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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY 1915

THE WAR: ITS ORIGIN AND CAUSES

A QUARREL in an obscure corner of South-eastern Europe has suddenly kindled the flames of the greatest war the world has known since the star of the first Napoleon set on the plains of Waterloo a century ago. To a visitor from another planet, indeed to many inhabitants of this planet who have not carefully followed the currents of foreign policy, it must seem a strange thing that a dispute between Austria and Serbia should cause war in three Continents, with the possibility of war in the other three; that it should lead to the destruction of Rheims Cathedral, to the sack of Louvain, to the bombardment of Madras and of Kiao-chau, to fighting in Samoa, in New Guinea, in Northern, Central, and Southern Africa, in Poland, in the North Sea, off the east coast of South America and in the Bay of Bengal. Yet such is the fact. Bewildered students of human history may well ask, What is it all about?

To answer that question at all clearly, one must go back a little. For not only are human lives all closely intertwined—no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself—but are all intertwined with the lives of men long dead. Humanity is a vast whole, and the actions of some dead men are more potent to-day than the actions of any who are alive. Let me explain this saying.

The outstanding feature in the public life of Europe

during the nineteenth century was the assertion of the principle of nationality. It made and unmade States, and thrones, and kingdoms. It made—I give in chronological order the new kingdoms added to the map of Europe—Greece, Belgium, Italy, Germany (an Empire, not a kingdom), Norway, Roumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro. Few people realize that not one of those kingdoms existed when Napoleon was defeated at the battle of Waterloo, though the nations which form them did exist. But in making these new States other States were either reduced in importance, or ceased to exist. Turkey is but a shadow of her former self; Austria is partially dismembered; numbers of small, independent States disappeared in the making of a united Italy and a united Germany. Italy, in the making, not only swallowed up a number of small States, but it took from Austria the rich provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. Ever since the loss of those provinces, the head of the House of Hapsburg, recognizing that their loss was final, has looked round for new territories to add to his domains to compensate him for the loss of his Italian provinces. There was no chance of making such acquisitions from his powerful neighbours on the north and east, Germany and Russia. So he looked south, to the territories of 'the sick man,' Turkey.

Austria's opportunity came in 1878, when at Berlin the Treaty of San Stefano was torn up by the great powers of Europe and the Treaty of Berlin was substituted for it Backed by the mighty influence of Germany and England, wielded by Prince Bismarck and Lord Beaconsfield, Austria was authorized by the Concert of Europe to 'occupy' the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had risen in rebellion against the Turk.

The Slav inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina had indeed wished, and fought, to get free from the Turk, but not with the intention of coming under Austrian rule. Had their wishes been consulted, they would have united with Serbia and Montenegro respectively. So they resisted the

incoming of the Austrian as before they had resisted the Turk, and it took the Austrian two years of hard fighting before he could 'occupy' the provinces which Europe had so thoughtlessly given him. For thirty years these provinces remained nominally Turkish, but practically Austrian, just as Egypt is to-day nominally Turkish, but practically British. In 1908 the late Count von Aehrenthal suddenly annexed the two provinces to the Austrian Empire. That act was the real origin of the present war.

For the annexation of the two provinces dashed the hopes of the Serbian inhabitants of Bosnia, of Herzegovina, of Serbia and of Montenegro, hopes of union and freedom for their race which had been cherished by all the Serbian peoples since the break-up of the Serbian Empire after the crushing defeat of the Serbs by the Turks at the battle of Kossovo in 1389. To this day every Montenegrin wears a mourning band on his cap in memory of the battle of Kossovo. As Turkey grew weaker and weaker, the hopes of the Serbian race rose higher and higher. But when Austria, a far stronger Power than Turkey, annexed the two provinces in 1908, Serbian hopes were sadly dimmed.

During the two recent Balkan wars, Serbia and Montenegro acquired considerable additional territory. The Serbians of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not conceal their delight at the victories of their compatriots. Austria sternly repressed in her provinces all exhibitions of sympathy for the independent Serbian States. She was visibly irritated and alarmed at their success. Her own Serbian subjects were sullen and desperate. As almost inevitably happens under such conditions, the weaker people, held down by force, had resort to secret conspiracy. The result was the assassination of the Austrian Heir-apparent and his consort in Serajevo on the 28th of last June.

That assassination was made the occasion, though it was not the cause, of the present war. It gave Austria the opportunity and the excuse for which she had long been

waiting. Austria asserted, but made no attempt to prove, that the Serbian Government was privy to these assassinations. I have no doubt that some Serbians strongly approved of them. It could hardly have been otherwise, but I have never seen reliable evidence that any member of the Serbian Government was connected with the assassins, and I do not believe such evidence exists.

Without attempting to submit either to the Serbian Government, or to the Great Powers of Europe, any evidence, or alleged evidence, of the complicity of the Serbian Government in these crimes, Austria, on July 23, delivered an ultimatum to Serbia and demanded an answer within 48 hours. That ultimatum contained ten demands, requiring the suppression of newspapers, the suppression of nationalist societies, a re-organization of the schools, the dismissal of a number of officers from the army, the participation of Austrian officials in judicial proceedings in Serbia, the arrest of certain men, the prevention of the traffic in arms and other things, and the publication by the Serbian Government of a prescribed statement, which contained a full recantation of her alleged errors and a promise of amendment. In the whole history of diplomacy, no more humiliating document was ever addressed by one independent State to another. Almost every one who read it felt that the authors of that document meant war, and meant war at any price.

Sir Edward Grey's characteristically moderate comment made to the Austrian Ambassador in London on this remarkable document was: 'I had never before seen one State address to another independent State a document of so formidable a character.' He went on, however, to add that 'The merits of the dispute between Austria and Servia were not the concern of His Majesty's Government.' But he feared that the result of the ultimatum might be a European war, so he proposed joint action by England, France, Germany and Italy, both in Vienna and in St. Petersburg.

France and Italy accepted this proposal and Russia approved of it, but Germany refused to join in. Serbia, acting with the approval of Russia, England, and France, sent a conciliatory reply, which Sir Edward Grey urged should be made the basis of further negotiations. This Austria declined. Germany then suggested that there should be direct conversations between Austria and Russia. Russia agreed to this and England supported the idea, but Austria at first refused to consider it. Sir Edward Grey then returned to his idea of a conference of the four disinterested Powers. Germany's next move—the day after Austria's declaration of war against Serbia—was to ask the British Ambassador in Berlin to call on the German Chancellor, which he did. The Chancellor said that if Russia declared war against Austria Germany was bound to come to the help of Austria. He foresaw that France would then come to the help of Russia. He said that if Great Britain would remain neutral, Germany would annex no French territory in Europe, but she would make no promise about the French colonies. He said Germany would respect the neutrality of Holland if her adversaries did, but that it depended on the action of France what operations she would carry on in Belgium. When the war was over, Belgian integrity would be respected if she had not sided against Germany. On the same day, Sir Edward Grey, gravely and in the most friendly way, warned the German Ambassador in London that under certain circumstances England might intervene. On July 30 Sir Maurice de Bunsen, our Ambassador at Vienna, telegraphed to Sir Edward Grey that the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs had told the Russian Ambassador in Vienna that he had no objection to the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg continuing their conversations, a statement which increased the hopes of peace. Later, on July 30, Sir Edward replied to Sir E. Goschen's telegram referring to Germany's proposals for English neutrality. Sir Edward Grey said:

'His Majesty's Government cannot for a moment entertain the Chancellor's proposal that they should bind themselves to neutrality on such terms. What he asks us in effect is to engage to stand by while French colonies are taken and France is beaten so long as Germany does not take French territory as distinct from the colonies. . . . It would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of this country would never recover. The Chancellor also in effect asks us to bargain away whatever obligation or interest we have as regards the neutrality of Belgium. We could not entertain that bargain either. . . . If the peace of Europe can be preserved, and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavour will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately.'

That reply was read to the German Chancellor on the morning of July 31. On the same day he declared to the Belgian minister in Berlin that Germany had no intention of violating Belgian neutrality, but that in making a public declaration to that effect, Germany would weaken her military position in regard to France. On that day also, Sir Edward Grey telegraphed to our Ambassador in Berlin instructing him to say that 'if Germany could get any reasonable proposal put forward which made it clear that Germany and Austria were striving to preserve European peace, and that Russia and France would be unreasonable if they rejected it, I would support it at St. Petersburg and Paris, *and go the length of saying that if Russia and France would not accept it, His Majesty's Government would have nothing more to do with the consequences.*' The italics are mine. The same day Sir Edward addressed a telegraphic communication to both the German and French Governments asking them whether they were 'prepared to respect neutrality of Belgian Government so long as no other

Power violates it.' He followed that by a telegram to the Belgian Government saying that he assumed 'that the Belgian Government will maintain to the utmost of their power their neutrality, which I desire and expect other Powers to uphold and observe.'

On the same day, Germany returned answer through Sir E. Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin. 'I have seen Secretary of State, who informs me that he must consult the Emperor and the Chancellor before he could possibly answer. I gathered from what he said that he thought any reply they might give could not but disclose a certain amount of their plan of campaign in the event of war ensuing, and he was therefore very doubtful whether they would return any answer at all.'

The reply of the French Government was as follows:— 'French Government are resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other Power violating that neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to assure defence of her own security, to act otherwise.'

On that day Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia and to France, Austria and Russia not yet being at war. Note, she was not acting on what the German Chancellor had said to Sir E. Goschen two days before: 'should Austria be attacked by Russia a European conflagration might, he feared, become inevitable, owing to Germany's obligations as Austria's ally, in spite of his continued efforts to maintain peace.' It ought never to be forgotten in following the tangled skein of these diplomatic moves that Russia and Austria were not at war, but were actually carrying on conversations with the intention of finding a pathway to peace when Germany hurled her ultimatum at Russia and France. She neither waited for Russia to attack Austria nor for Austria to attack Russia, nor did she wait for France to come to the aid of Russia. Before there was any declaration of war in Europe except Austria's declaration of war

against Serbia, she declared war against both Russia and France. On August 1, Germany violated the neutrality of Luxemburg by seizing the railways, declaring it was not a hostile act, but merely a precaution against a hostile attack by the French army. On August 1 also, Germany forcibly detained British ships in Hamburg, against which Sir Edward Grey entered a strong protest. On the same day, the Russian Government communicated to Sir Edward Grey the readiness of Austria to discuss matters with Russia, and to accept a basis of mediation if one could be found. Both Russia and France made declarations that they would not attack Germany, and both continued to strive for peace. But Germany had evidently determined on war and spoiled every effort in the direction of peace.

On August 2 the German Legation in Brussels issued a document marked 'Very Confidential,' in which the following statements were made:—'The German Government have received information which leaves no doubt as to the intention of France to march through Belgian territory against Germany. It is essential for the self-defence of Germany that she should anticipate any such hostile attack. The German Government would, however, feel the deepest regret if Belgium regarded as an act of hostility against herself the fact that the measures of Germany's opponents force Germany for her own protection to enter Belgian territory.'

This remarkable document went on to say that if Belgium maintained an attitude of 'friendly neutrality'—by which, apparently, Germany meant that if Belgium allowed her neutrality to be violated by Germany, but not by France—at the conclusion of peace she would guarantee the possessions and the independence of the Belgian Kingdom in full. If Belgium refused to allow Germany to violate her neutrality 'the eventual adjustment of the relations between the two States must be left to the decision of arms.'

On this extraordinary document the only comments one

can make are:—First, that all the evidence shows that France had not the slightest intention of violating Belgian neutrality or of attacking Germany at all. Trusting to Belgian neutrality, she had left her northern frontier practically undefended, though she might have lined it with as strong a barrier of forts as those extending from Verdun to Belfort, which have for the first few months of the war proved so impassable an obstacle to the German forces. Secondly, that while in the closing words I have quoted she threatened Belgium with annexation if she resisted, the German Foreign Secretary two days later (on August 4), telegraphed to Prince Lichnowsky, the German Ambassador in London:—'Please dispel any mistrust that may subsist on the part of the British Government with regard to our intentions by repeating most positively formal assurance that *even in the case of armed conflict with Belgium, Germany will, under no pretence whatever, annex Belgian territory.*' (The italics are mine.) Those two statements of Germany's intentions are quite inconsistent, though made within two days of one another. That the telegram sent to Prince Lichnowsky on August 4 was a deliberate lie, uttered to mislead our Foreign Office, is shown by the fact that the Germans have already annexed the parts of Belgium they have occupied, have altered the French and Flemish names of the streets into German names, and are treating Belgium now as part of Germany. The same duplicity runs through all their diplomacy. For on July 31 we find them assuring Belgium that they had no intention of violating Belgian neutrality, whilst on the same day the German Secretary of State refused to give Sir E. Goschen any reply to the question of the British Government whether Germany intended to respect the neutrality of Belgium.

Thirdly, this attempt to seduce Belgium from her pledged neutrality was made the day after Germany—*not* France—had openly violated the neutrality of Luxemburg. France had not only not violated the neutrality of either Luxem-

burg or Belgium, but she had withdrawn her troops 10 kilometres from the frontier in order that nothing might be done which would precipitate war.

Belgium's reply, the reply of a small, unarmed, but spirited nation, to Germany's insolent and treacherous proposal, will ever remain one of the great documents of history. Let me give it *verbatim* :—'The attack upon our independence which the German Government threatens constitutes a flagrant violation of international law. No strategic interest justifies such a violation of law. The Belgian Government, if they were to accept the proposals submitted to them, would sacrifice the honour of the nation, and betray their duty towards Europe. Conscious of the part which Belgium has played for more than eighty years in the civilization of the world, they refuse to believe that the independence of Belgium can only be preserved at the price of the violation of her neutrality. If this hope is disappointed the Belgian Government are firmly resolved to repel by all the means in their power every attack upon their rights.' Braver answer was never given by a small country to a mighty military Empire. Belgium knew in giving that reply, she might have to pass through the fires of hell. She has indeed passed though them. Germany replied by crossing the Belgian frontier, and summoning Liège to surrender. When Sir Edward Grey heard of this, he telegraphed to Sir Edward Goschen :—'In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that Germany declined to give the same assurance respecting Belgium as France gave last week in reply to our request made simultaneously at Berlin and Paris, we must repeat that request, and ask that a satisfactory reply to it and to my telegram of this morning be received here by twelve o'clock to-night. If not, you are instructed to ask for your passports, and to say that His Majesty's Government feel bound to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany is as much a party as ourselves.'

By eleven o'clock that night the two countries were at war. While from all the civilized belligerent States the Ambassadors of enemy countries were allowed to depart in peace, courtesy, and quietude, the barbarians of Berlin violated all the decencies and courtesies of civilized enemies. Sir Edward Goschen's last telegram to Sir Edward Grey was never dispatched by the Berlin Central Telegraph Office. About ten o'clock—an hour before the nominal opening of hostilities and two hours before the British ultimatum expired,—an excited mob assailed the British Embassy and large stones came crashing through the windows of the drawing-room in which the British Ambassador and his family were sitting. Sir E. Goschen telephoned to the German Foreign Office, and it is pleasant to be able to say that Herr von Jagow promptly telephoned to the Chief of Police, who sent a strong force and cleared the street. Herr von Jagow himself came round when order had been restored, and expressed his most heartfelt regrets at what had occurred. He said that the behaviour of his countrymen had made him feel more ashamed than he had words to express. It was an indelible stain on the reputation of Berlin. It is pleasant to think that at least one German remained in this trying time a chivalrous gentleman and had the grace to apologize so completely for his barbaric countrymen. It is a pity that the same cannot be said of his Imperial master. On the morning of August 5 the Emperor sent one of his aides-de-camp to Sir Edward Goschen with the following message :—

'The Emperor has charged me to express to your Excellency his regret for the occurrences of last night, but to tell you at the same time that you will gather from those occurrences an idea of the feelings of his people respecting the action of Great Britain in joining with other nations against her old Allies of Waterloo. His Majesty also begs that you will tell the King that he has been proud of the titles of British Field-Marshal and British Admiral, but that in consequence of what has occurred he must now at once

divest himself of those titles.' Sir Edward Goschen's comment is 'I would add that the above message lost none of its acerbity by the manner of its delivery.'

With this stormy and ominous beginning Europe plunged into a vast welter of blood, and all the demons of war—war in its most horrible aspect—were let loose.

For what, then, are we fighting? We did not want war; France did not want war; Russia did not want war. First of all, we are fighting for the independence and the right to exist, of small States. Austria drew the sword—and she was the first to draw it—in order to destroy the independence of a small neighbouring State. We drew the sword to defend Belgium, a small State, which trusting to the guarantee given by us and other nations had practically little or no army and few fortified places.

We are fighting also in defence of the principle of nationality. It is the quiet, noiseless working of that principle which is the real deep-seated cause of the present war. That principle, as I have shown, transformed the face of Europe after 1815. I do not here attempt to explain why that principle so powerfully affects men. Except perhaps religion, no ideal so moves them to noble deeds, or makes them so entirely forgetful of self and lower things as the passion of nationality. It makes heroes of the most cowardly, it makes the most selfish forgetful of self. It is one of the few things for which men will die recklessly and in numbers. It draws together the scattered fragments of the same race, dissevered by political arrangements; and rends asunder the mightiest States, if they are based on the negation of the idea of nationality. Empires, however powerful, pass and fade away, but nationality appears to be undying. Poland, torn into bleeding fragments and held down by the three mightiest military States in the world, yet clings passionately to the national ideal. Two States of Europe—Turkey and Austria—were based on the negation of nationality. Turkey has long been dying from that cause, though once one

of the mightiest military Powers the world knew. Austria was doomed for the same reason. She foresaw and instinctively felt her doom. Therefore, she struck at Serbia. The triumph of Serb nationality meant for Austria the loss of her newly-acquired Serb provinces and of older Serb provinces which she had long held. As certainly as the triumph of Italian nationality had meant the loss by Austria of Lombardy and Venetia, so certainly did the triumph of Serb nationality mean the loss by Austria of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Croatia. Hence that fierce ultimatum, impossible for any State, however small, to accept and live.

But what of Germany? She was made by the principle of nationality. True—in a sense. By it the scattered German States were welded into one mighty whole. But in her new-born strength Germany forgot herself and failed to understand the mighty though quiet Power which had transformed Europe and herself. The strongest of the German states was Prussia. The Prussians, unlike most Germans, are strangely domineering and intolerant. In the process of reuniting Germany, Prussia introduced new and strange dreams of power, which had nothing to do with nationality, which ignored its very existence and violated its dearest faith. Prussia had long been accustomed to that violation in the case of Poland. She fought Denmark in 1864 and annexed large tracts of country inhabited mainly by Danes. She fought Austria in 1866 for the headship of the Germanic peoples. She could have annexed the German part of Austria without violating the principle of nationality, but she did not for reasons of statecraft. She fought France in 1870 and annexed Alsace and Lorraine, whose population loathed, and loathe her. So Germans, united by the principle of nationality, were dominated by the Prussian ideal of Empire, which was a denial of nationality. As the years have rolled by, Prussia, intoxicated by military success and by the rigid militarism of her might, and, as she thought, invincible army, dreamed of world Empire and

world conquest. Not content with the mightiest army the world has ever seen, she commenced to build up a huge navy, which is now the second and which she would gladly make the first navy in the world. It was a challenge to all the world. No one State can ever be allowed to be unchallengeably the first both by sea and land. That dream, if realized, means an end of human freedom. Alone of all the States in Europe, Germany craves large access of territory both in Europe and beyond the seas. We are thus fighting for freedom, for the world's freedom.

Fourthly, we are fighting for the public law of Europe. If the violation of Belgian neutrality had been allowed to pass unchallenged, no treaty guarantee by any great State would in future have been more than 'a scrap of paper.'

Fifthly, we are fighting against militarism, militarism in its most despotic and crushing form.

And sixthly, because we are fighting against militarism, we are fighting for civilization.

