularies have no adequate name, as the Fourth Gospel displays Him. Certainly it is He Himself—His own personality with the mystic forces that circulate within and radiate from it—that is the central point in the system, if we care to call it so, which He proclaims; and certainly it is by penetrating to, and resting in, the depths of His nature, so far as they can, that men are to find rest unto their souls; and certainly this Christ is conscious, not that out of those common sources within the ordinary system of things whence men draw their endowments of nature He has been more lavishly endowed than the rest, but that from sources far outside the ordinary system of things all that He is has taken its rise and is still sustained; and that which is in Him has somehow shared a glory with God before the foundation of the world. What shall we say of this that He felt to be in Him? How can any—I will not say explanation, but any approach to explanation—be made? If we take the conception of an incarnation of God's actual creativeness in Christ, and lay it close against that consciousness of Christ's which the Gospels reveal, we begin at any rate to see as in a glass darkly. Revelation in Christ—yes, but not merely a fuller revelation *about* God! That is not how He read Himself. He could not have spoken of Himself as He did speak—could not have felt within Himself and about Himself as He did feel—would have had to put off that robe of majesty which He wears in such fashion as to show that He realized Himself to be, not the highest of a class, but One standing absolutely alone—had that been all. I would almost prefer to say that the advent of Jesus Christ signalized the cessation of revelation, and the substitution

of immediate personal contact for it; for when I seek after some form of speech sufficient for telling wherein the supremacy of Christ's revelation, as He Himself in His own inmost consciousness conceived it, really consists, I am driven back upon the formula which I have employed more than once before, and can only repeat that God's revelation in Jesus Christ is God moving His actual creativeness itself down to the earthly plane, and offering it there for the uses of mankind.

III

If that be the revelation given in Jesus Christ, then it is final indeed. I said at an earlier stage that to defend the finality of the Christian revelation on the ground of the larger amount or superior quality of the knowledge concerning God which it brings is to leave the true and special grandeur of the Christly revelation unstated, and is, besides, to let our best weapon lie aside unused. And while I would not depreciate unduly the line of argument referred to, yet it may certainly be said that even when you have pushed it furthest and as it were pressed its inmost kernel out, you have not obtained quite all you want—and will have, moreover, some haunting questions left to quiet. I do not wonder, indeed, that the tremendous superiority of the 'revelation' of God (even in the narrower and more ordinary sense) given in and by Christ is a point on which the Christian apologist enthusiastically dilates. Yet, with the first transport past, the haunting questions, not to say suspicions, return. Granted that the Christ brought knowledge about God in the discovery of which He may legitimately claim the patent rights—but if He had not brought it, might not the knowledge have come in other ways? In point of fact, have we not since His earthly day found other reasons for believing in some of the things which constituted a new revelation then? And if that be true of some, might it not come to be true of all? May it not be that this marvellous spiritual insight of His was after all but an anticipation of

results which the natural evolution of the human mind would ultimately, even if later, have achieved? And, most darkling question of all—if it is a matter of knowledge, may there not be amplifying, not to say superseding, knowledge yet to come? I do not say that the questions are unanswerable satisfactorily even from the ordinary ground. But at any rate they rise. The proof of the finality of Christ's revelation, based upon the special amount and character of the knowledge of God He brought, leaves something still to be desired. But if the very creativeness of God was in Him—if that *was* the revelation—making it an apocalypse rather than a communication, not God telling us something *about* Himself but God entering Himself, with the very dynamic of eternal life in Him, from a new direction into the system of the world—then the revelation must be final, and all such questions as those I have been suggesting flash in their futile irrelevance away. The very creative power of God—that is the highest possible: there is no presumption or impertinence in affirming that God Himself can do and give no more. For it is the *whole* of God. Why is the revelation given in Jesus Christ God's ultimate and final word? Because it is God's ultimate and final *act*—God giving Himself, the whole of Himself, as life-source and life-dynamic to men. Not even in the depths of the Eternal can there be anything greater to come forth. The finality of the Christian revelation of God lies here—that the Christ who brought it was not herald or interpreter or seer (not, certainly, *only* these) but something more. He was not only one in whom was the *mind* of God. If He were but that, then the dark, haunting questions rush back. But He was one to whom it had been given to have in Himself the life which the Father hath in Himself—the very creativeness of God. And with all reverence may it be said that God has exhausted even His possibilities of revelation in a revelation such as that. What greater thing can even God do than plant incarnate upon the earthly stage, that man

may appropriate it for his own finite living, that eternal life by which He Himself from eternity to eternity lives on?

I would add that in this view of revelation we have the true and ample justification—not the proof, but the justification—of the doctrine of a special and proper Deity in Jesus Christ. I mean that we relate, in a direct and definite manner, the specially divine nature which we ascribe to Christ with the revelation Christ came to bring. Jesus came to bring the very creativeness of God to the earthly plane, and to make it operative there upon men—well, but to term Jesus divine in the fullest sense is really only to say the same thing in other words; or—let it be put this way—if the thing Jesus does for us is to generate in us out of Himself the very life of God, then in calling Him divine we are doing no more than adequately characterizing the One in whom such an experience must have its source and spring. We get enough out of the doctrine of Christ's special Deity to justify it. The doctrine becomes worth while. Its description of what Jesus is in Himself is commensurate with the description or definition of what Jesus is for man. I am not so sure that on smaller views of the revelation given in Christ the same thing holds good. A Unitarian minister of high spiritual-mindedness once said to me, in effect, that he wondered at the importance which the orthodox Churches attach to the idea of the divinity of Christ, because for purposes of practical spiritual culture they who hold to the idea are in no better position than they who deny. 'We too,' he said, 'hold Jesus as the supreme revelation of God: we too stand beneath the streams of influence which His life and teaching have sent coursing in their richness through the world; and your high doctrine of special Deity appears a mere theoretical "extra" unnecessarily added on to our simpler creed.' Well, if Christ was Revealer only in the usual significance of the word, then—even if He did know all the secrets, even if He was at home 'beyond the loom of the last lone star' of divine knowledge whose

shining any other eyes have discerned—I do not know that it is easy to find a reply. The idea of a perfect revelation, in the sense of knowledge about God merely, is not commensurate with, does not match, the idea of absolute Deity in Him through whom the revelation came. You might almost say that the indicated effect is not great enough for, and does not demand, a cause so great. But if the revelation given in Jesus Christ was God making His own creative life incarnate upon the stage of earth in order that it might generate a new life in man, then the new spiritual experience which Christ is declared to make possible for man requires the fullness of Deity in Christ Himself, and out of the fullness of Deity which the creed declares Christ to possess an ample and commensurate result in man's experience is derived. And indeed, when I pass from saying that as the Father hath life in Himself so has it been given to the Son to have life in Himself, to saying that Jesus is very God of very God, I have but made interchange of terms. I am not overloading Christian experience with a credal formula too great for it when I say that a Christ who carries God's own creative life within can be nothing other and nothing less than God Himself manifest in the flesh.

IV

One practical consequence of all this may be touched on here. What must be man's attitude to such a revelation as this? Union—vital union—surely, must be the keynote in any description of it; and since God is in this revelation offering the *whole* of Himself, man can make adequate use of the revelation only by surrendering the *whole* of himself to and *into* the offered God; and since this revelation is a veritable living Personality seeking to take such personality as man already possesses into its own depths and re-make it there, man can answer to the revelation's appeal only by taking hold upon himself and flinging himself into this Personality which has thrown open its gates for him to come

in; and since this revelation is the coming of a veritable life-force, what man has to do is to let it grip and prison and overshadow him till he has no life in heart or mind or will save the life that life-force makes. God's own creativeness is in Jesus Christ—each man must somehow, therefore, make the apostle's sublime bit of autobiography true for himself, and be able to say, not in metaphor or poetry or mere accommodated speech, but in literal exactness, that it is not he that lives, but Christ that lives in him. For a revelation which is creative life, all other readings of the great words of the Christian programme, such as 'faith,' 'coming to Christ,' 'acceptance of Christ,' become so poor—so pitifully poor! To meet such a revelation as that, the faith to which I am called must be a movement of my whole nature into the offered creative life and into the Christ-Personality which embodies it; and 'coming to Christ' must be really the breaking down of the barriers that surround my own personality so that I may escape out of myself into Christ, identify my being in its very substance with His own, have Him cover my mind with His, my will with His, my heart with His, fold me within Himself and keep me lost in Him—yet most truly and surely found in Him—for evermore. And there is no extravagance of language in saying that out of a union such as that—the union which creative life in Christ seeks to bring about—perfect salvation comes. It *is* salvation, for it is, by its very terms, actual participation in that eternal life which is holy and strong, and over whose holiness and strength no variableness nor shadow cast by turning ever falls. Let it be said very plainly—the issue between an adequate and an inadequate conception of the Christian revelation is no mere matter for the schools. Let men attenuate their conception of the revelation, and their conceptions of faith, of conversion, of man's whole movement of response, will grow correspondingly small. Let them elevate their conception of the revelation till it comes to mean this for them—that Jesus

Christ is God moving His actual creativeness itself down to the earthly plane and offering it there for the uses of mankind —and then their interpretations of all the great words of the Christian programme will of necessity be delivered from the poverty and paltriness which so frequently beset them now, will be in the best sense rationalized because there will be direct and dynamic connexion established between the Christian programme itself and the results it is declared able to achieve, and will be worthier in their new greatness of the greatness of the Christ to whom they point.

It is not as a real embodiment of the divinely-creative life that even the professedly Christian world, for the most part, has taken Christ and the revelation given in Him. And He knew it would be so. There it stands, that prophetic lament of His, 'written' (to use Carlyle's wonderful phrase about John Sterling's last verses), 'written as if in star-fire and immortal tears'—'When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?' 'When the Son of Man cometh'—but He is always coming and is always here, still, as ever, with 'life in Himself.' Does He find faith on the earth? Too little of the faith which really makes man one with Him as He Himself is one with God—too little of the faith which would bring about the fulfilment of His prayer (that prayer generally so imperfectly interpreted, as though it referred to harmony among different branches of His Church, when its true meaning is high above that as the heaven is high above the earth) 'that they may all be one; even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us.' Not even Christian thinking or Christian experience has usually run on these lines. And to those lines Christian thinking and Christian experience must surely return, if they are to be enriched again. We shall have to get over our fear of mysticism, and of the scorn with which the world shoots out that word from its lips. For true Christian thinking and true Christian experience mean mysticism of the kind here spoken of—not the

mysticism which is merely ecstatic contemplation, but the mysticism which is a real movement of the whole life into the life in Christ—if they mean anything at all. God's revelation in Jesus Christ is wondrous grace, truly, whatever way you take it. Yes, but there is more in it even than grace after the common reading of the word—as Newman knew.

> And that a higher gift than grace
> Should flesh and blood refine,
> God's presence, and His very self,
> And essence all-divine!

That is it—'*His very Self, and essence all-divine.*' That is what is offered to man in Christ. And so once again let it be said—and surely, as all the great meanings of it come flooding the heart, it may be said with 'Praise to the Holiest in the Height'—that God's revelation in Jesus Christ is God moving His actual creativeness itself down to the earthly plane, and offering it there for the uses of mankind. And if this be so, then, as I come face to face with the Son to whom it has been granted that as the Father has life in Himself, so He too shall have life in Himself, this must be the way of life whereto my soul, humble and yet with pride in its high destiny, commits itself—

> Thus would I live:—yet now
> Not I, but He
> In all His power and love
> Henceforth alive in me!

HENRY W. CLARK.

CHINESE FICTION, ANCIENT AND MODERN

TO write on Chinese novels, in a way that shall both interest and instruct English readers, is perhaps a somewhat difficult undertaking. Days have been when Methodist readers were discouraged from reading works of fiction, and furthermore this hostile attitude thereto was not confined to Methodism. Some time before he died Hudson Taylor, the Founder and Director of the China Inland Mission, penned strong words condemnatory of all novels, and greatly deprecated the irreparable injury that such literature would have upon those 'whose minds had been enlightened.' Those days, however, have gone, and probably will not return.

It is popularly understood by those who interest themselves in the affairs of the Far East that the Chinese are a nation of readers, and that their books are innumerable. In a literal sense the popular notion is incorrect. Certainly in a country that boasts of a population of 400,000,000, where literature has been glorified during thousands of years, there must naturally be a large number of readers. If only one per cent. could read, there would yet be 4,000,000, which after all provides for the probability that a 'large edition' of a popular work would be called for.

I think that it was Dr. Gibson who gathered local data, by a somewhat patient inquiry, and believed that he was justified in deciding that readers in his neighbourhood—by no means a literary one—might reasonably be computed to be 13 per cent. This would mean that throughout the Empire there would be 52,000,000 who could read and understand a book.

To gratify the curiosity and satisfy the craving of so large a number of readers, naturally, there must be an

enormous quantity of books; and those whose environment has been more favourable than mine for securing a wide and accurate knowledge of the subject, aver that what was anticipated has been discovered. Probably there have never been such libraries in China as the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which in 1888 contained 1,250,000 volumes; but the Hanlin Library at Peking, destroyed during the Boxer outrage in 1900, contained an enormous number of very valuable works, and as there is no rule, as far as I know, that a copy of every book published shall be forwarded to the Imperial Library, the books found there could be but a tithe of those published and read throughout the Empire.

We are, however, not specially concerned with the whole literature of China, but with one section only—a large one, Chinese novels. The Chinese themselves call these works 'Siu Shut,' 'Small Talk,' or 'Ephemeral Gossip.' Novels have been popular in China for centuries, but during recent years, like stories in the West, they have multiplied a thousand-fold. The most famous works of the past are as well known to Chinese readers as were Richardson's *Pamela* or *Clarissa Harlowe* to English readers in the eighteenth century. The *Records of the Three Kingdoms* is a historical novel based on the wars and intrigues so prevalent in China at the beginning of the third century A.D. Three leaders strove for the Middle Kingdom, and the bloody struggle lasted for many years. The author, however, has used the actual facts of history as scaffolding only for his literary structure, which is so inspiring and fascinating that it has been said, 'If a vote were taken among the people of China, as to the greatest amongst their countless novels, the *Story of the Three Kingdoms* would indubitably come out first.' We here give one episode.

Chu Ko-liang's army ran short of arrows. How could he recoup himself? He feigned an attack against his enemy, Ts'ao Ts'ao. He prepared a fleet of ships, and

filled their decks with men of straw, which were clothed in soldiers' uniforms. He placed just enough living men on board to sail the ships, and beat the gongs for action. Then he approached the enemy.

The leader was careful to reach his objective when he anticipated a fog, and so it exactly fell out. Ts'ao Ts'ao imperfectly made out the outlines of an approaching fleet, whose decks were crowded with men, as he thought, and at once gave orders for the archers to shoot their arrows in countless numbers. Recklessly they obeyed, for more than an hour, though Ts'ao Ts'ao wondered why the massed soldiers of the enemy made no reply. He thought there was some deep ruse and ordered his men to shoot faster.

At last Chu Ko-liang had secured as many arrows as he needed, and gave the signal to hoist sail and return. The decks were covered with wounded straw men, pierced through and through with arrows. The real men had, however, hidden themselves, and none suffered injury. It was a clever ruse, and succeeded admirably. It is impossible here to add more extracts from this famous work. The dramatic skill of the author, the subject-matter of his story, and its wide scope have enabled him, like Homer, to paint many types of actors and sufferers upon his widespread canvas. Love and war have always been favourite subjects of story-tellers, and they are handled here to perfection.

The so-called *Dream of the Red Chamber* is also well known. It was composed during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The work comprises twenty-four volumes, and has not less than four thousand pages. In those days, readers must have commanded abundant leisure, and such a work reminds one of what Macaulay says of Dr. Nares's *Burleigh and his Times*. 'Such a book might, before the Deluge, have been considered light reading by Hilpa and Shalum. But unhappily the life of man is three score years and ten; and we cannot but think it somewhat unfair in Dr. Nares to demand from us so large

a portion of so short an existence.' In this work four hundred distinct characters are introduced.

The author, like Moses, begins at the very beginning. 'Four thousand six hundred and twenty-seven years ago, the heavens were out of repair.' A goddess set to work to prepare some gigantic blocks of stone compared with which the stones in the pyramids and those that formed the base of Solomon's temple were but chips ground in a modern mill. She prepared one block too many, and this famous stone, under the process of preparation at the hand of the goddess, became capable of expansion and contraction, was able to divulge secrets for those who wished to know about the spiritual world; indeed, it was capable of accomplishing anything however impossible, and revealing anything however grotesque. The estimate in which this work is held by Sinologues varies. Some regard it as unconscionably wearying, and we have known those who have set out to translate it, and threw it aside half done, tired with what they regarded as childish trivialities and endless repetitions. On the other hand, Dr. Giles, in his work *Chinese Literature*, devotes twenty-nine pages to this novel, and has compressed for English readers a summary of the whole. Few Europeans we surmise have ever read the work through, though the Sinologue just quoted remarks, 'The plot is worked out with a completeness worthy of Fielding, whilst the delineation of character—of so many characters—recall the best efforts of the novelists of the West.'

The Aged Gardener meets the Immortal at Eventide is one of the simplest and most pleasing stories in the Chinese language. It discovers a writer of no common order. The scene is laid so as to reproduce life eight hundred years ago, in a country village, and the hero is a lover of flowers. This love was a devouring passion, for no other interest in life touched him. His name was Tsiu Sien.

His garden the Graces might envy. One might see

there in full bloom 'the althea, the touch-me-not, the amaranth, the cockscomb, mowtan, the golden iris, the lily, spring and autumn pinks, the epomea, the lychnis cronea, and many other flowers, of which it is impossible to speak.' The author devotes himself to the painting of the scene, with an abandon seldom surpassed. There is a pond in the centre of the garden, and in autumn the maples, hibiscus, and willows half hid its placid waters, and were a blaze of gold and bronze colours. Wild geese also and graceful cranes gathered, and found a home amidst the reeds that skirt the pond.

The owner of all this sylvan beauty grew old amidst his small property, when the villain of the story enters. He is a 'prodigal' and a waster, and is surrounded with companions of his own ilk. In this garden at that time were three peony-trees, covered with blooms, which their owner valued very highly. One day the villain, named Chang Wei, with his companions, burst into the garden, and from mere wantonness trampled hither and thither over the flower-beds. He then demanded wine, and the whole party got drunk. They thereupon destroyed the peonies. With shouts of laughter the party then decamped. As the old man, whom in their drunken orgies they had badly hurt, lay on the ground, bemoaning the destruction of his prized flowers, there appeared a lovely maiden, who questioned him in regard to his sorrow, and when she learnt the cause, replied, 'Bemoan not, dear sir, I will repair the damage.' With a wave of her hand, the peonies assumed their original form. Meanwhile Chang Wei heard of this and returned to the garden, to see if rumour were reliable. When he beheld the peonies blooming as if nothing had happened, he determined to buy the garden, but its owner scornfully rejected his advances.

Chang Wei then brought a charge of magic against Tsiu Sien, had him arrested and tried before the magistrate, who was bribed to give a judgement against the prisoner.

The sentence condemned the old man to imprisonment for life. Chang Wei proceeded to seize the garden as his own, and with his boon companions went to take possession. He was tremendously surprised, however, to find that every flower had fallen from its stock, and the scattered petals lay upon the ground. Chang Wei, though surprised, was not convinced. He and his friends called for cake and wine, and proceeded to enjoy the hour in the usual way. Suddenly a fierce wind blew, and the petals were whirled about, till the whole were suddenly transformed into young girls, about a foot high, who, after further development, assumed the form of beautiful women, clothed in all the colours of the flowers. Chang Wei and his associates were terribly affrighted, especially when the leader of the maidens began to speak, upbraided him for his treachery and cruelty, and threatened punishment. The youths all turned and fled, rushing over each other in their mad efforts to get away from the presence of the magic maidens. In a word, Chang Wei fell, and mortally hurt himself. Meanwhile the magistrate heard of what had happened; and, furthermore, as he had suffered from a rather bad attack of vertigo after sentencing Tsiu Sien to prison, was also thoroughly frightened. He therefore gave immediate orders for the prisoner to be released, and so the old man was led out of prison with attendant honours, and escorted back to his beloved garden. This was also given back to him, and no one was allowed to enter it in the future without his permission.

Throughout this story we see the influence of Buddhistic and Tauistic teaching, but especially is it in evidence towards the close. Tsiu Sien enjoyed many years of perfect happiness, till one day he was translated that he should not see death. It was early autumn, and there was not a cloud in the sky; Tsiu was seated in the garden amidst his flowers. Suddenly a gentle breeze sprang up; music filled the air; an unearthly fragrance was diffused through the atmosphere; white cranes fluttered about. Quite unex-

pectedly a young Immortal appeared before him seated upon a cloud. By her side stood young maidens, who carried banners studded with precious stones. She then said, 'Tsiu, the measure of your merit is full. I have made my report to God, who has decreed, in view of the love you have always shown for flowers, and the tenderness with which you have always nourished them, that you shall be carried to the celestial mansions. He who loves and protects flowers promotes his own happiness; whilst, on the contrary, he who hurts and destroys them brings upon himself the heaviest calamities.' Tsiu bent forward, made his obeisance to Heaven and Earth, and complying with the command of the Immortal, mounted the cloud by her side. Immediately the entire garden with its treasures of beauty began to ascend into the air, and sailed away southwards, and was no more seen.

Perhaps the most popular work amongst educated Chinese readers is *Liao Chai*, published in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. This title has been variously rendered into English by different Sinologues. Dr. Giles's rendering is as good as any, 'Strange Studies from a Chinese Studio.' The author, who managed to take his B.A. degree, though he repeatedly attempted it, failed at the next step. He, therefore, could not enter the narrow gate into the much coveted arena of official life. He consoled himself, however, by the creation of these fascinating stories. They comprise sixteen volumes. The author weaves into these stories gods and demons, hobgoblins and fairies, priests and people, men and women; the consequence is that the work is as popular with Chinese readers as the *Arabian Nights* are throughout the West.

The tales are not novels in the ordinary sense of the word, but they are fiction. The following story, one of the shortest, will serve to illustrate the author's genius. At Chao-ching lived an old woman seventy years of age, whose only son was the support of her declining years. One day, as usual,

he went into the hills to cut firewood, and was eaten up by a tiger. The mother, overcome with grief, rushed off to the nearest magistrate's office, and demanded that the tiger be arrested and executed. The magistrate laughed sarcastically and replied, 'Do you, my good woman, imagine that a tiger comes within the scope of the law?' The mother, however, refused to depart, till, like the unjust judge, he said, 'I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me.' He then asked for volunteers to arrest the tiger. Amongst his police was one named Li Ning, who happened to be very drunk, and without knowing what he did, he stepped forward and with a hiccough, promised to do the deed. The following morning, however, he repented of his rashness, and endeavoured to evade his promise. The magistrate was inexorable.

In China it has been the custom to thrash runners who fail to arrest the object of their search. Li Ning, the runner, who could not even get on the trail of the tiger, was bambooed several times, until at length, driven to despair, he repaired to a neighbouring temple, to tell his sorrows to the idol and ask intervention. Whilst engaged in worship, the identical tiger walked into the temple, and crouching down looked on with a gentle gaze. Li Ning was at first paralysed with fear, but as the tiger remained passive, hoped that the gods had heard his prayer, and led the beast into the temple for arrest. Li Ning actually ventured near the animal, and threw a noose over its head, after which he led the patient tiger off to the magistrate for judgement.

The magistrate, though in great fear and trembling, asked, 'Is it true that you ate the old lady's only son?' The tiger nodded its head. The magistrate continued, 'You should be executed, according to Chinese law, but if you will promise to take the son's place and support her, you shall be pardoned.' The tiger nodded again. He was released on this understanding; but the old lady was in a frenzy of rage, because of the stupidity of the magistrate.

The following morning a strange thing happened. When the old lady opened her door, she found a young deer, which she sold, and thereby made enough money to support herself many days. This was repeated, and sometimes even jewels were found before her door, which the tiger guarded so that no one else could touch them. The old lady soon became wealthy, and a close friendship grew up between her and her foster-son, till after a time, the tiger frequently slept in the house.

When the old lady died, the tiger rushed into the hall, and roared terrific lamentations, yet did not molest any one. The funeral obsequies were very elaborate, such as Chinese love. When the relatives surrounded the grave after the coffin had been lowered, suddenly out sprang a tiger, scattering the mourners like chaff before the wind. The animal mounted the mound, and roared as if he would shake the very heavens to pieces, then suddenly disappeared, and was never heard of again. After the excitement of the nine days' wonder had subsided, the people erected a monument to the Faithful Tiger, 'which,' the author says, 'remains there to this day.'

This translation imperfectly conveys the elegant diction of the original, and the latent satire of official methods, which, though sometimes half hidden, always wounds with a relentless edge, for which the author was famous. It may, however, pass as a specimen.

Modern Chinese novels, like the stories of the West, are short and almost numberless. Those who live on the plains of China arrange to spend a month on the mountains amidst pleasant surroundings—pines, crags, and sparkling streams—where the air is exhilarating, and the nights are refreshingly cool. When the allotted time has passed, they descend to their regular work; they are then conscious that the lower surroundings are oppressive, that the air is hot, and often contaminated; that the people live in squalor and poverty, and this sudden contrast makes the mind

more susceptible to the difference. So when we turn away from the classic novels, that have delighted Chinese readers for centuries, to make an acquaintance with modern fiction, we feel that we have descended from serene heights and entered corrupted and corrupting swamps.

Probably modern Chinese novels have not been extensively read by Europeans, and are unknown except to a few readers; yet they seem to be widely read amongst the Chinese. The shelves of stationers' shops groan beneath their weight, and on every river steamer there are agents, whose arms are laden with these books, which they offer for sale to the passengers, just as youths sell books on American trains, and Smith's bookstalls provide light literature for travellers in Great Britain.

All the books which I have recently read deal with the sex question, and the authors handle it in a way that would disgust, even if it did not repel, were the finer feelings present of which an average person boasts. The works of Zola are classical and refined compared with the hundred books that may be seen in the hands of Chinese of all classes, at all available hours.

Creatures that live in swamps and find their delight in corrupting refuse are not of the highest type of organism; and we are told that they frequently convey disease to and are objects of danger to higher types of life. It must be said that youths who delight themselves in this corrupting literature possess but an imperfectly developed moral sensitiveness, and are the subjects of a diseased conscience.

When the mind is filled with such realisms, and the memory stored with phrases which are couched in grossly vulgar phraseology, it is obvious enough that moral contagion will spread, and lower ideals obtain. A good deal of laxness is the vogue of the West, when modern writers of fiction make the sex question their theme; but if works half as corrupting as those published in China were printed

and offered for sale, it is certain that the police would have work to do, however unpalatable, and both writer and publisher, if they did not see the inside of a prison, would at least be the losers by their flouting the public conscience.

Here, however, no one interferes, and the filthy stream rolls on. We hear a good deal on all sides about the development of China, and vital changes are taking place. It must be pointed out, however, that the heart of all effective transformation is the transformation of the heart and mind, and whilst the Chinese read and gloat over putridity, there is little hope for the future. It is a serious gravamen against both the classical religion of the Empire—if Confucianism can be denominated a religion—and imported Buddhism from India, that such works are published, read, and apparently revelled in, whilst no one is found willing to brave the hostility that would be aroused by publicly condemning the literature of modern days as polluting and unworthy of a great people.