In this war, all these things are in the balance:—The right of small States to exist; the principle of nationality; human liberty; the public law of Europe, and of the world; the militarist or industrial organization of modern States; and Western civilization.

It is because these things are at stake that all England and the whole Empire, whatever the creed or colour of its hundreds of millions of inhabitants may be, echoes and re-echoes the lofty words used by the Premier at the Guildhall banquet last November: 'We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed.' It is to fulfil those words that many of our bravest and best have died, and many more are prepared to die.

W. M. Crook.

THE RECENTLY-DISCOVERED ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS

SCHECHTER: *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Vol. I, 1910.
R. H. CHARLES: *Fragments of a Zadokite Work; Apoc. and Pseudepigrapha*, Vol. II.
ISR. LÉVI: *Un Ecrit Sadducéen antérieur à la ruine du Temple; Revue des Études Juives*, Avril, 1911.
LAGRANGE: Article, *Revue Biblique*, Avril, 1912.
KOHLER: Article, *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1911.
MARGOLIOUTH: Various articles, *Athenæum*, November 26, 1910; *Expositor*, December, 1911, and March, 1912; *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1911; *Intern. Journal Apoc.*, April, 1914.
BÜCHLER: Article, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1913.
SCHECHTER: Article, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1914.
STRACK: Article in *Reformation*, No. 7, 1911.
LESZYNSKI: Article in *Revue des Études Juives*, Juillet, 1911.

OF late years the minds of all students of Scripture have been frequently turned to the rubbish heaps and tombs of Egypt, where certain discoveries have been made which have thrown an important light on the language of our New Testament documents. There is, however, in the same land another less known but extremely important source from which others have drawn help for the investigation of the period immediately preceding the Advent of Jesus Christ. This is the Genizah of Cairo. In early times the Jews valued their MSS. more because of their completeness and legibility than for their antiquity, and in most ancient synagogues there was a storeroom in which they deposited any MSS. for which they no longer had use. MSS. that were worn out, or heretical, or disgraced were placed in this cupboard or Genizah, as it was called—the name meaning 'hiding,' or 'hiding-place.' Thus, to quote E. N. Adler (*Jewish Encyc.*), 'A Genizah served, therefore, the twofold purpose of preserving good things from harm and bad things from harming.' Genizoth have been found in

several places, e.g. in Feodosia, Bokhara, Teheran, Aleppo, and Prague. But without doubt the most famous is that of Fostat, near Cairo. The synagogue there is of very ancient date. In the first instance, it was a Church dedicated to St. Michael, and then, on the conquest of Egypt in 616, was handed over to the Jews for use as a synagogue. It was always probable therefore that if its old Genizah could only be discovered, 'finds' of a peculiarly interesting character might well be expected. This discovery did not take place until towards the end of the nineteenth century, when two ladies, Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis, otherwise well known for their contributions to sacred learning, brought home certain documents, among which Dr. S. Schechter identified a fragment of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew. This old storeroom proved to be 'a secret chamber at the back of the east end, and is approached from the farthest extremity of the gallery by climbing a ladder and entering through a hole in the wall,' but the difficulties encountered in its discovery have been abundantly rewarded. Various explorers have since visited this treasure-store. Among them are Sayce, who carried away certain fragments now deposited in the Bodleian Library; E. N. Adler, who obtained a sackful, some of which have been published; and then, Schechter, convinced of the great value of this Genizah, went himself and obtained practically the whole of the remainder, which now constitutes what is known as the Taylor-Schechter Collection, housed in the library of Cambridge University. Some of the documents in this last-named collection have already been published, and it is to two of them that we now desire to call attention.

In 1910 Dr. Solomon Schechter issued from the Cambridge University Press two thin volumes bearing the general title: *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, the first having the sub-title: *Fragments of Zadokite Work*, a name given by the Editor to indicate its contents; to the second he gave the title: *Fragments of the Book of the Commandments by*

Anan. It is with the former only that we have to do in these pages, and indeed in the amount of attention received it has quite outdistanced the other. So great has been the interest which the 'Zadokite' pages have awakened that comment and criticism have flowed almost unceasingly. This may be partly explained by the fact that the editor did not content himself with editing the text of his newly-found MSS., but courageously announced his own views as to their date and the nature of their contents. Beyond a certain restricted circle, however, the discovery had made but little headway until 1913, when the text of this volume was included, accompanied with Introduction and Notes, in the two magnificent volumes of Dr. C. H. Charles on the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*—volumes which do such credit to the Editor and his collaborators.

In view of the claims which Dr. Schechter makes for his 'Fragments' it cannot but be regretted that no one is at present permitted to obtain a view of the actual MSS. themselves, the Editor having made it a condition on handing over the MSS. to the University Library that no one should see them for five years. Happily this period—during which these precious leaves are interned in a new *Cambridge Genizah*—is now drawing to a close, and probably next year we shall have the promised facsimile and a re-edited text by way of a second edition. Meanwhile we are obliged to rest content with the text as Schechter has printed it, and however defective this may prove to be, it is sufficiently clear in its main outlines to warrant our giving to it careful consideration.

The Editor gives us a full account of what may be termed the 'externals' of his documents. These consist of two fragments representing one original writing, but neither is complete. In all likelihood they are two different recensions of the original work. The larger MS. Schechter designates 'A,' and it consists of eight leaves or sixteen pages measuring 8½ by 7½ inches. Some of the pages are

mutilated at the bottom and the side, but the number of lines to each page is about twenty-two. The present MS. is supposed to have been written in the tenth century. The second MS., denominated 'B,' possesses only one leaf, or two pages. In the size of its page it is somewhat larger than 'A,' being 18½ by 8 inches and has thirty-four lines to the page. As to contents, it partly overlaps 'A' and partly fills up certain of 'A's' omissions. Schechter assigns it in its present form to the eleventh or twelfth century. Examination of the two MSS. more than sustains the conjecture of the Editor that we have here only an incomplete portion of the original work. To say that the Fragments as they now stand are in a state of disorder would be to exaggerate perhaps, but it is safe to conclude that when first written their contents were more connected and complete than at present. As to the language, the documents are written chiefly in pure Hebrew, with here and there Aramaisms and a few expressions borrowed from the Mishna and the Talmud, additions which may have been made by some later scribe or scribes. Quite a large number of quotations are made from the Old Testament, and this fact is greatly emphasized by some critics who maintain that the Fragments are only a mosaic put together in later centuries. Referring to this argument, Israel Lévi, in a remarkably able article in the *Revue des Études Juives*, shows its entire inconclusiveness by pointing to Ecclesiasticus, which has the same feature and yet belongs to the second century B.C.

In this article we shall first examine the contents of these documents; then discuss the all-important question of their date; and finally, call attention to some of the many interesting problems which the subject-matter presents.

(1) First, then, in regards to their contents. The volume may be characterized generally as a sermon or appeal made by some leader or leaders of a sect of Jews to members of that sect, together with an oft-repeated warning against some well-known enemy. This appeal is based on a his-

torical survey of the past history of the Jewish people and reinforced by a statement of the laws which God requires them to obey. The personal note is prominent throughout, as may be seen by the repetition of the phrase 'Hearken unto me,' a fact to which both Margoliouth and Kohler direct attention. The same personal element is manifest when the common enemy is referred to, and this enemy is evidently some powerful and much-dreaded personality or sect. The opening passages[1] are especially important and interesting:

Now, therefore, hearken unto me, all ye who know righteousness,
And have understanding in the works of God.
For He hath a controversy with all flesh,
And will execute judgement upon all who despise Him.
For because of the trespass of those who forsook Him,
He hid His face from Israel and from His sanctuary,
And gave them over to the sword.
But when He remembered the covenant of the forefathers,
He left a remnant to Israel
And gave them not over to destruction.
And in the period (or, at the end) of the wrath, 390 years after He had given them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, He visited them,
And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
A root of His planting to inherit His land,
And to grow fat through the goodness of the earth.
And they had understanding of their iniquity,
And they knew that they were guilty men,
And had like the blind been groping after the way twenty years.
And God considered their works; for they sought Him with perfect heart,
And He raised them up a Teacher of Righteousness
To lead them in the way of His heart.
And He made known to later generations . . .
What He had done to a congregation of treacherous men:
Those who turned aside out of the way.
This was the time concerning which it was written:
'As a stubborn heifer
'So hath Israel behaved himself stubbornly'[2]
When there arose the scornful man,
Who talked to Israel lying words,
And made them go astray in the wilderness where there was no way,
To bring low the heights from of old.
So that they should turn aside from the paths of righteousness,
And remove the landmark which the fathers had set in their inheritance
So as to make cleave unto them
The curses of His covenant,
To deliver them to the sword
That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant.

[1] Charles' translation is used mainly, but not exclusively. [2] Hos. iv. 16.

Now let us examine this passage. It consists of an appeal to all righteous men to consider the judgements which God had inflicted on the nation because of their sins in years gone by. The designation 'righteous' has doubtless a special reference to the kind of righteousness which the sect represented. Turning to the question of the date mentioned, it will be remembered that the captivity of Nebuchadnezzar began in 586 B.C., and we are here informed that it was 390 years afterwards that God remembered the covenant of the fathers and preserved a remnant of the people. This would give us 196 B.C. as the year when God raised up a 'root' to inherit and rejoice in the land. Now what does this date signify? Is it to be regarded as strictly accurate, and if so, to whom does it refer? Here controversy begins. Margoliouth and others very properly point to the erroneous ideas current among the Jews as to the exact duration of the Persian and Greek periods, and certainly one of the Talmudic writers (in the *Tractate Abodah Zarah*, fol. 9 a, which allocates thirty-four years to the Persian and 186 years to the Greek period) is a long way out in his calculations. Others, while granting that absolute exactitude is not to be looked for, regard the date as approximately correct, proposing only to substitute 490 for 390 years which would bring it into conformity with the seventy weeks of Daniel. This would bring our date down to 96 B.C. instead of 196. But even so, who can have been in the writer's mind? Schechter suggests Simon the Just, but as he flourished about 290 B.C., the identification seems improbable. Charles fixes upon the party of the Chasidim, and much can be urged in favour of this identification. This band of reformers arose as a protest against the growing spirit of Hellenization, which reached its climax in the early years of the second century B.C., and though their lineal successors were admittedly the Pharisees it is not impossible that in later years the Zadokites may have claimed them as their spiritual ancestors.

We may then accept the suggestion that the 'root' referred to is the band of the Chasidim. Now, following our Fragment, a period of twenty years of groping ensued, during which men were conscious of their sin against God, and in response a Teacher of Righteousness was sent. Soon, however, a scoffer arose, who brought further misery on the people, turning them out of the way of righteousness and removing the landmarks their fathers had made. Here the general reference, as is generally believed, is either to those exaggerations of the Pharisees who by their traditions so overlaid the Law as to annul it (so Lévi and Charles), or to the material losses inflicted upon the land by the Romans (Kohler). Later allusions seem to favour the reference to the Pharisees, who 'transgressed the covenant and violated the statute, and attacked the soul of the righteous'—the righteous being, presumably, those who adhered to the simple law alone. 'And so the wrath of God was kindled against the congregation, to make desolate their multitude, and their deeds were unclean before Him.' This may be an echo of the desolations of the Syrian hosts, or if a later date be preferred, the inroads of the Romans.

But, continues the writer, God is merciful towards the repentant: 'Long-suffering is with Him and plenteousness of forgiveness to those who repent of their transgression,' and 'through His Messiah He shall make them to know His holy spirit.' On the other hand, for those who 'turned out of the way', He hath 'power and might and great fury of flame,' for He had knowledge of them from the beginning and 'abhorred their generations from of old.' This contrast in God's dealings with the good and the evil is appropriately followed by an earnest exhortation to avoid these sins and to obey God's will. In the light of this spiritual law the writer then reviews his people's past: because of failure in this matter the Watchers and their children, even Noah and his family had stood condemned (the Watchers were no doubt the fallen angels, already mentioned in Enoch,

Jubilees and the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs); and whereas Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had kept the covenant, their descendants had been disobedient; but God had shown Himself merciful to the repentant and had confirmed the covenant with them through Ezekiel when He said: 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of my sanctuary when the Children of Israel went astray from them, they shall bring near unto me fat and blood.' This is the first actual mention of the 'Sons of Zadok,' and it is noteworthy because of the important part it plays in the document.

Having thus made clear his interpretation of the remoter past our author comes nearer to his own times. He now records that the faithful had been driven away from their own land and had taken refuge in Damascus. Possibly this expatriation took place during the predominance of the Pharisaic party in the reign of Alexandra Salome (78–69 B.C.). As is well known, the Pharisees used their short lease of power to harass and slay their foes, the chief of whom were of course the Sadducees, but the Zadokites may have been associated with them. This emigrant party was headed by penitent priests and nobles and probably Levites also. Long absence from home is apparently indicated, and it is significantly stated that when the exile is over 'they shall no more join themselves to the house of Judah, but shall stand up every one against his net'—the first clear mention of that antagonism to Judah which runs through the remainder of the volume.

But now that the faithful Zadokites have withdrawn from Palestine, what will happen to the forsaken land? The writer supplies the answer. Belial will be let loose in Israel, and in accordance with the prophet Isaiah (xxiv. 17), will entrap the people in three snares, viz. fornication, wealth, and the pollution of the sanctuary. From the details which follow we can only suppose that by these sins are meant the alleged excesses of the Pharisees, who are

now characterized as 'the builders of the wall, who walk after the law.' Had we encountered such charges apart from this context we should have been inclined to regard them as directed not against the Pharisees, but against their adversaries the Sadducees, but there can be no doubt that the reference is to the former detested class. Moreover, it should be remembered that though the Pharisees were not themselves priests, the priests were more and more influenced and even dominated by them. So seriously are these sins regarded that, the writer tells us, in the future no priests will be permitted to 'kindle the fire upon' the 'altar,' unless they 'sever themselves from the children of the pit,' and 'observe to do according to the true meaning of the law,' i.e. in accordance with the 'New Covenant' made by God with His true followers in Damascus.

Then follows a more formal statement respecting the 'New Covenant' and the hopes which the faithful people entertained for the future. The passage in Numbers (xxiv. 17), 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise out of Israel' finds its fulfilment in the leader of the party of penitents at Damascus. And now all eyes are turned to the coming of the Messiah who will spring out of Aaron and Israel and who will put the degenerate Jews to death with the sword. The sin of the 'builders of the wall' was that they had shown unfaithfulness to Moses himself, whereas the penitents had been faithful to their great ancestor, as many of their forefathers had been, and were therefore beloved by him. But if any of the penitents should prove recreant to the newly established or newly-renewed covenant they are threatened with the pains and penalties of excommunication.

The writer next goes on to state the laws of the new sect. These are given in considerable detail and deal with such matters as vengeance, bathing, Sabbaths, unclean garments and foods, almsgiving, oaths and vows. They are interesting enough, but need not be detailed here.

The party was evidently thoroughly organized, which suggests that the leaders did not anticipate its early disappearance. It consisted of four Orders: Priests, Levites, Israelites, and Proselytes. Only the first three, however, were permitted to participate in its government. To form this ten men were selected from the congregation, four being supplied by the tribe of Levi and Aaron and six by the Israelites, all of whom must be learned in the 'Book of Hagu' and the 'Ordinances of the Covenant.' In stating the age-limit, which was from twenty-five to sixty years, the writer adds a curious little comment: 'For through the trespasses of man his days were diminished, and when the wrath of God was kindled against the inhabitants of the earth, He commanded their intelligence to depart from them before they completed their days.' Over all, two chief rulers were appointed—one a priest and the other a censor or inspector, whose duties are carefully defined.

Such then is a rough survey of these interesting pages, which undoubtedly throw considerable light on a period formerly dark, but now coming into the daylight more and more every year.

(2) Date.—But we must now face the question of date. If this can be settled even approximately, though many identifications may yet remain uncertain, the main outlines of our Fragment and its position in Jewish history will be clear enough. Unhappily the greatest difference of opinion prevails on this point. Büchler maintains that the document originated in the times of Anan, the founder of the Karaites in the eighth century A.D., and believes that the historical references it contains are only 'a picture artificially drawn to reflect assumed conditions shortly before the destruction of the 2nd Temple' (*J.Q.R.*, Jan., 1913). This is an extreme view and so far has found no support. Lagrange, in a valuable article in the *Revue Biblique* (Avril, 1912), assigns it to *c.* 200 A.D., but fails, as the present writer thinks, to meet satisfactorily the difficulties involved

in so late a date. Israel Lévi, whose French translation is generally admitted to be the best of all, confidently places our Fragments at some date before the destruction of the Temple, i.e. before 70 A.D. Lévi's argument on this point is of the highest importance and seems unanswerable. The whole appeal of the Fragment is based on the Divine anger against the people for their sins, and this is made clear by a recital of the various punishments which God had inflicted upon them. But if the Temple had fallen the writer omitted the most striking chastisement of all, and therefore the fact which would have been most effective for his purpose. Such an omission would seem incredible. Another of Lévi's references is equally conclusive: the writer accuses the Pharisees of 'soiling' or 'defiling' the Temple by their practices. But how could this be if the Temple had already disappeared? It seems safe then to place the document before 70 A.D. The really difficult problem is: how long before that time? Margoliouth agrees with Lévi thus far, and goes on to identify the persons alluded to with John the Baptist, Jesus and St. Paul. Despite much ingenuity in supporting this thesis, Margoliouth has not yet been able to win support for so extraordinary a suggestion. And certainly it seems hardly probable that men who, as he believes, were so well affected towards Jesus could charge Paul (according to his theory) with such sins as are enumerated here. There yet remain to us the suggestions of Schechter, Kohler, and Charles—men whose work in this department of research has won them wide renown—and to them we now turn. Schechter concludes that our present book is composed of extracts from a Zadokite volume known to us chiefly from the writings of Kirkisani, 'a Karaite dogmatist and exegete' who lived in the first half of the tenth century. This Zadokite sect existed near the beginning of the Christian era, and was soon afterwards absorbed by the Dositheen sect. Kohler and Strack agree generally with this, but the former regards the Dositheans

as Samaritans and considers that they believed Dositheus to be the Messiah. R. H. Charles likewise turns to this period, but asserts that the Zadokites were a distinct sect, some of whom were perhaps among those priests who afterwards found in Jesus their longed-for Messiah.

Omitting then some important differences we may perhaps arrive at the following conclusions. The Zadokite sect took its origin in the days of the fanatical oppression of the Pharisees, possibly during the reign of Alexandra Salomé. The Scoffer may be identified with the Queen's brother, the Pharisee Simon ben Shetach, as Kohler suggests, a man who exerted great influence over King Jannaeus and his successor Alexandra in favour of the Pharisees and against their opponents. Charles regards the party as a stricter type of Sadducee, a suggestion which presents obvious difficulties. The Zadokites placed a high value on the Prophets and Hagiographa, expected a future life and looked for a Messiah, and in their lives practised asceticism. In all these respects they differed from the ordinary type of Sadducee, a fact which Charles admits but counters by stating that Sadducees were not all of one type. The force which bound the party together was an utter detestation of Pharisaism with all its burdensome traditions of hyper-legalism. Not that they themselves were loose in their observance of the law, but they abhorred those accumulated additions which, as they believed, rendered religion accursed in the eyes of the Almighty. The book was in all likelihood written at the time when Pharisaism seemed to have absorbed Judaism, and this may well have been just before or at the beginning of the Christian era. Charles is much more precise than this, and with no little ingenuity and daring places it between 18 and 8 B.C. But as this argument is based on the idea that the sect actually looked to one of Herod's sons as the probable Messiah (viz. Alexander or Aristobulus, sons of Mariamne) one feels obliged to part company with him at this point.

(8) Teaching or Ideas.—If the teaching contained in our MSS. is not of first-rate importance it is certainly of deep interest to the student of the development of religious ideas at this time. To some of these ideas brief allusion may now be made.

(*a*) Relationship to the Old Testament and other Jewish literature.—Of course the Old Testament is recognized, but in contradistinction to the practice of the Legalists of that time these fragments hold in the highest veneration each part of it. Charles computes that the Prophets are quoted quite as much as the Law. In keeping with this we find that their Halacha is supported by reference to the Prophets, whereas the Legalists were accustomed to depend on the Law alone. This may be taken as symptomatic of the tendency found here to resist the undue emphasis which the Pharisees placed on the Law. 'Their attitude in this respect is nearer to that of the Sermon on the Mount than that of any other party in Judaism' (Charles, *Apoc. and Pseud.* ii. 796).

But other literature is likewise quoted, and apparently as authoritative. Thus in one passage the Book of Jubilees seems to be intended (xi. 4, cf. Jub. xxiii. 11), and elsewhere this book is referred to under its full title, *The Book of the Divisions of the Seasons* (xx. 1). In another place (vi. 10) the writer seems to have in mind the 'Test. of the Twelve Patriarchs.' Both these volumes are happily known to us, and are generally placed about the end of the second century B.C. But other books are mentioned which have entirely passed from our knowledge: e.g. a reference is made to a certain 'Book of the Hagu,' a title which Kohler translates as the 'Book of Public Reading'; also to 'The Ordinances of the Covenant'; and in an allusion to 'Yochaneh and his brother,' who may be identified with the Jannes and Jambres of 2 Tim. (iii. 8), the two magicians who withstood Moses in Egypt, we have what is probably a reference to another lost document; finally, we are told of 'the word which

Jeremiah has spoken to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi' (ix. 28), possibly pointing to two other writings which have unfortunately fallen into oblivion.

(*b*) Free Will and Fore-ordination.—In view of the statements in certain New Testament Epistles and the well-known feud between the Pharisees and Sadducees on these matters the beliefs of this little sect are peculiarly interesting. Starting with the difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees we may quote Edersheim: 'Properly understood, the real difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees seems to have amounted to this: that the former accentuated God's pre-ordination, the latter made man's free will; and that, while the Pharisees admitted only a partial influence of the human element on what happened, or the co-operation of the human with the divine, the Sadducees denied all absolute pre-ordination, and man's choice of evil or good, with its consequences of misery or happiness, to depend entirely on the exercise of free will and self-determination.' (*Life and Times of Jesus*, i. 316 f.) Confronted with this age-long difficulty we find the Zadokites holding both God's fore-ordination and man's free will. In illustration of the former view we may quote the writer's reference to those breakers of the law whom he denounces:

> 'For God chose them not from the beginning of the world,
> And ere they were formed He knew their works' (ii. 6).
> 'But them He hated He made to go astray' (ii. 10).

The belief in man's free will is equally clear:

> 'All flesh that was on dry land perished thereby,
> And they were as though they had not been
> Because they did their own will' (iii. 7), and because
> They 'chose not the will of His own spirit' (iv. 2).

(*c*) Doctrine of the Messiah.—This is of course for Christians the most important topic of all, and here our fragment discloses a somewhat startling cleavage between the Zadokite and the usual expectation. For ages the Jews had expected their Messiah to arise out of the tribe of

Judah. But the following passages look in another direction :

'These shall escape during the period of visitation, but the rest shall be handed over to the sword when the Messiah comes from *Aaron and Israel*' (ix. 10 'B' fragment).

'. . . until there shall arise the Messiah from *Aaron and Israel*' (ix. 29 'B.').

'. . . until there arises the Messiah from *Aaron and from Israel*' (xv. 4 'A').

Now let us try to estimate the significance of this change. R. H. Charles makes much of it. First he reminds us that in priestly descent the tribe from which the mother was descended was immaterial, so that the phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' would be without point if it were merely taken to mean that the father would be a priest and the mother come from some other tribe. He then turns the phrase the other way about, and believes it to signify that the Levitical descent was on the mother's side, while the father came from some non-Levitical tribe. This point gained, he next proceeds to refer to Herod and Mariamne as the father and mother in view. Mariamne the queen represents the royal and priestly House of the Maccabees, and Herod, though of Idumœan birth, was now considered a Jew, since that land had been recently brought within the pale. This line of argument brings Charles inevitably to the conclusion that one of the two remaining sons of this pair was looked upon as the Messiah Himself.

Though one may hesitate to accept this precarious and unsatisfying identification, it is impossible to deny the deliberate neglect of Judah in the above quotations and the equally deliberate substitution of Levi (or Aaron). Moreover, if we examine such preceding books as Ecclesiasticus, Jubilees and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the striking fact is obvious that for a long time the tribe of Judah had been disparaged and the tribe of Levi exalted. To take the Book of Ecclesiasticus only, let any one com-

pare the scanty references there made to such men as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and even Moses with the extensive and glowing allusions to the Aaronites, and he will see how early the change had begun. But what then was made of the promises given of old to the representatives of the House of David? Our Zadokite Fragment plainly implies that these men had shown themselves unworthy; even David is accused of not knowing the law (vii. 5), and it cannot be mere chance that in referring to him he is styled 'prince' rather than 'king' (vii. 4). It is also in accordance with this that in quoting the promise in Amos (ix. 11), 'In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen,' the Zadokite writer explains the 'tabernacle' to mean 'the books of the law,' and David the 'king' to mean the 'congregation' (ix. 7). The tendency to exalt Levi at the expense of Judah seems therefore to reach its climax in our document, and the people are taught to look not to Judah for their Messiah but to Levi for a Messiah-priest.

We cannot undertake here to explain so remarkable a deviation in the great Messianic expectation, but may suggest that one should probably turn for such explanation to the degenerate character of the later Hasmonean house and their subservience first to Hellenistic and then to Roman influence.

In concluding this sketch of the so-called Zadokite Fragments we may add the carefully expressed judgements of three scholars already named, who though differing greatly in their interpretations are of one mind as to the value of this discovery and our indebtedness to the Editor for its publication.

Büchler, whose strong opposition to Schechter on the question of date has been quoted, says, 'Let us be grateful to Prof. Schechter for his discovery and for the thoroughness with which he has illustrated many of the most difficult points; and especially for the many-sided commentary

and learned introduction in which he has drawn our attention to the numerous problems awaiting solution. . . It has drawn the attention of the literary world to a chapter of Jewish history which has rightly invited the collaboration of many great minds and will long continue in attracting and captivating our best scholars.' (*J.Q.R.* Vol. III., p. 485, 1912–1913).

Margoliouth, whose striking interpretation will be remembered, says: 'He (i.e. Schechter) has added glory to his name by bringing to light a document which will, in the opinion of many, take an even higher rank than the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, which owes its identification to the same ingenious scholar' (*Athenæum*, November 26, 1910).

The final tribute quoted is from Kaufmann Kohler: 'Altogether our document shows points of contact with many movements in Jewish and Judæo-Christian history, and both historians and theologians will do well to study more closely the important publication of Prof. Schechter. It is to be hoped that the missing parts of the fragments or the more complete work will some day be found and cast further light upon a period which may be called one of the most fruitful in the religious history of the world.' (*Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, July, 1911, p. 485.)

J. W. Lightley.

CHRISTIANITY AND DEFENSIVE WAR[1]

I VENTURE to propose for the opening of this session a subject which will at least be timely and will be certain to initiate a lively discussion. The issue of the first century is before us again to-day, in a more emphatic and urgent form than it has been for a hundred years. Once more Caesar claims universal sovranty: once more the prince of this world sets his forces in array, and as the one and only god of battles challenges the Prince of Peace for supremacy. Where do we stand, who regard the New Testament as the one sufficient guide to conduct? Has it a clear and a practical message to England at war?

I start from the axiom that the law of Christ is meant to be the norm of our public and private life, if we accept the name of Christian. What, then, are we to say of strictly defensive war? I do not stop to prove that this war is for us absolutely defensive. In the feeling of the vast majority of Englishmen it is something even more—it is in defence of our own shores ultimately, no doubt, but primarily it is the keeping of a solemn pledge to a little nation which has trusted our plighted word. Can we find a word of encouragement in the New Testament even for this national act of chivalrous self-sacrifice? A distinguished Quaker in my hearing declared the Christian position to be 'quite simple'; war is wholly and utterly condemned, and there is no room for a Christian man in an army. 'I am a Christian and therefore I cannot fight,' is the reply of a consistent follower of Jesus now as much as in the second century.

I have myself approached this position so nearly that

[1] A paper read at the Ministers' Fraternal, Manchester, on October 20, and again at the Bolton Wesleyan Fraternal, October 30.

I must utter some palinodes before I can admit that the matter does not now appear to me 'quite simple,' but surrounded with deep perplexities. It is well to be absolutely frank about certain mistakes of which our opponents, with natural satisfaction, are reminding us at the present time. We should have the courage to confess wherein we miscalculated, and I for one face the task, not with alacrity indeed, but from sheer desire to be honest. Wherein were we wrong, and how far have we done harm by our mistake? They tell us that we produced the impression upon Germany that we should not fight, and that in consequence Germany was encouraged to bring to an issue her machinations against France. Well, here I suppose it is fair to say that if the Germans were so guileless as to believe the pacifists in a majority in this country, we can hardly be responsible for so strange a failure of the acuteness which has normally characterised that nation's rulers. But I should urge with the utmost confidence that if we pacifists do look like simpletons now, it was a noble simplicity, and one which will be a national asset when the reckoning time comes. It is sufficient proof that this country was never solid in favour of anything like an attack upon Germany, and that pacifist opinion had succeeded in abolishing any ambition, if ever it existed outside a very small circle, to be the first to attack. We certainly need never be ashamed of that which will be seen in after days to have been an excessive idealism. We must not limit our survey to the months or years of this present awful war. The nature of our mistake is, after all, only this: that what has been called 'Bernhardihood' was even more fiendish, and far more successful, than ever we dreamed; that the policy of 'Thorough' in scientific lying has deceived the German people into solidarity; and that an element for which our anti-pacifist party never adequately allowed, has worked great results in the German mind. I refer to the obvious panic which has influenced Germany lest the

unlimited population on her eastern frontier should be directed by a military autocracy towards an ultimate war of stupendous proportions. That was at least an element which we pacifists recognized and allowed for; and in our hour of bitter resentment against a nation responsible for the unutterable horrors of the Belgian campaign, it is well that we should remember how little the German people know of our case, and how much they think of that to which our eyes have been mostly closed.

So, turning to the reconsideration of former opinions as to the necessity of still larger military and naval preparations on our part against designs of Germany which are now all too plain, I must not shrink from admitting that the demands of 'National Service' and 'Big Navy' advocates had more plausibility than we had any means of knowing. (I do not yet admit that they made out their case, but I cannot turn aside to discuss this now.) On the knowledge available six months ago for the public at large, it was abundantly reasonable to urge that the militarist party in Germany were not running away with the nation, and that Anglo-German Friendship committees could do more to keep the peace than armaments could do to secure victory when war broke out. The facts now before us all show conclusively that keeping the peace was never possible except by yielding everything that Prussian ambition might choose to ask. Under this utterly changed condition we must simply start over again to find out where we stand.

In this task of defining our principles afresh we who call Christ Master and Lord must obviously start with the appeal to His authority. That aggressive war is wholly and always wrong will not be questioned by any Christian, and the only dispute will be on definitions. Universally honoured Christian theologians in Germany are sincerely convinced that their own country is on the defensive.[1]

[1] I have heard from Dr. Mott, who met the Church leaders and student Christian committees in Berlin in the middle of October, that they had not

We note the fact, bewildering though it be: I cannot believe that men like Harnack, and my own intimate friend, Deissmann, would defend the war on the principles of Freitschke and Bernhardi. Our question is whether Christ permits even defensive War when its real character as such is overwhelmingly clear to consciences wholly loyal to Him. This problem is to me profoundly difficult. I have sought light among the Friends, who by 250 years of faithful testimony have established their right to speak on the Christian doctrine of Peace. I have not the faintest doubt that they are right. The grotesqueness of the exegesis by which even great theologians have justified war out of the New Testament is alone enough to emphasize the clearness and decisiveness of its witness. But here is just the difficulty. Have the classics of Christianity no message at all for a world at war, not even for the nations which are fighting only to defend themselves, by no choice of their own? Did Christ really expect us to stand aloof when Belgium appealed to us to keep our promise in her hour of need? Is it Christian ethics to urge with Mr. Keir Hardie that '*we* run no risk' of invasion, and therefore, I suppose, can afford to keep out of harm's way?

There is something instinctive within us that bids us interfere when a big bully is murdering a helpless child. Does Jesus really tell us not to 'resist the evil man' when we can apply force to stop Bill Sikes from killing, or at least to divert his ferocity upon ourselves? I cannot help feeling that the Quaker in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was no apostate to his creed when he thrust the slave-hunter down the cliff with, 'Friend, thee isn't wanted here!' If the New Testament leaves no room at all for defence against a violent and unprovoked attack, must we not say that its code is

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then seen the British theologians' reply to their manifesto, which he showed them. It is an excellent example of the skill with which the German people are being kept in the dark.

defective in practical applicability to the conditions of an imperfect world?

I need hardly go into detail in setting forth Christ's teaching about War. We cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer sincerely without forgiving our enemies, and forgiveness followed up with a bayonet charge—executed either personally or by proxy, for I can recognize no distinction—has an admittedly incongruous appearance to a plain man. The Lord has no direction as to enemies than that we must love them and pray for them. Nor is there seemingly any place in the New Testament for the virtue of patriotism, as commonly understood. Love to one's country is implied in Paul's fervent prayer for Israel, for whose salvation he was willing to be 'anathema from Christ.' But that was no *exclusive* blessing. No text can be found which smiles on international rivalry. We may love our family and be proud of it, but no Christian precept allows us to support any right or wrong claim on its behalf by force against the world outside. The Christian Scriptures know of no exclusive nationalism: the whole human family is beloved by one Heavenly Father, and there is no hint that He will help an English section of His family against a German, or German against English. I did not myself preach a sermon to commemorate our victory in the South African War, for I could not find a text in the New Testament from which to derive the discourse by any justifiable exegesis.

This compendious statement will suffice for a reminder of the position of Jesus towards War and international relations in general. I want to ask now whether there are any indications in the rest of the New Testament, and especially in the Words of Jesus, which would point another way. It is natural to examine first the Sermon on the Mount, which is in considerable danger of being misunderstood. We in the West are more likely to go wrong in our interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount than anywhere

else, since it is so obviously framed in terms of oriental thought. We are fairly confronted with a *reductio ad absurdum* when we try to interpret the Sermon with prosaic literalness. Taken that way, the non-resistance passages would mean the absolute crumbling of society. We must dismiss our policemen as well as our soldiers, and capitulate to the criminal classes. If Jesus really meant that, we could only say that He was visionary and unpractical, and had no message for the world until it had already become a veritable heaven on earth. Since the superb sanity and practicableness of His teaching is as conspicuous a feature as its lofty idealism, we seem driven to ask whether it is not merely our failure to understand. These parts of the Sermon must be read as oriental paradoxes, intended to drive home one aspect of truth by uncompromising and vivid pictures, devoid of any qualification, and making no pretence to cover the whole range of possible circumstances. The words which tell us not to resist the evil man, to turn the other cheek to the man who strikes us on the right one, to volunteer two miles when brutally commandeered for service over only one—all these picture the lengths to which we ought to be willing to go if by such quixotic action we may turn an enemy into a friend. It is deeply significant that when Jesus Himself was smitten on the one cheek He did not turn the other, but offered a dignified remonstrance. The Sermon, in fact, endeavours to produce in us the right temper, the temper of those who realize that no sacrifice is too great if we can only win a human soul. To overcome evil with good, to conquer the enemy by refusing to let him win his triumph over our soul, is the duty pictured by Christ, and the realizing of it would turn the world upside down.

Let us look at other parts of His teaching. It is clear that Jesus recognizes War in one sense. He can draw a parable from the calculations of a king who is anxiously watching the advent of an invader, or from the 'strong

man armed' who guards his palace till a stronger comes upon him, or again, less clearly in this key, from the householder keeping awake to repel the burglar. In the same way Paul uses metaphors from warfare, and refers without disapproval to soldiers on service who abandon their whole civil employment that they may please him who has enrolled them as soldiers. It seems very clear, therefore, that none of this affects the teaching of the New Testament on War. If we were to draw any argument from it we should be equally compelled to assume that Jesus approved of dishonest stewards or unjust judges. He takes some of His most effective illustrations from the world as it is; and when He has proved that even that world acts on certain principles of worldly wisdom He can prove *a fortiori* that the Kingdom of Heaven does not fall behind it. The one passage in the teaching of Jesus upon which reliance is generally rested for the justification of war is that in which He bids His disciples buy a sword, under the new conditions of universal hostility, even selling their coats to provide the means. The passage is very confidently interpreted by men whose judgement must be respected; but surely the context makes this interpretation absolutely impossible. The bewildered disciples, as much bewildered as the modern interpreter, immediately answered Him by showing that they had two swords already. He sadly replied, 'It is enough,' deprecating explanation since they had been too dull to understand Him. He was only contrasting, in His own vivid way, the new conditions with the old. They had once gone forth into a world where welcome awaited them everywhere. Now the deadly hostility that was bringing the Master to death would turn upon the servant too. The sword would be the symbol of human relations in future, even within families that had been united before He came to be the test of a higher loyalty. We shall not, I suppose, take literally the 'sword' which He saw interposed between

mother and daughter! That He as little intended this other 'sword' to be taken literally is sufficiently shown by the sequel. As soon as one of those swords was applied to the only purpose for which swords were made, the Master issued a stern rebuke. We are apparently to infer that the swords were to be purely ornamental: His disciples must sell their coats to buy them, but they must never be used. And if we want to prove this inference, it is enough to point out that the disciples never did use those swords till the final victory was already won. The Church fought the Roman Empire single-handed, the forces of love and suffering pitted against all the brute force in the world. Never once in all those generations did it occur to them to sell their coats and buy swords for literal revolt against the Roman Empire. They won their victory by dying and not by killing, and it was the greatest victory that the world has ever seen. It is strange (is it not?) that they should have unanimously agreed to ignore a command which modern interpreters think so plain!

Less hopeful still is the attempt to make capital out of the story of our Lord's ejectment of the traffickers in the Temple. The small cattle-whip does not figure very successfully as a symbol of material force. And does any one seriously suggest that it was by a display of force that He did His deed? The miracle of it lay in the tremendous exhibition of purely *moral* force. Angry men who could have overwhelmed Him immediately by weight of numbers shrank before Conscience as it blazed forth through His eyes.

> Abashed the Devil stood,
> And felt how awful goodness is.

But force was soon enough to win what it thought to be revenge!

Turning to the rest of the New Testament, the only approach to an argument that I can see comes in the approval implied in Hebrews xi. upon the heroes of Old Testament

times. We are told that 'by faith they turned to flight armies of aliens.' Of course, if Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and even David received approval as having acted through faith, it must be admitted that this is an approval of deeds of War. We may safely make the militarists a present of this argument; for it ought to be apparent to every thoughtful reader that New Testament writers were capable of realizing quite as clearly as we can the most central features of the Old Testament! It is only another application of the truth implied in a traditional saying of Jesus.[1] 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of,' He said, when the example of Elijah was quoted to justify a deed of vengeance. The Old Testament belonged, as the author of Hebrews emphatically told us in his first sentence, to a partial and manifold revelation, sharply contrasted with the complete and uniform Gospel of the Son. That being so, we naturally take the same view when we are reminded that John the Baptist had no counsel for soldiers except that they should not do violence to non-combatants, and should be content with their wages. He that was least in the Kingdom of Heaven was greater than the greatest prophet who came before the dawn.