With some trepidation, I venture to condense a popular story, and clothe it in a language that shall not altogether pollute the pages of this REVIEW. Perhaps I should remark that I am not addicted to the reading of Chinese novels as a pastime; I have recently given some attention to the subject in order that I might know what the modern youth is reading, and also that I may expose the trash in public preaching.

The title is arrestive: *The Magistrate's judgement on a dismembered corpse.* The characters are few—not more than seven or eight, when the police and servants are excluded. The heroine is described with care. 'The nimbus of her face is like the ruddiness of the morning; her arched eyebrows rival in glitter the plumage of the kingfisher; her figure, when she walks, sways like the willow branch, when kissed with the softest of evening zephyrs,' and so on. She is twenty years of age and unmarried—a

fault in the eyes of the Chinese. Her father and mother keep an opium den. They have a son, who has a young wife. There is a younger daughter, and an apprentice, and they all live together under one roof. Such are the actors of this drama. The daughter's name is Fragrant Cassia, and that of the apprentice A P'o. Soon there is an intrigue between these two, which I dare not describe, and when it is discovered by the young wife, who is neglected by her husband, she joins in, and so confusion becomes confounded, and corruption worse corrupted.

The *dénouement* of the story necessitates that this double intrigue should be discovered, and this falls to the lot of the mother, who is initiated into what is going on by the younger sister. The rage of the mother, when she enters the bedroom and finds all three there, is terrific, but this is true enough to Chinese life, when women are angered. After she has unburdened herself with a speech which begins with 'You whelps, thus do I find you together,' she observes Cassia's scissors lying on the table. She snatches them up, and, seizing the queue of A P'o, she snips it off at one snip, and flings it down at his feet with some further complimentary remarks, which end with the threat, 'You double-dyed scoundrel, wait here till Cassia's father returns, when he will tie you up like a pig, and hale you off to the magistrate's yamen.'

A P'o was almost beside himself. He had lost his queue and could not face the world; he must appear before the magistrate, and perhaps be imprisoned for life. He had better by far die at once. He thereupon kills himself. Whilst the body is yet warm the father returns. He, when he hears what has been going on, is so frenzied that he stabs the still warm body, and stabs in a place which has important after results.

Of course the matter comes before the magistrate, who refuses to believe that the apprentice killed himself because of the stab. The master had killed him. Hence the whole

family are condemned to prison, for longer or shorter periods. Cassia, after months of suffering and semi-starvation, is therein delivered of a child, in solitude and sorrow, but because it is a boy, its life is spared. The young wife dies in prison in unutterable loneliness and agony. The father and mother are detained there for a long time, till, in response to a petition with a long list of signatures, they are released. The son remains there when the tale closes, and there is no hope of release. The close is like a shivered ship sinking in deep waters, under black heavens, as a short winter's day deepens into night.

It is popularly assumed that these novels have a deterring tendency, because they portray the results of vice in this way. I venture to think that they will do nothing of the kind. The painting is so repulsive, and the realism so disgusting, that they will attract prurient readers who will gloat over the minutest details, whilst the last pages will be regarded as fictitious, and therefore unworthy of credence. The corrupting parts will be devoured, whilst the doom will be but scanned, and forgotten.

The following is from a novel that deals with the Buddhist priesthood. There are before me two which are concerned with this subject, and both depict the priests, and all that belong to them, in the worst possible light. It must be admitted that, if they are approximately correct, the priesthood should long ago have been swept away, and something better instituted in its place. English readers who often meet some far-fetched descriptions of Buddhism may find something to be said on the other side, for those works are not from a 'prejudiced missionary,' but from the pens of native writers, and are the opinions of those quite capable of judging accurately.

It is well known that Buddhism expects a celibate priesthood; it is generally believed that the Buddhist priesthood in China is corrupt and ignorant, and if this story is a 'mirror of life' then it is not only grasping and

wicked, but also degraded and lascivious. The following lines portray the Abbot. After the morning meal the Abbot usually withdrew himself from public gaze, and entered his private apartments; he always took with him some female companions. Indeed, every day he inveigled some ladies into his rooms, and there abandoned himself to the pleasure of their conversation and the fascination of their charms. Only two or three of the priests were cognizant of what went on. For three hours each day he relaxed himself in this way. He lay on his couch, with an opium-pipe of exquisite workmanship, inlaid with gold and beautifully burnished, in his hand. By his side stood two maidens, who replenished his pipe when it was empty, and the hours were passed in fun, banter, and wit, which at times were fast and furious. The description of Wei Lin, a handsome young priest, who looked forward to the Abbot's throne when its present occupant should be cremated, is still more realistic and repellent. Attached to the monastery was a garden, full of fragrant blossoms. One day he was strolling to and fro wondering how long it would be before the Abbot died, when he observed a movement amongst the tall flowers, and suspected that some one had entered the garden. So it turned out. A beautiful girl, just eighteen years of age, the daughter of a rich neighbour, was allowed admission to the garden, because her father had given six hundred dollars for the Abbot's schemes. She was generally accompanied by a companion; to-day she was alone.

Wei Lin went up to her, introduced himself, and tried to be pleasant, He said, 'Come with me to another part of the garden, where the flowers are larger, more beautiful and more fragrant.' The maiden was frightened and shrank back. Wei Lin was now inflamed with passion, and seized on the girl, in order to drag her to a more secluded part of the grounds. She commenced to scream, but he roughly placed his hand over her mouth. He said within himself, 'When one is riding on a tiger it is dangerous to descend

on the road.' 'When one has begun a thing, either good or bad, one must see it through.'

Whilst the Abbot was enjoying himself in his private apartments with the women of his choice, and Wei Lin was acting in the way described, Ch'an the Ninth, the father of the girl, ignorant of all that was going on, paid a visit to the monastery, with a gift for the temple, and asked to see the Abbot. The latter excused himself on the plea of illness, and sent a youth to find Wei Lin. So the plot thickens, and the actors become the incarnation of corruption, lying, and villainy.

At last the Abbot is compelled to leave his room, to receive his guest. He does this with a very reluctant step, but with a forced smile upon his face, which of course is as false as his heart. He explains that he is very ill, and, therefore, had been detained by sheer weakness. Apologizing for his apparent rudeness, he said, 'When I learned that Your Excellency had deigned to turn the wheels of your chariot towards my humble monastery, I at once made an effort to clothe myself in order to welcome you. You have been treated with scant politeness, and I humbly crave your forgiveness. Nothing but absolute necessity, arising from physical inability, could have prevented me from offering you the attentions your position and generosity so justly claims.'

We venture to introduce one scene more. This time humour is the prominent characteristic, though as before the subject-matter is the intercourse between the sexes, and this time, too, the relationship between the two is unwarranted, and secret, and therefore probably criminal. Chinese writers naturally are fond of introducing satirical and humorous scenes; this simple specimen, however, will suffice.

The youth and the concubine sat talking together, when, quite unexpectedly, the girl's master rushed into the room. When he saw what was going on he raged as if he would devour the youth. Miss Swallow, as soon as she saw her

master, rose and remarked, 'This youth is my adopted brother; why this wild raging passion? Such conduct is quite unnecessary; therefore, why indulge in such fury?' She suddenly turned and entered her own apartments. The man then forced himself to assume a smiling countenance, and turning towards the youth, said, 'Who and what are you, and why are you here?' A Tong put on a bold face and replied, 'I have come to visit my relative. I am guilty of no breach of etiquette. Why overwhelm me with such rage? Cannot I enjoy friendly intercourse with my relations?' The master added, 'What relation are you visiting?' A Tong replied, 'Sir, your concubine is my adopted sister.' The master added, 'When did this mutual adoption take place?' A Tong replied, 'Ask her, she will explain everything fully. What need is there for me to use so many words?' The master replied, 'If it is as you say, and you are my concubine's adopted brother, or indeed any other relative of the family, since you have humbled yourself to visit my poor dwelling, you must be treated with suitable hospitality. If you will stay on I will arrange a good dinner for you.' He touched an electric bell, and a crowd of servants came tumbling in, to whom he said, 'This gentleman is a distant relative of mine; his clothes are travel-stained, please see at once that he is supplied with clean garments.' The servants, who knew the actual state of affairs, shrank back and did nothing but gaze. The master then shouted in a rage, 'If you don't immediately obey me, I will soundly thrash you all.'

They then sprang forward and literally tore his garments from his shoulders, and though the youth tried to prevent this outrage, he was powerless. When he had been disrobed in this rough way, he stood during a short space shivering in the cold air, after which he shrank into a corner, with chattering teeth and burning cheeks. The master then ordered the servants to prepare him a bath. He jocularly remarked, 'I fear if he remains there, exposed to the wind,

it will pierce the marrow of his bones, which must not be allowed.' The servants asked, 'Where shall we get him a bath?' The master replied, 'When I was in Singapore, I saw a clever arrangement which foreigners call a shower bath; give him one. Put him under the tap. Turn on the cold water. I can think of nothing better.' The servants shouted and immediately responded. Some pushed and some dragged, till at last they held A Tong's naked body under the tap, where they penned him for an hour, whilst the cold water was turned on in full force. When they rescued him, his face was the colour of paper, and his breath had almost departed from him. The master then said to him, 'I have now treated you generously. Should you again in the future deign to lighten my humble dwelling with your presence, you will receive more generous treatment still. If you do not avoid your relatives, I venture to hope that you will move your jewelled feet hitherward once again.' Then turning to his servants, he said, 'The face of this fellow, who calls himself my concubine's adopted brother, observe well, that you may immediately recognize him, should he pay us another visit.' The servants thereupon, as ordered, pushed A Tong, naked as he was, over the threshold, The master, however, suddenly called out, 'Stop. I cannot send away my guest quite naked, lest he should shame those whom he will meet in the streets; bring a piece of common white paper, and tie it around his waist, after which throw him out and let him go.'

It is hardly necessary to moralize on what has been written here. The facts will speak for themselves. No stronger appeal could be made for the introduction of higher ideals into Chinese life than is made by the pages of modern fiction, and this call must be answered, both directly and indirectly by the missionaries and educationalists of the West, whose minds are purified by the presence of the Divine Spirit, and whose lives are lived on a decidedly higher plane.

CHARLES BONE.

THE FALLACY OF EUGENICS

FIVE hundred years B.C. the following dialogue was written—

> Tell me, Glaucon, . . . for I know you keep both sporting dogs and a great number of game birds, . . . do you breed from all alike, or are you anxious to breed as much as possible from the best?—From the best.—And if you were to pursue a different course, do you think your breed of birds and dogs would degenerate very much?—I do.—Do you think it would be different with horses or any other animals?—Certainly not; it would be absurd to suppose it.—Good heavens! my dear friend, I exclaimed, what very first-rate men our rulers ought to be, if the analogy hold with regard to the human race.[1]

That seed-thought of Plato, after having floated in the air two thousand years, has found at last a receptive soil, and has reproduced itself in the mind of a Nietzsche, a Francis Galton, and the Eugenists. What has rendered the soil receptive is the coming of Evolution. Nature is supposed to have expressed her secret of becoming, briefly as follows: Since there is a struggle for existence, and since no two creatures are alike, the fittest must tend to survive. Given limitless time, but a limitation of subsistence, Nature will weed out those individuals less fitted for their environment; those trifling variations which render the survivors fitter will accumulate, and this accumulation of advantageous but infinitesimal differences, it is imagined, explains the evolution of organic nature. Eugenics is the application of this theory to human life. 'Natural selection and the survival of the fittest represent the method followed by the workings of heredity. Where the human race is concerned men have the power consciously

[1] Plato's *Republic*, V, § 459. (Davies and Vaughan's trans.)

to direct them into barren or into profitable channels. The whole fate of civilization hangs on the question of whether this mighty engine of construction or destruction is to be used for good or evil.' [1]

So inevitable does this corollary seem, and so overwhelming its logic, that clear-brained reformers are being carried off their feet. In the preface to *Man and Superman* Bernard Shaw tells us that he at least no longer entertains any delusions as to social reform. The only hope for man is to breed him. Thus a demand is made for the re-casting of our moral code compared with which the demand for re-statement which evolution has already made upon our other modes of thought is trivial. Let us be so bold as to observe here that the pivot upon which evolution has rested and the means by which it conquered men's minds was a train of thought, a logical syllogism, rather than an observed sequence of events in outward nature. The general truth of evolution would have conquered without that syllogism, which is vital to none—save the eugenist.

We have formed a logical conception as to how by an automatic process the universe of life might have come into being; now at last to patient watchers Nature is speaking in plain language of the origin of species, and lo, *she calmly waves our logic aside*. New species are actually seen arising, and it is not by any slow accumulation of minute and haphazard differences. The new form springs forth from its parent form complete from the first, like Athene fully armed from the head of Zeus.

About twenty-five years ago the Dutch Professor De Vries was botanizing in the neighbourhood of Hilversum, a small town in Holland. Scrutinizing a plantation in which an escaped American Evening Primrose had run wild, he found a little group of Evening Primroses distinct in several particulars from any that he knew, or on investigation could find recorded or collected in any herbarium of the world.

[1] Dr. and Mrs. Whetham, *Heredity and Society*, p. 8.

Some of these he transplanted to his experimental garden, where their seed came pure and true, so that this was not some chance cross but a species new to man. De Vries also transplanted specimens of that ordinary American Evening Primrose, isolated them from any possible cross-fertilization by insects from the outside world, reared seedlings by thousands from them, observing them year by year. To his delighted eyes there appeared every year a small percentage of offspring new and strange. Not only did the stranger that first arrested his attention reappear, but half-a-dozen other forms, all related to the parent form as species to a genus. In later years these observations have been repeated and checked by scientists in distant countries. New forms thus suddenly produced De Vries calls Mutations, and from these basal observations he has erected his Mutation theory, of which it may be said the more it is known the more it prevails. The phenomenon of 'Sports' had long been known, but these were regarded as mere freaks throwing no light upon the general process of nature. Now we are learning that these very sports are the new creations by which the evolution of organic nature has been accomplished. The Copper Beech, the Moss Rose, the Cactus Dahlia, are examples of mutations that have arisen within historic time and more or less under the observation of man. Following De Vries' cue naturalists are making a fresh scrutiny of the animal kingdom, and there also mutating forms of life are discovered, exactly where they might be expected, amongst species the boundaries of whose existence have suddenly been widened.

W. L. Tawer, after a prolonged study of the destructive Potato Beetle of the United States, has observed nine mutations in that species, and from one pair of such beetles he has actually seen the origin of a new species and watched it breed absolutely true through seven generations, bidding fair, when he brought the experiment to an end, to oust the parent form. Dr. R. E. Lloyd, after an unrivalled oppor-

tunity of observing the common rat, whilst serving on the Plague Commission in India, has recorded clear evidence of its present mutating condition in that country. De Vries' conception receives convincing support from Mendel's discovery—of whose work indeed De Vries was one of the re-discoverers. Mendelian experiments prove that a very large number at least of the characters of plants and animals are distinct, separate and independent units. De Vries' conception of evolution is that one species arises from that which precedes it through the addition of some new factor by a change within the germ. A mutation is due to the appearance or disappearance of a single unit in the germ-cell, the cause of which is unknown. When such a mutation arises singly at the first, how comes it to be propagated? why is it not diluted out of existence? Mendel's law answers that question. Nature, abhorring compromise, sorts out in the offspring the characters of either parent and so preserves the new race.

It is established, then, that species do arise and are arising by mutation. We go further, and doubt if they have ever arisen by slow transition as evolutionists have almost universally believed. Undoubtedly each species in nature has a measure of *elasticity*. Of the several characters which jointly make up a species, sometimes one character will appear exaggerated, at other times it may be almost in abeyance. The old evolutionist thought that by seizing on any character displayed in excess by some individual, breeding from that individual and selecting such offspring as displayed that character most fully, a form sufficiently far removed as to be called a new species could at last be attained. There is no evidence that this is possible; on the contrary, the experiments of fifty years show that by continued selection in any one direction the limit of elasticity is reached in one or two generations, after which a return to mediocrity occurs. Vilmorin's experiments on this line have shown that what was thought to require the work of

ages can be accomplished at once, perhaps in one selection, if only we know definitely which of the many possible characters we want. The tough uneatable wild carrot, by a few years' care and two or three selections of seed from the biggest roots, has yielded a good edible carrot. Improved 'races' of wheat are continually being produced in part by selection and in part by blending of stocks. The unsurpassable goal along a certain line is attained immediately, but after some years the vitality of that stock becomes exhausted and has to be replaced by a freshly-created blend from the common stock.

During the ages in which man has had plants and animals under domestication, mutations have doubtless occurred from time to time, and by reason of their novelty, if not always of their utility, such forms would be picked out and bred from by their possessor. Our domestic varieties are to be explained as arising in this way, and the preservation of their stock from interbreeding, or perhaps also experimentation in cross-breeding, would suffice to produce such an exaggerated inference in regard to man's powers as that of Plato. The experiments of fifty years go to show that all that selection can do is to bring out any quality already possessed, but that to transgress the limits of the species is impossible. The measure of elasticity in any one direction is quickly reached and further selection is met by a swift return to mediocrity. If the above line of experiment and trend of thought is true, it follows that the basal principle of Eugenics falls to the ground. To quote an exponent of the eugenist gospel: 'selective parenthood, natural or conscious, is alone capable of raising our race or preventing its degeneration.'[1] Eugenics is an application to human life of the current form of the evolution theory. The weak link in the evolution theory has been the attribution of creative power to selection. It is upon that very link that the eugenist has hung his case. Natural selection having failed

[1] Whetham, *Science and the Human Mind* (1912), p. 250.

in human life it must be replaced, he declares, by conscious selection. And now we find that selection has no creative power whatever! It would appear, therefore, that Eugenics is an untimely birth. If the Mutation Theory is true, then the possibility of producing a superman by selection is excluded. One surmises that had the knowledge of mutations come earlier, Eugenics would never have been born.

Once the conception of the universal kinship of living things, and of a continuous creation, had become clear and convincing we were bound to look at human life in this relation, and men have freely spoken of 'social evolution.' The dazzling analogy between the secular progress in human life and the biological evolution of living organisms has blinded men to a distinction of such moment that it should now be focused so clearly that every intelligent person may grasp it and never again lose sight of it. What commonly goes by the name of 'social evolution' is not the evolution of man as a biological species, but the evolution of human institutions, such as man's increasing power over nature through his invention of new tools, and the moulding of his environment by changes in the social system both consciously and unconsciously produced. This analysis gives a clear grasp of two rival conceptions as to *the meaning of human progress*. To the eugenist progress consists of changes embodied in the human material itself—he would say more complex nervous matter chiefly; to the socialist progress consists in the elaboration of such conditions that the intrinsic individuality of all members of society shall have opportunity of realization and unfold its innate powers. Indeed, concealed beneath this scientific controversy is the age-long struggle of the few and the many.

By that momentous mutation that occurred some while before, the Great Ice Age Man arrived. That skull of his was as capacious as it now is. There, without further changes in physique, were the promise and potency of the man that is to be. Not through a struggle for existence

of man against man, but through the co-operative life of the tribe, did the truly human qualities emerge—language, thought, and conscience. Then history dawned, with the attempted parasitism of man upon man, slavery culminating in empire. What we call social progress is in reality the piecemeal overthrow of that parasitism, a social struggle which itself has had value in the production of individuality, but whose victory will be the equal opportunity of each member of the human species to attain to a fully-developed personality.

During a certain late phase of this social struggle there arose a condition of human life characterized by an individual struggle of man with man within the social group such as had never appeared before. This anomalous condition of man was reflected in the minds of certain thinkers in that epoch as the essential condition of man and indeed of all living things. They read nature by human nature. Accepting what appeared inevitable, they told us to rejoice in it—if we could. They told us that in this struggle lay the salvation of the race. But lo! the results of it began to appear in such physical degeneration that some of the foremost philosophers of the struggle for existence took alarm, and have raised the cry that unless we adopt an artificial selection based on knowledge that they offer to collect for us the race will be lost.

The struggle for existence in human life which first gave the clue to the evolutionist now stands condemned by the natural selectionists themselves as incapable of doing for human life that very thing which they yet think it has performed for the whole realm of living things! To make clear this paradox let us state it in other words. It was the tide of landless men surging toward the towns, competing with each other for even less than subsistence wages, during the ruthless youth of the Industrial Epoch, that produced in the mind of Malthus his gloomy presentiment of the eternal necessity of over-population and starvation—a

clergyman indeed of little faith. The reading of Malthus, as both Darwin and Wallace acknowledge, suggested their principle of evolution by the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. Now that more than a century has passed and the result of this human struggle has been so pitiful, some are explaining that the 'fittest' does not mean the 'best,' others are blaming such mitigations of the struggle as exist in the forms of mercy and charity, true and false alike.

At last it seems possible to advance a contention, the reverse of that for which science has contended so long;—the struggle for existence of man with man, so far from being our 'natural' state is a condition which falls below the truly human standard.

A certain dim idea is now seeking expression in human consciousness. Man, it is felt, is destined to master the struggle for existence in which he finds himself involved. With the resources of machinery the necessities of life might even now be increased to any amount. But the dreamers who possess this idea have been met hitherto by the answer that in removing the struggle for existence the garment so deftly woven by nature would begin to unravel—that degeneration would inevitably set in. This stultifying reply to the idealists now falls to the ground, for since the struggle for existence *has not created* the human species, the abrogation of that struggle cannot uncreate it. To declare that 'over-production is the first step towards progress; selection is its necessary corollary,'[1] is to support that chaotic social order which man assuredly will transcend.

The parasitism of man upon man has been the main cause of such degeneracy as exists, a cause which the eugenist is likely to ignore. But from Plato until to-day the defence of aristocracy has been the assertion that it possesses certain innate racial differences, in short, that it is better born. So the eugenists are teaching that 'successful nations

[1] Whetham, *Heredity and Society*, p. 186.

have bred different qualities into different sections of their people,' and that 'this differentiation of type into so-called classes . . . is essential to the maintenance of progress.'[1] Thus it appears that just in this era which beholds a world-wide democracy coming to self-consciousness, preliminary to the final overthrow of human parasitism, however veiled its form, the eugenists are elaborating the last defence of class distinctions, representing them as resting on innate superiority.

It is beyond denial that certain degenerate traits are inherited, such as insanity and tendency to phthisical disease; but are these the property of any particular class? They are not. Nor in view of the familiar effects of occupation upon physique and character can the eugenist's contention that the various strata of society have their inbred nature, be for a moment sustained. The gait of the miner, as the facial expression of the cleric, or the thumb of the miller of old, are characters which if inherited would go far to prove that the stratification of society is a natural arrangement. But Weissman's invaluable contribution has been the shattering of the once-prevalent superstition that characters acquired in an individual's life-time are heritable by his children.

To bring about the maximization of man requires not the elaboration of a new moral code; not, as Nietzsche frankly demands, a breaking with morality that the stronger beast may multiply most; but first and foremost the recognition that man is an end in himself, and not as in our present social system a mere means for producing material wealth. And a contributory aid to the greater life of man will be the dissemination of such facts concerning heredity as will fortify the lay mind against those imposing weapons for quelling democracy newly forged by the eugenists.

J. Parton Milum.

[1] Whetham, *Heredity and Society*, pp. 70, 141.

THE FUTURE OF LONDON UNIVERSITY

Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London. With Appendix (H.M. Stationery Office)

THE Report of the recent Royal Commission opens up intricate and highly important questions, affecting not only the future of London University, but of higher education generally, throughout, and indeed beyond, this country. Amongst the many interests which it touches are those of Methodism, a Church that has had long and honourable association with educational work. To these Conference will give careful consideration, and until this has been done, it would be premature to express any but a personal opinion. The present paper, therefore, will only attempt to describe some of the more salient features of the Report and to point out certain of its principal issues.

The University of London was founded in 1836, to conduct examinations which were open only to students of two colleges, established a few years previously—University and King's, together with a few other institutions in the United Kingdom, and subsequently in the colonies. In 1858 the degrees were thrown open to all. Though this course evoked some protest, it was soon justified by the reputation and success of the London diploma throughout the educational world. As the universal university, the fame of London was established, and its students multiplied rapidly.

The desire to connect with the examining University a teaching University, found expression in the 'Selborne' Royal Commission of 1888. Subsequently the 'Gresham' Commission of 1894 reported in favour of one University

with two sides, External, that is to say unattached students, and Internal, that is students belonging to colleges in relation to the University. After a period of controversy, statutory effect was given, in 1898, to a compromise between the two interests, and the present constitution of the University with an External Council and an Academic Council, as representing respectively the External and Internal sides, was set up. The recent Commission considers that the changes which this compromise introduced into the original scheme favoured by the Gresham Commission, have been one of the chief causes of those defects in the organization of the University which they have attempted to rectify. These are given as, firstly, the present relation of the Internal and External sides; secondly, the variety of the character of the Internal Schools, and their differing connexions with the University. —It must be noted in passing that the Commission, whilst suggesting their remedies for this, are still forced to recognize different categories of students, proceeding from Constituent Colleges, University Departments, and Schools connected by what is rather vaguely called a 'looser tie.'—Thirdly, the uneven line of educational efficiency represented by these colleges; and fourthly, financial limitations.

Not the least interesting section of the report is that which deals with the essentials of education in a great city university. It reveals the ideals and principles upon which the Commissioners proceeded. These essentials are held to be intercourse between students and students, and between students and teachers. The students should enter whilst young, and give their whole time to study. In distinction from secondary and technical schools, where the training is for a definite practical purpose, 'in a university knowledge should be pursued not merely for the sake of the information to be acquired, but for its own extension and always with reference to the attainment of truth.' Finally, the closer relation of undergraduate and post-graduate work is advo-

cated, to enable the highest university teachers to instruct the undergraduates, and retain the same students after graduation; and also to associate in the same colleges the undergraduates with more advanced students.

The recommendations of the Commission in so far as they affect the Internal side only, are a matter which most concerns the various Colleges and Schools of the University, and will be omitted here. Criticism has not been lacking, especially as regards medical education. In fairness to the Commissioners, it is to be hoped that the merits of this aspect of their Report will not be forgotten in the sword-play of detailed criticism. Their ideal is to make the University veritably London University, incorporating all the best teaching centres of the metropolis. On the other hand, the boundary line is drawn rather tightly round the county of London, and the suggested abandonment of examinations abroad seems needlessly to sacrifice that imperial aspect of the University which is surely not less valuable than its local relationship to London. Taken broadly, however, one cannot be blind to the value of the Report, so far as the teaching side of the University is concerned. With amendment in particulars, it might be made in no small degree effective for the advancement of education in the metropolis.

Some of the general recommendations for the reconstitution of the University must not be overlooked. The gateway to university life is no longer to be Matriculation, but a school examination 'based on the curriculum of the school.' Two are proposed, a higher and a lower. The former, designed for pupils of eighteen or nineteen, will give, except in the Faculty of Medicine, exemption from the Intermediate examination. The latter is intended for pupils of about sixteen. Matriculation will be retained only for those who do not enter 'through the normal avenue of the secondary school.' Pupils still at school will not be registered as undergraduates, or allowed to matriculate, and the age

limit for the latter examination will be raised to seventeen and upwards.