It is on very different lines, I think, that we must interpret the measure of justification which the New Testament may seem to give to defensive war. The deep and penetrating saying of Jesus in answer to the Jews' question about divorce takes us very far beyond the immediate subject with which it was concerned. He declared that Moses, 'for the hardness of [men's] hearts,' gave them a commandment which moved on a lower plane than a primitive revelation that He was now restoring to its proper place.[2] It reminds us that in God's dealings with this world He has often prompted His messengers to improve the second best, instead of insisting upon the best. The best is unintelligible till man has reached a far higher level;

[1] Luke ix. 55 (R.V. marg.). [2] Mark x. 5.

and God's method has been to inspire His prophets to temper the lower standards of conduct with principles which will produce their result perhaps in a distant time. The New Testament, as friend and foe have often shown, never directly attacked the institution of slavery. That is because the New Testament is practical, and to denounce that institution directly would have been absolutely futile. Jesus and His apostles set themselves there as everywhere to deal with first things first. They taught the slave that he was after all a man, and therefore a son of God, and the transformation of his external condition was accomplished gradually by the slow working out of Christian principle. Now there are many requirements of Christian ethics which presume a Christian society to be the medium of their accomplishment. The problem of divorce, from which I started, is very evidently a case in point. It is still clear that a community largely consisting of those who are not Christians cannot be forced by the State to keep a law which is permanently valid only in the Kingdom of Heaven. The State may have to acknowledge it as an unattainable ideal, and frame its own legislation as much as possible in its spirit, with a view to minimizing to the utmost the evils that it cannot root out. Men cannot be made moral by an Act of Parliament, and we cannot impose Christian commands upon them from outside: the Christian method is to make them Christians and then everything will follow. Probably we must say the same thing about War. War is from first to last unchristian. We cannot deny this without denying the New Testament as a whole. But while on the one side it takes two to make a quarrel, it is also true that if one party determines to use violence, the other party may have to choose between resistance and extermination. There are conditions under which extermination will produce ultimate victory for the cause; and that is, of course, the lesson of the days of persecution, which led to the establishment of Christianity

in the Empire. But before we apply that principle, we have to be sure that the conditions are similar. The story of the Maccabees provides us with an illustration which seems to be more apposite. Obedient to the Sabbath Law, the heroic soldiers of Israel refused to fight on the holy day, and were massacred by the Syrians, unresisting. It was not merely patriotism and common sense which animated Judas Maccabeus when he resolved to set aside the Sabbath and fight when he was attacked on that day. We may surely recognize a real inspiration, based upon the great principle afterwards set forth by Jesus, when He said that 'the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.' When, then, we ask what is our duty when a wanton and savage attack is made upon a helpless little people to whom we promised our protection long ago, we have surely to reply that while we have avowedly a choice of evils, in the world as it is now constituted the worse evil of the two would be to hold aloof and let the enemy work his cruel will. The whole principle of altruism, as taught by the gospel, raises within us an instinct which cannot be mistaken. The gospel differs from all lower codes of law by the very fact that it never codifies duty under endless categories, telling us exactly what we ought to do under all conceivable circumstances. It gives us great principles, and we have to work out those principles for ourselves. Men will read their duty very differently, and the reading of the Society of Friends is one which we must not only respect but welcome. Their testimony is to the undoubted spirit of the whole gospel, and in the nature of things the number of men whom they will influence will be too small to affect the material resources for necessary defensive war. But the sight of a community of men willing to be defamed as cowards rather than disobey their conscience, is more salutary than any personal service they might render could be. And we may trust a Society with such a history to find out and apply principles

of national service, which will not risk the shedding of any blood but their own, but will be at least as valuable as any handling of guns could be.

This general view of the spirit of the New Testament receives support from the whole history of modern times. We have seen how Christian spirit has prompted the growth of International Law, and the various enactments by which international conventions have laid down what is permissible and what is not allowed in civilized warfare. From one point of view all this seems beyond doubt to be pitifully futile. 'Civilized warfare' is a misnomer. When war comes in, civilization vanishes. But the mere laying down of rules to limit War is a concession to a spirit which Christianity has generated, pointing unmistakably to far more drastic regulations that will come, we trust, in the near future. That International Law has failed in this war only emphasizes the significance of the whole movement: out of this failure we may reasonably expect accumulated momentum for the future. The Germans have palpably and admittedly broken all the most important laws to which they have themselves been contracting parties. They plead military necessity, and they are logical enough. The very existence of War makes the breach of all kinds of laws simply inevitable. The fact that we do not break these laws only shows that humanity and civilization are too strong for our logic. When we cross the German frontier—as for the winning of peace even the soundest pacifist must pray that we may do—we shall not burn hospitals and cathedrals, or spit little children on bayonets, or shoot burgomasters for alleged misconduct of civilians. But if we decline to do such things it will be because we regard them as unworthy of ourselves. The very violation of International Law has been an unveiling of the inner nature of militarism; and it all helps to show up in its full horror that against which the world is revolting, with a fixed determination that it shall never be possible again.

It is rather like other failures which the history of this war has put vividly before us. Norman Angell proved that nations could not win any permanent advantage by conquest, since the vanquished and the victor are both condemned to lose by rigid laws of economics. And then, in spite of all this, a nation which has been laying great stress upon her trade did go to war. It does not prove that Norman Angell was wrong, any more than I prove the law of gravitation a mistake by stepping off a cliff in defiance of it. The whole experience of the appalling struggle through which we are going now tends to put before the world, in the most lurid colours that history has ever seen, the true nature of the rival claimants for the homage of man's spirit. We have seen before us the logical and remorseless working out of the doctrine of Force. Nietzsche's 'superman' has done his best: whether he will succeed or not we cannot yet tell. We have no reason to take for granted that he will not succeed. We pathetically pray, 'God defend the right!' but we must not forget that God does *not* defend the right in our way or with our weapons. Shakespeare's Henry V may pray, 'O God of battles! steel my soldiers' hearts'; but the god of battles is no god whom we know. It is no use to pray to the Prince of Peace for anything but peace, which He will give in His own time. For a while wrong may win and right once more be on the scaffold. It is on the scaffold, after all, that right has won its most characteristic triumphs. Probably the martyrdom of Belgium, which no indemnity however vast can ever repair, will do more for the destruction of militarism than all the brave deeds of the Allies in the field. A thousand years are with our God as one day, and one day as a thousand years, and we can never tell how soon God's victory will be won. But in the midst of this apocalypse of hell upon which we gaze with breaking hearts to-day, we still feel the assurance that the Mailed Fist can only win at best

an illusory and temporary victory: the Pierced Hand will conquer in the end. And even if the prince of this world wins a victory worthy of himself by making a wilderness of all the fair lands against which he now vents his rage, 'having great wrath knowing he hath but a short time,' we believe that God will yet make that wilderness to blossom as a rose. It may not be here: it may be only a new creation that can repair the ravages which man inspired by the devil has wrought upon God's earth. But still with undimmed faith 'we look for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'[1]

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

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[1] I have kept back the proof to the end of November to see if anything intervened which might affect the argument. I do not think there are any necessary addenda, unless it be to recommend the reading of 'Friends and the War,' the report of the Quaker conference at Llandudno, and the series of papers edited by the Rev. W. Temple.

THE RENAISSANCE OF SCHOLASTICISM

IT is strange that a movement with so much verve as Neo-scholasticism has attracted so little attention in Britain. It is exactly a quarter of a century since it was born. Every other revival of what is old has its disciples. Old doctrines decked out to look like new brands of thought promptly become fashionable cults. Every thinker who invents new names for old ways of thinking is sure of a hearing from somebody. But so far as English readers are concerned, the brilliance of Neo-scholasticism seems destined to remain in the obscurity of Louvain. There the new wine sparkles bravely, and the old bottles show little sign of bursting. Neo-scholasticism is also making steady progress in France and Germany and Italy; and in the languages of these three countries Neo-scholastic journals are vigorously propagating the new gospel.

This renaissance is directly connected with the initiative of Leo XIII, and really dates from the foundation of the Philosophical Institute in the Catholic University of Louvain. Not long after Leo became Pope, he took steps to put into execution a scheme to revive the study of scholastic philosophy. Louvain was chosen as the centre in which to make the experiment. The ostensible reasons for this choice of locality were quite good. Leo had been Papal Nuncio in Belgium. There he came in contact with the University of Louvain, and formed a profound respect for its excellent work. In particular, Louvain was peculiarly well equipped for the teaching of science, and Leo professed to be anxious that scholastic philosophy should be developed in close connexion with modern science. But it may be suggested that the most weighty reason for the selection of Louvain was never officially given. The Pope's

scheme was an experiment. He wished to modernize but not to modernize too much. There were strong reasons why the attempt should be made neither at Rome nor in France. At Rome two dangers were to be feared. Either the conservatism of the Holy City would keep the study of Scholasticism rigidly on the old lines, or a modernist eruption might result. To have this in Rome would be very awkward. France was an impossibility. The spirit of modernism there was already growing. It would be dangerous to give the Papal *imprimatur* to an experiment which might have far-reaching and startling consequences. At Louvain these dangers were much less imminent. Louvain was not infected by a revolutionary modernism. It was far from Rome, and if the experiment proved likely to lead to ominous results, it could more easily be suppressed. Most important of all, there was already at Louvain a man in whose sagacity and diplomacy the Pope had every confidence. This was M. D. Mercier, now Cardinal Mercier,[1] who at that time occupied the chair of Thomist Philosophy.[2]

[1] As an illustration of Mercier's attitude to Modernism, we may mention his relation to Tyrrell. In February, 1906, Tyrrell was formally dismissed from the Society of Jesus. He was not secularized, and thus, if he were willing to submit to the conditions which the Order laid down, he had a right to return to it. Further, he could be rehabilitated by the Pope, through the Sacred Congregation. Tyrrell approached Cardinal Ferrata, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, with regard to his rehabilitation, but no notice whatever was taken of his applications. Meanwhile a nun at Bruges had been making efforts on his behalf with Mercier, who was already Archbishop of Malines, though not yet a Cardinal. She succeeded in inducing Mercier to write to Ferrata with a view to securing Tyrrell's rehabilitation. The result of this application was a communication from Ferrata to Mercier, empowering him to receive Tyrrell into his diocese, and to grant him the right of celebrating mass. This was in June, 1906. (See *Life of George Tyrrell*, by M. D. Petre, pp. 254, 299 *seq.*, 360 *seq.*) Mercier's action was regarded in many quarters as an indication of sympathy with the Modernism which Tyrrell represented; and Mercier was compelled, in order to dispel the suspicion that rested on him, to dissociate himself publicly from both Modernism and Tyrrell. This he did in his Lenten Pastoral of 1906, in which he condemns, as strongly as the Encyclical Pascendi Gregis itself, the errors of Modernism. It is clear enough that Mercier has a good deal of sympathy for some of the things for which Modernism stands, though, as a Cardinal of the Church, he agrees entirely with the Encyclical.

[2] In the Accademia Romana di San Tommaso at Rome it has remained on very conservative lines.

In spite of the strongly-expressed wishes and material assistance of the Pope,[1] Mercier had to struggle against both indifference and hostility before securing the foundation of the Philosophical Institute in 1893. From the beginning the progress of the Institute has been slow but sure. The number of students has remained comparatively small. They are carefully selected from among the best scholars at the various Belgian Diocesan Seminaries. In the Institute students pass through a very complete three years' course of study. It is obligatory for all students of philosophy to attend courses of lectures on some of the special sciences. Thus cosmology (the philosophy of matter) is studied side by side with physics and chemistry; psychology (the philosophy of life) with biology and physiology, and ethics (the philosophy of conduct) with economics and sociology. In this way an attempt is made to advance the *entente* between Scholasticism and Science. Neo-scholastics deplore the separation, dating from the Renaissance, of science and philosophy. Previous to the rise of Cartesianism Scholasticism had included natural science. Then their paths diverged, and they have continued to advance on separate lines. Mercier and his friends admitted that scholastic philosophy, as it was taught before the rise of Neo-scholasticism, sought safety in isolation from the facts with which the positive sciences deal. The Neo-scholastics ridicule the attempt of Scholasticism to bury its head in the sand. In the forefront of the programme of Neo-scholasticism is the *rapprochement* of Science and Philosophy.[2]

[1] The Pope's views are stated in a Brief of November 8, 1889, to the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines. "Equidem necessarium nedum opportunum esse ducimus ea studia recte et ordine dispertita sic tradi alumnis, ut complexa quidquid veterum sapientia tulit et sedula recentiorum adjecit industria, large copioseque eos sint paritura fructus, qui religioni pariter et civili societati proficiant."

[2] 'Philosophy is, by definition, the knowledge of the universality of things through their ultimate causes. But it is clear that before reaching ultimate reasons, it is necessary to pass through the proximate causes which the special sciences investigate.' (Mercier: *Psychologie Contemporaine*, p. 451.)

In their zeal to show that there is no necessary conflict, the protagonists are inclined to lay too much stress on merely verbal similarities between the statements of St. Thomas and the theories of modern science. By such methods it is possible to show that the germs of every important modern philosophical and scientific theory are to be found in the works of St. Thomas. The Neo-scholastics, indeed, make great claims. They insist that 'amongst all the philosophical systems in vogue at the present day, the modern scholastic synthesis is most in harmony with the conclusions and tendencies of modern science.'[1] But they also claim that they are training disinterested philosophers, men who seek truth for itself with no *arrière pensée* of dogma. In being savants they are not bound to be defenders of the faith.

The Neo-scholastic movement would have attracted no attention outside Catholic circles, had it not been for the literary activity of the Louvain professors. To the non-Catholic reader De Wulf is probably the best known, through his *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*. But Mercier's achievements are even more remarkable. In the *Cours de Philosophie*, which is being published by the professors at the Institute, the volumes on Logic, Metaphysics, Psychology and Criteriology have all been written by Mercier. Noteworthy also is the historical series which is being edited by De Wulf and Pelzer under the general title, 'Les Philosophes du Moyen Age.' The series includes the texts of rare or unpublished mediaeval works, with introductions and notes. The Louvain professors also publish *La Revue Neo-scolastique*, the most vigorous Catholic philosophical journal in the world.

Louvain is not the only centre of Neo-scholasticism. Ever since it became clear that Neo-scholasticism was not likely to produce a revolutionary type of mind, it has been given a place at the Gregorian University at Rome. But Louvain has

[1] De Wulf: *Scholasticism, Old and New*, p. 278.

been the most successful centre for developing and propagating Neo-scholasticism. Nor is the reason far to seek. The Louvain school has always worked in close relation with well-known departments of science and medicine in a well-known University. It is neither excessively isolated nor excessively ecclesiastical. Its students and professors include many laymen. Laity and clergy alike take part in the general life of the University. The teaching is not in Latin, as at Rome, but in French. The students have every opportunity of keeping themselves abreast of movements of thought in the intellectual world. (The Magazine Room at Louvain contains about 150 philosophical journals.) For all these reasons, the influence of Louvain has been much greater than that of Rome, both within and without the Church.

At other places also Neo-scholasticism is raising its head. It is now emerging at the Catholic faculties in Paris, Lille, Toulouse, and Lyons. The proximity of Belgium has helped to foster its growth in Holland. The leaders of the Dutch movement are Dr. Beysens, of Utrecht, and Dr. de Groot, of Amsterdam. In Spain but little advance has been made. The leader is Prof. Zaraguëta, of Madrid. In Spanish South America it is said to have made some progress, owing to the efforts of two professors at Rosario, S. Gomez Otero and S. Rafael Maria Carasquilla. In many of these centres Reviews are published. In Spain the Dominicans issue *La Cientia Tomista*, and for Germans there is the excellent *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Spekulative Theologie*. But the most important periodicals, after that published at Louvain, are *La Revue Thomiste* of Fribourg and *La Rivista di Filosofia Neo-scolastica* of Florence. The last-named journal is more open-minded than the others. It exists not so much to propagate Neo-scholasticism, as to discuss problems from the Neo-scholastic standpoint. A sentence or two may be quoted from the editorial announcement in the first number. 'We, the collaborators in this

Review of Philosophy, do not form a school. We are a collection of men, united by a common love of truth, though we do not all have the same conception of the truth. Some of us differ from Neo-scholasticism on essential points. But we are all convinced that, in order to arrive at the truth, the serious discussion of its various problems is the only possible course. As a serious system, Neo-scholasticism claims and deserves a hearing.'

It is important to notice that in this prospectus it is not suggested that Neo-scholasticism is a compromise. It has its own definite views of the nature of truth. It is possible for a man to accept some only of the doctrines of Neo-scholasticism. But such an eclectic, living in a spirit of compromise, is not a true Neo-scholastic. Neo-scholasticism cannot exist in an atmosphere of compromise.

A delusion persists both within and without the Church that Neo-scholasticism is essentially the philosophy of compromise. It has been held that it involves a triple compromise—compromise between mediaeval philosophy and modern science; compromise between the various scholastic traditions; and compromise within the Church between the extreme traditional and extreme modernist wings. But this is a delusion. The compromise is only in seeming.

Consider in the first place, the 'compromise' between the different philosophical traditions. At first glance one is impressed, especially when one remembers the fierce battles which raged among the scholastics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by the harmony which prevails among the Neo-scholastics of to-day. But the question is really whether this harmony is due to compromise. One might as well say that man had compromised with the lower animals for the dominion of the world. The only tradition that retains vitality is the Thomist. Neo-scholasticism is essentially Neo-thomism. It is true that in Louvain the professors deprecate the name. They prefer 'Neo-scholasticism' on the ground that it covers the system

without invidious reference to any particular line of tradition. It sounds well to say that while each group cherishes its own special tradition, and remains true to this as its own special heritage, yet in the interests of the unity of Catholic thought it is willing to sink minor divergences and make common cause with the others. All unite in rejoicing in the common fund of doctrine, which De Wulf calls '*le patrimoine doctrinal*' and Bäumker '*das Gemeingut der Scholastik*.' But the truth is that the movement is entirely dominated by Thomism. It flourishes at Louvain, which was not only the *fons et origo* of the movement, but continues to be its great disseminating centre. In Fribourg the teaching of philosophy is in the hands of the Dominicans. It is the Preaching Order also which promotes the Spanish journal. In Holland the same tradition is followed. Indeed, every important centre is Thomist. In Milan there is a small school of Neo-scotists, who have complained of the excessively Thomist character of the scholastic renaissance. And Prof. Gemelli, the author of *La Rivista*, clings to the Franciscan tradition and regards St. Bonaventura as his master. But these are the only non-Thomist voices. It should thus be clear that it is a misuse of language to speak of a compromise between different traditions. Neo-scholasticism is Neo-thomism *et præterea nil*.

Again, Neo-scholasticism has involved no compromise between the orthodox and the modernist elements in Catholicism. Such a compromise would seem to be indicated by Prof. Noel in writing of its aim, 'To be traditional but not retrograde, progressive but not revolutionary.'[1] But Neo-scholastics have been careful to avoid taking a prominent part in the modernist controversies. They have been forward to insist that philosophy and theology are fundamentally different.[2] The modernist controversies are

[1] In *Revue Neo-scolastique*, 1910.

[2] 'The word theology applies to an order of studies distinct from philosophy.' (Mercier: *Métaphysique Générale*, p. 6.)

essentially theological, and the work of Neo-scholasticism is philosophical. Neo-scholasticism believes in the proverb, *Ne sutor supra crepidam*. Here also there has been no compromise.

At the strictly philosophical level, compromise does seem to enter. Neo-scholasticism regards itself as a synthesis of mediaeval philosophy and modern science. Mercier speaks of its aim 'to unite in one body of doctrine the metaphysics of the past and the fruits of the scientific work of the present.'[1] In this attempt it is guided by three main principles. First, it tests everything. The test it applies is not agreement or disagreement with the dogmas of the Church, but the inherent worth of the theories themselves. Whether the theory under consideration be the work of a saint of the Middle Ages, or a modern such as Comte or Wundt, only one standard is to be applied, its intrinsic value. Every theory is its own judge. If it is true and has value, even though it manifestly contradicts the dogmas of the Church, it will be accepted.

The difficulty of applying this test, granting the *bonâ fides* of those who apply it, lies in its subjective character. Who is it who judges of the value of the theory? Not the theory itself, but one who has been steeped in the rich traditions of Mediaevalism, one whose mind at its most plastic age has been moulded by the subtle influences and strange winsomeness of a system which has the weight of years and the power of authority behind it. It would be a miracle if such a mind, bred on the supernaturally clear schemata of scholasticism, should feel any sympathy for the blurred margins and confused intuitions of a Bergson. And yet this miracle does happen. It occurs only in rare cases, otherwise it would not be a miracle. In a remarkable way the ablest, but only the ablest, Catholic philosophers have shown themselves able to appreciate the value of theories fundamentally opposed to their own.

[1] Mercier: *Psychologie Contemporaine*, p. 443.

The second principle to which Neo-scholasticism pledges itself is the rejection of all that is untrue or useless in scholasticism. The decision what is and what is not useless will of course involve all the subjective difficulties already referred to. Still, a determined effort is being made to jettison the comments and explanations which the less intelligent schoolmen evolved from the pedantic depths of their ineptitude. A doctrine may be seen to be untrue because it contradicts observed facts as formulated by science. In such a case Neo-scholasticism professes its willingness to slough off the old. For this we must take Mercier's word. 'There is not a Catholic philosopher but is ready to sacrifice an idea centuries old the moment it contradicts an observed fact.' [1]

The third principle involves a willingness to introduce new matter into Scholasticism. Whatever be of value in modern philosophy is to be grafted on the stock of Scholasticism. Only to a very limited extent has it been successful in applying this principle. The background of all scholastic thought is St. Thomas. Neo-scholasticism is not ignorant of modern philosophical tendencies. But its general attitude to these is not sympathetic. Apart from the isolated cases which have been mentioned, it is frankly critical. The Neo-scholastic starts on the assumption that the only possible *system* is that of St. Thomas. This provides 'un organisme doctrinal, solide et viable dans l'atmosphère d'aujourd'hui.' In dealing with other philosophers, Neo-scholasticism makes use of either or both of two methods. It either attacks them and leaves them for dead, or it shows that what they are trying to say has already been said very much better by St. Thomas.

Both these methods may be exemplified by its attitude to M. Bergson, whose brilliant obscurity has dazzled and confused Neo-scholasticism along with all the rest of the world. More than one book on Bergson has come from

[1] Mercier: *Psychologie Contemporaine*, 455.

Scholastic and Neo-scholastic writers, and a flood of articles about him has deluged their philosophical periodicals. Here I am concerned with their criticism of Bergson only in so far as it illustrates the two attitudes which they generally adopt towards modern philosophers.

As an instance of the former attitude, take the following sentences from a review of Bergson's philosophy in *Revue Neo-scolastique*.[1] 'If clearness be the mark of France, the philosophy of M. Bergson is the least French in the world. Nothing more obscure, more impenetrable, more unreadable has ever emerged from the mists of Germany. The book falls from one's hands a dozen times. Were it not for professional necessity, one would throw away the wretched volumes. In this book, we have the unintelligible at high pressure. M. Bergson sets sail on a voyage of caprice, whose destination remains a profound secret. He leaves one stranded in a maze, in which the mind can find no *point d'appui*. One does not know what the stake is till the game is lost and won.' But in spite of this orgy of mixed metaphor and pseudo-epigram, the serious criticism is shrewd enough. Bergson gives no account of his method. He does not define his terms. If he uses old terms in a new sense, he does not point this out. He does not take the most elementary precautions to make himself understood. M. du Roussaux suggests that he deliberately conceals the sophistry of his thought under the flowers of metaphor. So far as the theory itself is concerned, in giving up the law of contradiction it destroys logic, and in giving up substance it destroys metaphysics. In depreciating reason, M. Bergson has veritably dropped the pilot, and the intuition which he instals instead is too vague to secure our confidence. He gives us a psychology without a soul, and a philosophy without intelligence. This line of criticism is a typical example of the Neo-scholastic *debellare superbos* attitude.

The other attitude may also be exemplified with regard

[1] By M. du Roussaux, May, 1913.

to Bergson. A very careful article on 'Henri Bergson und der Thomismus' appeared in the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie und Spekulative Theologie* in 1912. The writer indicates several points on which the theories of Bergson are either very similar to, or are contained in, the doctrines of St. Thomas. In method, analogy is used in both cases. Bergson maintains that we are first aware of the self, and then on the pattern of this intuitively perceived reality represent the world.[1] Analogical also is the method of St. Thomas, though with him analogy works the other way. First we know the external world, and then by analogy the spiritual world of the self and God.[2] The concept of order in both thinkers is essentially practical and theological. We speak of order only with reference to some end or purpose which is practically attainable. Further, St. Thomas' doctrine of Creation anticipates or implies Bergson's theories of *évolution créatrice*, of *élan vital*, and of the impossibility of the repetition of identicals. Again, the Bergsonian view that we can have intuitive knowledge of reality is briefly expressed by St. Thomas.[3] There is no doubt a certain amount of interesting similarity on isolated points between Bergson and St. Thomas, but it is absurd to attempt to prove their wholesale agreement.

These examples represent perfectly fairly the two attitudes which Neo-scholastics adopt towards other philosophers and philosophies. Different as they are, they spring from the same root—a conviction of the truth of the system of St. Thomas. Thus one is not surprised to find that the stately volumes of the great *Cours de Philosophie* really smack of the Middle Ages. The atmosphere is very different from that of other modern philosophical literature. It is very certain, very confident, very dogmatic. Subtle

[1] Cf. *Introduction à la Métaphysique*, p. 25.

[2] 'Per materialia in immaterialium cognitionem devenimus,' *Summa*, q. 85, a 1 c.

[3] 'Sensus semper apprehendit rem ut est, nisi sit impedimentum in organo vel in medio.'

distinctions made 1,000 years ago still remain unchanged, as though no change could take place in them. They are indeed *immutabilia vera*. The features of Neo-scholasticism always wear a look of conscious superiority. Its patronising smile is *fixé*. Apart from the fact that it criticises modern thinkers, it is not modern. That this is in itself a fault I am far from asserting. It may be a positive virtue. Here I am concerned simply to state it as a fact. This fact may be exemplified by considering the views of Neo-scholasticism on two questions of fundamental importance —the nature of truth and the nature of goodness.

Neo-scholasticism begins with a conception of truth as applied to things. Wine is true wine if it possesses certain properties—colour, constituents, bouquet, &c. Truth is the conformity of a thing to its ideal nature or essence. (Cf. Mercier: *Métaphysique Générale*, p. 202.) Truth is an attribute not of thought, but of being and the object thought. But 'truth' is not applied to a thing *simpliciter*, but only to a thing referred to its ideal type. This type is supposed to be otherwise known and to be of the same nature as the thing in question. Truth is a relation of identity of nature between a present thing and an ideal type. All this is an explication of the accepted scholastic definition of truth—'veritas adaequatio rei et intellectus.' By 'res' is meant a thing which we perceive or imagine at the present moment. By 'intellectus' we must understand a previous notion of the thing perceived or imagined. Truth is the exact conformity (adaequatio vel conformitas) of the thing perceived or imagined with its mental type.

Leaving aside all the minor difficulties involved in this theory, we must ask (*a*) What is the ideal type which serves as the standard of truth? (*b*) Is truth a property of things at all? (*c*) What is the validity of this correspondence-theory of truth?

(*a*) To the ideal type various names are given:—'Ideal type,' 'mental type,' 'pre-existent spiritual idea,' and so

on. But what is it really? Mercier considers and definitely rejects the idea that it is similar to the Platonic idea. Nor has this view any kinship with the exemplarism of St. Augustine. St. Augustine held that the immutable types of things have a real existence in the intelligence of God. These are the exemplars of all created things. On Mercier's view, the ideal type is derived from experience. He illustrates his theory with very simple examples. By experience, involving various processes of comparison, induction, division, composition, and so on, the vintner acquires a fairly precise notion of the nature of wine. This notion has been reached by comparing various kinds of liquids and mentally abstracting the common elements. It is what we should call an abstract universal. With this notion all liquids are compared, and when a liquid corresponds to it, we call it true wine. Mercier sees that this view is not free from difficulties. He mentions two, and gives their 'solution.' The first difficulty depends on the diversity and inconsistency of experience. Granted that the ideal type is derived from experience, whose experience is it? It is notorious that A's experience differs from B's experience. The ideal type which A has derived from his experience will similarly differ from the mental notion which B has reached by a similar process of abstraction. Which norm is the true one? Are we to rest content with a view which postulates a private truth for each man—a scepticism as absolute as that of Protagoras or Gorgias? How can we avoid on this theory the view that man is the measure of all things? This is a fundamental difficulty, which Mercier does not face squarely. He is content to say that there is a certain amount of agreement and harmony in the experience of different individuals. We are justified in assuming a sufficient degree of similarity between the norms of different individuals to make it approximately correct to talk of one truth. The vagueness of all this is very evident. We can never be quite sure that these private standards (for they *are* private)

really agree. We should require to postulate another process of comparison and abstraction, in which one ultimate standard is derived from a consideration of various private standards. Such a process of superabstraction would involve either an overman or a *deus ex machina*. And Dr. Mercier is too wise and too learned to introduce either. But without something of this sort, we must remain with our private truths.

The second difficulty, which Dr. Mercier considers, involves a question of priority. Is truth or thought prior? This question is immediately connected with the scholastic view of truth as an ontological property of things. The 'solution' of the problem depends on a distinction. On the one hand, truth is prior to thought in the sense that it exists prior to judgements about it. On the other hand, thought is prior to truth in the sense that the truth of a thing becomes evident only in comparison with the original mental type, which is a thought-product.

This problem leads us on to two further difficulties. Is truth a property of things or of judgements? Here Mercier would distinguish between ontological truth, which is a property of things, and logical truth, which is a property of judgements. The truth-judgement may be analysed into three elements, the subject, i.e. the particular thing about which the judgement is made; the predicate, i.e. the ideal type to which the subject is referred; and the act of attributing the predicate to the subject. 'This liquid is wine.' This is a judgement, and it is true if 'this liquid' really corresponds with the ideal type 'wine.' But it seems clear that truth is never a property of things. When we call a thing true, we simply syncopate a judgement. All truth is a property of judgement.

The Neo-scholastic view of truth clearly falls into the class of correspondence-theories. It belongs to that form of correspondence-theory in which one thing is supposed to copy a pre-existent ideal type. Wine is true wine,

if it copies the ideal type of wine. The great difficulty on this theory is to see how a thing can copy an idea. Mercier makes no effort to meet this difficulty. The correspondence-theory recently advocated by Messrs. Russell and Moore is easier to defend than that of Neo-scholasticism. In the first place, they affirm that truth attaches not to things but to judgements. In the second place, their theory does not involve copying an ideal type. Correspondence for them means correspondence with fact. Lastly, they make an important distinction between the meaning and the test of truth. Its meaning must be correspondence, but its test must be coherence. It would take us too far afield to follow Realism in its exposition of these views. They import difficulties of their own, but they enable the Realists to avoid the obvious contradictions into which Neo-scholasticism falls.

The Neo-scholastic treatment of the problem of goodness shows a keener appreciation of the philosophical difficulties involved. The most rudimentary notion of good is that which satisfies desire. We call a thing good, if it is agreeable and useful. On analysing the notion of goodness, Neo-scholasticism finds that two moments are involved. In the first place, the good, as Aristotle said, is that after which every thing strives. It is the object of a natural tendency. The relation of the subject to this object is a threefold one—but in every case it may be said to have love for its object. This love is a striving after the good. 'The good is the object of the natural tendencies of things' (Mercier: *op. cit.*, p. 229). In the second place, 'the good is that which is adapted to the ends of things.' The first moment is subjective; the second is objective. In the first case, the good seems to depend on the attitude of the subject. In the second, it seems to exist more in the nature of things. The goodness of a person or thing consists in adaptation to end. In so far as a thing or person fulfils its function with reference to its end, it is good.

Goodness, then, is a relation of agreement or harmony between a means and its end. Both these elements in the conception of goodness are found in Aristotle. By St. Thomas and St. Augustine they have been welded into a complete whole.

Good is desirable because it is good, and good because it satisfies the needs of the subject for which it is good. (We may note the circularity of this reasoning. Good is desirable because it is good; but good is good because it is desirable.) So far we have been dealing with good as an adjective, an attribute of things. But is there a substantial good—a good in itself? Does the good exist? Are all goods merely means? All particular things are good in so far as they realize their ends. All particular things must therefore be regarded as means to these ends. But Mercier insists that it is necessary to postulate an absolute good, which is an end in itself, and does not borrow its goodness from any higher end. Otherwise our theory would be involved in an infinite regress. We could not even say that a thing was relatively good. A thing can be relative only if it relates or refers ultimately to something. And if goodness be entirely relative, then it exists only within an infinite series of terms, each of which refers to a higher. But if we never reach a final term, our whole series will be relative to nothing. It will not even be relative. It is, therefore, necessary, if we are to talk about good in any sense, that there should be an absolute good. Mercier says, 'It is indubitable that at the top of all these terms, subordinate the one to the other, there is an absolute end, a good in itself' (*op. cit.*, p. 231). But what is the nature of this good? And how does it differ from relative goods? Mercier evades the question by remarking, 'This is neither the place nor the moment to investigate the question.' But in fact this is the most convenient place in the whole seven volumes of the *Cours de Philosophie* to consider the question. The result of this evasion is that no account is given of the good-

in-itself, to which all other goods are relative, and on which they depend.

So far we have said nothing of evil. What is its relation to good? It is difficult to get a clear statement on this question from Neo-scholasticism. Mercier states and proves the thesis 'tout être est bon,' or as Augustine puts it, 'natura omnis, ut natura est, bona est.' All existence is good, but (1) it is not all equally good, and (2) it is not good in every relation. Two loopholes are therefore left for the introduction of evil. Evil is possible in so far as there are degrees of goodness, and inasmuch as goodness is relative. Evil cannot be anything else but relative. Such things as a cancer of the stomach or a lie are evil, but not ultimately evil. They are signs of imperfection: they are contrary to the essential nature of the thing. In scholastic language, language that will be familiar to readers of Spinoza, evil is privation. It is more than mere negation. Absence of vision in a stone is mere negation. It involves no defect in the stone. It is not the nature of the stone to see. But absence of vision in a man is privation, and an evil. It is a defect in a man. Mercier developes this view with care; on the one hand to escape the Manichaean error of affirming that evil is a substance, and as ultimate as good; and on the other hand to avoid a too easy optimism, which holds that evil does not exist at all. Evil therefore exists. But it is relative. It is not ultimate. It is not equipotential with good.

Both these central questions are treated in the same way as they were in the Middle Ages by St. Thomas. It is impossible not to appreciate highly the mental acumen and moral insight with which St. Thomas deals with every problem he touches. But perhaps it has been bad for Catholic philosophy that his treatment was so *définitif*. It was final: nothing more remained to be said. That is the reason why, as a matter of fact, little more has been said.

In spite of all its claims that it is now independ-

ent of theology both doctrinally and paedagogically, Neo-scholasticism is not free. This fact is at once the solution of the problem with which this article started, and the explanation of its success as a Catholic philosophy. In Neo-scholasticism, the liberty of the philosopher is doubly curtailed. The authority of antiquity weighs heavy upon it. And the authority of dogma binds it with shackles which the modern spirit has done little to loose. The philosophy of Neo-scholasticism, in spite of its protestations to the contrary, still remains, as in the Middle Ages, the handmaid of theology.

G. A. JOHNSTON.

[Since Professor Johnston's article was written, the city of Louvain, which had been the intellectual centre of the Low Countries for more than five centuries, has been wantonly destroyed by the German army. Its University, which, as this article shows, had become the home of a great modern movement, has been wrecked. In the Special Belgian Relief Number of *Everyman* two pictures are set side by side: 'The Library of Louvain as it was' and 'The Library of Louvain as the Germans have left it.' A note beneath the charred ruin says, 'The Cathedral, the Theatre, and University were completely destroyed, this last including a library rich in old manuscripts and priceless books. An eye-witness has described the town as presenting the aspect to-day of an old ruined city—a modern Pompeii.' The library contained 150,000 volumes and 400 manuscripts.—EDITOR.]

JOHN DRYDEN: HIS POETRY AND HIS PROSE

Lectures on Dryden. By A. W. VERRALL. (Cambridge University Press.)

THIS is, alas! the last work of Dr. Verrall's that we are likely to see. That most acute and ingenious intellect, that most engaging and attractive personality, has passed from us, and practises its strength somewhere afar in the labour-house of being. No longer shall we hear that clear voice declaiming Tennyson or Shelley in its uniquely arresting fashion; no longer, except in memory, shall we look on that frail figure which was to us the very type of mind triumphant over pain. These twelve lectures on Dryden were the parting legacy which he made to us as Professor of English Literature in the University of Cambridge; and, if they had no other claim upon our attention, that sad interest of finality and irrevocability would nevertheless hold us for more than a brief while. But of course they have other claims. They are by Verrall—in other words, they contain many an illuminating criticism, many an arresting phrase, many a correction of old judgements, many a new judgement worthily advanced and carefully defended.

The lectures have been well edited by his widow, and all that could be done for them in the absence of the author's hand to add and to retouch has most certainly been done. Much, of course, that lent grace and impressiveness to the spoken word has inevitably been lost: Dr. Verrall did not confine himself to his manuscript notes, but allowed himself almost the full freedom of the extempore speaker; and, as with the Roman orator immortalized by Tacitus, 'Haterii, canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul extinctum est.' One lecture, indeed, has been entirely omitted; it con-

sisted simply of a reading of the *Secular Masque*, with attention to metrical effects, but without other comment. There is much, also, of explanation, defence, and discussion, which Dr. Verrall would certainly have added to some of these lectures, if he had lived to publish them himself. To a literary student the most important point about Dryden is his debt to his predecessors and his influence on his successors; to this but a few pages are devoted, and those not the most pregnant in the book. Again, we have many noteworthy remarks on minutiae of metre or phrase in individual poems, but there is no general characterization of Dryden as a poet or as a man of letters—no such comprehensive criticism, for example, as Professor Bradley or Dr. Mackail would have given us. There is no attempt to show how the man in Dryden wrought upon the poet; and, though the criticism is sympathetic—as all criticism ought to be—it is not always, to our mind, profound or penetrating. Yet we are grateful indeed to these pious hands which have rescued these fragments from oblivion: we have learnt so much from them that we would not by a single word seem to cast scorn on such a gift. Three of the lectures, in particular, seem to us of the highest value. One of these, as might be expected, is on Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. Here Dr. Verrall's special gifts and knowledge have full play; this lecture contains by far the most illuminating account of the 'Unities' that we have ever read. On the development of the English Ode, also, Dr. Verrall has much to say that is both new and true; while the text of the *State of Innocence*, and of some other poems in a less degree, gives him opportunities for the exercise of his well-known gift of emendation. It could not but be that the art, so often tried upon the plays of Euripides, and even upon the novels of Jane Austen, should find room for its display in some of the works of Dryden. As readers of Mr. Sargeaunt's Oxford edition of Dryden well know, few writers since the invention of printing stand in need of more careful collation

and emendation than Dryden as generally printed; and Dr. Verrall's attempts, successful or not, are warnings to us against the hasty and careless reading which assumes sense where there is none. But in all the lectures there abound the signs of a fresh and original mind. Verrall read Dryden, as he read everything, with his own eyes and not through the spectacles of commentators; and whatever he says, whether we agree with it or differ from it, is always a rebuke to laziness and a stimulus to active thought.