If there is to be time left for post-graduate study, it is obvious that the earlier stages of university training must be shortened, and many schoolmasters desire an examination more elastic than Matriculation; but if it is intended to substitute an examination at school for Matriculation and even Intermediate, much care must be taken. With the very heterogeneous standard of ante-university education, there are unwelcome possibilities in the phrase 'based on the school's curriculum.' The ideal standard of such an examination will be in danger of being lowered to make it broad enough to allow sufficient students to enter the various colleges. The tendency of the past few years has been to plead for exemption from Matriculation on the strength—or weakness—of all sorts and conditions of certificates. Incidentally too, the loss of Matriculation fees will be a serious financial difficulty to face. The high standard of London University is vitally involved in the maintenance of the Matriculation, or its genuine equivalent, being the door by which the students shall enter. To reduce Matriculation to a kind of side entrance only to university life is a complete reversal of the policy of the University hitherto.

The Report recognizes the need of a more equal standard amongst the various colleges and institutions related to the University, a particularly thorny problem of reconstitution. The establishment of a university quarter is advised, with hostels for students, but despite the revelations made in the spring of last year concerning the suggested Bedford estate site for the University, the Commissioners, to quote Sir William Collins, 'still appear to think that an academic atmosphere can alone be breathed in Bloomsbury.' The Commission look forward to the establishment of an adequate professional staff in the affiliated Schools of the University, to teach and to examine, and what is necessarily involved in this, of course, the financial control by the University of

its Schools. Faculties of Arts, Science, Economics, and Engineering—the last to be re-shaped as Technology—can be arranged. Those of Medicine, Laws, and Theology will be set up when funds are available, and possibly also a Faculty of Music.

The suggestion that a large and unwieldy Court of 200 members, only twenty of whom Convocation will be allowed to elect, with a small Senate of fourteen or fifteen as its executive, should govern the University, is open to very serious criticism. Considering the multifarious duties of the Senate, it is evident that its members must be ready to give almost their whole time to the performance of their duties. Still more is it clear that all the real powers will be with this small circle, and the Court, raked together by the inclusion of representatives from everywhere—the Metropolitan Asylums Board, for example—will only be able to give amiable assent to the Senate's suggestions, which may be what the Commissioners intend, but is not what the University needs, nor the present Senate desires.

Turning to that part of the Report that relates to the External side, matters of the highest importance are at once disclosed. Of the ability of the Commissioners there can be no doubt. They were Lord Haldane, who presided, Viscount Milner, Sir R. Romer, Sir R. Morant, Messrs. L. Currie, W. S. McCormick, E. B. Sargant and Mrs. Creighton, widow of Bishop Creighton. But not a single member was a London graduate. Suggestions for the re-constitution of Oxford or Cambridge from a Commission composed entirely of London graduates, would not, one imagines, be treated seriously. Why should the future of London University be forecast by representatives of the older universities? They are hardly qualified to understand sympathetically the principles of a University which has attained its reputation and success as an examining body. The general trend of the report as to the External side was freely and accurately foretold as soon as the

Commission was appointed. The sympathies of the Commissioners made the issue evident. That the personnel of the Commission was so unrepresentative of the character of London University was a serious mistake.

There was considerable difference of opinion in the Senate from the first, regarding the Commission. The Senate favoured a Commission with reference to the incorporation of the Imperial College, but the much wider reference given to the recent Commission, and the peculiarity of its constitution, were mistrusted gravely by many Senators. Indeed, the Senate, as such, refused to give evidence before the Commission, leaving individual Senators free to do so if they desired, in a more personal capacity.

Ever since the incorporation of the Internal side, there have been influences at work to overthrow the External side, which built up the University upon which the teaching branch was grafted. The appointment and constitution of the Commission revealed the strength of the attempt. It is hardly a matter for wonder, therefore, that the External side of the University finds much ground for dissatisfaction with the Report of a Commission constituted with so little reference or sympathy towards the External student and his needs and claims.

It is not strange, also, that such a Commission should recommend that whilst External degrees must be retained for the present—apparently as a concession to the strong but misdirected demand for them—they are to be restricted, and at the earliest moment possible abandoned. Lord Haldane is reported by the *Daily Telegraph* of March 31 last to have said, 'The time had not yet come when we were at liberty to deprive the External student of his chance to get an External degree. That would come in good time.' That single sentence illumines the whole attitude of the Report.

It is clear that the interests of our own Church are at stake, with the interests of other churches and of scores

of colleges and thousands of students. The Conference has directed the Committee of Privileges to take steps to secure the maintenance of an External University of unimpaired status, autonomy, and efficiency. The Report outlines for the External side not one of these things.

The value of the External degree is at once and immeasurably lowered if it becomes known as a temporary makeshift, awaiting extinction. Moreover, in order to make it clear who is the possessor of such a precarious title, it is suggested that the addition of the name of the College or School should, in the case of Internal students, be made after the degree. If an External student desires to continue his studies in the hope of obtaining a further degree, he must register himself annually, and give satisfactory proof that he is so studying. The possibilities of this strange interference are highly unwelcome, and one's pity goes out to the unhappy student making his annual plea to stern inquisitors of his diligence. Such a clumsy and unworkable suggestion will surely be killed by criticism.

As regards autonomy, the suggestions of the Report strike at the very heart of self-government. The sleeping partner, the Court, and the controlling oligarchy, the Senate, have already been mentioned. Half the members of the Senate will be elected by the Crown, i.e. by the Board of Education; another step to the centralization of education, and one very destructive to the University's self-government. But a further suggestion is even more destructive. Hitherto Convocation, through its representatives on the Senate, has controlled the External examinations. This right is summarily rejected, and it is proposed to vest the power, almost without limit, in the hands of the teachers of the 'Schools' of the university, that is, those institutions more loosely attached than the 'Constituent Colleges' and University Departments. The only institutions mentioned in the Report, as recommended for inclusion as such in Arts and Science, are Westfield

College in the former, and the Royal Holloway College, Egham, in both, for it is hinted that East London College, which is also mentioned, will become a Constituent College. The Commissioners' proposals, therefore, are tantamount to handing over the control of the External examinations in Arts and Science to the teachers of two ladies' colleges. The wildest advocates of the feminist movement could hardly ask for more. If this is to be the future of the long and distinguished career of London University as an examining body, the sooner the External side is closed the better. One can hardly believe that the proposal as it stands is intended to be taken seriously, and it looks like a cynical attempt to ridicule the External side out of existence.

Such a proposal is only more evidence that the External side is doomed if the Commissioners' Report should be made the basis of legislation. What that means to hundreds of young Methodists, both ministers and laity, need hardly be stated. It means that degrees will no longer be possible for students at our Theological and Training Colleges, nor for those who have hitherto continued to build upon the basis of their college training, and have crowned their persistence with the coveted London diploma. The Report looks with marked disfavour upon post-collegiate study. Apparently even the London D.D., which has hitherto been granted only to those over the age of thirty, will in future be made accessible to youthful students, still in their college days—an extraordinary reversal of policy, and one wholly inexpedient and unjustifiable.

It may, however, be asked whether our colleges cannot be incorporated with the teaching University. If this were possible, of course, all colleges outside of London would be shut out, and only London students would be able to graduate. It is true that one of our Theological Colleges—Richmond—is mentioned as eligible for inclusion as a 'School,' but there are many difficulties in the conditions laid down.

Much depends upon their administration, and there is certainly a willingness apparent in the Report to meet the peculiar circumstances of the Theological Colleges. But, none the less, those best qualified to judge see little prospect of incorporation. In the first place, the University claims a voice in the selection of the staff. This might be possible, so far as the Theological Institution Committee is concerned; but the Conference is the real governing authority, and it would not allow any infringement of its prerogative in the matter. In the next place, all our other colleges would have to be drained of their best students in order that Richmond might have enough men suitable to be entered as Internal students. One can see many objections to such a course, and even if it were possible, there might still be a shortage of men. Finally, if Theology is to be a superior Faculty, as the Report recommends, only open to graduates in Arts, a course for which it must be admitted there is much to be said, none the less our present three years' term at college would provide absolutely no possibility whatever of any student completing both courses. Under the circumstances it will be seen that the chances of incorporation are very doubtful.

The Report does not mention our Westminster College, but similar difficulties apply in its case. Rival institutions could interpret the ruling that no School of the University will be recognized if there is adequate means of instruction provided elsewhere in the neighbourhood, to the exclusion of Westminster. Indeed, the further from the centre a college is, the better its chance of incorporation would appear to be. One must not forget that Westminster is totally dependent upon the maintenance of the External side.

Speaking broadly, one must say that the Report is disappointing. Its merits, such as they are, belong entirely to certain of its proposals for the reconstitution of the teaching University. But it is at the sacrifice of the examining University, that the Commissioners propose to

accomplish this. Happily, in the case of London University, legislation will be necessary to enforce these proposals, and one cannot believe that public opinion will allow Parliament to enact what must assuredly mean the destruction of the External side of the University.

It is only too evident that the Commission has entirely misconceived the place and rights of the External student. The Report bears an unhappy savour of the spirit of a circular issued some little while ago by an official of the Board of Education, which gained an unpleasant notoriety. It scoffs at self-education, and is determined to force every student down the approved channels, or else bar his right to university status. However desirable a university training may be, it is utterly impossible that every student can attain it. If that be so, says the Report, for the present, we will allow a back-door to university life, making it clear it is a back-door, and finally close even that. Such an attitude is unworthy of the fine traditions of London University.

The Commissioners evidently do not recognize that the External student is hardly ever the half-educated and untrained person they appear to have in mind. The very high standard of London examinations in the past is conclusive evidence as to the thoroughness of the External student's knowledge. The attempts to lower the standard, which have been continuous in recent years, have all come from the demands for 'modification' to suit the degrees of learning attained by the Internal students, and the External side has stood stiffly for the maintenance of the standard. Then the External student is almost always well coached, often by professors as able as any upon the staff of the Internal colleges. Many of them—almost all the Divinity students for example—have had a college training, only in a provincial college or one unattached to the University. Whatever advantages a university training of the regular type may possess, it certainly is not an invariable

road to culture and self-development. There is a pathetic army of failures straggling from the gates of every university, unfitted for any position in life, and with these in mind one cannot speak over-confidently of the overwhelming superiority of university training.

The External University of London has fulfilled a very necessary place in education in England. It has stood for absolute sex equality where the older universities have represented obsolescent prejudice; it has taught tolerance where a spirit of sectarianism reigned; it was the first English university to throw open a degree in Divinity to all, and to grant it according to a man's learning and not according to his theology. It has offered to the poor student an open door, where time and money closed the other avenue of university life in his face. It has maintained a standard of examination vastly higher than any other university has been able to require for a pass degree. It is inconceivable that the University which has done all this shall have its doors closed and its honourable tradition dissolved, at the recommendation of a Commission so alien to the genius of London University. However much one may admire the general ideals of the Commissioners, as things are the gradual elimination of the External side is a cruel injustice, against which the voice of Methodism must cry aloud and spare not. There are thousands of London graduates also who will fight to the utmost to maintain an efficient autonomous Examining University, and the justice of their demand will not let that fight be in vain.

ERIC S. WATERHOUSE.

A GREAT ENGLISHWOMAN

The Life of Octavia Hill as told in Her Letters. Edited by C. EDMUND MAURICE. (Macmillan & Co. 16*s.* net.)

OCTAVIA HILL long ago made good her title to be considered one of the great women of Victorian England, and this volume of letters will show how richly she deserves to rank with Florence Nightingale, Miss Twining, the Baroness Burdett-Coutts and other ladies whose work is built into the very foundations of our national well-being. Her brother-in-law, Mr. Maurice, says that her power of organization and her principles of discipline have been allowed to thrust into the background her human sympathies. A critic once told her, 'Miss Hill, I was puzzled to make out how you succeeded in your work, till I realized that the broker was always in the background.' Against that purblind criticism we may set the tribute of her friend and fellow-worker, Canon Barnett: 'She brought the force of religion into the cause of wisdom, and gave emotion to justice.'

Her father was a banker and corn-merchant at Wisbech who failed in the panic of 1825. He retrieved his fortunes, and, when left a widower for the second time in 1882, was anxious to find some one to help him in training his six children. A series of unsigned articles on education in *The Monthly Repository* attracted his attention, and he obtained an introduction to the writer. She was a daughter of Dr. Southwood Smith, the noted sanitary reformer. Mr. Hill went to see her at Wimbledon and found that she was teaching in a private family. When her engagement closed he persuaded her to become governess to his children, and in 1885 he married her. Octavia, the third of her five daughters, was born on December 8, 1838. Mr. Hill was

a notable man. He succeeded in reforming the corrupt municipal government of Wisbech, and in excluding any claim for Church rates from his parish. He rode fifty miles to procure the pardon of the last man condemned to death for sheep-stealing, and did much to promote elementary education. His life was one of great self-restraint and devotion to study. The bank panic of 1840 overwhelmed him. The family left Wisbech, and at last Mr. Hill broke down both physically and mentally under the strain. Dr. Southwood Smith placed his daughter and her girls in a little cottage at Finchley. The mother felt that poverty had been no small blessing to herself and her daughters. She had to do everything for her children, and they heartily responded to her care. The eldest of them says, 'She seldom gave a distinct order or made a rule; but her children felt that she lived continually in the presence of God, and that in her there was an atmosphere of goodness, and that moral beauty was a delight to her in the same way that outward beauty is to so many people. Her children also learned from early infancy, from her attitude of mind, that if a thing was right it must be done; there ceased to be any question about it.'

As a child Octavia Hill showed great force of character. Browning told her that he met her and her sister at the house of R. H. Horne, the author of *Orion*, who said when they left the room: 'Those are wonderful children; you can talk to them about anything.' The family moved into London in 1851. Octavia now began to read *London Labour and the London Poor*, and the writings of the Christian Socialists. The pictures given there made her fancy that laughter and amusement were wicked. Work among the poor soon brought a healthier view, but as her mother said, 'The mantle has fallen on her.' Dr. Southwood Smith's zeal for the improvement of the lives of the people had fired his grand-daughter's heart, and the fire was never quenched. In June, 1852, when only thirteen and a half, she asks

her elder sister to thank Miss Graham for lending her some books.

'As to the *Christian Socialist*, I never never before read anything which inspired such earnest longing to do *something* for the cause of association; and it interested me so very much that the hours I have spent in reading *that* are never to be forgotten; they were unequalled in pleasure to any that I have ever spent in reading; and that, if I live years and years, I shall never forget, or cease to remember with gratitude that it was to her that I owe the great happiness of first reading a Socialist book, which I consider one of the greatest happinesses any one can have.'

The girl became devoted to F. D. Maurice, and drew constant inspiration from his books and sermons. She met Kingsley in 1852. 'I think I never saw such a face as Mr. Kingsley's. That face was the chief pleasure of all. There is such a sublime spirituality; he looks so far above this earth, as if he were rapt up in grand reveries; one feels such *intense* humility and awe of him.' Another potent influence was John Ruskin. She had consulted him as to the chance of supporting herself by painting, and he asked her to design and paint a table top. The spray of bramble leaves in all their autumn colours charmed Ruskin, who undertook to train her and give her work. She was his champion and his critic. 'I see much, very, very much, to admire in him, and several things which I could wish different.' On her fifteenth birthday, she describes a visit from Ruskin, who gave her some hints about colour, and ordered five slabs to be painted for him. 'If you had seen the kind and gentle way in which he spoke, the interest he showed, the noble way in which he treated every subject, the pretty way in which he gave the order, and lastly, if you had seen him as he said on going away, his eyes full of tears, "I wish you all success with all my heart," you would have said with me that it was utterly wonderful to think that that was the man who was accused of being mad,

presumptuous, conceited and prejudiced. If it be prejudice to love right and beauty, if it be conceited to declare that God had revealed them to you, to endeavour to make your voice heard in their defence, if it be mad to believe in their triumph, and that we must work to make them triumph, then he is all four, and may God make us all so!' In March, 1855, she visited Denmark Hill and had a long conversation with Ruskin in his study. 'I would give years,' she wrote, 'if I could bring to Ruskin "the peace which passeth all understanding."' The friendship ripened. Ruskin came to see her work and said, 'This is quite a marvellous piece of drawing, Octavia.' When she showed him a copy of one of Albert Dürer's works he exclaimed, 'Is that yours? I was going to say you had been cutting up my print.' He thought it as accurate as it could possibly be without absolutely tracing it. In 1860 they talked about the wickedness both of rich and poor. 'Ruskin spoke of the little children like angels he saw running about the dirty streets, and thought how they were to be made wicked. I spoke about the frightful want of feeling in all classes; but added that I thought rich people were now waking up to a sense of their duties. "Yes," he said, "I'm glad that you and I have probably a good deal of life still to come. I think we may live to see some great changes in society." "I hope at least," I said, "to see some great changes in individuals before I die." "Oh, no," he said, "that's quite hopeless; people are always the same. You can't alter natures."' The girl of twenty-one maintained that she had altered very much during the last few years. Ruskin 'laughed very kindly, saying, "Oh, no, you're not; you're just the same as ever; only you know more."' She adds, 'But it does make all the difference in the world whether we are fully developing all that we are meant to be, conquering all bad passions, or not.'

In December, 1860, the Hills moved to 14 Nottingham Place, Marylebone. Octavia had a weekly gathering in the

kitchen of poor women who were taught to cut out and make clothes. One night a woman fainted. Octavia found that she was living in a damp, unhealthy kitchen and had been up all the previous night washing while she rocked the baby's cradle with her foot. No better rooms could be found where the children would be taken. The young philanthropist remembered all that her grandfather had said about the toy-makers in East London, and she realized that the same evil was at her own door. Just at the time she had to take her drawings to Ruskin. His father had died and he was feeling the responsibility of wealth. He told his visitor what was in his heart, and she suggested that better homes should be provided for the poor. Ruskin offered to provide money to buy a tenement house if she would manage it. He suggested that he should receive five per cent. for his capital, so that the scheme should be on a business footing that would make it an example to others. The girl exclaimed, 'Who will ever hear of what *I* do?' At the beginning of 1865 the lease of three six-roomed houses in a court full of wild, dirty, ignorant and violent people, near Nottingham Place, was secured, and the memorable experiment began. A bit of freehold ground covered with old stables, five cottages and a large house and garden were also bought by Mr. Ruskin. A playground was thus secured, and eighteen additional rooms made available for the poor. Fruit appeared quickly. The children were delighted at any suggestion of employment 'instead of fighting and sitting in the gutter, with dirty faces and listless, vacant expression. I found an eager little crowd threading beads, last time I was in the playground.' The girl felt almost awed as she compared her present position with the days when she seemed so powerless. Ruskin was impressed with her 'greatness, and told some one she was the best person he knew.' Opportunities multiplied. The sisters gave a concert to upwards of a hundred poor people, eighty of whom were blind. One of these said of music:

'Why, you know it is like meat and drink to us blind.' The courts taught Miss Hill many things. 'A man accepts underpaid work; a little is scraped up by one child, a little begged by another; a gigantic machinery of complicated charities relieves a man of half his responsibilities, not once and for all clearly and definitely, but—probably or possibly—he gets help here or there. There is no certainty, no quiet, no order in his way of subsisting. And he has an innate sense that his most natural wants ought to be supplied if he works; so he takes our gifts thanklessly; and then we blame him or despise him for his alternate servility and ingratitude; and we dare not use his large desires to urge him to effort; and, if he will make none, let him suffer; but please God one day we shall arrange to be ready with work for every man, and give him nothing if he will not work; we cannot do the latter without the former, I believe.'

She was trying to develop a sense of self-respect in her tenants. The court was manifestly improved. Windows were broken out on all the staircases, the rooms were cleaned, a large, clean cistern was put in, 'and oh! it is so fresh and neat compared with what it was.' The tenants became her friends; the worst boys in the neighbourhood met her smiling and happy. Her days were crowded with service for the poor. Some one described her at Ben Rhydding in 1871 as 'a lady of great force and energy, with a wide, open and well-stored brain, but, withal, as gentle and womanly as a woman can be; and possessed of a wonderful tact, which makes her the most instructive and the pleasantest companion in the establishment.' She took an active share in the work of the Charity Organization Committee, and saw what service ladies might render under the Poor Law. Carlyle praised her. 'Of a most faithful disposition, with clear sagacity to guide it. You can't get faithful people; they're quite exceptional. I never heard of another like this one. The clear mind and perfect attention,

meaning nothing but good to the people, and taking infinite care to tell them no lies.'

Those words she wrote 'came to me like the blessing of a prophet; something as if they partly bound me to live up to them, partly crowned me with honour for having suggested them, and partly soothed me for present troubles, and helped me to see how ephemeral they were.'

Carlyle's estimate expressed the conviction of all who knew her. In 1874 a number of wealthy friends had settled an income on her which set her free from the struggles of her earlier life and enabled her to devote herself to the development of her plans for housing reform. She told Mr. Shaw, who had prepared this delightful surprise, 'I have more than enough for holidays and everything I can possibly want, as much as ever I wish to have.' Lord Pembroke set her to work to purchase £6,000 worth of houses for poor tenants, and in 1884 she had to take charge of forty-eight houses in Deptford. The same year the Ecclesiastical Commissioners persuaded her to undertake the management of some of their property in Southwark and then in Lambeth. Dr. Temple gave an amusing account of the way she proved to the Commissioners that they were wrong in certain matters: 'When she had talked to us for half an hour we were quite refuted. I never had such a beating in my life! Consequently I feel a great respect for her. So fully did she convince us, that we not only did what she asked us on that estate, but proceeded to carry out similar plans on other estates.' When she gave evidence in 1898 before the Royal Commission on Pensions for the Aged Poor, Mr. Chamberlain asked her some 'rather catchy questions,' but her clear, cool head enabled her to come out in triumph. Mr. Chamberlain acknowledged himself vanquished, and another Commissioner said to her privately: 'How well you tackled Joe!' and 'You *did* stand up to Joe!'

She gathered round her a splendid band of fellow workers who shared her spirit and carried out her plans.

Her sisters were only less gifted and useful than herself, and to them she felt herself under a constant debt. Her own activities were unceasing. She was keenly concerned in the effort to secure open spaces for Londoners and footpaths in all parts of the country, and won notable successes at Swiss Cottage Fields, Parliament Fields, and other places.

Miss Hill's letters, to each section of which her brother-in-law has prefixed interesting details supplied by his wife and her sisters, throw much light on her own character. When she found her influence growing so rapidly in 1874 she tells a friend: 'I do so often tremble lest I should spoil all by growing despotic or narrow-minded, or overbearing, or selfish; such power as I have is a quite terrible responsibility; and so few people tell me where I am wrong.' She loved life and all it brought. Five years earlier she told the same friend 'O Mary! life and its many interests is a great, blessed possession. I love it so much. . . . And yet it seems such a simple, quiet thing to slip out of it presently; and for other and better people to take up their work, and carry it on for their day, too.' She was jealous lest public service should make her excuse herself from small daily duties. 'It is by the small graciousnesses, by the thoroughness of the out-of-sight detail that God will judge our spirit and our work. My difficulty is always to secure this exquisite thoroughness, which alone seems to make the work *true*, and yet to delegate it. I used to think that time would soften passionate engrossment, and leave me leisure to perceive the little wants of others; but I think I pant with almost increasing passionate longing for the great things I see before me.' All her life long she was inspired by the thought expressed in 1860: 'I think the time will come when all this round world will seem . . . mainly precious because it was made by a Father, and redeemed by His Son.' For more than a year before her death she suffered from breathlessness. At Easter 1912 she became aware that her illness was serious. She went to Larksfield, Crockham Hill,

in May, and enjoyed watching the flowers and birds. On June 8 she got back again to London, seeing friends up to within three days of her death. Mr. Maurice says: 'She was anxious that her illness should not attract public attention; but, as it became known, flowers and loving messages came pouring in, which touched her deeply. She longed to see her relations and friends, and was delighted to welcome all, as far as her failing strength would allow. One of her nieces, after visiting her, wrote, "It was like Heaven to be with her"; and others felt the same. She seemed to glow with faith and unselfish love, and she had a sweet smile for every one who rendered the least service.' She spoke of her work: 'I might have given it a few more touches, but I think it is nearly all planned now, very well.' She felt that its future was safe. 'When I think of all this, it does not seem like death, but a new life.' Her feeling was well expressed in 1898 when she thanked her friends for the portrait presented to her. 'When I am gone, I hope my friends will not try to carry out any special system, or to follow blindly in the track which I have trodden. New circumstances require new efforts; and it is the spirit, not the dead form, that should be perpetuated. When the time comes that we slip from our places, and they are called to the front as leaders, what should they inherit from us? Not a system, not an association, not dead formulas. . . . What we care most to leave them is not any tangible thing, however great, not any memory, however good, but the quick eye to see, the true soul to measure, the large hope to grasp the mighty issues of the new and better days to come—greater ideals, greater hope, and patience to realize both.' She died on August 12, 1912, and was laid to rest in the quiet little churchyard at Crockham Hill, near Edenbridge; but her spirit lives, and it is one of the forces that is regenerating England.

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE EXTINCTION OF THE INDO-CHINESE OPIUM TRAFFIC

THE events connected with the Indo-Chinese opium traffic have, of late, been moving with dramatic rapidity. The complaints made by those financially interested in the trade against the Celestial authorities for obstructing their efforts to unload the drug exported from Hindostan on the Chinese market, their insistent demands upon British diplomacy to exert pressure on the Republican Government to remove the embargo, their wrath at the Chinese for refusing to be moved by the protests of the British Ambassador at Peking, and their call for more stringent action, have, lo and behold! not been followed by the employment of force to compel the Chinese to yield, but by the stoppage by the British-Indian Government of the further sale of opium intended for consumption in the Flowery Land. The whole agitation culminated, on the seventh of May, in an authoritative announcement made in the House of Commons by the Hon. E. S. Montagu, Under-Secretary of State for India, that 'not an ounce of opium will be exported [from Hindostan] during the current year, and that for the future years the whole export will be absolutely stopped, provided always that China herself continues her internal restrictions.' The effect of this statement was marred by the fact that the accumulated opium stocks are to be foisted on the Celestials, but despite the tail tacked to Mr. Montagu's statement, this pronouncement marks one of the greatest moral victories of our age. While this happy turn of affairs is delighting the hearts of all those who, for many decades, have been striving to quicken the conscience of the British-Indian authorities to a realization of the iniquity of the opium trade in which they were engaged, hoping that this would cause them to put an end to the infamous commerce, it may be interesting to cast a backward glance at the recent happenings which have been instrumental in bringing about this startling change in the Indo-Chinese opium situation.

For such a survey it is necessary to turn to the year 1907, when the agitation against a Christian Government continuing, in this day and age, to take an active part in drugging a vast nation, scored its first tangible victory, and led the British-Indian Administration to accede to the request of the Chinese authorities to co-operate with them to suppress the evil in the Dragon Empire. A convention was signed in that year at Chefoo whereby the Indian Administration, in consideration of the Imperial edict, issued on September 20, 1906, by the Dowager Empress

Tsu Hsi, to suppress the cultivation of the poppy in China, so that by 1916 it would altogether cease to exist, and, conditional upon the faithful carrying out of this mandate, agreed to relax its treaty rights relating to the exportation of opium to the Flowery Kingdom, which had been extorted by means of the notorious opium campaigns, and decrease the exportation of the narcotic by one-tenth each year, so that the foreign trade would be extinguished almost simultaneously with the expected annihilation of the home production. A clause was especially inserted in the agreement empowering Great Britain to ascertain, at the end of three years, whether the curtailment of production in China had kept pace with the British-Indian reduction of export opium, and to modify future arrangements accordingly.