We confess, however, that, bearing in mind Dr. Verrall's principles of taste as previously revealed, we are somewhat surprised at his admiration for Dryden as a poet. That a judge who could see the 'too-much' even in Tennyson, should not have boggled more at Dryden, is a little astonishing. Dryden has of course his great and surpassing merits. He was beyond doubt one of the chief founders of modern English prose. After him, the rhetoric of Jeremy Taylor, the stately periods of Hooker, the majestic involutions of Milton, though they might be imitated by a Burke, a Ruskin, or a Pater, were bound to be left on one side by the ordinary writer. He is the father of Addison, and through him the ancestor of Goldsmith and even of Lamb. He is also, equally beyond doubt, one of the very greatest 'men of letters' that England ever produced. Not Walter Scott, not Swift, not Johnson, deserves that name more. Above all, he has a representative character. This is a peculiar character not always belonging to the greatest men. Milton, for example, though the highest name in his age, does not represent that age; and many other lofty intellects, though *in* one epoch, are *of* another. But Dryden has this character to a degree not equalled by his successor Pope himself. Not for nothing did Gray pass over Pope, and trace his own ancestry through Dryden to the earlier masters; not for nothing did Keats, seeking for a type of 'heroic verse,' model his *Lamia* not on the *Temple of Fame* but on the *Fables*. Of the great dynasty that ruled over English litera-

ture from 1660 to 1798, Dryden is the Hyder Ali, Pope only the Tippoo.

All this is true; but whether this character is sufficient to qualify a man for the title of a great poet is another matter. Thus to represent his age and country a man needs, not the highest genius, but a multitude of second-rate qualities remarkably developed and combined—qualities which, in fact, rarely go with the highest genius. Of all first-rate men, indeed, Goethe alone, perhaps, possessed them; while their possession, *without* the higher powers, enabled Voltaire to dominate French letters for sixty years. It was these qualities that met in Dryden, and they are fully sufficient, without our assuming his possession of any high creative power or imaginative insight, to account for his achievements and for his fame. He had an extraordinary power of assimilation; the ideas of his time he caught up almost before the time had recognized them, and his contemporaries, reading their own thoughts in his works, fancied him their inventor. He wrote plays in rhyme while rhyme was wanted; he abandoned rhyme precisely when it was about to cloy; he knew by a kind of instinct even the *words* that were just beginning to be popular, and seemed to know which were likely to be permanent; like his own Achitophel, he chose the winning cause and abandoned the losing with a skill that seemed almost uncanny. As a result, he remains for us the very type of the latter half of the seventeenth century. And herein lies his value to us. As was Tennyson to the Victorian Age, so was Dryden to the Caroline and the Jacobean; he who would know the time must know his Dryden. Dr. Verrall justly lays stress on the 'width' of Dryden's accomplishment in literature, and he quotes the weighty words of Gray in the *Progress of Poesy*, to illustrate and confirm his judgement:

> His less presumptuous car
> *Wide* o'er the fields of glory bear
> Two coursers of ethereal race.

All this is true; and we may admit it—with a change of emphasis. Dryden had width, but he wanted depth. He saw far, but he did not see below the surfaces of things. And if this is the case, we must refuse him the title of a great poet.

It is natural that critics like Dr. Verrall, and to some extent critics like Professor Raleigh, in their revulsion from the contortions and sham profundity of the so-called poets of to-day, should look back with longing eyes to the sound common sense of an earlier century, in which we usually found reason, and if not reason, at any rate rhyme. Precisely as the vapourings of some Shakespearian critics have led to a reaction in favour of Johnson's soberer view of Shakespeare, so the wild gymnastics of certain poets lead us to cry out for an hour of Pope and Dryden. And we are right. Pope and Dryden are better than bad poets, just as a sound wagon is better than a faulty aeroplane. But whether they are themselves poets or not is a question apart. To us, whatever be the definition of poetry—and on that we do not propose here to wrangle—poetry without mystery is not poetry at all. And of mystery we can find no trace in Dryden.

It was long ago beautifully observed, that poetry, like religion, deals with that which eye hath not seen nor ear heard. In this sense John Wesley was right, when he declared that poetry, to attain an imperishable wreath, must be the handmaid of piety. It is therefore not uninteresting to notice that Dryden's religion, such as it was, was fully as destitute of mystery as his verse. We are not here discussing whether his conversion to Catholicism was genuine or not: we incline on the whole to agree with Dr. Verrall against Macaulay, and to believe that within his limits Dryden was sincere. But our point is that neither as Protestant nor as Catholic does Dryden show any sense of the awfulness of divine truth. In this aspect, as in others, he is the representative of his age; and he who would under-

stand the kind of religion and the kind of theology from which the Methodist movement helped to deliver us, will find the writings of Dryden a prime document. We are struck everywhere in him by a curious lack of reticence and reverence, by a total absence of awe, and indeed, by that very familiarity in dealing with solemn matters which it has been the habit of certain writers to find in Puritanism alone. To Dryden Puritanism was utterly abhorrent; but in him this familiarity is more obvious and repellent than in any Puritan writer of our acquaintance. We need not look outside of Dr. Verrall's volume for our illustrations. Take, for example, the dedication of the *State of Innocence*—an opera which is itself a very fair specimen of the want of reverence to which we are alluding. Dryden thus addresses Mary of Modena, Duchess of York: 'Your person is so admirable that it can scarce receive addition *when it shall be glorified*'—a passage in which the flattery borders very closely upon profanity. Nor does it stand alone. As Dr. Verrall reminds us, similar adulation is ladled out in the *Eleonora* to the Countess of Abingdon and to other virtuous ladies elsewhere. Of a piece with these lapses are the verses in which Charles II, of all people, is likened to the Almighty:

> So looks our Monarch on this early fight,
> The essay and rudiments of great success,
> Which all-maturing time must bring to light,
> While he, like Heaven, does each day's labour bless.
>
> 'Heaven ended not the first or second day,
> Yet each was perfect to the work designed:
> God and kings work, when they their work survey,
> And passive aptness in all subjects find.

In the prefatory note to *Annus Mirabilis*, written while London was still smouldering under the ashes of the Great Fire, the City Corporation is addressed as follows: 'You are now a phoenix in her ashes, and, as far as humanity can approach, *a great emblem of the suffering Deity*.' God, he says, in the same passage a little lower down, cannot destroy

a virtuous nation, whatever He may do to a virtuous man; for 'Providence is engaged too deeply, when the cause becomes so general.' That is, man would have a just complaint against God if He allowed a great calamity, but not if He allowed a small one.

It is this familiarity which accounts for the strange descents into blasphemy that startle us so often in the midst of passages otherwise unobjectionable. Lord Howard of Escrick, in prison, received the Sacrament in a mixture called lamb's wool; Dryden's allusion is as follows:

> And canting Nadab let oblivion damn,
> Who made new porridge for the Paschal Lamb.

Of the Whig Sheriff, Slingsby Bethell, we are told,

> When two or three were gathered to declaim
> Against the monarch of Jerusalem,
> Shimei was always in the midst of them:

a blasphemy due, we trust, rather to a failure of memory than to intentional irreverence.

These passages have probably already wearied and shocked the reader; but it would be easy to multiply their number many times over. Incidentally we may observe that they neither wearied nor shocked their contemporary readers. Mary of Modena was a pious woman; but she made no objection to the gross bad taste—to use the mildest name—of the Dedication. Similar passages might be found everywhere in writers far removed from Puritanism. Similar lightness of tone slightly deforms even Ben Jonson's beautiful epitaph on Salathiel Pavy; similar profanity often scandalizes us in the Catholic Pope. But in Dryden it marks not only a lack of religious instinct, but also a prosaic cast of mind, which reveals itself not only in regard to religion, but equally in his way of approaching other lofty or mysterious subjects, which usually excite awe in the beholder and a certain restraint in the describer. Thus, for example, in the first *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, he begins with the famous passage assigning the origin of all things to harmony; a

passage which, despite the inevitable comparison with Milton's *At a Solemn Music*, it is possible to admire. But, ere the end, comes the usual bombast:

> Orpheus could lead the savage race,
> And trees unrooted left their place,
> Sequacious of the lyre;
> But bright Cecilia raised the wonder higher;
> When to her organ vocal breath was given,
> An angel heard, and straight appeared,
> *Mistaking earth for heaven.*

So, too, in the almost equally famous ode to the memory of Anne Killigrew, we light pretty early on the banal lines,

> Cease thy celestial song a little space;
> Thou wilt have time enough for things divine,
> Since heaven's eternal year is thine;

and as we proceed we find

> No ignoble verse,
> But such as thy own voice did practise here,
> While yet a young probationer,
> And candidate of heaven.

Not less characteristic is the well-known bathos in the *Epitaph on Lady Whitmore:*

> Rest in this tomb, raised at thy husband's cost.

It does not need the example of the pious and high-minded Southey to prove that a Poet Laureate, however gifted and religious he be, may run very near to stupidity and profanity when a court funeral ode is demanded by his employers; but Dryden's *Threnodia Augustalis* almost rivals the 'gouty hexameters' of the *Vision of Judgement* in the extraordinary style of its treatment of so solemn a theme as death:

> The Sons of Art all Med'cines try'd,
> And every Noble remedy applied,
> With emulation each assay'd
> His utmost skill, *nay, more, they pray'd.*
> Never was losing game with better conduct plaid.
> Death never won a stake with greater toyl,
> Nor e'er was Fate so near a foil:
> But, like a fortress on a Rock,
> Th' impregnable Disease their vain attempts did mock;
> They min'd it near, they batter'd from afar
> With all the cannon of the Med'cinal War.

A modern reader, stumbling on these passages, and innumerable others like them, in a set of elegant extracts, might be inclined to put all this down to mere lack of humour, But he reads further, and finds that this same Dryden has written an *Absalom and Achitophel* and a *MacFlecknoe*, from which, whatever may be absent, humour assuredly is not. It would seem that neither Dryden nor his contemporaries—or at least those of his contemporaries to whom his works specially appealed—saw any incongruity in comparisons between Death and a dice-player, or between Charles II. and the Almighty. It is not lack of humour, but lack of the sense of mystery, that accounts for these extraordinary lapses. If anything can be regarded as approaching religion in sanctity, it is beyond doubt Love, which has raised to sublimity, for a time at least, such men as Lovelace or Carew, and which in Spenser or Montrose blended inextricably with religion itself. But in his love poems, if such they can be called, Dryden shows no more sense of solemnity than Prior himself. Of this the songs in the plays are a sufficient proof. A large number of these, indeed, are too gross to bear quotation; but even the selection printed by Mr. Sargeaunt will bear out our statement. It is safe to say that with all their dexterity of metre—and Swinburne's imitations have often not surpassed them in this respect—they contain not a single lofty sentiment, and scarcely a single delicate or dainty touch. To Dryden the goddess of love is a vulgar Venus, and her attendant is an earthly Cupid; of the rapture of love he knows nothing, and he never soars above its pleasures. To sum up, in the minds of Dryden and the men of that time, whatever they may have called themselves, religion was a gross anthropomorphic materialism, love an affair of the senses, and poetry a mere versified prose. Of the whole world of shadows, of the divine skirts 'dark with excess of bright,' of obstinate questionings of invisible things, of the light that never was on sea and land, they knew nothing. To them the consecration was

wanting, and, as a result, to them the poet's dream was not vouchsafed.

It remains then to inquire what it is that has given to Dryden his immense reputation and his length of days. For, as Dr. Verrall points out, it is more than two centuries since he died, and he is still read and admired. He will be a bold man who asserts that Tennyson's renown will stand so long a strain. In a famous lecture recently delivered, the suggestion for which was given by this very book of Dr. Verrall's, Mr. Balfour has drawn our attention once again to argument in verse, and has tried to give reasons why Dryden and Pope adopted rhyme in argument, and why subsequent writers have dropped it. Of this *genre*, in our opinion, Dryden is the supreme exponent, and—though Mr. Balfour seems to prefer the *Essay on Man*—*Religio Laici* is to our mind the highest example. Those who doubt this statement might do worse than compare it with the *Essay*, reading the two in close connexion, and studying them with attention not to their purple passages, but to their arrangement and convincing power. If this be fairly done there can, we think, be no doubt about the verdict. In the *Essay on Man* there is no true reasoning from beginning to end, but only a very skilfully produced semblance of reasoning. In Dryden we feel that we are advancing from point to point; in Pope we find no marshalling of premisses with a view to a conclusion, but merely the clever repetition of single isolated propositions. Now, though the power of reasoning is by no means a sign of the poetic gift, it is not on that account to be despised. It is one of the highest of human capacities, nor were they altogether wrong who regarded it as the very image of God implanted in men. But, while the ornament of verse added to reasoning aids its effect considerably, no addition of verse will by itself transmute reasoning into poetry. Even the case of Lucretius proves nothing to the contrary. The *poetry* in Lucretius emerges precisely when he *ceases* to reason: and his 'grand other-world manner'

adorns not argumentation, but assertion based upon vision. By resolve he is a philosopher, but Nature has made him a poet, and he cannot resist the natural impulse. With Dryden the case is different. He knew that he could *argue* in verse better than in prose, and he chose verse not because he might at any moment slip into poetry, but because he felt that his syllogisms went better if cast in an apparently poetical mould. But Reason, to use his own admirable language, is

> Dim as the borrowed beams of Moon and Stars
> To lonely, weary, wand'ring travellers;

whereas poetry, like religion, reposes on intuitive certainties. Some consciousness of this is shown in the final words of Dryden's own preface: 'If any one be so Lamentable a Critique as to require the Turn of Heroique Poetry in this Poem; I must tell him . . . that the Expressions of a Poem designed purely for Instruction ought to be Plain and Natural, and yet Majestic. . . . The Florid, Elevated, and Figurative way is for the Passions; for Love and Hatred, Fear and Anger, are begotten in the Soul by shewing their Objects out of their true proportion . . . but Instruction is to be given by shewing them what they naturally are. A Man is to be cheated into Passion, but to be reason'd into Truth.'

What is true of *Religio Laici* is true of the *Hind and the Panther*—with a difference. There is no need to insist on the absurdity of the plot; nor is the absurdity made any less, as Professor Saintsbury seems to hint, by the fact that Dryden had many models for it. *Reynard the Fox*, the *Owl and the Nightingale*, the *Plowman's Tale* (once foolishly ascribed to Chaucer), Chaucer's own *Parliament of Birds*, and a score of other mediaeval parallels, exhibit this same absurdity of the Beast-Fable, with incongruities even worse than those of Dryden. Dryden, in fact, when he became a Roman Catholic, seems to have gone back to Catholic times for his inspiration. But, when the initial absurdity

is allowed for; when we have once forgotten that it is a panther and not an Anglican Bishop that is speaking; when we substitute Burnet for the Buzzard and Father Petre for the Martin; then it is impossible not to admire the extraordinary skill of the reasoning, the vigour of the language, and the liveliness of the occasional passages of narrative. Doubtless it is these qualities that Mr. Balfour admired; and, in recommending the practice of argument in verse to modern writers, doubtless he is covertly persuading many so-called poets of modern times to resign a task for which Nature has not fitted them, and take up a kind of work which, though lower than what they aim at, is infinitely higher than what they attain.

Of the advantages which the verse-form gives to Dryden there is little need to speak, as Mr. Balfour has discussed them fully enough in the lecture to which we have alluded. Point, brevity, vigour, are all secured, and the recurring rhyme fixes the argument in the memory of the reader far more effectively than any prose. Mr. Balfour is of course right in asserting that if Dryden had wished he could have argued his case without rhyme: no one better. But there is one advantage in the rhyme-form which Mr. Balfour does not mention, but which doubtless was present to Dryden's mind as it certainly was to Pope's. Sophistry is easier, and its detection more difficult, in rhyme than in prose. Poetry deals more in concrete instances, and in selected examples; these, if *carefully* selected, may well serve to disguise the truth or hide falsehood. *Transition*, in fact, which is so important to a prose argument, may be almost passed over in 'poetry.' Just as in Gray's *Elegy*, or in an Ode of Horace, the connecting links are left to be supplied by the reader, so in *Religio Laici* or the *Hind and the Panther*, the 'nice dependencies' of thought are by preference omitted. And, when the reasoning wears thin, when a weak point becomes too obvious, then a skilful debater like Dryden is glad to avail himself to the full of all the opportunities for judicious silence

which his verse-form allows him. The *Hind*, in particular, exhibits many instances, to those who care to look, of his judicious reticence. And not least in the final aposiopesis—for the end is decidedly abrupt. As was long ago pointed out by Macaulay, the work shows that a great alteration in the views of Dryden, or rather of those who employed his talents for their own purposes, took place while the *Hind and the Panther* was being actually written. At first the Church of England is treated with tenderness and respect, and is exhorted to ally herself with the Roman Catholics against the Protestant Dissenters; but at the end, it is the Dissenters that are urged to aid James against the Church. Hence the sudden ending; for to go on might well have been embarrassing. Dryden was as ignorant as every one else what would be the next step in the ever-shifting policy of James; and the poem was inconsistent enough already without the addition of yet another inconsistency.

On the extraordinary cleverness with which this difficult task—and a task indeed it was, set by rigorous task-masters—is accomplished, we need scarcely dwell. It has been noted clearly enough by every competent reader, and not least exactly by Dr. Verrall and Mr. Balfour. But we must enter one protest. This piece of sublime hackwork—as purely a party pamphlet as Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*, or Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*—dictated as it was by Government interests, and executed at the behest of a faction, must not be dubbed 'religious.' Not even *Religio Laici*, the origin of which was more independent, and still less the *Hind and the Panther*, can be called such in any adequate sense of the word. There is some amateur theology in both. There is something of what we may call political ecclesiasticism—a blend of religiosity and the sense of expediency. Both of them bear plain marks that the author was writing with an eye to the main chance, and talking of God with a glance at Mammon. This is not Religion, and we are sorry that Dr. Verrall should, even accidentally, have seemed to counten-

ance the use of such a term in reference to such works. They are indeed scarcely more religious than *Absalom and Achitophel* or the *Medal*, and not a whit more so than the *Character of a Good Parson*. Just as these works endeavoured argumentatively to justify Dryden's *political* position, to defend Toryism against Whiggism, Charles against Shaftesbury, or the Non-juring parsons against Tillotson and Sherlock, so the so-called 'religious poems,' in a manner equally argumentative, defend Dryden's theological position—or rather the station he occupied at the moment—against his theological adversaries. But, unless Butler's *Hudibras* is sacred poetry, we fail to see why the title should even implicitly be given to the *Hind and the Panther*.

Nevertheless, religious or not, these two poems remain the first and the best exemplars of that whole class of 'poetry' to which the *Essay on Man*, Gray's *Alliance of Education and Government*, and, to a partial extent, such works as Young's *Night Thoughts* and Johnson's *London* belong. They are the pioneers and the models of a school. Still more is this true of *Absalom and Achitophel*, of which Dr. Verrall gives a just and discriminating account. As he says, it is a mistake to call *Absalom and Achitophel* a satire: Dryden himself calls it simply a poem. It is rather an adaptation of the style set by Chaucer in his *Prologue*, with the added piquancy of personalities. In the *Prologue*, the characters are types; in the *Absalom* they are portraits. The result is that the poem bears the character of a kind of contemporary epic. In this respect it has never been excelled; nay, it has never been approached. Pope's Satires are mere daubs in comparison; for whereas Dryden's portraitures always carry some stamp of truth, Pope's are mere effusions of mendacious spleen. Yet Pope, in his way, was imitating Dryden; and a long line of successors followed in the path thus marked out. Johnson's picture of Charles XII is nominally Juvenal; it is really Dryden. Goldsmith's Village Preacher is Dryden again. Cowper's *Table Talk* is Dryden

adapted to a moral and religious end—an end very different from that of *Absalom* or of the *Hind and the Panther*. Nay, any one who to-day should begin portrait-painting in verse, would by the mere compulsion of literary history, follow in the same path. For the characters drawn by Dryden are not to be confused with the ordinary caricatures of satirical versifiers. That of Zimri, for example, is carefully kept free from malicious exaggeration; and that of Achitophel is hardly more severe than that of a historian of to-day. It is no small matter to have started—or revived—a kind of writing which has had so numerous and admirable a progeny; and here Dryden is not only the first, but the best of the kind.