From a strictly ethical point of view, the position assumed by the Indian Administration was not just what it should have been. But those concerned with the administration of affairs in the Peninsula felt that they would be guilty of grave injustice to their charges if they sacrificed the interests of the Indian poppy growers and merchants who traded in the drug, and threw away the revenue derived by the Government from this article of commerce, merely in order that China might produce its own opium instead of buying it from Hindostan. Moreover, they declared that during the decade in which China and India were making concerted efforts to put an end to this evil, the Indian Government would have time to adjust its finances so that the total loss of the revenue derived from opium would not cripple its resources or make it necessary to levy burdensome imposts upon the already heavily taxed Indians. Be this as it may, this compromise marked a great initial triumph for those who endeavoured to destroy the trade; and when all is said and considered, it was very courageous on the part of Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, to take this step in the face of stubborn opposition and timorous caution.

When the time came, as provided by the treaty, to determine just what progress China had made in stamping out the growth of the poppy within its borders, the British-Indian Administration, according to the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, charged with the Indian finance portfolio, found that: 'China was unable to give an authentic answer, and the British officers who were touring the poppy-growing provinces had not yet reported.'[1] However, according to the same authority, 'out of consideration for China's difficulties we had consented not to press our strict right, and to continue the reduction of our export (based on the terms of the Chefoo Convention) for another year. In the meantime certain of the Chinese authorities, particularly the Viceroy of Canton, had been imposing disabilities on our trade, which, in our opinion, were clear infractions of the Chefoo Convention, and we were insisting on their removal if our co-operation with China was to continue.'[2]

Negotiations on these points finally resulted in the drawing up of another Convention on May 8, 1911, whereby, according to Sir Guy

[1] Excerpt from the speech delivered by the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in introducing the Budget for 1912–13 in the Imperial Legislative Council of India.
[2] Ibid.

Fleetwood Wilson, India and China agreed to remodel their opium policy thus—

'(*a*) What was conceded on our side was this: We were to restrict our China exports in 1911 to 80,000 chests, with a progressive reduction thereafter of 5,100 chests a year. But if China can completely eradicate the cultivation of the poppy before 1917, we are to shut down our exports at the same time. In the interval, as each province stops its production and import of native opium, the admission of Indian opium into that province is to cease; the ports of Shanghai and Canton, however, being the last to be closed. Finally, we agreed to a consolidated import duty of Rs. 680 (about £46) a chest, being a very large increase on the old duties and a welcome addition to the Chinese revenues.

'(*b*) The concessions which China made on her side were these: An excise tax equivalent to the import duty was to be imposed on native opium. All other taxation and all restrictions (such as those at Canton) on the wholesale trade in our opium were to be withdrawn. Facilities were to be given to our officers to investigate the facts of cultivation, taxation, and trade restrictions in the interior.

'(*c*) In a supplement to the Agreement it was settled that though the other Treaty Ports would be closed to it at once, Indian opium not specially certified for China might be admitted into Shanghai and Canton for two months after the date of the Agreement. All opium thus admitted, however, as well as all opium bonded in the Treaty Ports, and in stock at Hong Kong for China on the date of the Agreement, would be listed, except so far as it was covered by special certificates from us, and the number of chests thus listed would be taken in reduction of our regular exports during the three years 1912 to 1914. The list, which was not completed till later, showed that the necessary reduction will be 3,820 chests in each of the three years.'[1]

The curtailment of the supply of the Indian drug by the operation of these Conventions, in conjunction with the restriction of poppy growing in China, resulted in a phenomenal rise in the price of the narcotic. According to official statistics, during the year 1908–9 the average sum obtained for a chest of opium was £92; during 1909–10 it jumped to £107; and in 1910–11 it reached £195. At the auction sales held during October 1911, £400 was paid for a single chest. The immediate effect of these Conventions, therefore, was that owing to this increase of the drug, the Government of India was able to realize, during 1910–11, £2,723,000 more than it had expected to derive from this source, and in the following year it received £1,757,000 in addition to the £3,500,000 which it had calculated to get from the sale of this commodity. These 'windfalls,' as India's Finance Minister characterized them, enabled him to apportion

[1] Excerpt from the speech delivered by the Hon. Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in introducing the Budget for 1912–13 in the Imperial Legislative Council of India.

large sums to education and sanitation not allowed for in the budgets of 1910–11 and 1911–12. This was remarkable, for during 1911–12 Hindostan was called upon to meet the extraordinary expenditure incurred on account of their Majesties' visit to the Oriental Dependency, and this expense, though amounting to £1,500,000, was met without the imposition of any additional taxation upon the natives of the Dependency.

But while the British-Indian Administration was reaping the benefit of these 'windfalls,' trouble was brewing for it in the Chinese Treaty Ports. Though one of the reasons for drawing up the Convention of 1911 was to make the Chinese give up their opposition to the importation of Indian opium, and though the Celestials bound themselves by its terms to permit the entry of the India-produced drug in all districts where the native poppy was being cultivated, yet the Agreement failed to effect its purpose, and the ban was not removed. Not long after this document was signed came the revolution, and though, owing to the chaos attendant upon it, many of the Chinese farmers who had given up poppy growing resumed their former occupation, yet official hindrance to the unloading of Indian opium in the Chinese markets was kept up under the Republican régime, just as it had been practised in the days of the Manchu monarchy, so effectively that no less than £20,000,000 worth of Indian opium accumulated in the Chinese Treaty Ports. As can be imagined, those who owned these stocks and those who had advanced money on them complained loudly and bitterly against the Chinese authorities for preventing them from selling their opium in the markets of provinces where the poppy was still grown, and insistently demanded that the British-Indian Administration, which had sold them the drug, should adopt stringent measures to compel the Celestials to swallow it. As was to be expected, the grievances of the opium owners enlisted the sympathy of a large section of the British and Indian press, which gave prominent insertion to articles purporting to show that, with the passing of the Manchus, the Chinese crusade against opium had lost its vitality; that since the revolution set in the native farmers who had given up the cultivation of the poppy had once again taken to raising that crop; that the Republican administration was absolutely incapable of checking this reversion; that all the Celestials were doing was to attempt to thwart the British and Indian merchants trading in Indian opium, with no loftier purpose than to reserve the rich field for their own selfish exploitation; and that if the British authorities did not protect those who had invested their capital under the assurance of treaties, the traders would be ruined, and a financial panic might thus be precipitated in India and the Far East. These protests naturally made the British-Indian Government very uncomfortable, and compelled them to use the only means within their power to relieve the tense situation by asking the Imperial authorities to bring diplomatic influence to bear upon the obstreperous Mongolians.

The Chinese heard the complaints and listened to the protests of diplomats, but did not relent. This was remarkable in view of the fact that China had just passed through the throes of a revolution, and the new régime not only needed the moral support of the world, but also stood in

dire need of financial aid from Western money-barons to fill its empty coffers. Indeed, never in their whole intercourse with the Occidental world had the Celestials been less prepared to brave the wrath of the powers who command the circulation of gold and silver, or to resist the artifices of diplomacy ruthlessly exerted at the instance of commerce, than it has been during recent months. But though its nerves were badly shaken, it bore the shock of financial and diplomatic threatening without collapsing. It simply shut its eyes to the overcast horizon, and ignored all threats, plain-spoken or implied. It said nothing, but just saw to it that the Indian opium did not find its way into its markets, and through all preserved a calm, dignified attitude. Such tactics made the opium situation progressively more critical by the constant augmentation of the stocks at the Treaty Ports, and increased the embarrassment of the British-Indian Government and the Imperial authorities day by day, creating a complication which could be ended either by Hindostan loosening its lucrative but infamous treaty grip on China's throat, or openly choking it in the full gaze of Twentieth-Century civilization.

China no doubt went to this extreme length because it realized that the moral conscience of Great Britain had so awakened that no matter how much the financial interests might fume and fret, they would not be able to bring about another opium war. The merchants might clamour, the diplomats might manœuvre, the recognition of the Republican Government might be withheld, obstacles might be placed in the way of arranging the loan negotiations, but no open fight could take place, no matter under what cloak the traffickers in poison might seek to hide their infamy.

But the moral support of the British nation in itself would not have enabled China to persist in its campaign to resist the machinations of those who sought to unload the Indian opium upon its markets had it not been making honest and assiduous efforts to suppress the production and sale of the drug at home. Immediately following the days of the Boxer troubles, when the soldiery of the Powers humiliated the Dragon Empire and made it realize its utter helplessness, the intelligent Celestials registered a vow that, irrespective of the cost, they would rescue their country-people from the curse of the opium habit, which for decades had been sapping the vitality of the nation. Across the narrow sea their neighbour, Japan, who centuries before had learned wisdom from their sages, and whom they even then regarded as their inferior, had risen until it had become a Power amongst Powers. One reform that had helped the Sunrise Kingdom to rise had been the crushing of the pernicious power of the poppy. Every year after the Boxer uprising, China's desire to suppress the habit grew in intensity until it found expression, in 1906, in the famous edict of the Dowager Empress Tsu Hsi. The currupt lower officials at first attempted to evade executing this pronouncement, but within a remarkably short time it was being obeyed as few mandates issued from Peking had been carried into effect. Officials and citizens forswore indulgence in the drug, and took 'cures' to rid themselves of the habit. Thousands of opium pipes were appropriated

and burned by patriotic young men. Field upon field where, only a short time before, poppies had flaunted their passionate beauty, were sown with prosaic beans and other vegetables. Those who refused to be persuaded into giving up the evil were fined, degraded, and hounded until they liberated themselves from the toils of the vice. Dens were set on fire, and poppy crops were destroyed. By the time the call came for the Empress Dowager to be gathered to her ancestors, the movement had enlisted enthusiastic and influential support, and had become very vital. The disorder incidental upon the raging of the revolution checked the ardour only in the outlying districts, and that, too, temporarily. The sparks of earnestness had been fanned into a flame that no cold douche could quench. Not long after the Republican Government was formally organized, the provisional President issued an edict reiterating the Manchu policy of suppressing the drug and calling upon all patriotic men and women to help put a stop to poppy production and opium consumption as soon as possible, so that the foreigners would have no ostensible excuse for pushing their poison on China, thereby nullifying her efforts to reform society. The weakness of the Central Government did not matter much, for the cause was dear to the hearts of the provincial and civic authorities. The movement, therefore, survived disorder, and each succeeding day saw it gain fresh momentum. During recent months the reformers have not hesitated to visit the extremest punishment on those who wilfully broke the law, and have burnt or confiscated their property, while, in some cases, capital punishment has been meted out wholesale to offenders. Comments on such excesses are obviously superfluous, the only remark they deserve being that such earnestness to reform a social evil rarely has before been displayed by a community. To use the words of the Under-Secretary of State for India, 'China, in fact, has shown an example of moral courage which is rare in the annals of the world.'

In the face of such earnestness, the British-Indian Administration would have lost the respect of every right-thinking person in the world had it insisted, at the point of the bayonet, upon China complying with its infamous treaties. Therefore it did the only honourable thing it could do—it blocked up the source of the black stream of poison that for dozens of decades had flowed from Bombay and Calcutta to the Chinese Treaty Ports; and left the merchants who had bought the opium at its auction sales to dissipate their accumulated stocks as best they might, and thus, with one stroke, put a stop to the Indo-Chinese opium traffic which, ever since the days of 'John Company,' had yielded a rich harvest of lucre to the Administration. Thereby the anomaly of a Christian nation offering the Bible with one hand and poppy poison with the other has almost disappeared, and Great Britain need not for long feel that while it is praying for the salvation of China, the Chinese may fling this taunt in its teeth.

Thus for once the forces of disorder, reaction and corruption have been defeated, and the moneyed interests which prospered at the expense of deliberately degrading millions of human beings have been vanquished. The victory is not so complete as it would have been had China been not compelled to take the accumulated stocks; but those alone who

know how adamantine Oriental conservatism is, and how immoral and resourceful are the financial powers operating in the half-awake Asiatic world, will be able fully to comprehend the triumph which a righteous cause has scored.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND ANGLO-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP

IN December 1911 the first number was issued of *The Peacemaker*, a quarterly magazine which is the official organ of the associated Councils of Churches in the British and German Empires for fostering friendly relations between the two peoples. Both by the British and the German Councils much effective work has been unostentatiously done, and in the greatly improved relations between these two leading Protestant nations of Europe there is now occasion for rejoicing in Christian hearts on both sides of the North Sea. Peacemakers are reminded by St. James (iii. 18) that it is by their quiet and gentle ministrations that the seed which will spring up into a harvest of righteousness is sown in the hearts of men. There is, however, need for the destruction of roots of bitterness, as well as for the sowing of the seed of peace; and this twofold work must be done patiently and persistently both in Germany and in Great Britain. For this reason a hearty welcome should be given to a new German quarterly,[1] devoted to the same purpose as *The Peacemaker*.

Two numbers of *The Oak* have already appeared (Jan. and April 1913). Britishers who are accustomed to sing 'Hearts of oak are our men' may be surprised to learn from the Editor's introductory article that 'the oak is a German tree.' It was a happy inspiration that led him to choose the tree which is the national emblem of Germany as well as of England as the title of the new journal. The symbolism is felicitously expounded in words which reveal the gracious spirit in which the Editor accepts his task. The German who ridicules the idea of comparing perfidious Albion to the oak, is told that it should be a reminder of kinship with the Anglo-Saxon people, who have many things in common with their German cousins in addition to their national emblem. In the early chronicles of the Fatherland the oak is the tree of peace; in Westphalia, the original home of Angles and Saxons, of Britons and Germans, ancient oaks of peace (*Friedenseichen*) may still be seen. Pastor Siegmund-Schultze plants *The Oak* in hopeful confidence that it will take deep root and flourish. He remembers also that the oak was in olden times an altar, and from his German brothers he asks permission once more to offer sacrifice beneath its shadow. 'Let the oak become an altar, and its rustling a voice from those unfathomable depths wherein are the sources of our strength. We are fostering friendly relations between Great Britain and Germany not

[1] *Die Eiche:* Vierteljahrsschrift zur Pflege freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zwischen Grossbritannien und Deutschland. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze. (Berlin: Fr. Zillessen.)

because as *dilettanti* we wish to dabble in politics, but because it is our bounden duty to extend the kingdom of God. We abhor bloodshed between these two nations, not because we wish to see no more blood in the twentieth century, but because we continually have before our eyes that Blood which would reconcile the world's enmity.'

It is in thorough harmony with these principles that Pastor Siegmund-Schulze devotes more than half of the January number (48 out of 80 pages) to an article which is concluded in the April issue, and is entitled *Christian Missions in the Event of an Anglo-German War*. During the recent period of strained relations between the two nations the subject was too seldom looked at from this point of view. Attempts were made to depict the disastrous effects of war upon the trade and commerce, the education and culture of the two peoples. But the greatest injury of all would be done to Christian Missions in British and German colonies and throughout the world. This is abundantly proved by the testimonies of officials of German missionary societies, as well as by letters received from missionaries now at work in China, India, and Africa. The replies sent to the inquiry made by the Editor of *The Oak* are most instructive, and the conclusion to which these German witnesses unanimously come is that, whatever the national issue of an armed conflict between their nation and ours, the inevitable result would be a great triumph for the foes of Christ.

Pastor Spiecker, Director of the Rhenish Missionary Society, makes special reference to its oldest mission in Cape Colony. 'If England were unable to retain her hold upon this colony, the Boers would again become absolute masters there. It is not to be supposed that they would, in essential respects, change their attitude to the coloured races and to missions, although in the Reformed Church of South Africa the missionary impulse is now mightily felt. The leading men, however, persist in their policy of repression as regards the natives. It is my decided opinion that the ultimate effect of this policy would be a terrible uprising of all the coloured races the issue of which it is quite impossible to forecast. In any case missionary work would suffer incalculable injury. Personally I have no doubt that a war between Germany and England would probably result in our losing our colony in South-West Africa. The Boers, not the English, would on the outbreak of such a war, immediately take possession, and drive Germany out. I question also whether in the event of such a war Holland could retain its possessions in the Indian Archipelago against the Japanese. But if Holland were dispossessed, our Missions in Sumatra, Borneo, &c., which have been especially successful, would be greatly hindered.'

Herr Pohl, a missionary attached to the Breklum Mission (Schleswig-Holstein), begins his report by saying that in India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, British and German missionaries stand shoulder to shoulder; the natives regard them as co-representatives of the Christian faith and Christian culture. 'The English Government has treated German and British missionaries in precisely the same way. It has given us positions of trust in the District Board, the Taluq Board, as

private visitors of jails, &c. It has supported our work in schools, asylums, and hospitals. In the event of war this state of affairs would immediately be changed. Indeed, just because we are Germans—to speak quite frankly—we receive from thoughtful Hindus even greater confidence than our English colleagues, because quite obviously we do our work without any political motive in the background. Of the English missionaries the same may be said, but the natives are not always of this opinion, because Englishmen are the rulers of the country. In the event of war, this confidence reposed in us by Indians would, of necessity, give rise to misunderstandings on the part of the government.' If England were victorious, Herr Pohl thinks that, as the weaker nation, Germany would be despised by the Indian people; whilst if Germany conquered, the position of German missionaries in India would be most painful. An Anglo-German conflict would give the ringleaders of revolt their opportunity to arouse the masses of the population. In spite of political tension, the relations between German and British missionaries could not possibly be more harmonious than they have been for many years. 'The natives of India who understand politics have had, in spite of the yellow press, an object-lesson in regard to the great value of Christianity.'

Two witnesses have been quoted at some length; from the numerous remaining letters two more brief extracts shall be taken. Dr. Römer of Potsdam is Director of the German Mission in the Orient; he speaks for a part of the foreign field in which British missionaries are not working; mutual relations have not, therefore, to be taken into consideration. Yet he says that the Orient mission is greatly indebted to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and war would probably bring to an end the reciprocal benefits due to the co-operation of German translators and British publishers. Moreover, a war with England would bring serious trouble upon this Mission; Mohammedans would use it as a weapon for attacking Christianity, just as the Turks inflamed Moslems against Christians during and after the war with Italy. In a similar strain Herr Maus, a missionary of the Rhenish Mission in China, writes: 'A war with England would be the greatest possible misfortune. Both countries would lose some of their colonies, for whilst they were in conflict the natives would rise, and drive out or kill both English and German residents, including missionaries. Christians would be compelled to become Mohammedans, &c., again. It would be difficult for England to win back India, Egypt, and other countries. We also should lose some of our colonies, if not to the English, then to the Mohammedans.' In his closing editorial remarks Pastor Siegmund-Schulze rightly says that one of the results of his inquiry is to prove that every missionary society may claim to be an association of Christians for the fostering of friendly relations between Great Britain and Germany. He also describes as 'enemies of Missions' all German Christians who, being aware of the consentient judgement of German missionaries can, nevertheless, 'speak lightly of a war between the two nations.' Most intimate indeed is the connexion between the Lord's command, 'Go ye into all the world,' and His words of blessing, 'Peace be with you.'

J. G. Tasker.

THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF JESUS

When we remember the distinctive spirit of that teaching—love of righteousness, meekness and patience in the presence of wrong, readiness to forgive injury, doing to others as we wish them to do to us, returning good for evil, love of enemies, the supremacy of goodness—we cannot wonder at the opposition it encounters in the world, perhaps never more so than now. Such teaching is a declaration of war against selfishness, greed, materialist views of life, the mania for luxury and self-indulgence, which are in full flow around us. We are far from thinking that evil has it all its own way. Despite all the self-assertiveness of the day, the quiet voice of truth and justice never makes its appeal in vain. Still, Christ's warnings against the worship of wealth and material success were never more timely than they are now. The precepts of the Sermon on the Mount—not so much their letter as their spirit—are regarded by many as an impracticable ideal, which it would be folly to take as a moral standard and to apply to everyday life, beautiful in theory but scarcely meant to be embodied in practice. Yet they are announced as the laws of Christ's Kingdom, which His followers are required to keep and by which they will be judged. That they are kept to a far greater extent than we think, we have no manner of doubt. Love of our neighbour, sympathy with sin and suffering, lives of self-sacrifice, are the soul of the philanthropy which is the salt and light of the world's life. To-day the loudest call that comes to us is the call for the self-denial and service which are the best part of all that makes life worth living. How otherwise than by the law of love, which is the centre and crown of Christ's ethical teaching, all that is unjust in the life of the masses can be remedied, it is impossible to see. Legal enactment and official administration alone will never do it.

The late Prof. Kirn of Leipzig in a recent essay[1] has called attention to a new objection raised on principle to Christ's ethical doctrine. Writers who follow Nietzsche and von Hartmann condemn the doctrine as servile, craven, unmanly. Hartmann says that to speak of love in relation to enemies is to use the word in an unreal sense. Undoubtedly the precept is remarkable, and on first hearing even startling. It seems contrary to nature, as it really is contrary to ordinary human nature. This much may be said on the side of objectors, that many Christian readers find difficulty in understanding and still more in practising the precept. Yet there is no doubt that it expresses the mind of Jesus. We see this from the fact that Jesus points to the action of God Himself in blessing the evil and the good, the just and the unjust. From Christ the principle passed into apostolic teaching and became a characteristic feature of Christian ethics. Dr. Kirn aptly suggests that a mistake is often made in isolating the ethical from the religious teaching of Jesus, whereas they form a unity and should be viewed together. We see this in the association of the two great commandments. The high teaching of the Mount and elsewhere is for believers and is impracticable to others. This does not limit the universal obligation, since all ought to be believers. In any case Christ's idea of religion

[1] *Die sittliche Forderungen Jesu*, Berlin, Runge.

and His idea of morals must be taken together. The moral life described is the life of the children of God, of those who are the subjects of divine grace. The change by which we become God's children is the preliminary condition of the new life according to the Christian idea (John iii. 3). The life of the believer is transformed because he himself has been transformed (Rom. xii. 2; 2 Cor. v. 17). Preach the new life, but preach the new birth as its condition. It is the order of cause and effect. Right doing is the natural expression of right being, and of nothing else. There must be truth, uprightness, purity of inner disposition and principle before truth of word and act. Christ can pitch His demands so high because the enabling grace has been previously given. 'We are His workmanship created in Christ Jesus for good works.' 'Ye are God's husbandry, God's building.' 'Christ Jesus was made unto us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.' Nothing is too great or high to expect in the spiritual life which begins with this new moral creation.

Again, it is strange to bring a charge of weakness against virtues like patience, endurance, acceptance of suffering as God's will, which are really strong virtues. That is not the fault found with ancient Stoicism; and it it still less true of submission to loss and sacrifice, which springs from trust in God's fatherly wisdom and love. More courage and force of character are shown in refraining from resentment, passion, anger, selfishness than in yielding to them. To suffer for conscience' sake, and that joyfully, is evidence of strength. No system has educated man to this high form of heroism to the same extent as Christianity. To charge it with favouring a slavish spirit is mere perversity or folly. The emphasis put upon self-denial and self-renunciation, the insistence on the pure heart and single eye, the value attached to simple fidelity, the demand for self-mastery, watchfulness, steadfastness and perseverance, and still more the supremacy assigned to love as the law of Christian life, prove the contrary. Nor is this an unrealised ideal, a dream of what ought to be. Much the contrary. After the utmost deductions have been made, there remains a mass of goodness infinitely beyond what can be explained by merely human influence.

'Love thy neighbour *as thyself*' is sometimes quoted as sanctioning self-love. True, but self-love is not necessarily selfish. There is a self-respect, a care for self-culture, an aspiration after full self-realization, which is both right and necessary. Many lives fail for want of it. We cannot help and bless others if we ourselves are weak and poor in character. 'Thou shalt love thyself' is no part of the written law; it is not necessary. Self-interest in the right sense is a natural instinct, like breathing and eating in the physical life.

Writers of the school already mentioned object to obedience to law as a principle of righteousness in every form as inconsistent with the *autonomy* which they hold to be alone worthy of man. But their interpretation of the term is strange and mischievous in the extreme. Kant is the father of the term and its meaning. According to him the autonomous life is a life lived freely and intelligently 'in accordance with the law of reason which is one with the law of God.' Kant himself unreservedly gives a religious

conclusion to his ethical theory, since he speaks of a sovereign in the moral kingdom of ends who 'only legislates, without being also subject to law.' There is nothing unworthy in the recognition of such a supreme lawgiver. A Christian who acts on this principle may lay claim to moral autonomy. He spontaneously fulfils at once the law of reason and of God. The false autonomy is the abolition of all law. Every man is first to make the law he keeps. This is moral anarchism (1 John iii. 4). Teaching of this order, professing to give a philosophical justification of lawlessness, explains much of the practical disorder of our day. The law of reason and God finds its echo in man's unperverted moral sense. In carrying it out he is fulfilling his own law, i. e. he is autonomous. 'God's authority is one with the precept of the highest and purest reason. Theonomy is not the destruction of autonomy, but its complement in a religious view of the world.'

Others again criticize Christ's ethical teaching as giving scant attention to the subject of marriage and family, providing no code of laws for public life, and making no positive provision for social progress. As to the first charge, Christ's teaching and life are in perfect sympathy with the high place which the family held in Jewish thought. He refused to deal with public and legal questions. His work was to reveal God, to fulfil the mission of the religious teacher. Government and social advance are the work of nations and national leaders, work which they are able to do for themselves.

J. S. Banks.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN: ITS LOCALITY AND RESTORATION

The 'Garden of Eden' has been located in Ceylon, in Africa, in Persia. The Arabs of the seventh century counted four earthly paradises: Eridu, Samarkhand, Shiraz, and the ancient city of Damascus. It is generally conceded that Mesopotamia holds the secret. Opinion has been divided between two localities: one, between Anah and Hit, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, this is Eden of the Semites; the other, at Eridu on the same river, called the Eden of Sumer and Akkad. Prof. Sayce has always contended for the latter, and it would seem that Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G., has now become a convert to this view. For several reasons it appears to be the more likely position. The four rivers mentioned in Genesis (ii. 11) are identified by Sir William as: (1) the Euphrates proper, or the Babylonian branch of the Euphrates; (2) the Gihon, or the Hindia branch or Pallacopas, encompassing the whole land of Cush, or ancient Babylonia; (3) the Pison, the Habbania, and Abu Dibis overflows or depressions in the desert, between Babylonia and Havilah; (4) the Hiddekel, the Sakhlawia branch of the Euphrates, carrying half the water of the Euphrates into the Tigris, being a second head to the Tigris and flowing between Babylonia and Assyria.

The Sumer and Akkad Eden was favourable for the dispersion of men. It was an ideal centre for the human race to spread out towards

India and the far East, or towards Egypt or Syria, then on towards Greece and Europe, while to the North and North-East there were great land routes into Central Asia. One waits with almost breathless impatience for the yielding up of the secrets in the untouched ruins and mounds which are known to exist not far from this centre, and which undoubtedly will be given to the world not many years hence, if only this gigantic scheme of irrigation is fully carried out.

A very interesting confirmation, substantiating the fact of the name existing in this locality, is found in a boundary-stone recently acquired by the British Museum from Babylon. On it is recorded a grant of land made by an early Babylonian king to a servant, which is described as situated in Eden upon the Eden canal. The date of this stone is ascribed to 1060 B.C. It informs us that there was not only a territory bearing the general name for the Euphrates Delta, but an actual place called Eden, situated on a canal of the same name. Whether the name had been handed down from immemorial times or not, we can but conjecture; but we do know that names of localities are not quickly changed by primitive peoples. If then we are prepared to identify the Eden of the Old Testament with the one mentioned by the Babylonian king, the boundary-stone becomes additionally interesting as the only known relic from that site.

The word Eden means a cultivated garden. But we may not give to the word 'garden' its modern signification. In the early language of Babylonia it simply meant a plain, 'what we should call a plantation mainly of fruit trees.' In the Old Testament it is stated that the Garden of Eden was watered, not by rain, as would have been the case in a country like Palestine, but, as it is translated in our Authorised Version, by a 'mist' which rose from the ground. The word in the Hebrew אֵד which is translated 'mist,' is one which occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament. According to Prof. Sayce it is borrowed from Babylonia, where it signifies first of all the inundation of the sea, and secondly the annual inundation of the rivers. It was thus the annual flood of the Babylonian rivers which irrigated Paradise.

The whole land is divided chiefly into arid or marsh land, and wears an appearance of desolation. The difficulties of reclaiming such a vast tract of country are gigantic, and the expense very large. Whether the money necessary will be forthcoming remains to be seen. The effect of the disastrous war may have for Turkey a stimulative or retarding influence on this important undertaking. Undoubtedly a large and handsome return will accrue on the capital expended, and this may be so luring as to incline the responsible Government to provide the necessary money; or with an exchequer so depleted through war with Italy and the Balkan States, and through lack of confidence in the nation's recuperative power, making it difficult to borrow on easy terms, the completion of the work may be further delayed. Some years ago, a proposition was actually made to the Sultan of Turkey by Mehemet Ali to exchange Egypt for Babylonia, so placing the Egyptians under the protection of Turkey, which was then so ardently desired, and is still. The suggestion would probably not be entertained for political reasons, and for considerations outside

politics. But if England were to consent to the exchange, more than one highly-placed official, including Sir William Willcocks himself, believes it would not be a bad financial bargain. For when the land has been restored to its former glory it will be seen from the table underneath that the soil of the new country is capable of prolific harvests, and compares most favourably with Egypt.

Locality.	Per 10,000 parts.			
	Nitrogen.	Phosphates.	Potash.	Lime.
Sudan . .	3	12	60	400
Egypt . .	10	20	60	300
Babylonia .	12	24	60	1500

To bring about this desirable end it will be necessary to control the inundations of the Tigris and Euphrates. To accomplish so titanic a task will mean, the building of enormous barrages, the construction of canals, both of which will require great engineering skill. The cost will run into millions of pounds sterling. Sir William Willcocks estimates the cost 'of two barrages on the Tigris, and a canal capable of carrying 2,500 cubic metres per second, would between them be £6,000,000.'

There will be required five barrages, three regulators at least, besides several training walls, flood-banks, escapes, and earthworks. The silt difficulty is one of the most perplexing. Wherever irrigation on an extensive scale takes place the same difficulty is met. The old Indian saying that SILT was found engraved on the irrigation engineer's heart, as Calais was said to be on Queen Mary's, shows how baffled they were. But by ingenious devices, and by following the experience of later Punjab engineers, Sir William is confident of dealing satisfactorily with this problem. What is valuable will be spread over the fields, and what is useless will be checked. The ancients never quite conquered the river Tigris. As long ago as 2000 B.C., it is mentioned as one of the greatest troubles. Its floods wrought fearful havoc, one of which latest investigation shows to have ruined a whole community. The 'appearance of the country denotes that some sudden and overwhelming mass of water must have prostrated everything in its way; while the Tigris, as it anciently flowed, is seen to have left its channel, and to have taken its present course through the most flourishing portion of the district, severing in its mad career the neck of the great Nahrwân artery, and spreading devastation over the whole district around. Towns, villages, and canals; men, animals, and cultivation must thus have been engulfed in a moment; but the immediate loss was doubtless small, compared with the misery and gloom which followed. The whole region, for a space of 250 miles averaging about 20 in breadth, was dependent on the conduit for water, and contained a population so dense, if we may judge from the ruins and great works traversing its whole extent, that no spot in the globe, perhaps, could excel it. Of those who were spared to witness the sad effects of the

disaster, thousands, perhaps millions, had to fly to the banks of the Tigris for immediate preservation of life, as the region at once became a desert, where before were animation and prosperity. The ruin of the Nahrwân is the great blow the country has received. Its severity must have created universal stupor, and was doubtless followed by pestilence and famine of unmitigated rigour.'[1] The problems are numerous, the difficulties great, and these are increased by a superstitious fanatical opposition, and the constitutional dilatoriness of the Turk. But patience, fair-dealing, good-temper, allied with consummate skill, will finally triumph. The Arab has a genius for turning a garden into a desert; but the day, we hope, is not far distant when the land shall again become a Garden of Eden.

ALFRED ROEBUCK.

For fuller particulars see *Royal Geographical Journal*, November 1909, August 1912, and November 1912.

WERE THE PHARISEES 'PHARISAICAL'?

THE question as to whether the Pharisees were 'pharisaical' is being asked—and will continue to be asked—with great insistence. Men, in past ages, have half dared to doubt whether the Gospel writers have given a true portrait of them, and this old hesitation is for many giving place to an emphatical denial. The case for the Pharisee has been carefully discussed in a recently published book, written by a Rabbinic scholar—Mr. Travers Herford. Their teaching and aims are skilfully reviewed, and the writer comes to the conclusion that neither Jesus nor the Pharisees understood one another, and says, 'If there was on the part of the Pharisees a complete inability to comprehend the religious position of Jesus, there was also on His part an inability to comprehend the religious position of the Pharisees' (*Pharisaism*, p. 170).

We do not endorse the latter part of the quotation; but there is much to be said for the Pharisees when one approaches the subject from the standpoint of history. Their movement was a protest against the easy-going toleration of their compatriots. They were unrelaxing in their efforts to win from the people a stricter allegiance to the Torah. Surely we must give them credit for the fact that they, by their unhesitating denunciations of religious compromise, saved their nation from apostasy and disintegration.

The difficulty of finding first-hand testimony as to the Pharisees is great. In Apocalyptic literature we have writings of the school of the Pharisees; but in Rabbinic, as Mr. Montefiore says, 'the great things are scattered around and among a huge mass of third and fourth rate material' (*The Synoptic Gospels*, p. ciii). Some passages in Apocalyptic literature show that some of the Pharisees while paying regard to external discipline, laid great stress upon the inward motive and intention.

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[1] Quoted by Sir W. Willcocks, K.C.M.G., from Commander Felix Jones, of the Indian Navy, who was in command of the gunboat which lies before the British Residency at Baghdad.

Dr. Maldwyn Hughes, in *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, points out that 'The Assumption of Moses (A.D. 7–30), and 4 Maccabees, (A.D. 1–10), represent a movement of Pharisaic Quietism.' He also shows that the writer of 4 Ezra (A.D. 81–96)—a book which is supposed to have come forth from a Pharisee of the School of Gamaliel—reveals a great dissatisfaction with rigid legalism, and with the 'Pharisee' spirit. He quotes the following passage, 'Yet in this shalt thou be admirable before the Most High; in that thou hast humbled thyself, as it becometh thee, and hast not judged thyself worthy to be among the righteous, so as to be much glorified' (4 Ezra viii. 47 ff. Cf. Luke xviii. 11).

Dr. Hughes also writes concerning the 'Psalms of Solomon' (70–40 B.C.), 'It must be recognized that there is a wide gulf between this Pharisaic righteousness, and that of the Pharisees depicted in the Gospels.'

If we search long enough in the Rabbinic field of literature we find high and beautiful teaching. The Rabbis speak sternly of hypocrisy as foreign to the spirit of the good man. (Cf 'Whatever good a man does he should do it to the glory of God,' Ab. xi. 18; Ber. xvii. A.) Nicodemus is praised for giving his wealth to the poor in an unostentatious manner. Gamaliel ii. said, 'No disciple whose inside is not like his outside can enter my school; he must be like the Ark of the Covenant, gold without and within.' That passage would have been welcomed by Jesus, for did He not seek for the clean cup and platter? There must have been some inwardness in a religion which held that an evil action may be justified where the motive is a good one. (Cf. Dr. Kohler, *Jewish Encycl.*, Article: 'Pharisees.')

The devotion of the Pharisee to the Torah, his best and most inward sayings, his sacrifices for religion, were eminently praiseworthy. The Apocalyptic and Rabbinic literature gives us, in the main, a picture of a Pharisee of an 'unpharisaical' temper of mind and life.

We now turn to the Synoptic Gospels, and no matter how cunningly we work our critical apparatus, we cannot eliminate those passages which form the chief counts against the Pharisees. If we take only the charges against them which are found in the Marcan and Q documents, the terrible indictment remains. One must, however, point out that we have read into the 'Woe' passages a savage scorn and a bitterness which are not the children of Jesus. He spoke to them in anger, but He did not despise them. He pitied and warned a group of men who had perverted that teaching to which Jesus owed some enlightenment and inspiration. One cannot believe that Jesus spoke the words of Matt. xxiii. 1–33 [= Luke xi. 37–52], against the *teaching* of the Pharisees, or against the *whole* of the Pharisees. It is the opinion of the writer that he did not thus attack the Pharisee, *qua* Pharisee, but that He spoke against those Pharisees in the crowds who allowed the externals of their religion to blind them to the nearness of their moral claims and duties. He knew full well the nobler Pharisee, the poor man who toiled with his hands, who loved study, and who meditated in the law day and night: but He was far too great a teacher to maim His message by stating all its qualifications. It was His method to use the clean-cut, sharp, arresting, and con-

victing sentence. These are a few passages which have been too little heeded by the Christian in this controversy. Cf. 'The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat' (Matt. xxiii. 2), His remark to the Pharisee, 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God' (Mark xii. 34 = Matt. xxii. 34), 'Think not that I came to destroy,' &c. (Matt. v. 17). He dined with Pharisees, though He did not enjoy the restraint of their houses so much as the freedom of the homes of publicans and sinners. We note a touch of hauteur in Simon the Pharisee; a reserve and a restraint which was a weak, pale thing to Jesus in comparison with the *élan de l'âme* of the woman who was a sinner.

There can, however, be no doubt that there is an impassable gulf betwixt Pharisaism and the message of Jesus. One speaks of the Law, the other of Grace. The Pharisee despised the Am-Ha-aretz (the common people); Jesus was a friend of publicans and sinners. One tells of the minutiae of the ritual life; the other speaks of the broad principles of religion and conduct. The holy atmosphere of the Pharisee and his elaborate ritual had their devastating dangers. The words of Dr. Kohler are true, 'Still the very air of sanctity surrounding the life of the Pharisees often led to abuses.' The best of the school were conscious of this. An ancient baraitha gives seven classes of Pharisees, and of these all but two are either eccentric fools or hypocrites. (Cf. The bruised Pharisee, who, in order to avoid looking at a woman, runs against the wall, so as to bruise himself and bleed.) Hananiah, at the beginning of the second century, calls eccentric Pharisees destroyers of this world. Jesus knew this danger, and saw that there is a subtle peril in ceremonial, which is inimical to all spiritual religion. It was against those Pharisees who loved publicity, bound heavy burdens upon the people, played the part of actors, laid in wait for Him, dogged His steps, that Jesus hurled the words, 'Ye fools and blind, ye serpents, ye offspring of vipers.'

The denunciations of the Pharisees by Jesus are not aimed against the whole school of Pharisees, but against those who turned their religion into a cloak to hide their sins, and into a weapon with which to strike the Lord and Giver of Life. They have still a large number of descendants, and with unerring psychological analysis John Bunyan warns us once again to beware lest Formalist and Hypocrisy make successful sorties upon the citadels of our hearts.

W. B. Brash.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, Vol. IV. Edited by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, D.D., &c. Horae Semiticae No. X. (Cambridge University Press. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

We welcome this further instalment of the commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, who was Bishop of Hedatha, a city on the Tigris, near to Mosul, in the middle of the ninth century. His commentaries on the Gospels were published by Mrs. Gibson in 1911. In his introduction to that volume, Dr. Rendel Harris pointed out that Isho'dad's writings were particularly valuable because of his borrowings from earlier writers. Quotations from the Diatessaron of Tatian are fairly numerous in his pages, together with fragments of Ephrem Syrus's Commentary on the Diatessaron, and citations from the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the present volume, also, the writings of Ephrem and Theodore are drawn on, though, unfortunately, Isho'dad provides but scanty references. In spite of this, however, it is not, as a rule, difficult to detect the origin of a quotation.

It is noteworthy that Isho'dad's comments on this section of the New Testament Books are much less full than on the Gospels. He passes over a large number of passages on which a modern commentator would find it necessary to linger. Mrs. Gibson suggests that he only commented on passages which he himself thought difficult. His opinions on the authorship of the Catholic Epistles are interesting. He accepts James as the author of the letter ascribed to him; but he is sceptical about 1 Peter and 1 John: the former, he says, is 'by a man of the name of Peter,' but its contents are 'very inferior' to 'the teachings of the Blessed Peter'; while in the latter 'the idea and disposition and authority of the words' are 'much humbler' than 'the sound words of the Evangelist.' The Book of the Acts he assigns to Luke.

Some of his comments are noteworthy. He thinks that by 'lights' in the phrase 'the Father of Lights,' the Apostles are intended; he objects to the phrase 'God is love'; and states that the Libertines were so called after Lubartino, a philosopher, in which statement he seems to have drawn on his imagination. One of the most interesting features of the Commentary is the confirmation which it provides of a suggestion made by Dr. Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* (October 1906) that the two passages 'In Him we live and move and have our being' (Acts xvii. 28) and 'Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons' (Tit. i. 12), are both from the *Minos* of Epimenides, and indeed from the same passage. We shall await with interest the promised edition of Isho'dad's commentaries on the Pauline Epistles.

The New Testament Documents: Their Origin and Early History. By George Milligan, D.D. With Twelve Facsimiles. (Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These lectures were delivered at Edinburgh on the Croall Foundation in 1911. Prof. Milligan has revised them carefully and added notes on the Papyri and kindred subjects which will be of great service to students. The lectures themselves are so interesting and luminous that those who are not experts will be able to enjoy and appreciate them. The material on which the originals were written was no doubt papyrus. For the Second Epistle of St. John a single sheet would suffice; when more was needed a number of sheets were fastened together as a roll. The price for a sheet varied from threepence to a shilling. Dr. Milligan gives many particulars as to ink and pens, and quotes some autographic conclusions to manuscripts which light up St. Paul's letters. The Apostle's habit of dictating his Epistles tended to vividness and directness of language. He would have clearly before him the persons and the circumstances of those to whom his letters were addressed, and 'The broken constructions and sudden changes of subject prove how often the eager rush of his words overmastered the grammatical and orderly sequence of his thought.' As to the language of the New Testament, Dr. Milligan has been able to avail himself of the work of explorers, and of such students as Deissmann, Thumb, and J. H. Moulton. Biblical Greek can no longer be regarded as isolated. It is a monument of the Koinē, 'The first earnest and really magnificent attempt to employ the spoken language of the time for literary purposes.' The vocabulary of the New Testament has been deepened and enriched by Christian influences. Illustrations are given of the way in which recent discovery has thrown light on the text and diction. This is one of the freshest and most valuable lectures of the book, and no student can afford to overlook it. The two lectures on the literary character of the various books of the New Testament bring out many parallels in contemporary letters. St. Paul frequently availed himself 'of the current epistolary phraseology of the day in the more formal parts of his Epistles.' He stands midway between the literary and non-literary writers of his time. Much light is thrown on the language of such books as the Hebrews and the Apocalypse, and questions of authorship are suggestively and wisely handled. The last two subjects dealt with are the Circulation and Collection of the Writings. The multiplication of copies was due to practical needs helped by the facilities for intercourse amongst the first Christian communities. A leaf of a fourth-century Codex found at Oxyrhynchus is so small, though written in fair-sized uncials, as virtually to form a pocket edition. In another leaf of an uncanonical Gospel from the same place the written surface only slightly exceeds two inches square. The public use of the documents had an important influence on their history, and this is illustrated in a striking way. Certainly the New Testament has preserved for us all that was best worth preserving in early Christian literature. Dr. Milligan has given us a fascinating introduction to a field of study which every day

grows more wonderful and more fruitful in results that confirm and light up the New Testament.

The Mystic Way : A Psychological Study of Christian Origins. By Evelyn Underhill. (Dent & Sons. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Miss Underhill has already laid all students of Mysticism under a large debt by her fine study of the nature and development of man's spiritual consciousness. She has now set herself to trace Mysticism from its earliest appearance in the Synoptic Gospels through the writings of St. Paul and 'the Johannine Mystic,' down to the Mystic life of the Early Church as represented in St. Macarius and embodied in the liturgy of the Mass. She claims that 'all the doctrines and all the experiences characteristic of genuine Christian mysticism can be found in the New Testament,' and that 'its emergence as a definite type of spiritual life coincides with the emergence of Christianity itself, in the person of its Founder.' Christ and 'those who succeeded Him possessed the characteristically mystical consciousness, and passed through the normal stages of mystical growth.' That is the new view of Christian origins which is set forth with extraordinary grace and persuasiveness in this volume. Our Lord opened 'the Mystic Way' and Himself trod it. He made those profound psychic and spiritual adjustments possible which are called in their totality 'regeneration,' and lead to the production of mystics or free souls. Miss Underhill's unfolding of her theory is intensely interesting, but she can only work it out by making sacrifice of much that many will not consent to relinquish. She endorses Loisy's view that Christ 'intended to found no religion,' and finds in St. Paul's later writings a conviction 'that the true Parousia is the coming of the Spirit.' The 'idea of the Parousia gives way before the idea of the "Mystery."' Such a view is really not to be reconciled with Phil. iii. It is true that Paul saw as he grew older that the Parousia was not so near at hand as he had dreamed, but he never lost sight of the coming, though he laboured with new zeal to declare the mystery (Col. i. 26). Nor can we accept Miss Underhill's view that the Fourth Evangelist lived at the beginning of the second century and that his Gospel is 'in no sense a historical, but a poetic and devotional book.' There is much in her treatment which is eminently suggestive, but she magnifies the mystic at the expense of the historic. The Gospel is 'the poetic description by a great mystic, who was also a great artist, of that new life, that new outbirth of Reality, which Jesus of Nazareth made available for the race.' Such a view is in danger of losing touch of the facts whilst emphasising 'the exalted state of consciousness' in which the Gospel was composed. The truer view is that the evangelist had seen and handled and was seeking to live the risen life and lead others along 'the mystic way.' Miss Underhill's treatment of monasticism as an assertion of 'the complementary quest of personal sanctity, the love-impelled struggle to rebuild character in conformity with the Divine World,' is idealistic in the extreme, and her treatment of the Mass as 'the Mirror of Souls . . . the supreme memorial of the Saints; the epic

of the twice-born soul' is fanciful indeed. But we owe her a great debt for many ennobling thoughts, and her book will be read with eager interest and will arouse keen discussion in many circles.

Mysticism in Christianity. By the Rev. W. K. Fleming, M.A., B.D. (Robert Scott. 5*s.* net.)

To the 'Library of Historic Theology' Mr. Fleming's work is a valuable addition. The subject is presented in historical sequence, and the author succeeds in his endeavour to show that whilst Mysticism has never been confined to Christianity, it has 'found for itself in Christianity a field of the richest and most fruitful soil.' Mr. Fleming chooses a *via medie* between Harnack and Miss Underhill, that is to say he neither identifies Mysticism with the Catholic type of piety nor finds in the New Testament illustrations of the elaborately graded mysticism of mediaeval times. 'Christian Mysticism looks back further than Dionysius the Areopagite, and to sources higher than even the marvellous thought of Plotinus, for its own warrant of its true principles. It looks back indeed to the New Testament.' To a competent knowledge of the literature of his great theme, Mr. Fleming adds the power of lucid exposition and sound judgement. In the closing chapter on 'Modern Mysticism,' he derives encouragement from the outlook. The Mysticism that is in the air does not always 'decisively venture beyond its natural Theism'; on the other hand, later Evangelicalism furnishes 'another instance of how doctrines dear to Mysticism have a way of re-asserting themselves from time to time with inexhaustible vitality.'

A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity. By R. H. Charles, D.D., D.Litt. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (A. & C. Black. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The first edition of this work, which appeared in 1899, embodied the result of twelve years of unremitting labour, and was at once recognized as a masterpiece of critical scholarship. Since that date the subject has become even more prominent and more eagerly discussed. To this edition many perfecting touches have been added, and the sections dealing with some of the authorities have been wholly rewritten in the light of later knowledge. These changes and additions amount to about sixty pages, but do not affect the main conclusions as to the lines of eschatological development traced in the first edition. Schweitzer's work is not referred to, as it shows no knowledge of original documents and makes no fresh contribution to the subject. Dr. Charles's conclusions as to the nature of apocalyptic, its relation to prophecy, and the causes which led the Jewish writers to issue their visions under the cloak of pseudonymity, now published for the first time, are of great interest and importance. The lucid style and clear arrangement of the book add greatly to its

value. Some of its conclusions will be keenly debated, but it is a singularly able survey of the whole field of apocalyptic, based on exhaustive study of the documents, and every student will be grateful for such a guide.

St. Paul and Justification. By F. B. Westcott. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s*. net.)

Mr. Westcott puts forth this exposition of the teaching in the Epistles to Rome and Galatia with much hesitation, but experience as a head master has shown him that even the young desire to have St. Paul expounded if he is honestly allowed to speak for himself. Differences of idiom, problems of grammar, and the niceties of rendering are here dealt with in a way that excites interest. Mr. Westcott fully accepts Sir William Ramsay's view that St. Paul's Epistle was sent to those cities in South Galatia where the Acts of the Apostles record his labours. He sets forth St. Paul's teaching on justification, and shows that the kernel of religion lies in the whole-hearted acceptance by man of God's gift in Jesus Christ. He fully understands the appeal which *Galatians* made to our Protestant reformers. 'Surely never was the heart of religion set forth more plainly and unmistakably by any living man. It is the realization of a Love which works in a definite way.' The larger part of the book is given to the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul's Greek has none of the glorious flexibility of Plato or Aristotle. It is possibly not unaffected by Hebrew influences, and 'a prodigious conflict of tongue and wit alike has raged, and will rage,' around some of his verses. Mr. Westcott throws not a few flashes of light on some of these obscurities. He inclines to the view that the end of the seventh chapter is not the despairing cry of the unregenerates, but the cry that goes up from each and every Christian in the time that is. 'When all is said and done, it is the "soul" alone which enjoys the "redemption," not the "body."' 'Redeemed in part, anon to be redeemed in full—that is the position of man. . . . St. Paul was assured of the victory; but there were times and times when he doubted of himself—though of Christ he doubted never.' There is rich material for close study in this volume, and many will be grateful for it.

St. Paul and his Companions. By E. Basil Redlich. (Macmillan & Co. 5*s*. net.)

This is a volume that teachers and preachers will do well to consult. The literature on St. Paul forms a vast library, but Mr. Redlich has approached his subject in a fresh and suggestive way. It is 'an inquiry into the power of Friendship as a factor in the life of St. Paul.' We find ourselves in strong dissent from not a few of his verdicts. He thinks that St. Mark left St. Paul because he was unwilling to accept him as leader instead of Barnabas, and because he objected to the liberal tendency of St. Paul's theology. Mr. Redlich lays stress also on the self-effacement of Barnabas as the outstanding feature of the first missionary journey, and says that when the two apostles finally separated 'his dignity never

forsook him when the headstrong enthusiasm of Saul overstepped the limits of self-control.' There are other disputable points, but these do not make the book less stimulating. The appendixes are extended and are all valuable. The notes on the Companions of St. Paul, who are arranged in alphabetical order, will be a real help to teachers.

God and the Universe. By G. W. De Tunzelmann, B.Sc. (S.P.C.K. 4*s.*)

Mr. De Tunzelmann delivered a course of lectures in Manchester and London which sought to prove that Modern Science really struck the death-blow of atheism. He has expanded his argument in this very striking book. He shows that Haeckel's *Riddle of the Universe* is a descent from the scientific standpoint to that of superstition. Intense animosity against Theism makes him believe it possible to destroy the foundations of dynamics, as laid by Newton and other masters, and replace them by an incoherent conglomerate which is really a crude polytheism. Mr. De Tunzelmann considers the world as a mechanism, then as an 'energy-model.' This leads to the conception of a Universal mind guiding all the processes of Evolution and 'gradually building up material organizations of ever-increasing complexity suitable for the reception of its ever-increasing influx.' The pre-existence of Universal Mind removes the chief difficulties in Darwin's theory of organic evolution. We thus pass from the physical models to God as the ultimate reality whose will preserves harmony between all parts of the Universe. A timely chapter on 'Bergson and Bradley' leads to a view of Christianity as 'the crown and completion of rational Theism.' The book needs close study, but it abundantly repays it. We do not wonder at the interest awakened by the lectures in Manchester and London, and in book form they will make a strong appeal to men of science and to all Christian thinkers.

Repton School Sermons: Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation. By William Temple. (Macmillan & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Temple has gathered into this volume the sermons preached during the first two years of his head-mastership. He has found that 'boys, like other people, can understand a great deal more than they get credit for.' He even asserts that most people—boys more than their elders—can think, and rather enjoy doing it. Boys also have a strong mystical tendency, and their most conspicuous good quality is generosity. Such a preface whets the appetite. The sermons show that Mr. Temple has not been afraid to follow his principles. There is strong sense and careful thinking in these sermons, they are frank and fearless in their appeal to the mind and heart. 'The mystery of Providence' must have stirred the Repton boys with its reference to the death of King Edward and its unfolding of the significance of the Edinburgh Conference. We should like all English boys and their fathers to read these sermons.

The Master of Life. By F. Warburton Lewis, B.A. (Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Lewis is a 'free' thinker, in the best sense of that expression. He has an absolutely untrammelled mind, and is 'greatly daring.' To hear or to read him is to be sure at least of originality, but also to be sure of much more than that, of striking thought and vivid expression. He is a close student of Scripture, and has rare powers of exposition. In this book he makes Jesus real, and by it will make others eager to 'preach *Him* to all.' There is a fine tone about these seventeen sermons, which, while scholarly, often eloquent, sometimes startling in expression, are above all true to their ideal—Jesus Christ—and drive home the gospel of His grace. One cannot read these sermons without feeling how close and patient has been the sifting to which the author has subjected the records of the life and words of the Master, and how great has been his reward. Here we share that reward, and are enriched by treasures of exposition that grip us greatly. This volume is full of fine, expository, evangelical thought.

Captain and Consummator, and other Sermons. By Thomas G. Selby. (Charles H. Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

This supplement of fifteen sermons is a worthy codicil to the legacy of fine volumes by which Mr. Selby will long continue to serve his brethren of the ministry. Mr. Selby was emphatically a preachers' preacher. His sermons were 'weighty,' and the solid thought was clothed with perfect literary grace. The volume is on the same high level as its predecessors, as practical in the subjects it deals with, as evangelical in tone, as remarkable for the novelty and aptness of the illustrations by which the teaching is lighted up, as in the following in the sermon on 'The Daily Renewal': 'It is with the life of man as with the high-speed engines put into our steamers. After a certain point of speed has been reached the expenditure of fuel doubles, quadruples with every additional mile per hour. And so with the strain and pressure that comes upon us in our religious history. The higher our service, the more complete our dependence upon these resources of spiritual renewal.' We join Mr. Selby in thanking another great preacher for his help 'in revising these sermons of his old friend and fellow minister.'