Closely allied with this is the catholicity of taste which enabled Dryden to welcome and to praise many writers of a style and talent widely different from his own. The famous saying about Milton—'This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too'—may or may not be genuine; but his opinion of Chaucer is certain, and is recorded in the immortal Preface to the *Fables*; while his opinion of Shakespeare is expressed everywhere. And such was the receptiveness of his nature that when he admired a writer he imitated him. Directly and openly he imitated Milton in the *State of Innocence*, Chaucer in *Palamon and Arcite*, and Shakespeare in *All for Love*: but the imitations are not confined to these acknowledged borrowings; they are to be found at intervals throughout his works. And, though they are of course often hardly to be distinguished from parodies, they yet served the purpose of keeping before Dryden's readers an ideal and a manner that might otherwise have been forgotten for the time. *Palamon and Arcite*, for instance, is not Chaucer, but it brought Chaucer's name and writings to the notice of many who might otherwise have neglected him: and every now and then it *is* Chaucer despite of Dryden. Thus Dryden's works, while often exemplifying the worst points of the new style, provided something of an antidote; it might almost

be said of them that while preaching the things of a lower region they actually 'allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.'

Again, Dryden's writings, if rarely 'of ethereal race,' are in the main sound specimens of the uninspired. And herein lies their special value to-day. It is not granted to many to be true and high poets; the vision and the faculty divine are rare and capricious gifts of Providence or fortune; and those who have them do not always keep them. But clearness of thinking, sureness of touch, correctness of versification, accuracy in the presentation of the thought—these are gifts within the powers of many men of no lofty genius, and are too valuable to be squandered and lost in the search after the unattainable. We have to-day many who would do well to limit their aims to an attempt after the homelier virtues of Dryden, while leaving the useless struggle after a Miltonic sublimity; we have, in fact, too many so-called poets who show the contortions of the Sibyl without her inspiration. To such we would recommend a study of the works of Dryden, whose failures are a sign-post warning us off from the faults of bombast, and whose many successes show what can be done by knowing one's own strength and keeping within it.

E. E. Kellett.

NIETZSCHE, GERMANY, AND THE WAR

Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche. Edited by Dr. Oscar Levy. (Foulis.)
Das Leben Friedrich Nietzsche's. By E. Förster Nietzsche. (Leipzig.)
The Young Nietzsche. By E. Förster Nietzsche. (Heinemann.)
Friedrich Nietzsche, His Life and Work. By M. A. Mügge. (T. Fisher Unwin.)
Life of Friedrich Nietzsche. By D. Halévy. (Fisher Unwin.)
Friedrich Nietzsche. By Georg Brandes. (Heinemann.)
En Lisant Nietzsche. By Emile Faguet. (Paris.)
Friedrich Nietzsche. By Lou Andreas-Salomé. (Vienna.)

THE days in which we are living are days of judgement. Judgement for men and nations, for systems and creeds. Already the war has taught us the difference between essentials and non-essentials; it is as though we saw God's

> terrible and fiery finger
> Shrivel the falsehood from the souls of men.

We have seen the difference between the tie of faction and the bond of fundamental loyalty; we have learned to distinguish between the fashions of an hour and the convictions that men are ready to die for. In such piping times of peace as till quite lately seemed to be our settled portion, we could be content,

> To see all sights from pole to pole
> And glance and nod and bustle by.

But there is no time for playing with light half-beliefs and casual creeds when the soul is face to face with the ultimate issues of life and death.

The ideas of Friedrich Nietzsche are among those that have come up for judgement. His books of philosophy and ethics are sold in Germany by tens of thousands, and are carried in their knapsacks, as a German has recently

told us, by conscripts in the present war. In 1909 the German critic, Brandes, wrote, 'Nietzsche holds undisputed sway over German minds.'

The name of Nietzsche is now linked in popular parlance with those of Bernhardi and Treitschke as bearing, in the realm of ideas, the chief responsibility for the war. Not without protest. It is pointed out that much of the denunciation of Nietzsche comes from people who have never read a line of his works, and are content to condemn him on the strength of phrases picked up from newspapers and divorced from their context. It is perfectly true that, until the last few weeks, in spite of the vigorous propaganda of a small but energetic band of disciples, the average Englishman persistently refused to interest himself in Nietzsche, contemptuously dismissing him as 'the mad philosopher.' Perhaps this incuriousness is being avenged on us to-day, and it would have been more to our advantage had we cared to make ourselves acquainted with the main currents of German thought.

It must be admitted that the new German gospel of Mailed Fists and Shining Armour is by no means the exclusive possession of the *Freisinnige*. The backbone of the war party is the Junkerdom of Prussia, which is rigidly Conservative, and in religious matters stands stiffly on the old ways of orthodox Lutheranism. The village pastors of Prussia have united with the court chaplains in preaching subservience to the mailed image which the Prussian King has set up. The Austrian Ultramontanes have no better record.

It is true again that Nietzsche had no sympathy with the narrow nationalism of Prussian 'culture.' He poured scorn on typical German types of thought and ways of doing things—their mixture of 'sensibility and sausages' was utterly repellent to him. His ambition was to make people 'good Europeans.' During his life-time he found Germans irresponsive to his message, and he repaid them

with bitter scorn. In his later years he exalted Bizet's music above Wagner's, and in *Ecce Homo*, the last book he wrote before his mental breakdown, he makes a violent attack on Treitschke for prostituting the teaching of history to the spread of German Imperialism.

He spent very little time in Germany; he was cosmopolitan in ideas and habits. But that the people who stoned him when alive should develop a violent and uncritical enthusiasm for him after he was dead is only in the nature of things. If one generation did not kill its prophets, how could the next generation decorate their sepulchres?

The German people, as a matter of fact, have taken what suited them in Nietzsche's writings and left the rest. They were dazzled by the magic of his style, which gives a leaping life to the amorphous thing called German prose. Since Heine (who was not a German), no German had written like this, with such poetic passion, such *verve*, incisiveness, and gaiety. His worship of strength and beauty appealed to a young people flushed with victory and impatient of further conquests. That appeal to the spirit of adventure, that great motto, 'Live Dangerously,' thrilled those who were impatient of beaten tracks and timid compromises. His demand for a clean sweep of old hypocrisies and a standard of moral values based on life as it is, not on tradition and convention, appealed to something more worthy than a mere love of novelty.

So much for the finer minds. For others, there was such a stimulus as never before to the instincts of vanity and arrogance, which had flourished and grown fat on the prosperity of the past forty years. Those who were prepared to make a clean sweep of all inconvenient treaty obligations were quite ready to be told that the time had come for a trans-valuation of all moral values. Those who were plotting to carry fire and sword into an unoffending and peaceful country found support in the doctrine that

the ruler of the new age must be 'harder than iron; nobler than iron. Only the noblest is completely hard.' '"Why so hard?" asked the charcoal of the diamond. "Are we not both brothers?" This new commandment I give you, O my brothers. Be hard.' At a time when all the chivalries and decencies with which Christian feeling has tried to mitigate the horrors of war are being trampled underfoot, it is interesting to find that the teacher, whom good judges declare to have had an unequalled influence on the thought of modern Germany, categorically declares Christianity to be the enemy, and declares war on the typically Christian virtue of pity. Probably, like many another philosopher, Nietzsche would have shuddered to see the actual application of these principles on a large scale at Louvain, Dinant, Aarschot, Termonde, and Malines. But that cannot absolve the 'gentle hermit of Sils Maria' from some share at least in the greatest crime of modern times—the assassination of Belgium.

So the stream of Nietzsche's influence has joined with other streams which he would not have cared to own, with class-pride and stupid greed, with the diatribes of time-serving preachers and professors, making history a text for their ceaseless indoctrination of Germany's right to rule, all sweeping into one great torrent of national purpose bent on the Germanization of the world.

It is one more tragic touch in a life full of tragedy, that Nietzsche himself would certainly have considered the Germanization of the world as one of the worst of misfortunes.

The real man, as he appears in his letters and to those who knew him, has not much resemblance to his image in the popular mind, and his life is one of the saddest on record.

He was born on October 15, 1844, at the village of Röckin, near Lutzen, in Prussian Saxony. His father, a Lutheran pastor, died when he was very young, and

his mother removed to the neighbouring town of Naumburg, where she lived with her husband's mother and sisters. His paternal grandmother had seen Napoleon, and had belonged to Goethe's circle at Weimar. He had one sister, in whose house at Weimar he died, and who still remains the faithful guardian of his memory. He believed that he was of Polish descent, which, if true, would explain the un-German quality of his mind; and the pride which was his dominant quality from babyhood pleased itself with the belief that his ancestors were noble. He was brought up by women, a sensitive, well-behaved, and rather priggish little boy. In 1858 he became a boarder at the famous school of Pforta, and thence went on to Bonn University, where the ways of the beer-drinking, duelling students soon palled upon him. He followed his favourite teacher, Ritschl, to Leipzig, where he studied hard and became the centre of a small coterie of friends, devoted, like himself, to literature and music. His brilliant work in philology attracted the attention of Ritschl, who recommended him for the vacant chair of philology at Basle in 1869.

In his young manhood, the twin gods of his idolatry were Schopenhauer and Wagner. A meeting with Wagner at the house of a common friend led rapidly to intimacy, and his happiest hours were spent with Richard and Cosima Wagner and their children at the lovely villa on the Lake of Lucerne. Years afterwards, when a 'salt estranging sea' of bitter memories flowed between Wagner and his one-time friend, Nietzsche took the girl who he hoped would be his wife to visit the scene of those happy days, and in speaking of them could not restrain his tears.

When the Franco-German war broke out, he was unable, as a naturalized Swiss subject, to join the German army, but he obtained leave to serve with the Army Medical Corps, and went to the front in that capacity. His military experiences made a deep impression on him. During

the first few years after the war, he refused to speak of the horrors he had witnessed; for this prophet of hardness was in actual life the most sensitive of men.

He began his literary career as an exponent of Wagner with *The Birth of Tragedy*, published in 1872. This was a glorification of Wagner's music as national and German, and as marking a stage in the emancipation of the nation from Latin culture.

But even then Nietzsche's jealous pride was sowing the seeds of estrangement. He felt that he was regarded as Wagner's henchman, rather than as an independent thinker with a message of his own. When Wagner's hour of triumph came with the opening of his theatre at Bayreuth, Nietzsche was in a critical, disillusioned mood, which soon developed into open hostility.

In his volume of essays, *Thoughts Out of Season*, he had already begun to show himself a mordant critic of certain aspects of German life. Here he maintained, to the disgust of a public drunk with the successes of 1870, that Germany had as yet 'nothing that could be called culture.' His volume of aphorisms, *Human—All too Human*, was generally received as a defiance to Wagner and his party, and caused a definite breach between them. After its publication all intercourse ceased.

His health began to fail; he was troubled with his eyes and with constantly recurring attacks of violent headache. During the winter of 1876 he was obliged to apply for leave of absence from the University. He stayed at Sorrento in the villa of his friend, Fräulein von Meysenbug, a gentle idealist whose life had been devoted to the service of unpopular causes. Some of his most interesting letters were addressed to this 'motherly friend,' as he called her.

Finally in 1879 he retired on a small pension, and began that life of lonely wandering, thinking, and writing, which endured till the machine which he taxed so heavily

gave way at last. For some years he spent his summers at Sils Maria and his winters on the Riviera or in Italy. At Genoa he was known as 'Il Santo' by the poor people who were his neighbours and saw his simple, ascetic life, with the one luxury of a few flowers in his bare, sunlit room, and the scanty meals cooked by himself over his spirit-lamp. The simplicity of his life was self-chosen. His income, though small, was sufficient, but he had a haunting dread of debt and dependence which arose from his intense pride. Some one who met him in 1884 wrote of him, 'He lives all alone and is half blind. In the evening he can never work at anything,' and added, 'He is a downright honest man, convinced of his mission and his future fame.'

There are two glimpses of him in the *Life* written by his sister, which seem to let us into the heart of the man. One shows him in the last days of his Basle professorship, abruptly accosting one of his students. 'Come with me to Venice and we will look at the clouds together.' The youth, taken aback by this sudden invitation, stammers out an evasive reply. Nietzsche's eager face stiffens into a look of frozen pride, and he turns away without another word.

He craved for disciples, for souls who would feel their kindred with him, and understand his aims. He would make spasmodic efforts to establish the intimacy for which he craved and, when he failed, shut himself up in his isolation. He was always, like his own *Zarathustra*, retiring to his mountains in disgust at the indifference of men, and then coming down to the busy world, driven by the longing to impart the thoughts of which his mind was full.

Then there is the picture of the poet and dreamer,

> attired
> In sudden brightness, like a man inspired.

One who met him on a lonely mountain path, when this

mood was on him, said that he seemed 'like a bridegroom thinking of his bride.'

It was in such a mood that he composed the strange prose-poem of *Zarathustra*, scribbling down in his note-book the thoughts that came to him as he wandered on the hills above Sils Maria, and sitting up to transcribe them far into the night.

In one of his letters, addressed to Miss Meysenbug, he said, 'All that I now desire, between ourselves, is a good wife.' In 1882, when he visited her in Rome, she thought she had found him an ideal life companion in the person of a gifted, fascinating Russian girl, Lou von Salomé. This girl, with her receptive Slav nature, became an ardent disciple of Nietzsche's, and for a time he imagined that he had found in her the kindred soul that he was always seeking. But mischief-makers came between, and Nietzsche's egotism wearied and alarmed the capricious, sensitive creature. The episode terminated in a cruel mortification to Nietzsche, and involved a breach with one of his most intimate friends. *Also Sprach Zarathustra* was written in the reaction from this disappointment. It is the most lyrical and intensely personal of his books.

One can only justly estimate his work if one remembers that it was the work—not of a madman, certainly, but of a chronic invalid. For this reason so much of it took the aphoristic form. He was not capable of long-sustained effort, but he thought in flashes and jotted down his inspirations as they came. That vital joy which he has expressed more keenly than perhaps any other modern writer came to him in snatches, relieved against the flatness of depression or the misery of acute suffering.

It was, as Brandes finely says, out of his long illness, which reached a climax in 1881, that there arose 'a passionate desire for health, the joy of the convalescent in life, in light, in warmth, in freedom and ease of mind, in the range and horizon of thought, in "visions of new dawns."'

The Dawn of Day, written in 1881, 'during a winter of incredible suffering at Genoa,' marked an era in the development of his thought. In this book he expresses with great vigour his conclusions on the bankruptcy of the speculative reason.

'My eyes can only see a certain distance, and it is within this space that I live and move; this horizon is my immediate fate from which I cannot escape. The habits of our senses have wrapped us up in a tissue of lying sensations, which in their turn lie at the base of all our judgement and all our knowledge. We are like spiders in our own webs, and whatever we may catch in them it will only be something that our web is capable of catching.'

Again, in *The Joyful Wisdom* he dilates on the chaos of the universe. Physical science is impossible without an initial act of faith; it postulates a certain reasonableness in the universe which we can never prove. It 'operates only with things that do not exist; with lines, surfaces, bodies, atoms, divisible times, divisible spaces.' Before Bergson, Nietzsche insisted on the essentially abstract character of what we call knowledge. 'We know the How of things, but of the Why we know no more than the ancient Greeks. We describe better, we do not explain better.'

It is an error, he tells us, to imagine that there are things, substances, and bodies; that a thing is what it appears, that the will is free, that truth is attainable. There is no design and no chance. There is no one who commands, obeys, or transgresses. We can have no knowledge of anything that is not relative and subjective. We are like spiders 'caught in our own webs'; whatever there may be beyond them we can neither imagine nor influence.

But if Nietzsche is a sceptic *à l'outrance*, denying all transcendent forces and categorical imperatives, he is also a glorifier of life, *quand même*. It is waste of time to insist

on the contradictions in which his writings abound. He denies free will and exalts volition. He denies that there is any such thing as truth, and then talks of sacrificing everything for truth. 'Nietzsche,' says Rudolf Eucken, in his *Main Currents of Modern Thought*, 'in his concepts resolutely opposes all metaphysics, but in his mental attitudes there is operative a world completely different from that of first appearances, and it is precisely as the artistic creator of this world, as the metaphysician of a particular frame of mind that he has obtained his sweeping power over men's minds.'

And when we ask what is the particular frame of mind of which he became the metaphysician, it is this—that life with all its pain—mere life—is supremely worth living. Indeed, he carried his praise of life to the point of bravado, for he was ready even to accept the idea that life is a dream that can be dreamed twice. 'The past never comes back again,' says a character in one of Hawthorne's tales. 'Do we dream the same dream twice? There is nothing else that I am afraid of.'

This tragic optimism was as strange to his contemporaries as his revolutionary ethics. 'In the last period of his life,' says Brandes, 'Nietzsche appears rather a prophet than a teacher. He predicts the Superman.' But he was discouraged and baffled by the blank indifference of the German public. Of the last volume of *Zarathustra* forty copies were at first printed for private circulation, and he could only find seven people sufficiently interested in his ideas to be worthy to receive them.

Disappointment, overwork, loneliness, the concentration of an eager mind upon itself, brought their inevitable result. In January, 1889, his brain gave way. He lingered twelve years in a living death. The sketch by van Olde published in his biography shows him on the veranda of his sister's house at Weimar, propped up with pillows and gazing on the sinking sun, with wistful eyes under

the penthouse of his great brows. One is compelled to think of Keats's lines :—

> And each imagined pinnacle and steep
> Of godlike hardship tells me I must die,
> Like a sick eagle, looking at the sky.

The recognition for which he had craved in vain came in unstinted measure when he no longer needed it. His works were translated into every language and circulated all over the world; 'his intellectual tendency—now more or less understood, now misunderstood, now involuntarily caricatured—became the ruling tendency of a great part of the literature of France, Germany, England, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Russia.' This was the final touch of the irony of his fate.

Much might be said of Nietzsche as a pioneer of eugenics, of his art criticism, his attitude towards the feminist movement, and many other questions. But the main thing about him is his attitude towards accepted moral values. He regarded himself as the prophet of a new morality, and as Brandes said, 'It was his hope and intention to give to the world an exhaustive criticism of moral values.'

The Danish critic happily sums up Nietzsche's position in the phrase, 'Aristocratic Radicalism.' The world of his vision is one where the best rule, having proved by conflict and endurance their right to rule. His ideal is not so much the 'Blond Beast' as the Japanese Samurai —the disciplined strength of the elect among humanity. The aim of life is 'to be a bridge to the Superman,' the higher race which is to come. 'Humanity must work unceasingly for the production of solitary great men—this and nothing else is its task.'

'That which here glorifies itself with praise and blame and calls itself good,' says Nietzsche in the *Natural History of Morals*, 'is the instinct of the herding human animal. The democratic movement, "which looks to the community as the deliverer," is the fruit of Christianity.'

Christianity, according to Nietzsche, is a system not only of 'Herd morality,' but of 'Slave morality.' The Jews had been for centuries under the heel of more powerful nations, and it was with them that 'the slave insurrection in morals' began. Christianity developed as a sect of Judaism; most of its members were slaves and paupers. Obviously, as their outward circumstances offered them nothing on which to feed that Will to Power which is a symptom of even the humblest life, they had to fall back on imaginary superiorities and construct for themselves a heavenly kingdom. As it was to their interest that the strong should treat them with forbearance and compassion, they developed an ethical system which gave these qualities the first place.

This thesis is developed in Nietzsche's works with a vigour, a liveliness, and a wealth of ingenious illustration, of which we can give no idea in the space at our disposal.