The Last Things in Few Words. By J. Agar Beet, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* net.)

As the title indicates, the volume summarizes clearly and tersely the author's well-known views on the Second Coming, the Millennium, and the Doom of the Lost. Most Christian readers will agree that the treatment of the first two topics is scriptural and useful. The peculiar position taken on the other subject will be questioned. The author, rightly enough, writes 'not' against four more or less common interpretations. We doubt

whether his own view will win more general favour. It is hard to believe that the Old Testament is behind all other religions on the subject of human immortality. Comparative Religion gives a different account of the religions of the rudest tribes. The people of Israel were in close touch with Egypt, whose faith was dominated by the thought of a future life. One can as little conceive the possibility of religion without immortality as without God. On both subjects universal practice is the best proof of the reality and power of the natural instinct. The author does Plato too much honour in making him the father of the Christian belief. All that is proved is that he used peculiar arguments which support that belief.

Freedom and Authority in Religion. By Edgar Y. Mullins, D.D. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. $1.50 net.)

Dr. Mullins is President and Theological Professor in Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He deals with the difficult questions affecting freedom and authority in a luminous way. A careful estimate of 'the modern ideal of freedom' leads up to the central place of Jesus Christ in current thought. The function and limitations of Science are considered and the inconclusiveness and non-finality of philosophy as a process of pure reason is clearly brought out. This closes the critical side of the work and opens the way for its more constructive side. Dr. Mullins holds that the subjective principle is not adequate as a means of defining our relations to religious truth. God's method is that of human freedom and Christ's authority is that of 'moral and spiritual pre-eminence. The nations of the world, even the most backward, are feeling the tug of His moral energy in the subconscious region of their minds.' Dr. Mullins writes with much ease and has thought out his subject with great care. The book is both timely and forcible.

Joshua: an Annotated Hebrew Text. By S. Friedeberg, B.A. (Heinemann. 5*s*.)

This is the first volume of a new series of annotated Hebrew Texts. There is certainly a need of such a series, surprising though the statement may appear in view of the large number of commentaries which have been published in recent years. And yet no commentaries quite do the work which this series is intended to do. These volumes are not primarily exegetical, though exegesis is by no means entirely excluded, but have as their main object the explanation of 'grammatical and idiomatical difficulties and constructions.' This is just what the beginner needs, especially the beginner who has to work almost or entirely alone. In the present volume the notes are brief but to the point. References to grammar and syntax are given, and in this way the use of such books is taught. There is a vocabulary, a very useful geographical and historical glossary, and an excellent map. We heartily commend this volume to any who think of beginning or reviving the study of Hebrew, and wish all success to the new series of which this is the first number.

The Book of Job Interpreted. By James Strahan, M.A. (T. &. T Clark. *7s. 6d.* net.)

Mr. Strahan was Hebrew Tutor at New College, Edinburgh, and every note and comment of this book bears witness to his critical scholarship and fine taste. He regards the Book of Job as 'the most modern of all Hebrew writings, though some readers may naturally find themselves more at home in Ecclesiastes.' 'A campaign of centuries is dramatically compressed into a single decisive battle.' The course of Jewish thought on the subject is outlined, and the argument of the book and its national significance are well brought out. Mr. Strahan thinks that many things indicate that the book was written in the latter part of the Persian dominion, if not at the beginning of the Greek period. The comment on the great passage (xix. 25–7) is the most satisfactory that we have seen, and those who use the volume will be surprised at its clearness and suggestiveness. Every student of Job will find this an invaluable commentary.

Soul Health. By Joseph S. Bolton, M.D. (Kelly. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) A little book on a great theme, compressing into a small space much helpful thought for devout readers. The Introduction is from the Rev. W. H. Findlay's address at the Bible House, following the Edinburgh Conference, on the realization of God; and the line taken by Dr. Bolton, whilst quite independent, is delightfully reminiscent of that charming book, Brother Laurence's *The Practice of the Presence of God.* Spiritual exercises and practical Christianity are alike dwelt upon. There is nothing remote, nothing morbid here, albeit a flavour of mysticism may be detected. The strain throughout is 'Let us, *with a gladsome mind*' realize our sonship of God, and all that that involves. 'The Folly of Worry,' 'The "Oil of Joy,"' 'Good Luck,' 'Brotherhood'—such are some of the chapter-headings. The indwelling God is the starting-point, and the realization of His Presence the goal. Dr. Bolton shows himself to be a gracious cultivator of the garden of the soul.

Central Questions of Faith. By John S. Banks, D.D. (C. H. Kelly. 1*s.* net.) Nine easy talks by a great theologian on matters that are worthy of, and will repay, serious consideration. Among the principal subjects are the authority of Scripture and the meaning of sin, the person and work of Jesus Christ, the way of life, and evangelism in its twofold relation to the unconverted and to the immature. All are treated simply in compact sentences rich in suggestiveness. Holiness is the theme in which the writer most delights, as witness his fresh and effective exhibition of it in its three phases as a disposition of soul, a grace of character, and an activity of life. Every chapter is full, stimulating, and faithful.

The Short Course Series. (T. and T. Clark. 2*s.* net each) Three more of the beautiful little volumes in this series have been issued. The editor himself, the Rev. John Adams, has a congenial theme in 'The Man among the Myrtles.' It is a study of the visions in the earlier chapters

of Zechariah, in which, as will be expected, good use is made of Hebrew syntax and figures of speech. In 'Jehovah-Jesus' Dr. Whitelaw identifies Christ with Jehovah, and brings Him into relation with men in regard to their weaknesses and needs. Mr. Marjoribanks gathers together under the title of 'The Sevenfold "I am"' several addresses on our Saviour's assertions about Himself, and elicits the blessings and duties involved. Good indexes with suggestions for further reading are a feature of this attractive series.

Messrs. Eaton and Mains send us some volumes of great interest. —*A Man's Religion* (50 cents net) is a set of fourteen letters by Bishop W. F. McDowell on Religion and the beliefs and the relations of the religious man to Society. The letter on 'A Modern Man's Modern Bible' is timely and forcible. 'Into the Bible life has gone the life of men and women, the life of God Himself, the life of Jesus Christ above all.' This is a really helpful book, full of grace and wisdom. *The Homing Instinct*, by F. C. Baldwin (50 cents net), is a little book on Immortality as the Homeward instinct of the human soul reflected from the Old Testament and assured in the New. It is suggestive, and will strengthen the faith of many. *The Heart of Prayer*, by C. W. McCormick (25 cents net), seeks to show that petition and faith are both rooted in a harmonious relation subsisting between man and God which it is the primary function of prayer 'to create and conserve, and that both through prayer are capable of infinite progress and results.' The main idea is that there is no limit 'to the power of prayer which has its inspiration and roots in the will of God and the consent of His Child.' *The Most Beautiful Book ever Written* (75 cents net) is the story of St. Luke and his Gospel. Prof. D. A. Hayes weaves a biography of the Evangelist from the New Testament and from tradition, and sets forth the beauties of the Gospel in a way that will send readers to it with new zest. It is a charming volume. *Religion and Life*, by Thomas Cuming Hall (75 cents net), seeks to show the importance and dignity of the religious claim, and to demand for it the attention its past history and present power deserves. It is a book for thinkers, which shows that faith interpenetrates all life. Those who turn from the subject miss the clue to man's deepest psychology and the key to the mystery of life and death. It is an aid to faith to read these pages. *Rudolf Eucken's Message to our Age*, by Henry C. Sheldon (85 cents net), is a clear exposition well supported by extracts from Prof. Eucken's works. Dr. Sheldon recognizes the substantial service done by the philosopher in emphasizing the fact that religion is indispensable to depth and fullness of life, but points out how his view of Christianity comes short of the teaching of the new Testament.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVEL

Greek Divination. By W. R. Halliday. (Macmillan & Co. 5*s.* net.)

In this admirable and compact little volume the author embodies the results of his study in a subject of perpetual fascination. He has read widely in the literature of ethnology, and has mastered the leading authorities not only on Greek religion, but on the divinatory methods and rites of other peoples. He is thus well equipped to determine the relation of Hellenic practices and beliefs to those of non-classical nations. There are carefully written chapters, illuminated by apt quotations and analogies, on magic, ritual, the mantis, omens, kleromancy, augury and kindred matters; enabling the student to explain many an obscure allusion in Greek literature and saving him hours of tedious research. The width of the author's comparative knowledge, and his gift of illustration from the customs and literature of so many lands, lend much value to his book, which in point of scholarship is not unworthy to be placed among the works that have recently been published by the brilliant group of Oxford anthropologists. He does not favour the theory of borrowing or transplantation to account for the similarities between the practices of different nations, except in the clear case of astrology, which came to Greece from the East. There are universal influences at work which explain the development—and the independent development—of divinatory methods and sub-rites among tribes and nations. Divination is the most inveterate of superstitions, because it is based on a natural anxiety which is inherent in the human consciousness. 'Man endeavours to wrest at any cost the maximum of information to guide him through the darkness that lies before him and is inevitably to be traversed.' As a science of the future, its history is a pathetic comment on human nature, too prone to credulity in its eagerness to win the secrets of the unseen.

The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal. By Herbert B. Workman, M.A., D.Lit. (Charles H. Kelly. 5*s.* net.)

We know of no book which covers the ground of Dr. Workman's latest study. He disclaims the attempt to write a history of Monasticism—an almost hopeless task: but while limiting himself to the history of the monastic ideal, he has not produced a series of wide generalizations unclothed and bare; on the contrary, the charm and interest of his latest book consists in no small degree of the detail, the illustrations, the quotations, the pen-and-ink sketches, however slight, of individuals and scenes, with which he has adorned his treatment of a great theme. The book may be regarded as a sequel to his *Persecution in the Early Church*; one

of the sub-titles, 'a Second Chapter in the History of Christian Renunciation,' indicates the close relationship with the former volume. He carries the story of self-renunciation to the Coming of the Friars, and when we receive a promised third volume, dealing with the record of decay and death, the dissolution of the monasteries and the destruction of the monastic system, the student will have at his disposal a fairly complete history of the Christian community in its varied efforts to realize and develop its spiritual life—a history which constitutes a fresh contribution to the subject, not a skilful compilation of other people's work, but an independent inquiry based on original research and conducted on scientific lines.

But Dr. Workman, though a scientific historian who believes in footnotes and an apparatus of erudite authorities, combines with his mastery of available sources what is not always a concomitant of learned history, a pleasing gift of style of which the occasional mannerisms do not destroy the general fascination and what we may call without exaggeration the ravishing interest of his treatment. This is not the place for a detailed criticism with regard to the numerous difficult and obscure questions which have to be faced by the historian of monasticism: upon these only an expert in full possession of the data can confidently pronounce judgement. We merely record our opinion of the care and thoroughness with which the author has done his work. We commend the results of his study to the general reader as well as to the student. There are surely hundreds to whom a book like this will supply a real want, and who will learn from it first of all how monasticism was originally an independent development external to the Catholic Church; how 'monachism,' the life of the solitary hermit, merged into coenobitism, the life of a spiritual community under the domination of a *Rule;* how such an organization, excellent in principle, inevitably resulted in luxury and wealth and evils which monasticism had set out to subdue; and how from the ruins of the old ideal there arose a new ideal, with the coming of the Friars under the inspiration of St. Dominic and St. Francis. Many have longed for a competent, yet interesting, study of this wonderful story: and Dr. Workman has supplied the need.

Augustine the Missionary. By Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S. (Murray. 12*s.* net.)

Augustine the Missionary is a companion volume to the same author's excellent *St. Gregory the Great.* The valuable qualities of the earlier volume are preserved in that now under review. The extended Introduction, dealing with the sources and authorities, will prove invaluable to the serious student, but there is no Index and no adequate Table of Contents. The title hardly does justice to the very wide field covered by the volume itself. This is indeed a biography of Augustine, but it is a great deal more; and, on the whole, the chapters devoted to the first Archbishop of Canterbury are perhaps the least interesting in the book. Any flagging of interest in his treatment of Augustine is not to be set

down to lack of information or literary skill, but rather to the fact that Augustine was in himself a singularly uninteresting personage. A narrow, pedantic, convent-bred man; often quite childish in the questions with which he was for ever pestering the Pope; arrogant, tactless, and unsympathetic; absorbed in petty details; and apparently destitute of any broader vision, and of any adequate conception of the grander and more spiritual possibilities of his mission—Augustine was a man about whom it is impossible for either writer or reader to become enthusiastic. Not unfairly did Mr. Haddan liken him to an awkward schoolboy with difficulty constrained to acquit himself properly as prefect or monitor. Augustine came, and went—leaving no great influence behind him at his going; and not from him, but from the greater Theodore of Tarsus does the Anglican succession really spring.

Apart from Augustine, Sir Henry Howorth's volume contains much matter of first-rate interest. Very interesting sidelights are thrown from time to time upon contemporary Papal History; the rise of Islam and its bearing upon the Papacy; and divers points of ecclesiastical archaeology. Three valuable Appendixes treat of the bubonic plague in the sixth and seventh centuries; Pope Honorius and the Monothelites; and the Popes and their Nuncios at Constantinople—all important topics, two of which at any rate it is not altogether easy to get much information about. The volume is enriched by a number of fine plates, which add not a little to its interest. In the preparation of the work no pains in research have been spared, and the writer has given us the fruit of his labours in a most attractive form.

Letters of Lord Acton to Mary, Daughter of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. With an Introductory Memoir by Herbert Paul. (Macmillan & Co. 10*s*. net.)

When these letters first appeared in 1904, Mrs. Drew stated in her preface that 'after 1885 Lord Acton touched upon questions which are still matters of controversy, and therefore the selection closes with that year.' The later correspondence, which fills nearly thirty pages, has now been added by the wish of the present Lord Acton. It closes with a letter from Birnam dated February 25, 1901. There are a few strictures on men and measures which show how keen a critic the great scholar was. He writes in 1886, 'The concentration of everything in your father's hands is appalling, because one cannot see what the future is to be like. His old weakness—the want of an heir—is very serious now.' He had a welcome opportunity in 1887 'of getting the measure of John Morley.' An interesting letter, written three months after Mr. Gladstone's death, discusses the question of his biographer. Morley, Trevelyan, and Bryce are the three men that he thinks would do the work admirably. 'Morley is one who knew him best, and had most of his confidence, both as to men and things.' The volume is so frank and so intimate that it will never lose its value. Opinions will differ as to many questions debated here, but the vivacity and outspokenness have a charm of their

own and make this one of our most valuable volumes of contemporary letters.

History of the Basuto: Ancient and Modern. Compiled by D. J. Ellenberger, V.D.M., and written in English by J. C. Macgregor. (Caxton Publishing Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume has been prepared on behalf of the Government of Basutoland by Mr. Ellenberger, of the Paris Evangelical Society, which has carried on work in the country since 1833. The author has been a missionary among the Basutos for forty-five years, and has gathered much information from the natives as to their early tribal history. He thinks the Bushmen of South Africa are descended from the Canaanites of Mount Seir whom Esau drove out about 1700 B.C. They are perhaps the smallest men in the world, their usual height being about four feet. They are described as cunning and vindictive, great liars, yet hospitable and generous. Many interesting particulars as to their manner of life are to be found in the first chapter. The origin of the Basuto and their ancient history are traced in a way that will lay all students of the subject under a deep debt to Mr. Ellenberger. The early work of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society is described, and full information is given as to the witch-doctors, rain-makers, sacrifices and customs of the people. This part of the volume is of unusual interest. Some proverbs are worth quoting. 'Manners come from the great house and pass to the little one'; 'Death is at the end of one's mantle'; 'The Court lends itself to no man'; 'A man's heart is his enemy.' Here are two riddles: 'Who is the warrior who overcomes trees? The axe. Who is the warrior who carries spears day and night? The porcupine.' This standard book will have to be consulted by all folklorists.

Dante and Aquinas. By Philip H. Wicksteed. (Dent & Sons. 6*s.* net.)

Mr. Wicksteed has here recast the Jowett Lectures which he delivered at the Passmore Edwards Settlement. His object is to bring out the special significance of Dante's poetry against the background of the received philosophy and theology of his time. To accomplish this he gives a luminous account of the system of Thomas Aquinas, prefaced by a study of the thought of Plato and Aristotle. This includes a general view of Neoplatonism with the relations and reactions between it and Christianity. The first four chapters form a massive framework for the proper subject of the book, the relation of Dante to Aquinas. Dante was already deep in Aquinas when he prepared those provoking analyses of the poems in his *Vita Nuova*. He moved 'in the circle of ideas which Aquinas presents to us in its systematic completeness,' so that the works of the theologian often throw unsuspected light on minute details in the 'Comedy.' But though Dante habitually moved within the circle of scholastic ideas, he did not allow them to fetter his thought. Christian

dogma, on the other hand, was accepted without question, however grievous a strain it put upon his conscience or his affections. Mr. Wicksteed examines the scholastic psychology and doctrine of the soul which forms the background of Dante's representations, and devotes three chapters to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven. Dante's hell is pervaded by a sense of congruousness between the fate of sinners and their choice. In the *Purgatory* the poet 'departs further from the current ecclesiastical tradition, and displays a greater independence than in any other portion of the "Comedy."' The steady trend of his mind was 'in the direction of linking up the secular and temporal order with the spiritual and eternal, and raising it into worthy partnership with it.' The Appendix added to most of the chapters will lead students into many refreshing by-paths. The book is one that every lover of Dante will value very highly.

The Masters of Modern French Criticism. By Irving Babbitt. (Constable & Co. *7s. 6d.* net.)

The Professor of French Literature in Harvard University has here given a critique of the nineteenth-century critics of France, which brings his readers very close to the intellectual centre of the age. The work of each critic is estimated in itself, not merely as part of an intellectual development, and a liberal use of quotation allows the masters to make their own impression. The survey begins with Madame de Staël, who differs from Rousseau in being intellectually as well as emotionally expansive. Her nature was magnificently hospitable. She held that 'each nationality is to be spontaneous and original and self-assertive, and at the same time infinitely open and hospitable to other national originalities.' Joubert was enamoured of perfection. He is a master of ornate conciseness. 'I wait until the drop of light that I need is formed and falls from my pen.' He was not creative, and his reputation rests on a number of pregnant utterances such as 'Heaven is for those who think about it.' Chateaubriand dominates the whole of modern French literature. He posed as a champion of the old order, but did much to help forward 'the main movement of the century in both history and literary criticism from the absolute to the relative.' Sainte-Beuve is the master critic, and to him almost one-fourth of this book is given. He wrote more than fifty volumes, yet repeated himself little and rarely fell below his own best standard. He avoided repeating himself by renewing himself. More and more he is regarded as the universal doctor of the century, who was comparatively free from the illusions of his time, but had its virtues in the fullest measure. We have never seen an estimate of his position and work so illuminating. Scherer's solid merit was discounted with the public by his stoical bleakness and the sheer disillusion it brought, but students continue to consult him and profit by his judgements. The estimates of the work of Taine, Renan, and Brunetière will be read with keen interest. In a concluding chapter Prof. Babbitt seeks to discover the true standard of criticism. By a constant process of clear and hard thinking it must adjust the experience of the past to the changing needs of the present.

The ideal critic 'would need to combine the breadth and versatility and sense of differences of a Sainte-Beuve with the elevation and insight and sense of unity of an Emerson.' He is, in fact, a golden impossibility, though the best critics are always climbing up towards this ideal.

Michael Fairless: Her Life and Writings. By W. Scott Palmer (M. E. Dowson) and A. M. Haggard. With two Portraits. (Duckworth & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

'Michael Fairless' strictly charged her friends not to let her real name be known. But lovers of *The Roadmender* and of *Brother Hilarius* would not be denied, and this little volume tells the touching story. Her elder sister, Mrs. Haggard, is responsible for the brief biography; her friend, Mrs. Dowson, under whose roof she enjoyed all the love of a second home, has told us how the books were written. Margaret Fairless Barber was the youngest of the three daughters of a prosperous solicitor, Mr. Fairless Barber, of Rastrick near Huddersfield. He died when she was twelve, and her mother when she was twenty-two. 'Marjorie' was tall, with a fair complexion, brown hair, and large grey eyes. She was very witty, and a naval officer described her as 'rattling good company.' Philanthropic work engaged her energies until her health broke down. After nearly two years of suffering she died on August 24, 1901, in her thirty-third year. *The Roadmender* was born in the Down country, where her loving friends had taken her with some faint hope of recovery, and appeared first in *The Pilot*. The last chapter was dictated when she was almost blind and speech had become difficult and painful. The little book appeared some months after her death, and is now in its thirty-first edition. It is the story of her soul: she herself seems to breathe as we turn her pages. *Brother Hilarius* has a beauty of its own, and *The Grey Brethren*, a little collection of stories, poems, and sketches which Mrs. Dowson gathered together, has the same artistry. This brief life will stand beside the three volumes and will throw round them a new light. Faith and patience, courage and insight were blended into the noble character which shines out between every line of *The Roadmender*. We should have liked some letters, but we are only too grateful for the revelation of a truly heroic life.

Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet, By Sven Hedin. With 156 Illustrations from Photographs, Water-colour Sketches, and Drawings by the Author, and 4 Maps. Vol. III. (Macmillan & Co. 15*s.* net.)

When Dr. Sven Hedin issued the two fine volumes which we reviewed three years ago he promised a third volume which should include recollections of Japan, Korea, and Manchuria. His diaries, however, proved to be so full of matter that he has had to omit the Far East and to confine himself to those regions visited by no other white traveller. He begins

with the source of the Indus, which he was the first to discover, at the stupendous height of 16,496 ft. above sea-level. 'An Eiffel Tower on the summit of Mont Blanc! Not the eternal river alone, but the whole earth lies at my feet.' He was fortunate enough to enlist the help of a Tibetan monad, from whom he hired eight sheep and bought their small loads of barley. Thus his own 'baggage animals were not overladen, and could now and then get a good feed in a country as bare and naked as immediately after the deluge.' They visited the monastery of Tashigang, where the monks get their living by hiring out a hundred yaks and as many sheep for transport. The two garpuns or viceroys of the country were bound to provide all the parched barley the monks required. They have seen better days when they had means to maintain their buildings, but now the monastery is falling into decay. Dr. Hedin's sketches give a good impression of its size and style. He camped for a day at Chushul, where twelve village beauties, dressed in green and red sheep-skins and with ribbons adorned with turquoises streaming down their backs, danced for hours in slow rhythmical time in front of the tents of the expedition. They were not lovely, but made up for it by dirtiness, shyness, and modesty. Dr. Hedin had to omit from his earlier volumes the description of his journey through the Sutlej Valley to Simla. The route is 'one of the most beautiful, wildest, and grandest in the world.' The record of this adventurous journey will be followed with the keenest interest. It is strange how huge areas of Southern Tibet have been closed against European travellers. Five years ago Dr. Hedin managed to force his way into this unknown land. He describes with much interesting detail the journeys of exploration which have touched the margin of the central chains of the Trans-Himalaya and shows how his own caravan moved slowly and cautiously along the steep precipices of the Sutlej. Sometimes a single false step would have hurled them to the depths. The crossing of the river near Poo, where the great cantilever bridge had collapsed, was an exciting experience. The Sutlej was a gigantic boiling cauldron, and to cross it dangling from a wire cable was no trifle. One of the men 'rolled himself up like a hedgehog' and wept bitterly. All got over safely, but the process occupied five hours. Two years in the highly rarefied air, 16,000 to 19,000 ft. above sea-level, is about as much as a European can bear. Dr. Hedin was glad indeed to get back to India and to enjoy the hospitality of the Viceregal Lodge. The story is told with a simplicity which is very attractive, and all the wonders of the strange world Dr. Hedin traversed seem to be brought out in his graphic descriptions and his fine photographs and sketches. It is a book of altogether unique interest.

Wayfaring in France from Auvergne to the Bay of Biscay. By Edward H. Barker. (Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Barker wrote three volumes about his wanderings in France which were published by Bentleys more than twenty years ago. He has now

selected a portion from each of those volumes with some re-arrangement and retouches suggested by later experience. All that related to the stony wastes and savage gorges of the Dordogne, where he wandered for three consecutive years, living on the scant fare of the people and coming into close touch with their daily life, is included, and his travels in the valley of the Garonne and through the vast pine forests of the Landes to Biarritz are duly recorded. He walked all over the Dordogne country which is steeped in vivid traditions of the times of the English. The contrast of those 'ages of faith, of violence, of poetry and romance' was borne in upon him as he studied the past in the living present. The English laid siege to Roc-Amadour in 1568, but one day convinced the townsmen that they could not hope to hold out. They solemnly swore to be 'good English' ever afterwards and sent fifty mules laden with provisions to accompany the English army on its march for fifteen days. Dress and customs are little changed since those times. Once every year all the animals at Roc-Amadour receive the benediction of the Church. They are sprinkled with holy water and prayed over. In September there is an eight days' pilgrimage which carries one back five or eight centuries. The pilgrims hold their rosaries in their hands, which are full of baskets and bundles, and climb up to the church of Notre-Dame, making two hundred genuflexions and thronging the confessionals to pour out the story of their sins and get shrived by the priest. Mr. Barker has quick sympathies and keen eyes, and his book is one that carries us into strange scenes. We have spent many a pleasant hour over the first volume, and hope that a new circle of readers will now share those delights. They will not find any record of travel in France more delightful than this.

Francis Thompson. Par K. Rooker. (Herbert & Daniel. 4*s.* net.) Dr. Rooker is a graduate of Oxford and a doctor of the University of Paris who has been greatly attracted to Francis Thompson. His study is divided into two parts—the Man and the Writer. He has enjoyed the advice of Mr. Wilfrid Meynell in preparing the biographical sketch, and dedicates his work to him as *hommage reconnaissant*. He has not much to add to our knowledge, but he tells the story with both grace and sympathy. In the second part he writes on Thompson's mysticism, his themes, the things which influenced him, the religious poets of the metaphysical school and their influence on him, his style, his metres and his prose. Every position is illustrated from Thompson's writings. It is a very beautiful study, full of insight and warm appreciation. The publication of such a work in French is in itself a proof of the impression that Thompson has made on our generation.

The Gospel According to the Jews and Pagans. By S. E. Stokes. Edited by the Rev. J. O. F. Murray, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) The references to Christianity in Tacitus, Pliny, Lucian of Samosata and the historical setting for the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles to be drawn from Josephus, are here given in the original with a translation and notes. The significance of each passage is well brought out, and a connected narrative is woven together from them. Two references of later

date are put in an Appendix. Mr. Stokes is an American who has given his life to the evangelization of India, and his book was intended for educated Hindus. It has been edited with great care by the Master of Selwyn College, and is a very impressive contribution to the evidence for the historical character of the Gospels.

An Heroic Bishop. The Life-Story of French of Lahore. By Eugene Stock. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* net.) Dr. Stock thinks that writers and orators have somewhat neglected Thomas Valpy French, although very few of the missionary bishops sent out by the Church of England can be compared with him for ripe scholarship, large-heartedness and breadth of view, entire sacrifice of self, and length of service. His Life has been told in two substantial volumes by the Rev. H. A. Birks, but this condensed record will reach a much wider circle. The story is told with warm sympathy and appreciation, and Dr. Stock's wide knowledge of all missionary matters has enabled him to throw many an interesting side-light on the bishop's life in India and the pioneer work in Arabia, for which he laid down his life. French was a saint and a hero, and this little biography will be an inspiration to all who read it.

Messrs. Nelson & Sons have added *The Voyage of the Discovery* to their Shilling (net) Library. The two volumes have more than 950 pages, with eight illustrations and a chart of the Antarctic Ocean. A portrait of Captain Scott forms the frontispiece and helps one to understand the thought for others and the devotion to his work which bound the expedition into a happy brotherhood. The pages given to the dogs are intensely interesting, and the Appendix, by Dr. Wilson, on Antarctic Fauna is delightful reading. The whole record makes one proud of his race, and every Englishman ought to read or re-read it in preparation for the tragic narrative which is to follow. To provide such a book for two shillings with good paper, bold type, and neat blue cloth covers is a public benefit.

Two hundred out of the two hundred and fifty pages of the fifth volume of *Wesley's Veterans* in the *Finsbury Library* (C. H. Kelly, 1*s.* net), are devoted to Thomas Walsh, the learned, fervid, saintly Irish Methodist apostle and evangelist, 'Wesley's Typical Helper,' according to Richard Green; 'that wonderful man' who, as John Fletcher said, 'In the short space of nine years, from nineteen to twenty-eight, ran a race of piety and ministerial labour which shames ninety-nine out of a hundred of Christ's ministers.' This precious memoir, largely autobiographical, which we have read once more with thrilling interest, will be found of exceptional value to the student of mysticism and of the psychology of religion. The brief memoirs of John Furz, Robert Wilkinson and John Mason, and the illustrative notes by the Connexional Editor throughout the volume, complete an issue that will rank amongst the most acceptable of this popular and timely series of biographies.

County Churches, Cumberland and Westmorland. By J. Charles Cox, LL.D., F.S.A. (Allen & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) It will astonish some readers to find how much there is of interest in the churches of these two

counties. Dr. Cox's Introduction takes us back to the days of St. Ninian, St. Kentigern, and St. Bridget. Bassenthwaite really belongs to St. Bega, who is said to have founded the priory of St. Bees about 650. Cumberland holds the first place among English counties for the multiplicity, size, beauty, and infinite variety of its intricately carved early crosses, and other sculptured stones, and the most important of these are noticed under the respective churches. Dr. Cox says that in Westmorland there are at least thirty old churches which will repay investigation, and in Cumberland not less than seventy. Roman material may be found in various Norman churches; the old fonts are of distinct interest, notably that of Bridekirk, with its elaborate carving and inscription in runes. It belongs to the thirteenth century. Descriptions of the churches are given in alphabetical order, and space has been found to include the religious houses. Many fine illustrations add much to the value of a delightful little volume.

Sketches in Western Canada. By the Right Rev. Bishop Ingham and the Rev. C. L. Burrows. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* 6*d.*) This record of a visit in connexion with the 'Mission of Help,' gives some impressions of life in Canada which will be welcomed by all who have friends in the Dominion or are preparing to go there. There is a very frank chapter by a Canadian on the Church of England and her work. It is a readable and instructive little book.

David Livingstone as Bible Christian. By Jane T. Stoddart. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*d.*) A bright account of the great explorer whose character was formed and whose zeal for Africa was inspired by the Bible. Miss Stoddart has written a little book which it is a joy to read.

Princess Ælfrida's Charity, Part IV. By Henry Lansdell, D.D. (Blackheath: Burnside. 6*d.*) This covers the history of Morden College from 1712 to 1892. The story of George Pattrick, LL.B., the 'Methodist Chaplin,' whose zeal led to his dismissal by the trustees is of special interest.

Radiant Christianity as Illustrated in the Life-Story of Henry Drummond. By Albert H. Walker, B.A. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.) Mr. Walker feels that Drummond 'won a victory all along the line for a happy, rapturous, dynamic Christianity.' He recalls the chief events of his life as the apostle of young men, and gives a clear estimate of his work and his influence. He always spoke as a religious scientist, and met the need of the time for an evangelical and evangelistic scientist. The little book is a whole-hearted tribute to a man whose memory will always be precious. It will give young readers a very happy idea of religion.

GENERAL

The People's Medical Guide. By John Grimshaw, M.D. (Churchill. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THE best way to prevent people from harming themselves and others by crude notions is to supply them with mature ones. That is the aim of this book. It is not written for medical students, though to have read it carefully before commencing his medical course would be of great advantage to a student, giving him that general knowledge of the subject which was obtained in the days of our fathers by apprenticeship.

The volume is a fairly large one of over eight hundred pages. Its author is a highly qualified physician who has the knack of stating simply and clearly what he has to say, and of making his teaching interesting. The range of the book is wide, but the various subjects are treated with sufficient fullness to give an intelligent and well-educated layman all the knowledge required to save him from the rashness and presumption which in this department of life are often so disastrous.

All the ordinary diseases are described, with their symptoms and treatment. Climate in relation to health is discussed; and there is an interesting chapter on microbes and the morbid conditions due to them. In these days, when such a strain falls upon the brain and its extensions, the information given respecting the best way of keeping the mind and nervous system in working order is very valuable. Guardians of the poor and members of committees on public health will find useful material in the chapters on industrial diseases, the conditions of health in various trades, and modern methods of treating consumption whether in sanatoria or at home. The care of the child is a duty of ever-increasing difficulty and importance. This is looked at in all its aspects, and many helpful hints are given on child-training, and on the method of distinguishing naughtiness from certain obscure forms of chronic disease.

There is, of course, no attempt to give a full account of human anatomy and physiology, but the instruction given on these subjects is quite enough to make the teaching of the book on health and disease perfectly intelligible. What is said about quacks and quackery and the composition of much-vaunted quack nostrums ought to result in a much-needed disillusionment: and the dangerous practice of passing prescriptions on to others ought to be for ever checked by the clear showing of this book that the skilled physician does not usually prescribe for a particular disease but for a particular person, and that what may relieve bronchitis or some other disease in one constitutional condition might seriously aggravate or even make it fatal in another. The object of the writer is not to make us independent of the doctor, but to save us from sending for him needlessly, and, when we have sent for him, to give us a more intelligent appreciation of the advice he gives and the treatment he administers. The book is, as

the preface states, 'a sound and reliable, up-to-date and attractive *résumé* of medical and surgical practice such as might interest and benefit the public.'

The Georgics of Virgil, in English Verse. By A. S. Way, D.Lit. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This attractive volume contains a Latin text and an English verse translation on opposite pages. The text alone is worth the price of the volume, being a collation of Conington's and the Pitt Press edition. The rendering is a line-for-line one and in the same metre as the original, but with a curious truncated foot at the close of the line, which almost suggests the final foot of a pentameter. Take, for example, the famous lines beginning *o fortunatos nimium* in the second book—

> Ah, knew they their happiness, all too favoured the yeomen are,
> They for whom earth most righteous, from clash of arms afar,
> From the soil doth outlavish ungrudged for all life's needs of her store!
> What though no stately mansion through lordly portals pour
> Morning by morning a sea of clients from court and hall
> Nor with parted lips on the cloudy shell upon doorposts tall
> Men gaze . . . ?

The third line is not particularly happy: but the whole is a fair specimen of the metre adopted, rhymed and usually with a monosyllabic finish, expressive of the farmer's practical, bucolic speech, not too ornate and very much to the point! It is an interesting experiment, and Dr. Way, who is a past-master of verse translations of the classics, deserves our gratitude for striking out a new departure in the metre of his rendering of an immortal poem—always a favourite of the nature-lover, who finds in it not only 'the rich Virgilian rustic measure,' but the serenity of the simple life, the primitive traditions and methods of the most primitive of callings, and above all, the many-coloured charm of the Italian landscape.

Poems of Love and Earth. By John Drinkwater. (David Nutt. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Drinkwater's work is eagerly read by lovers of true poetry, and this little volume will not disappoint his admirers. It is full of felicitous touches, and it has thought as well as finish. We are often left with a touch of wonder and a lifting of the heart which bears witness to the power and beauty of the verse. The dedication is a brief rehearsal of the delights that are to come. 'Vigil' has a double note. The poet watches the ships sailing forth. None comes home to him—

> Yet as I watch them on the sea
> All ships are piloted by me.

The grave tones are touched in 'Wed' and 'Uncrowned,' but by and by we get 'The Vagabond' with his joy in nature—

I thank the Lord I'm a rolling stone
With never a care to carry,

and the 'News of the Fleet' with its glimpses of Armada times. The Elegy on Florence Nightingale has only three verses, but they are worthy of their theme.

Sweet lady of the healing hands, go down
To laurelled peace from days that knew no dread,
Your meed on earth love-sentinelled renown,
Elsewhere communion with the ageless dead.

Every piece has its own charm. It is a little book of treasures, and the last verse has a fine message—

With coloured threads of laughter and of tears
They wove a pattern on the crowded years,
And wove aright, and we are weaving still
From dawn to dusk—God grant we weave not ill.

The Revolt of the Birds. By G. Edward Young. (Charles H. Kelly. Price 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Young's song-drama for children is a pretty idea effectively executed. It is a short play in two acts conceived in the interest of children, birds, and the law of kindness. The birds meet in the woods and state their grievances against their enemies, destroyers of their nests, robbers of their eggs, and wearers of their plumage: their leader is a blackbird who comes to an untimely end, and he is succeeded in the office by the thrush. The various characteristics of the robin, wren, tit, yellow-hammer and others are happily hit off. How the drastic retaliation suggested by the vengeful owl is superseded by the 'more excellent way' advised by the nightingale, and ends in the triumph of love, the reader must discover for himself. Among the other dramatis personae are the ghost of the slaughtered Egret, Fairies and their queen, a symbolical figure called 'Love,' who is duly crowned by three boys and three girls, also persons of the drama. The songs and choruses are spirited lyrics, and Mr. Young's little play should give immense pleasure to those who take part in it, and to the audience who witness it, while its moral is both useful and admirable. The illustrations, by artists whose names are not given, add much to the attractiveness of the volume.

Georgian Poetry, 1911–1912 (8*s.* 6*d.* net), bears the imprint of *The Poetry Bookshop* and in six months has reached a fifth edition. It was issued in the belief that English poetry is now once again putting on a new strength and beauty and that belief has been abundantly justified by the sale of the volume. It is an anthology drawn entirely from the publications of the past two years, and is fittingly dedicated to Robert Bridges. Seventeen poets have been laid under contribution by the editor, Mr. E. Marsh. Gilbert K. Chesterton is represented by one piece which has some striking touches. As Elf the minstrel stirred his harpstrings—

The heart of each man moved in him
Like a babe buried alive.

The sorrows of Balder filled his song—

> Till the world was like a sea of tears
> And every soul a wave.

William H. Davies has a delightful little lay to 'The Kingfisher.' 'The Fires of God' by John Drinkwater will stir the flame in many a breast, and John Masefield's 'Biography' is full of life and force. James Elroy Flecker has a lighter touch. Rupert Brooke makes us all want to be in 'The Vicarage at Grantchester.' The new poetry judged by this anthology is serious and devout, yet with a full-orbed enjoyment of nature, love, and fellowship. The first number of *Poetry and Drama*, the quarterly edited by Harold Monro (*2s. 6d* net) is also published from *The Poetry Bookshop*. It is very attractive in its brown covers and rough paper, and its articles and critiques will ensure it a warm welcome from lovers of poetry. This number contains a *Note on John Webster*, a somewhat satirical paper *Ella Wheeler Wilcox*, by Edward Thomas, a study of *The Greek Genius* and other treasure.

Poems, by Alice Maynell (Burns & Oates, *5s.* net), includes her very early verse, the *Later Poems* issued in 1901, and others since issued and now collected for the first time. Lovers of Francis Thompson will be glad to see the portrait of the woman to whom he owed so large a debt, and will understand how her own gift as a poet blended with his. 'Two Boyhoods' describes Dante's love for Beatrice and Wordsworth's love of nature as 'these two high childhoods in the heart of man.' The 'In Memoriam of J. H. the Manchester Square Crossing-sweeper' describes him as—

> One-handed, twisted, dwarfed, scanted of breath,
> Although his hair was young.

But like the winter vines of France with their gnarled and blackened stems he too is to have his transformation—

> Great green and golden hands of leaves ere long
> Shall proffer clusters in that vineyard wide.
> And oh! his might, his sweet, his wine, his song,
> His stature, since he died!

There is real craftsmanship and ennobling thought in this volume.

Bohn's Popular Library, of which Messrs. George Bell & Sons have just issued the first twenty volumes at a shilling net, is one of the most useful and attractive on the market. The handy foolscap octavo volumes are strongly bound in dark red cloth with neat end-papers and an effectively designed title-page. The type and paper are good, and introductions and notes by expert hands add materially to the value of the books. The first volume is *Gulliver's Travels*, with a frontispiece portrait of Captain Leonard Gulliver of Redriff. It is edited with a model introduction and notes by G. R. Dennis, and was first published in 1899 as vol. 8 of the Prose Works of Swift. Motley's *Dutch Republic* is in three volumes—a most convenient edition of a classic with a biographical introduction by Moncure D. Conway. Two volumes are given to Emerson's *Essays*, *Representative Men*, *English*

Traits, Nature, and *Conduct of Life.* Burton's *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* has a frontispiece portrait, illustrations in the text and an Introduction by Stanley Lane-Poole. It 'records the most famous adventure of one of the boldest explorers' of the nineteenth century. The *Essays of Elia, and Eliana,* with a biographical essay, will delight lovers of Charles Lamb. Fiction is represented by Fielding's first novel, *Joseph Andrews; Evelina* by Fanny Burney, with Introduction and Notes by Annie Raine Ellis; *Don Quixote,* in two volumes, with Memoir and Notes by John Gibson Lockhart; and *An Egyptian Princess,* by George Ebers. Calverley's translation of the *Idylls of Theocritus and the Eclogues of Virgil,* with an Introduction by R. Y. Tyrrell, is a treasure indeed. The set includes Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection;* Goethe's *Poetry and Truth,* with Introduction and Bibliography by Dr. Breul; George Hooper's *Waterloo;* and Arthur Young's famous *Travels in France,* edited by Miss Betham Edwards. The Bohn volumes were once considered marvels of cheapness at three shillings and sixpence, and at a shilling they ought to have a very large circulation. We are glad to find that Bohn's Library, which Carlyle called 'the usefullest thing I know,' is thus renewing its youth.

Mr. B. T. Batsford has struck out a new idea in his *Fellowship Books,* (2*s.* net), which seek to increase the common enjoyment of nature, poetry, and art. They appeal to all who care for literature or are interested in life. The happy idea of the series was the publisher's, and in Mrs. Arthur Stratton he has found an editor in close sympathy with his ideals. The first six volumes have been put into skilled and sympathetic hands. Mr. Clifford Bax writes charmingly on *Friendship.* He thinks that 'not until we are certain of our immortality can another great epoch begin.' To him 'religion is the great romance of the earth.' The book puts a halo round true friendship. *Divine Discontent,* by James Guthrie, is a study of that 'critical attitude of the soul towards mortal circumstance and the changes which life effects in the fibre of man's consciousness.' Such discontent is 'a plain hint of God actively implanted in the flesh.' The book will stir many a mind and heart. Mr. Cannan, in *The Joy of the Theatre,* thinks it will 'soon be possible to create a drama and a theatre worthy of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Congreve, and Sheridan, 'which shall give back to the world the joy from which it has long turned away. Opinion may be divided as to this matter, but Mr. Cannan puts his case well. Mrs. Rhys has a good subject, *The Quest of the Ideal,* and her treatment of it is fresh and stimulating. The section on 'The Beautiful Way' of doing the smallest things is a gem. *Springtime,* by C. J. Tait, blossoms out into some delicious verse, and is full of hope in 'the continuity of that unfaltering onwardness that has never left the world.' In *The Country,* Edward Thomas has caught the mantle of Richard Jefferies and sends us out to find rest and peace after the burden of towns. The deep blue cloth covers with gilt design and the thick paper and bold type make these volumes as attractive in format as they are in subject and style. No lover of graceful and beautiful books will allow them to escape his notice.

The Nation's Library is a proud title for Messrs. Collins's new series,

(1*s.* net), but the first six volumes abundantly justify it, and the list of those that are to follow shows that here we have 'the book of the moment by the man of the moment.' It helps a reader to face the important subjects thus handled to have a frontispiece portrait of the author who is to be his guide and teacher. Bold type and good paper add much to the pleasure of the reader, and the crimson cloth covers are very attractive. Mr. W. V. Osborne writes with authority on *Sane Trade Unionism*. He holds that trade unionism must be ready for all emergencies by reforming itself, 'so that it may be free from the tyranny and corruption slowly creeping into it.' *Industrial Germany*, by W. H. Dawson, is a view of our great trade rival which will wake up manufacturers and workmen. It is a stimulating book indeed. *Small Holdings*, by James Long, represents thirty years' practical study. He feels that success depends chiefly upon the occupier. Good soil, climate, liberality in manuring, all have their value, but 'it is brains that tell in the end.' *Eugenics*, by Edgar Schuster, is a book of living interest. It reviews the work of Galton and Mendel, and makes some suggestions for a practical policy. Dr. Thisleton Marks deals with *Modern Views of Education* in a most instructive fashion. 'The Educational Ladder,' 'School Curricula,' 'The Montessori Spirit' are some of the subjects treated in this illuminating survey. *Socialism and Syndicalism* is by Philip Snowden, M.P. who claims that the man and woman with brains will find a far better opportunity to use them under Socialism. He knows his own mind and writes with force and earnestness.

Open Sesame (Murray. 6*s.*), will add to the reputation which Mr. B. Paul Neuman gained by *Roddles*. Every member of the Gaye household interests us, but the mother and the two sisters are the chief figures. Mr. Gaye is not a success as a financial agent, but his wife, who had been a shop-girl, has a genius for business, and she saves their fortunes by entering into partnership as a milliner with two old friends. Her eldest daughter, who makes a happy marriage but dies early, is the saint of the household, and the love between her and her younger sister, Redelpha, is quite idyllic. Alphonse, the baby of the house, is a strange study, and so is Redelpha's first suitor, William Porteus, with his oracular addresses and his gift of healing. His pitiful collapse and death sets Redelpha free to marry a man who is really worthy of her. The interest of the story never flags, and Mrs. Gaye and Redelpha are figures that do not easily fade from memory.

A Soul in Shadow. By Elsé Carrier (Long. 6*s.*) Sir Philip Gray comes unexpectedly into the family estates and marries a charming American heiress, but he had concealed from her the fact of an earlier marriage, though he knew that his first wife was dead. His twin brother, who is his evil genius, and an unscrupulous woman who pretends to be the dead wife, destroy Philip's peace. He fancies that he has committed bigamy, wrecks his happiness and throws his brother-in-law into a cavern. It is a woful wreck, but Miss Carrier builds all up again with rare skill. The brother-in-law is rescued, the brother's plot is unmasked, the peace of the home is restored, and Lady Gray's delightful sister finds a true lover.

There is much thrilling incident and a happy ending. What more can any reader ask?

Other Lords. A Tale of Two Continents, by John Williams (Kelly, 3*s.* 6*d.*), is the story of an unsatisfactory lover who is changed into a noble man and wins the lady he had set his heart on. The girl preacher had learned to love James Harding before she discovered that he was no fitting husband. She has a hard fight with herself, but wins the victory. Meanwhile the West Coast of Africa has helped to transform Harding. He becomes the missionary's companion and helper, and returns to England to find Maggie still faithful. It is a sweet and gracious story, with a lesson which is worth learning.

Felix Holt has just been added to the *World's Classics* (Frowde, 1*s.* net), with a suggestive critical introduction by Viola Meynell. It is an attractive edition. A Volume of *English Poems*, by John Milton, in the same series, is a bargain indeed. 496 pages of Milton in a neat cloth cover, with a portrait, for a single shilling. Dean Beeching's edition has been followed.

The Fire of Heaven. By Rosalind Denis-Browne. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

A first novel if good, like this, possesses a particular charm, which its successors can rarely recapture. And when written by an Irish author, it has an inimitable and elusive grace of its own. There are no striking incidents or startling events in *The Fire of Heaven*, and perhaps, with the exception of the heroine, the characters are more or less commonplace, yet Miss Denis-Browne has transformed and glorified them all. The book abounds in subtle touches of humour. It is bright, clean, clever, with an ever-increasing interest as it comes near the inevitable. Avoiding all cheap sensation, the action steadily and strongly develops the different characters as they work out their respective destinies.

The Odd Farmhouse. By the Odd Farmwife. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s.*)

The American lady who writes this delicious record had the good luck to find an old farmhouse with fourteen rooms and an acre of garden, well away from the roar of London, for a rent of less than forty pounds, including rates and taxes. She and her husband lived an ideal life, making friends with the vicar and his wife, cultivating friendly relations with the cottagers, and rejoicing in their garden and in the village cricket team, of which the husband became captain. The flowers and birds give the chief charm to the book, which is delightful reading, unconventional, piquant, good-natured. At one point the moral tone might be higher, but the book throbs with life and spirit.

British Woodland Trees. By Francis George Heath. (Charles H. Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Thirty-five years ago Mr. Heath brought out an expensive work on *Our Woodland Trees* which has long been out of print. He has here omitted the 'woodland rambles' and descriptions of 'trees at home' and has given us the part on the seed, the growth, structure, development, &c., of the tree. This is followed by descriptions, extending from two to fourteen pages, of sixty-one British woodland trees. Mr. Heath is master of his subject, and he never allows his reader's interest to flag. There is no dull sentence in the book, and any one who studies it will find new delight in every country walk. It is beautifully illustrated with the original pictures, and with eight coloured plates that show the exact outline of the leaves and their exquisite venation. The volume will have a warm welcome from all lovers of trees.

Wild Life for May is given up mainly to the Cuckoo. The best photographic plates hitherto taken of the bird are accompanied by descriptions of the habits of the nestling by expert observers. The result is a set of facts which help a reader to form a good conception of the habits of this most mysterious of birds. The editor thinks that there are different 'sets' of cuckoos that lay eggs of somewhat similar dimensions and confine their attention, generation after generation, to their own variety of foster-parents. The young cuckoo's sides and backs are extraordinarily sensitive for three or four days after it is hatched, so that when touched by the eggs or young of its foster-parent it knows no peace till it has worked them out of the nest. The cuckoo seems to take an egg in its bill and place it in the nest of another bird. Pictures and notes are not merely delightful, but are of real value to ornithologists. The illustrated papers on the mole and the gannet are equally attractive. All lovers and students of nature will want to see *Wild Life* every month.

Songs of the Twelve Hours, by F. Luke Wiseman, B.A. (*The Choir* Office, 2*s.* net.) The musical genius of Mr. Wiseman is by no means the least of his varied gifts. He is equally good at preaching a sermon, captivating a public meeting, preparing a specification for an organ, performing on the same, or (as in this instance) composing music. To him is due much of the success of the musical magazine, *The Choir*, from whose office the work before us is issued. The idea of publishing a selection from Mr. Wiseman's compositions originated with the Rev. W. F. Moulton, M.A., who explains this in a foreword. There are sixteen pieces in the volume, most of them now published for the first time. Among the two or three which have previously appeared is 'None Other Lamb,' which has become so popular through the *Methodist Tune Book*. Mr. Wiseman's music is not catchy, not always easy—indeed, in some parts is difficult; but it grows on one. The melody is always attractive, the harmony often striking. Effective use is made of the minor key; and the directions, if carefully followed by player and singers, will greatly help the effect. The musical setting of Lord Byron's 'The Assyrian came

down like a wolf on the fold' is a really remarkable production; but every piece in the Selection has its merit. Here is no failure. All is well done, and in Methodist homes and churches especially the book should have a decided vogue.

Socialism. By Alfred R. Jones. (Eaton & Mains, 50 cents net.) Mr. Jones begins with Karl Marx and shows how Socialism has grown in the United States during the last twenty years. 'What is Socialism?' makes a good chapter, and the strength and the weakness of Socialism, its problems, its relation to religion and to the liquor traffic are clearly discussed. The last chapter tries to forecast 'the future of Socialism.' 'A sane and righteous socialistic movement in the United States will probably bring about government ownership of the large public utilities, conservation of the public wealth, and the reduction of both dire poverty and fabulous wealth.'

The Making of To-morrow. Interpretations of the World To-day. By Shailer Mathews. (Eaton & Mains, $1 net.) The Dean of the Divinity School of Chicago University was for eight years editor of *The World of To-day*, and the bright little papers here gathered together were written for its columns. His study of the 'incongruously diversified life' of the time deepened 'the conviction that the American public mind is fundamentally moral, and that it is developing a new leadership for our new Democracy.' The papers fall into four groups: 'The Common Lot,' 'The Church and Society,' 'The Stirrings of a Nation's Conscience,' 'The Extension of Democracy.' They are short, terse, and full of insight and practical sagacity.

The Official Year-book of the Church of England, 1913. (S.P.C.K. 8*s.*) This is the thirty-first issue of a handbook that is practically indispensable. It has been compiled with great care and skill, and is packed with information on all Church matters.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1912 (Wellington: Mackay), gives as frontispiece the armorial bearings of the Dominion sanctioned by Royal Warrant in August, 1911. A considerable quantity of new matter has been introduced into this twenty-first annual issue, and the Year Book is complete and reliable in every particular. Two indispensable volumes of statistics are also published dealing with trade, population, production, law and crime, &c.

Chel, by Johanna Spyri (Eaton & Mains, 75 cents net), is a Swiss lad, the terror of the village. The school-mistress wins his confidence, and he becomes a clever painter of flowers. The way that the teacher transforms the village makes a very attractive tale.

Lantern Stories. By Lena L. Fisher. (Eaton & Mains, 50 cents net.) Eight bright missionary stories for small children. They are told with real zest and skill.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (April).—Prof. Royce expounds 'the Christian doctrine of Life' in terms of 'the idea of the community and the idea of atonement.' Both of these are to be interpreted in purely human fashion, implying in the individual practical devotion and absorbing love towards the community, originating 'atoning deeds,' whilst from the community is to come 'the grace that saves and the atonement that, so far as may be, reconciles.' Although these ideals are not yet verifiable, life is still to be lived as if they were, in patient hope of the coming of the Kingdom. A fine speculation—presenting 'Christianity' without Christ! Principal Carpenter sets forth the Buddhist doctrine of salvation, in which the parallels with Christianity are presented out of all proportion to the deep-seated contrasts between the two religions. The sharp contrasts are but slightly indicated in this article, and they alter the whole picture. The editor reprints an able paper read before the Aristotelian Society, entitled *Does Consciousness Evolve?* Prof. Sorley contrasts the philosophy based on religion with that based on physical science, and shows that in the continually recurring conflicts between the two the philosophy of religion, properly so called, must take a leading part. Two articles on Biblical criticism will be found in this number; in one of them Prof. Bacon traces out the history of New Testament criticism during the last century, and in another the Rev. H. Handley shows the relation of Biblical criticism to the work of the pastor.

Journal of Theological Studies (April).—The leading article is by Sir H. Howorth, who claims to prove that the Decretal of Damasus, containing a list of the books of the Bible at that time considered canonical, is not genuine. It happens, by a coincidence, that Prof. v. Dobschütz has been occupied with the same problem. A recent book of his on the Gelasian decree is reviewed in the same number of this Journal by Prof. Burkitt, who declares that the conclusion reached by Dobschütz is proved; viz., that the work in question is 'no genuine decree or letter, either of Damasus or Gelasius, but a pseudonymous literary production of the first half of the sixth century.' Prof. Souter contributes a partial restoration of the text of the Apocalypse used by Tyconius the Donatist about A.D. 370. The only complete texts among the Latin authorities known are those preserved in the commentary of Primasius and the Vulgate. Dr. Souter's article is a careful contribution to the elucidation of a difficult problem. Amongst other articles we are glad to note one by Rev. C. Ryder Smith on *Some Indian Parallels to Hebrew Cult*, suggested by a five years' residence in India; also notes on *Tertullian and the Pliny-Trajan*

Correspondence, The Original Language of the Odes of Solomon, by Dr. Abbott, and *Is Hermes also among the Prophets?* by Mr. C. H. Turner.

The Holborn Review (April) contains an inevitable article on David Livingstone, by Rev. E. W. Smith, a missionary in Rhodesia. Rev. J. Dodd Jackson, in *The Critics Who Matter Most*, points out to the preacher that while he should be ready to learn from all criticism, it is that of the multitude that is most important. Sundara Raja describes the contributions made by Christianity to the cause of Indian Nationalism, in 'helping to uplift a downtrodden, long-suffering people.' Another 'inevitable' article is one on the philosophy of Bergson. The writer hints that Bergson is a philosophical echo of Jesus, but he does not predispose his readers to agree with him by saying that 'We have a presentiment that we have aforetime felt the throb of the heart-pulse of this philosophy!' The Rev. Archibald W. Harrison, B.D., draws a parallel between Methodism and Montanism, in which justice is hardly done to the striking contrasts between the two movements. Mr. Harvey-Jellie writes a discriminating and only too brief paper on Modernism. The review of Current Literature is interesting, as usual.

The Expositor (April–May).—In two somewhat technical articles Dr. Skinner discusses the views of Johannes Dahse on the Divine Name in Genesis. Dr. Garvie, à propos of current discussion on divorce, raises the question 'Did Jesus legislate?' and shows that the Christian ideal can only be gradually reached as the constitution of human society makes it practicable. 'Legislation for the hardness of men's hearts must still be recognized, while its moral imperfection is being urged.' The difficulty, we may add, lies in the practical application of the sound principles laid down by Dr. Garvie. Prof. Bartlet contributes valuable considerations on the 'historic setting' of the Pastoral Epistles. His own theory, which does not postulate a second imprisonment of St. Paul, presents difficulties of its own. Miss Stoddart's article on *Dr. Godet and the Emperor Frederick* will interest all admirers of an exegete who in his own department will not easily be surpassed. Prof. Robert Mackintosh's paper on *The Roots of St. Paul's Doctrine on Sin* deserves study: the subject requires more space than any periodical review can afford. The new Codex 'W' is interestingly described by H. C. Hoskier of New Jersey. The interest attaching to this MS. is naturally great: its ultimate value may not prove to be correspondingly high.

The Expository Times (April–May).—Dr. Iverach's article on the *Interpretation of Religious Experience* is a review of Prof. Watson's Gifford Lectures with the same title. The weakness latent in the Hegelianism of the author is exposed by the critic. Dr. Garvie continues his timely papers on the danger of 'mares' nests' in theology. A sermon by the Rev. F. H. Woods on *The Messianic Interpretation of Prophecy* raises a number of questions on the relation between Christ's teaching and current apocalypses—questions too many and too difficult to be discussed in a sermon. The Rev. C. W. Emmet's paper on *Psychical Research and Biblical Phenomena*

advocates an open mind on the subject of the psychology of hallucination and kindred topics. It is well that the paper should appear side by side with another by Rev. J. Baillie on *Subliminal Consciousness*. Both articles show the need for patient investigation of obscure phenomena, and, without drawing dogmatic conclusions, indicate the spirit in which inquiry should be conducted. Before very long we may perhaps hope for a standard work on the psychology of religion, such as will gather up the results of recent study, clear up many doubtful questions and open the way for a more satisfactory treatment of many vexed questions in theology.

The Quarterly Review (April–June) opens with a series of appreciations of the late Mr. Andrew Lang that will be prized and relished by the innumerable readers of that versatile and ever-genial writer. Mr. R. S. Rait deals with his contributions to history; Mr. Salomon Reinach with his writings on anthropology; Prof. Gilbert Murray has much that is kind to say about him as a scholar; and Mr. J. H. Millar makes a general survey of his multifarious doings as a poet and litterateur. 'He did not always hit the gold in biography,' says Mr. Millar, but in his *Life and Letters of Lockhart*, which he regards as Lang's 'masterpiece,' he 'contrived to write a book which is at once a lively and minute record of an exceptionally prolific and interesting period of English literature, and a striking portrait of an exceptionally noble and gifted man.' This biography, he describes further as 'no unworthy complement of Lockhart's great piece'—the *Life of Scott*. Other articles of note are *The Alban Hills*, by Mr. Thomas Ashby, giving a summary of recent books on the Roman Campagna; *Autolycus' Pack*, by Mr. Arundell Esdaile, on the Ballad Journalism of the sixteenth century; *The Postage Stamp and its History*, by Mr. Bertram T. K. Smith; and several anonymous articles on such subjects as *Sea Fisheries*, *The Battleship and its Satellites*, *University Education in London*, &c. There is also an unsigned article of considerable importance on *The Past and Future of Rural England* which notes with satisfaction the indications of a growing desire that rural problems should be removed from the field of party politics. The article is thoroughly sympathetic towards all likely projects for the amelioration and improvement of the labourer's lot. 'If they should be compelled to organize before those who are poorly paid and ill housed can secure the wages and the dwellings to which skilled and hard-working men are entitled, they may certainly reckon on a considerable measure of popular sympathy. As Mr. Disraeli bluntly told the Bucks Agricultural Association, "an agricultural labourer has as much right to combine for the bettering of his condition as a manufacturing labourer or a worker in metal."'

The principal articles in the **Edinburgh Review** (April–June) are *The Writings of Lord Redesdale*, by Mr. Edmund Gosse—an article of special interest to students of Swinburne; *The Romance of the Sea Deeps*, by Dr. A. E. Shipley; *Octavia Hill and the Housing Problem*, by 'A Fellow Worker'; *An Elizabethan Poet and Modern Poetry*, by Mr. Walter de la Mare, based on the Poems of John Donne and the recent book on *Georgian Poetry*; and an anonymous paper on *Greek Genius and Democracy*. The writer

of this latter paper concludes that 'at Athens, as elsewhere, genius was a solitary and an isolated force.' And he says that 'Athenian life presents to us all the features of a decadent civilization: it is brilliant and artistic, immoral, sceptical on the surface, and yet riddled with superstition. . . . Its failure has a profound significance for us at the present time. It sacrificed for an illusory freedom the splendid destiny which lay before it: its brilliant gifts failed against the disciplined forces of Sparta; and the great achievements of Greek thinkers were diffused through the world by the triumphs of Alexander. For us there is nothing to emulate in the annals of Athenian democracy; its political and religious fanaticism should be as hateful to us as it was to Socrates, to Thucydides, to Plato, to Aristotle, and above all to Xenophon, the truest aristocrat in Athenian life and letters. These men were Athens' sternest critics; and it was because their qualities were lacking in the State as a whole, and neglected by it, that the adventure of Athenian democracy ended in ignominious failure.

In the **Dublin Review** (April–June) there is nothing of outstanding importance, but there are several articles of average interest by well-known Catholic writers. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, the editor, continues his study of Disraeli as depicted in Mr. Monypenny's second volume; comparatively new ground is opened in an attractive paper full of curious and suggestive information on *Epitaphs, Catholic and Catholic-Minded*, by Louise Imogen Guiney; Father Hugh Pope puts in a plea for the revision of the Rheims Version of the New Testament, and includes, in the course of his article a good deal of exegetical and expository material that will be of interest and use to students and to preachers; Sir Bertram Windle discourses learnedly on *Early Man*; and there are articles on *A Successful Catholic Experiment in India*, with reference to the Sialkot district of the province of the Punjab, by Saint Nihal Singh, and on Catholic Emancipation in Ireland, by Canon Barry, based on Lecky's *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland* and Mgr. Ward's *opus magnum, The Eve of Catholic Emancipation*.

In the **Contemporary** for May, Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, M.P., writes hopefully on *Co-Partnership in Land and Housing*, and thinks that the success which has attended the application of the principle (which is expounded and illustrated) to housing in towns might be applied, with modifications, to rural housing. The system as applied by the Rural Co-Partnership Housing and Land Council has, he says, 'far exceeded the hopes of its promoters,' and 'it is now certain that the plan could be successfully applied in every corner of England.' He complains that, in the matter of State grants and the concession of larger loans for longer periods, 'the Levites of the Local Government Board have not only passed by on the other side, but have hampered those who were prepared to give assistance,' and he pleads for a 'more comprehensive and statesmanlike policy.' Dr. Horton's article, in the same number, on *What we are doing in India*, has been widely read and quoted. He pays a fine tribute to the British Raj, praises the enterprise of the missionaries, touches on the subtle charm of the Indian people and on 'the gangrene

of Indian life,' and writes hopefully of the spiritual fusion of East and West. The passage that has excited most interest is this: 'Our mission in India is largely accomplished by the Government of India; efficient, merciful, and essentially Christian. Nor do I think that India would resent it, if the Governors, local and Imperial, were more frank in declaring their own Christianity. In their fear of seeming partial to Christians, they err on the other side, and give to the native Christian Church a feeling that it is outside the consideration of Government. The administration is so essentially Christian, so much the product of Christian ideas and methods, that I think the administrators might, without offence, be Christians too, and fearlessly show it.'

The most topical article in the **May Nineteenth Century and After** is Bishop Welldon's outspoken deliverance on *The Church and the Labour Party*. By the Church, of course, the bishop means the Church of England, but what he says to his Anglican brethren may well be taken to heart by all the churches of the land. 'The Church,' he writes, 'is in her nature the one great popular institution which has always been open to all men on a footing of complete equality, and which has not only inculcated, but exemplified the true equality of opportunity. In her nature she is frankly democratic.' If she is faithful to her genius and mission, she may give the needed inspiration and direction to the various movements of modern society. 'The programme of the Labour Party,' he says, 'will probably not be carried to its just conclusion without the driving power of religious sentiment. . . . If the Labour Party may learn much from the Church, the Church may learn nearly as much from the Labour Party. . . . If it were possible to organize a meeting of either the Southern or Northern Convocation in both its Houses with the Trade Union Congress, the benefit attained by both bodies would be as real as the surprise which each body would experience at the tone and language of the other.'

Church Quarterly (April).—The number opens with a fine critique of *Foundations* by Dr. Headlam. Miss Wordsworth shows how much wiser the papal authorities were in dealing with St. Francis than the Anglican Episcopate was in the time of John Wesley. Mr. Morehouse's account of *Trinity Parish, New York*, is of great interest. It stands at the head of Wall Street, breathing a spirit of religious repose amid all the financial interests that centre there.

The Modern Churchman (April).—The Christian Unity Movement in Canada is referred to sympathetically in the editorial notes, as also is the meeting of some eighty leading Free Churchmen in Melbourne to draw up a scheme of federation with a view to ultimate union. An anonymous *Apology for Modern Churchmen* thinks that 'the theological training of the clergy remains quite inadequate to the new situation, and materialism and superstition and Oriental cults are taking the place of a pure, spiritual, and progressive Christianity.' The Rev. J. M. Thompson sketches *The Ideal English Church*. He thinks that the clue is to be found in trying to understand and to satisfy the needs of the Great Unchurched who are neither irreligious nor un-Christian. He holds that they claim

an intelligibly stated creed, a reasonable worship, uniformity of religious experience, social reform, and democratic self-government.

The International Review of Missions (April).—A missionary on holiday discusses *A Fundamental Problem of Missions*. It is a strong appeal to missionaries for brotherhood with the people among whom they work. Mr. Booker T. Washington writes on *Livingstone and the Negro*. His own task at Tuskegee is that which Livingstone and the earlier missionaries began—the emancipation of the negro. The whole number shows the value of this review for missionary workers.

British Journal of Inebriety (April).—Dr. Mieler's paper on *Psychotherapy and the Inebriate* is of great interest. He is convinced that we could save something like two-thirds of the national waste 'by using the golden opportunity of enforced detention for the vigorous and scientific treatment on psychic lines of the chronic alcoholic.' General and Mrs. Bramwell Booth write on *Alcohol in Relation to the Home*.

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (April).—A question greatly needing careful answer in view of recent discussions is, 'Can a theology which is dependent upon historical facts be an efficient theology?' The writer of the first article in this number, A. W. Vernon of Brookline, answers the question in the affirmative, pointing out that no Christian theology deserves the name that is independent of the historic Jesus. Prof. Hugo Gressman of Berlin discusses at length the sources of Israel's Messianic Hope, and A. V. Jackson of Columbia University describes—perhaps too favourably—the ancient Persian conception of salvation. Prof. J. A. Faulkner of Drew University does his best to vindicate Luther in relation to the bigamy of Philip of Hesse. He has a hard task. We hold that Luther's judgement was a grave mistake, not a moral aberration, but it is not easy to prove such a position to later generations, with their differing conditions and habits of thought. Recent historians have made it possible to discriminate things that differ in relation to this sad business, as well as to approve things that are excellent. Amongst the critical notes, one on the Washington MS. of the Gospels, written by Prof. Goodspeed, gives ample proof of the composite character of its text.

Princeton Theological Review (April).—The distinguishing feature of the number is a monster article of nearly eighty pages by Dr. B. B. Warfield on *The 'Pillar-Passages' of Schmiedel*. The space is well occupied. It may seem somewhat late in the day to be criticizing Schmiedel's *Encyclopaedia Biblica* article, but Dr. Warfield only makes this a text on which he bases most instructive criticism of current critical methods, which are as fashionable in some quarters as they are both fallacious and mischievous. The only other article in this number is one by H. M. Robinson on *David Livingstone*—one of the best among the many that have lately appeared.

Methodist Review (New York) (May-June).—Bishop M'Connell opens the number with an article on the Methodist system and social co-operation. The writer is not a social revolutionist, but he welcomes 'any force which

really works towards bringing men into closer industrial and political and social and religious co-operation.' Prof. J. A. Faulkner, in republishing an address at Drew Seminary on *Luther and the Divinity of Christ*, protests against current attempts to 'Ritschlianize' Luther. A brightly written paper is that on *The Modern Message of Dante* by I. H. Willey. Other articles are *John Wesley and Charterhouse* by Dr. Buttz—now among the veterans of the M. E. Church—and *A New Interpretation of the Book of Job* by Prof. C. M. Cobern. The Notes contain much interesting miscellaneous matter.

Methodist Review (Nashville) (April).—The Editor, Dr. Gross Alexander, opens with a full discussion of the Resurrection of our Lord and the evidence for it as an historic fact. An article *How to make a Preacher and how to Preach* is said to be by the late Dr. Joseph Parker. It consists of notes of Dr. Parker's utterances on this subject given at certain meetings held after the Thursday morning service at the City Temple. The Livingstone article is by H. C. Howard. Rev. H. W. Clark from this side of the Atlantic describes and criticizes Mr. Bernard Shaw's *Doctrine of Life*. Articles interesting to the immediate constituency of the M. E. Church South are *Our Church Name* by Dr. Du Bose and *A Better System of Ministerial Training for the Church* by I. L. Cunningim.

Review and Expositor (Louisville) (April) contains among other articles one entitled *Hebrew, Greek, and Roman*, by Rev. S. Angus, M.A., Edinburgh; *Methods of Healing*, by Carl D. Case, Buffalo; *The Renaissance as Preparation for the Reformation*, by I. E. Hicks, D.D., and *The Kingdom of God*, by Prof. Farmer of Toronto. Expository Notes are added by W. J. M'Glothlin and E. Y. Mullins.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The first place in the April number is given to a thoughtful but brief article on *The Development of the Doctrine of God and Man* by Dr. H. A. Stimson. Modern philosophic thought is appealed to in support of the contention that 'man is not only a creature of God, but, in a far larger sense than the word in its human relations implies, he is a child of God; Divinity is in Him.' Man has a will, and can decide 'whether he will be obedient to the Divine nature that is within him' or not. Dr. A. A. Berle writes on *Christianity and Therapeutics*; he believes that there will be 'a closer alliance between that form of religion which speaks directly to the spiritual experience of man and that which speaks directly to his bodily condition.' Prof. Gabriel Campbell discusses *Philosophical Aspects of Religious Experience*. He finds that 'the secret of our development is practical life. Our doing develops our consciousness, our vision, step by step. Here, then, is the final secret of our religious growth, of our religious felicity.' His belief is that all problems 'are to be solved, are being solved, by working in the higher light faithfully, God working in us, our developing experience bringing the victory.' At the request of the Editor, the Samaritan high-priest at Nablus has written *The Book of Enlightenment*; it has been translated from the Arabic and is printed as 'a succinct statement of the present tenets of the Samaritans, and a fine example of their dialectic.'

Harvard Theological Review.—The April number contains several articles of great interest. Prof. Peabody points out 'the fallacies of literalism' as he demonstrates *The Practicability of the Christian Life*. 'The Gospels are perennially perplexing to the literalist because they say so many different things.' But it is the variations that compel us to penetrate through the occasionalism of the teaching to the principles which these incidental utterances disclose, and to apply to new and unprecedented conditions a teaching which necessarily used the language and met the needs of its own time.' Dr. E. S. Drown answers the question *What is the Supernatural?* by showing that 'the concept to the supernatural lies in the personal interpretation of nature.' The Christian concept of the personal God enables us to see 'in nature the instrument and revelation of creative love,' and it is 'a sounder basis for the love of nature than is the pantheistic identity that loses the very key to nature's deeper interpretation.' Prof. Henry H. Walker, of Chicago, writes on *Christian Experience the Key to Christian History*. 'Theologies may pass away, but theology never. New experiences teach new truths, and old ones are seen in new lights and assume new significance.' Two great tasks belong to the Christian ministry and the Christian Church: 'first of all the creation, afterwards the interpretation, of the primal Christian experience.' In his article on *The Subconscious and Religion* Prof. T. B. Pratt maintains that the truth at the heart of much modern writing on this subject is that our religion goes deeper down into our lives than most things, and is knit up with all that we are. . . . It involves our individual and even our racial history.'

The North American Review for May has a searching criticism of Bergson's philosophy by Prof. C. Delisle Burns. It is not his purpose, he says, to defend real reasoning against Bergson. It is sufficient to say that 'the reasoning he describes is a mere shadow of the process which has built up science and history.' Bergson, he says, has 'taken the scaffolding for the building. He misrepresents reasoning, and then, naturally, condemns it.' The writer then proceeds to criticize the 'intuition' which he exalts in contrast with 'reasoning.' 'What Bergson has given us,' he says, 'in his flux or *elan* is a poetic phrase such as is Shelley's when he calls a lark a "blithe spirit." The lark remains for ornithology a bird, as a world remains for the philosopher a complex of different real things; and, although the value of the metaphor is undeniable, it should not be made the basis for a view of the universe. The poet, with the inspiration of the moment, sees the world in a new and not altogether false light, but it is the light of a mood or of a temperament; it is not the light of universal truth.'

FOREIGN

Theologische Literaturzeitung.—In No. 8 Dr. Loofs of Halle University writes a most appreciative notice of Dr. H. B. Workman's Cambridge Manual on *Methodism*. The reviewer cannot wholly assent to the author's description of his book as 'an inadequate sketch of a great theme.' In

one sense this is true, for 'probably many of its readers will desire more, but can a sketch desire a greater success?' Dr. Loofs recognizes the skill of an expert in the avoidance of wearisome dwelling on trifles. The story is no mere dry chronicle, especial praise being given to the excellent account of the relations of Wesley and his societies to the State Church. By reviewing the works of Methodist authors in this high-class journal Dr. Loofs is dispelling much misunderstanding and removing many prejudices. He speaks with the authority of a Church historian of the first rank and of a scholar who has made a special study of Methodist history and doctrine. In the closing sentences of his article he says: 'Without being a panegyric this little book will fill every intelligent reader with respect for Methodism, which is now probably the strongest of all evangelical Churches. The chapter on Theology and Polity will save its readers from ascribing to Methodism extravagant and yet narrow ideas about "conversion" and "perfect holiness" such as obtained amongst Methodist proselytes and proselytizers in Germany. Theologically-educated Methodism, of which Workman can say that it endeavours "to express itself in more modern language and from the standpoint of a wider and more liberal interpretation of the Scriptures," is, in my opinion, on a higher level as regards its understanding of Christianity than many of our so-called "Church" theologians who look down upon this "sect."'

In No. 10 Prof. Hans Haas of Coburg calls attention to an important work by a German archaeologist, who has been engaged for three years in scientific researches in the province of Shensi, China, under the auspices of the Chicago Field Museum of Natural History. The book is published as Vol. 10 of the Anthropological Series, and is entitled *Jade, a Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*; its author, Herr Berthold Laufer, has collected images and symbols made of jade and found in graves, some dating as far back as the dynasty of Chou (1122–255 B.C.), and some belonging to the dynasty of Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220). In Laufer's opinion his discoveries furnish valuable material for the student of civilization and religious developments in ancient China. 'I do not mean to deal with jade for its own sake, but as a means to a certain end; it merely forms the background, the leading motive, for the exposition of some fundamental ideas of Chinese religious concepts which find their most characteristic expression and illustration in objects of jade. To trace their relation to thought was therefore my chief aim, and hence the result has rather become a contribution to the psychology of the Chinese.' The reviewer says that in this book the stones do, indeed, cry out. As an example of the new light shed upon obscurities, reference is made to a passage in ancient Chinese chronicles. The Emperor Shun is said, after he ascended the throne (2255 B.C.) to have presented offerings to 'six objects of veneration.' Grube, in his *Religion and Culture of the Chinese*, regards the phrase as 'a riddle that will perhaps never be solved.' Laufer has found the solution, for the six objects worthy of veneration are Heaven, Earth, and the four quarters of the heavens. The existence of these jade representations of the six cosmic powers corrects the commonly-held opinion that the ancient Chinese had no religious images. 'A jade disc round and perforated represents

Heaven, a hollow tube surrounded by a cube Earth, a semicircular disc the North, &c.' The images are geometric in shape with the single exception of the West, which is 'worshipped under the image of a tiger, the first and oldest example in China of a personal image of a deity.' Laufer interprets the custom of placing these jade symbols in coffins as signifying belief in a future state of existence in which the same deities would be venerated.

Religion und Geisteskultur.—The April number contains an erudite article by Prof. Nathan Söderblom of Leipzig on *Saviour-types in the History of Religion*. After carefully examining legends of saviour deities and venerated men, Söderblom distinguishes, in the higher religions, the following types: (1) Deities and heroes who, as far as possible, were anthropomorphically represented, but to whom life, as an historical reality, was never ascribed, as e. g., Osiris, Mithra, &c. (2) Men, living or dead, who were deified, although not regarded as incarnations or revelations of any specified deity. In this category are included apotheosized Emperors, benefactors, and saints, Buddha in later Buddhism, and Confucius in the state religion of China. (3) Saviours or redeemers who were objects of adoration because they were held to be manifestations of the one, eternal Deity. The conception of Incarnation is traced to Egypt, but it had greater significance in Hellenism and especially in Christianity. Outside Christendom it was most completely developed and became most influential in the religions of India. Söderblom, however, shows that Schelling and others who identify the Indian and the Christian doctrines of Incarnation overlook differences between Christianity and other religions. (4) These differences are, in the first place, that Jesus is an historic personality, whilst the Indian saviours are myths. Secondly, the importance of the Old Testament revelation of God is pointed out. The prophets dwell on the moral attributes of God and on His manifested nearness alike in the history of His people and in the lives of individuals. 'But which of the prophets would have presumed to call himself God's son, or an incarnation of the Deity?' No prophet would have dared to do such violence to the spirit of the Old Testament as to represent himself as an object of worship; yet Jesus also was a prophet. Hence, thirdly, it is Jesus Himself who compels us to distinguish the Christian Saviour from all other types. To ethical monotheists, who would not tolerate images of the Deity, He proclaimed Himself not only as the prophet of God, but also as the Image of God, and as Saviour and Redeemer. Humanity's search for a hero, and the living God of the prophets meet in Him.'

Theologische Rundschau.—The publishers announce a pamphlet with the attractive and significant title, *The Value of English Culture for Germany's Development*. The aim of its author—Prof. Franz of Tübingen University—is to show that in the finer forms of English culture there are unused treasures which ought to be made more generally accessible to Germans. English should be a compulsory subject in Gymnasia (public schools) throughout the German Empire. A closer and more sympathetic understanding of British history would promote political education, and tend

to produce a higher sense of the worth of personality. Ultimately home politics would benefit by a relaxation of the present internal strain, and foreign politics by a cessation of quarrels and a general *rapprochement*. Prof. Franz says plainly that England must be brought into the sphere of Germany's friendship, and that when this happy consummation is reached Germany will benefit alike in the refinement of its culture and the heightening of its national prestige. It is greatly to be desired that these sentiments may become more widespread than at present is the case, though there are many welcome signs of improvement in the relations between the two peoples.

The **Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques** (April–June) has three long articles of much present-day interest. Prof. Schmidt completes his original and suggestive dissertation on *The Method of Ethnology*, in which he gives cogent reasons for preferring the more difficult method of the historical school to that of the evolutionists. Dr. F. Palhories, of Paris, expounds the 'formula ideale' in the philosophy of Gioberti, and has much to say in praise of the influence of Malebranche on both Gioberti and Rosmini. The article is of considerable value to the students of ontology. Another main article discusses the question of Predestination in Romans viii. 28–30. But perhaps the chief interest of our readers would centre in the splendid *Bulletin de Philosophie*, in which a number of recent books in English, French, and German, dealing with Eucken, James, and Bergson, are summarized with fairness and with skill.

The central article in the **Revue des Deux Mondes** for May 15, is a luminous and suggestive study of *Erasmus*, by M. Imbert de la Tour. He shows how the work of the great humanist, whose aim was to give new grace to the Church of the West, inevitably, though not intentionally, helped the work of the reformer who broke the Church in two. 'The cry of purification, once raised, could not be confined to textual criticism,' and both Luther and Erasmus were carried further than they meant to go. The article is full of learning, but, throughout, the writer keeps steadily before him the dramatic interest of his central theme—the working alliance, in spite of themselves, of Erasmus and Luther. Among the literary articles there is an enthusiastic defence of Dickens by M. de Wyzewa. Taking as his text Swinburne's appreciation of the English humorist, this great French critic sets himself politely to admonish and chastise the present-day detractors of Dickens. He notes that, while superior persons delight to dwell on Dickens's weaknesses, and the younger intellectuals refuse to read him, there is a steady demand for his works. In this matter he is on the side of the populace, and backs the popular instinct against the findings of the critics. Now that the humour for which he was admired is ceasing to appeal, as once it did, to all alike, we must 'revise our critical standards until they do justice to Dickens's large humanity.' Not all Dickensians, perhaps, will endorse the writer's choice of *Martin Chuzzlewit* as his author's masterpiece; but all of them who read French would do well to turn to this spontaneous tribute and defence.