It has often been pointed out of late that modern opposition to Christianity makes war not merely on Christian doctrine, but on Christian morals. The agnostics of the last generation were, generally speaking, convinced that the Christian *ethos* could be retained, and was worth retaining apart from credal presuppositions. J. S. Mill said that even for an unbeliever there was no finer aim than so to live that Christ would approve his life. Matthew Arnold wrote,

> Leave then the Cross as ye have left carved gods,
> But guard the fire within.

It was reserved for Nietzsche, as the prophet of a new ethical system, to declare open war against the distinctive morality of Christianity.

It is not enough to say that he warred against hypocrisy and false asceticism, though this is true. He fought not merely against perversions of Christianity, but against its essence and life. Even the elements of nobility in his

doctrine, those very points in it which attract brave and adventurous souls, are hostile to Christianity; because Christianity is based on the value of the common man. It teaches that each man should count as one, and that no man may count for more than one, because Christ died for each alike, and the soul of a gutter-snipe is as much to Him as the soul of a king. This doctrine is and always will be intolerable to human pride. 'It is disgusting,' wrote a great lady to the Countess of Huntingdon, 'to be told that you have a soul as sinful as any of the common wretches that crawl upon the earth.' And so, although Christianity is bound to no one political system, we find, wherever men are deeply penetrated with the Christian spirit, a tenderness for the weak, a pity for the poor, a sense of the dignity of man in himself and apart from extraneous considerations which tend, as time goes on, to express themselves in political institutions.

One need only take up any of Nietzsche's books at random to see how alien this is to the Nietzschian spirit.

'The Christian faith from the beginning is sacrifice—the sacrifice of all freedom, all pride, all self-confidence of spirit; it is at the same time subjection, self-derision, and self-mutilation. . . . It was the Oriental slave who thus took revenge on Rome.'

'What is good? All that enhances the feeling of Power—the Will to Power—power itself—in man. What is bad? All that proceeds from weakness. The weak and the botched shall perish; first principle of our humanity. And they ought even to be helped to perish. What is more harmful than any vice? Practical sympathy with the botched and weak—Christianity.'

In his view the only thing that mattered was the affirmation of life at its best and most beautiful by the production of powerful and splendid individuals. To this triumph of the finest the interests of the herd were to be sacrificed without scruple. He had no love for cruelty as such; his

instincts were gentle, and he was capable of deep affection; but to him the greatest of all horrors was to see

> The weakest having power upon the highest,
> And the high purpose broken by the worm.

He held that the apparition of a Napoleon, as a revelation of superb human will and courage, was a gift to the world that far outbalanced the miseries of a devastated Europe.

Nietzsche draws a sharp distinction between the Founder of Christianity and the system called by His name. Jesus in his opinion was merely a gentle anarchist, who was executed for giving trouble to the Roman government. 'What did Christ deny?' he asks. 'Everything which to-day is called Christian.'

The strength of Nietzschianism is that it presents an ideal which is to many minds more attractive than the Christian religion. Christianity promises man a happy hereafter. This, say the disciples of Nietzsche, is a great point in our favour. We make no such promises. We appeal to the pure altruism of men, calling on them to sacrifice themselves for a future which they will never see. Those who need the future rewards and punishments of the Christian creed write themselves down as unworthy of belonging to us. We only ask for the *élite*. The rest of mankind are welcome to their herd morality.

It is best to realize at once that Christianity accepts this indictment. It makes no appeal to human pride. It does make appeal to simple human needs, the craving for a lasting happiness, for the final triumph of righteousness, for reunion with dear ones who have passed from sight. For this the stoics of the Roman Empire despised it as the Nietzschians despise it to-day. It does not tell the strong to glory in his strength, still less to impose his will upon the weak. It teaches that no man is strong, except in virtue of a strength not his own. It turns men's minds away from themselves—away from the self-contemplation and self-glorification which are essential to the Nietzschian ideal.

The Christian does not ask himself whether he is a strong man or a weak one, whether he is born to belong to the herd or to give laws to it. His business is to love God incarnate with the whole of his human heart, and to love and serve his fellow men for that love's sake.

So, after all, we find some justification for the rough and ready popular judgement which has ranked Nietzsche with Treitschke and Bernhardi as the inspirers of the war. There is something very Nietzschian about the attitude of a nation which has concentrated on efficiency in order to dominate Europe, not so much from vulgar greed as from an exaggerated view of the benefit which will redound to the world from its subjection to German policemen, German professors, and German drill sergeants. Equally Nietzschian is the idea that rules of 'herd morality,' devised by the weak for their own protection, must not be allowed to interfere with these grandiose schemes. Treaties hamper us; never mind the treaties. Belgium is in our way; so much the worse for Belgium.

The Superman of Nietzsche stands alone on his mountain. Pride is infinitely lonely, and the prophet of pride went mad with his loneliness. But Christians, too, have had 'a glimpse of a Man that justifies the existence of man, a glimpse of an incarnate human happiness that realizes and redeems.'

'Ye shall judge them by their fruits.' We have seen the Christian spirit at work, even in the last sad days, with the nurses in the hospitals, with the ambulance on the battlefields, with the Sisters of Mercy falling at their work under German shells in the Cathedral at Rheims. The spirit that glorifies reckless self-assertion and calls pity a weakness has its trophies, too, where Our Lord has been crucified again in His children and His poor, on the blood-stained fields of Belgium.

DORA M. JONES.

THE MEDICAL COLLEGE MOVEMENT IN CHINA

The Appeal of Medical Missions. By R. Fletcher Moorshead. (Oliphans.)
Report of Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia. By J. R. Mott. 1912–1913.
Changing China. By Lord N. Gascoyne Cecil. (Nesbit.)
Medical Missions in China. By W. Arthur Tatchell. (Kelly.)

DURING the past few years in China medical missions, in common with other forms of missionary enterprise, have been undergoing a process of development. In the early days, the clerical missionary, who had possibly attended for a short time the out-patient department of a small hospital, would put amongst his biblical and theological books a volume of *The Complete Family Physician*, and invest in a small medicine chest, a pair of tooth forceps, and perhaps a stethoscope. Then followed the period of small hospitals, which were poorly equipped, indifferently conducted, and where the huge numbers of patients treated was considered to be a Christian virtue instead of a professional blemish.

But to-day, although such lamentable conditions do unfortunately exist in some parts of China, yet there is an increasing number of doctors who have in the past, and still continue to treat their patients in China in the same manner as they would treat their own relatives in the home lands. And hospitals where such treatment is meted out are receiving their just reward.

But the time has come when in China we must change our emphasis from the mission hospital to the medical college. Every year we are privileged to labour in China our object ought to be to develope our medical work upon such lines that our Chinese medical colleagues may speedily

become independent of the foreign doctor, and become capable of carrying on the hospital work which we have initiated and developed to its present standard of efficiency. This is the objective of all our mission agencies. But the problem is, how is this self-governing and self-supporting medical mission work to become accomplished? How are the men to be trained for such important and responsible positions? Some students have been found worthy of enjoying the privilege of a medical education either in America or Europe, but their number is few, the expense great and the risks many. Suitable candidates for the medical profession ought not, however, to be obliged to study in a foreign country. Neither is such an arrangement expedient.

After seventy years of earnest, though often imperfect medical effort to heal the sick and preach the gospel, the medical missionaries in China are to-day more than ever convinced that it would be unworthy of our high and holy calling to relegate to other hands the creation of a strong body of thoroughly equipped Chinese medical practitioners, who should form the foundation for the future of medicine in China. Surely we, who had the honour of introducing into China the science of Western medicine, have earned the right to share in the creation of such a body; and, with the courage of those convictions, we are determined to do our utmost to bring about this change of emphasis which, after all, is but the latest phase and natural sequence in the evolution of medical missionary enterprise.

It must not be presumed that medical education has been altogether neglected in the past, for it has been quietly progressing for several years in various parts of China. But until four or five years ago it had never been taken seriously by the mission boards, but has been carried on during the spare time of overworked doctors, to whom all honour is due. The result has been only what could be expected under such circumstances. With very few excep-

tions, the students who have been trained in these schools, where only one or even two doctors have been responsible for the instruction in all the subjects, have developed into nothing more than glorified nurses. How could it be otherwise? The first medical college worthy of such a name was founded at Peking by the London Missionary Society during the last years of the Manchu dynasty. At first it was named after the pioneer medical missionary of that society, Dr. Lockhart. But since the opening in 1906, the work has been strengthened and the buildings increased by the co-operation of five other societies in Peking uniting in the enterprise, whilst a sixth society connects the college closely with the medical colleges at home. So it is well qualified to be known as the UNION MEDICAL COLLEGE, Peking. When in Peking last year we were privileged to visit the magnificent plant of the college, and also inspect the recently-opened Union Hospital adjoining. Great interest has always been connected with this particular college, especially by the wealthy and governing classes, because the late Empress Dowager of China contributed handsomely to the funds, and sent a special Commissioner to the opening ceremony of the college. Another mark of favour it has received is that it is registered by the Board of Education, so that its successful students receive a Government diploma, although it is distinctly a Christian college. Surely this recognition is a very great advance in a country where even to-day the sole qualification that is needed for a man to practise as a doctor is a large pair of goggles and a benign, thoughtful expression. Peking Union Medical College has succeeded in applying the axe to the tree of superstition, and the old traditions have been made, in some degree, to give way for those influences which in China will ultimately make all things new.

To most students of history, it has always been incongruous that in a country such as China, where for centuries

the most searching examinations have been the only rungs of the ladder to a literary degree, and subsequently an official appointment, that the practice of medicine has been relegated to the ignorant and despised. In the light of modern Western science, Chinese medical and surgical treatment can only be considered as antiquated and, in many instances, barbarous. But with the advent of such institutions as the Union Medical College at Peking, it augurs well for a bright and successful future in China for medical educational work, and also the amelioration of the suffering of China's millions.

During the past few years this movement has spread beyond the borders of Peking. Partly through the energy of individual medical missionaries, but principally as the result of concerted action of the China Medical Missionary Association, there are now established eight Christian medical colleges in different parts of China. So far as we know, there are but two medical colleges which are not directly under the control of missionary boards. At the Continuation Committee Conferences in Asia, held under the able chairmanship of Dr. J. R. Mott, the following are three of the many recommendations which were adopted :—

(1) A most important feature of the work of medical missions in China at the present juncture is the work of training Christian young men and women, that they may be able to take their place as thoroughly qualified medical missionaries, to perpetuate the work we have begun, and to occupy positions of influence in the service of their country.

(2) The Association (Medical Missionary) therefore considers that the object of our presence here can now best be advanced by concentrating our energies largely on the important centres approved by the Association, and forming there efficient Union Medical Colleges and specially equipped hospitals. And we would strongly recommend that all such colleges be affiliated

and co-ordinated with other existing missionary educational institutions.

(8) Recent movements in China have developed a natural desire on the part of the people to carry out their own educational reforms, and this we must recognize, and make the foreign element in our work as little prominent as possible, by having our colleges gradually and increasingly staffed and supported by the Chinese themselves.

There is every indication that the educated youth of China is awakening to the importance and dignity of the medical profession, and our supreme object in establishing these medical colleges and hospitals is, that the Chinese medical profession must be claimed for Christ. Otherwise, there is no profession which is capable of greater abuse and degradation. At present we Christian doctors practically hold in our own hands the inception, organization, and developement along Christian lines of the whole medical profession in China. The present is our supreme opportunity for a sacred duty which God has imposed upon us and His Church. Another great advantage which missionary doctors possess is that, excepting for those Chinese who have studied medicine in foreign countries, medical missionaries are the only doctors who are qualified to teach in the Chinese language. But this reason may not be so convincing as it at first appears, for even in China the language question is still a subject of much controversy amongst those who teach in medical colleges. There are those who advocate English as being the best and most suitable medium for teaching, for they claim that it affords the teachers greater facilities and accuracy, whilst for the students it opens up the command of a medical literature of far richer extent than will be found in the Chinese language for many years to come. But Chinese students must be very conversant with foreign languages to understand, and absorb to the full value, the teaching of medicine, which, after all, is to

such a large degree expressed in languages which are foreign to English. On the other hand, there are those who have for many years taught in Chinese, and they naturally claim, that whatever may be the imperfections connected with such a method, it makes the subjects taught much more intelligible for the greater number of students, and with the ever increasing output of Chinese medical literature, such needs can and will be met as the demand increases. At present, of the eight medical colleges referred to, the whole of the teaching in one, and part in another is in English, but in the other six the teaching is in Chinese.

One of the most urgent and important questions which our missionary boards, and through them the churches, have to consider is, What is to be our attitude towards this movement? For a long time past we have been very wisely endeavouring to create a native ministry on the various mission fields. To this end, Theological Colleges, Union or Denominational, have been established, and some of the choicest and ablest missionaries have been separated for the work of teaching. In these colleges are to be found some of the most intelligent young men of the native churches, men whom the churches have tested and whom God has called to preach. They are receiving every possible advantage—educationally, morally, and spiritually—that will equip them for being the future leaders, pastors, and evangelists of the native churches, to whom, when the time arrives for the missionaries to withdraw from the mission field, they will hand over the responsibilities and further development of the native churches. Yet are we not neglecting an equally important part of God's work in not educating and preparing the Christian students to undertake the work of healing the sick, and becoming capable of managing the hospitals and medical colleges, which have been established in their country by missionaries for the benefit of their own people?

At present there are medical colleges established at

Peking, Moukden, and Tsinanfu, in the north, Hankow and Nanking, with Hanchow in the centre, Foochow and Canton in the south, and Chentu in the west of China. All these colleges are under the direct control of Mission Boards, whilst some of them rejoice in the fact that they are monuments of a gracious union between one or more missions. Such union makes for utility, efficiency, and economy. The one college which by common consent ought to be the largest and strongest in China, is the Union Medical College in Hankow. For its strategical and geographical position as a centre for clinical material there is no place in the whole of China to equal Hankow. During its twelve years of existence, first as a London Mission College, and then as a Union Medical College, it has done good work, and great credit is due to those who have so courageously given of their best and done their utmost. But, in consequence of circumstances over which those in authority have had no control, the College is existing in temporary and very inconvenient premises, and is a striking example of how medical educational work ought *not* to be done. Yet we have every evidence that the College is on the eve of better days, for we hope shortly to have it established in its own and more commodious premises, with an adequate staff of teachers.

We in China claim that, while both Christian and non-Christian students are admitted into our medical colleges, and work side by side, that the teachers are at liberty to use to their fullest degree whatever influence they may possess to win their students to the faith and service of Christ. Such a claim does not in any way interfere with the thoroughness of professional tuition, but it does secure the hours sacred to such college work, the right to encourage the practice of Christian principles and the formation of strong characters. It is also their prerogative so to regulate the discipline and conduct of the college that the students shall carry on their studies in a Christian atmosphere.

Each of the colleges already mentioned is conducted on these lines, and together they bring under Christian influence hundreds of the educated youths of China. The curriculum is on the model of our Western medical colleges, and there is every evidence that the better informed and official classes of Chinese do recognize the importance and value of such institutions.

To sum up briefly, the present position in China in regard to medical education is as follows :—

(1) The Chinese Government has given its patronage to the Union Medical College in Peking, with the full knowledge that it is a Christian institution.

(2) At Moukden and Tsinanfu, those in high authority have not only given to such Christian colleges a very warm welcome, but have expressed their approval, and given material assistance for the establishing of medical colleges in their midst.

(3) Dr. Wu Lien Teh, the Medical Adviser to the Chinese Government, has published a memorandum, in which he acknowledges the splendid beginnings of the present missionary medical colleges, and recommends to his Government that, instead of making any expensive attempt of its own at a widespread national organization, it should assist such existing medical colleges with monetary grants, on the sole condition that the teaching shall reach a specified Government standard.

(4) The China Medical Association, which is composed entirely of Chinese who have received their medical education in foreign countries, is negotiating with the executive of the China Medical Missionary Association with the object of uniting in the preparation of a Medical Lexicon.

(5) At the next conference of the China Medical Missionary Association, which is to be held in Shanghai next February, the most important subject which is to be considered and discussed is the preparation of a common

standard both for the preliminary and medical education, to which it will invite the Faculties of the eight medical colleges to conform. If this be attained, then it can only be a matter of a short time to secure the recognition and *imprimatur* of the Chinese Government for all of our Christian medical colleges.

(6) There is at present an influential Commission in China, sent by Mr. Rockefeller specially to study the whole subject of medical education. The Commission is at the present time preparing its report to present at the end of the year. Mr. Rockefeller's desire is, not to commence any new work, but to provide specially in our mission hospitals and medical colleges an increased accommodation, and more adequately and efficiently to equip the colleges and hospitals with modern appliances, which will enable the educated youths of China to receive a thorough and complete medical training under Christian influences. The sum of money he intends to dispose of for this purpose amounts to several millions of dollars.

Never in the history of medical missions was the time so auspicious for development of medical colleges as it is at present. Our fears are vanishing, whilst our most sanguine hopes are being realized. We can see the day rapidly approaching when our medical missionary work shall become indigenous on Chinese soil, when our goal will be gained by securing the Chinese medical profession for Christ by establishing Chinese Christian hospitals, manned by Chinese Christian doctors, which will become an integral part of the great Chinese Christian Church. Thus shall we not only secure our own immediate missionary needs, but we shall be preparing against the day when we must decrease, but when the ever increasing Christian force shall occupy its rightful place and win this great Republic for Christ.

W. ARTHUR TATCHELL.

INDIA'S PART IN THE WAR

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I

THE part that India has elected to play in the European war has astonished most people. The surprise is as pleasant for the Empire to which Hindostan has so enthusiastically rallied as it is unpleasant to those ranged against the British and their Allies.

The cause for wonderment is not far to seek. For years on end, friends and foes alike have been describing India as being in a state of acute unrest. The world at large has been told that Great Britain's Oriental Dependency was

discontented with British rule. This statement has been published in a variety of forms, reflecting largely the temperament of the writer and his prejudices for or against the British, and his enmity or otherwise towards that section of Indians who are commonly designated as 'the educated Indians,' 'the English, or Western, educated Natives,' 'the *babus*,' &c. Some scribes have not hesitated to write that the whole of this Indian community was disloyal to the core, that some of its members were tampering with the 'native' soldiers, and inciting the illiterate masses to rebel against constituted authority. A few have gone even further, and stated that while the educated classes were disaffected on account of the Britons monopolizing positions of power in the Government and rudely treating Indians of culture and high standing, the unlettered millions felt the heaviness of the British yoke, and were tired of paying rack rents and abiding in conditions so wretched that the Western imagination is incapable of conjuring up before the mind's eye. Some have not exaggerated the proportion so vastly. They have merely given it as their opinion that only a portion of 'educated Indians' are rebels and are seeking to pervert the rising generation of Indians by means of ingenious innuendo in the press and from the platform, and by means of a well-organized secret propaganda.

Whatever the particular form adopted by different writers on Indian discontent, the average person in the United Kingdom and other parts of the world has, of recent years, cherished a more or less vague feeling that a revolution was brewing in India, and that sooner or later Britain would have to reckon with it. He has felt that the mischief was being made by Indians who had been invested with Western education in the colleges and schools established by the British in the Peninsula. He has believed that whatever action the British Administrators took to disarm the campaign, whether by way of punishing irreconcilables or conciliating the mild agitators, has not availed. This has

inspired a fatalistic tendency to regard the situation as hopeless. People of radical tendencies and those cherishing hatred for the English have conjured up worse horrors. They have regarded India as a vast heap of tinder which a stray spark might set ablaze any moment.

Among those who have imagined Hindostan to be in this highly inflammable condition, the Germans head the list. Probably their wish to see Britain down in the dust has been largely, if not altogether, responsible for this conception. Or the impression may have been formed from the wild statements made current by half-educated Indians turned revolutionaries by contact with German and other radicals. It has been known to those conversant with Indian affairs that a settlement of Hindu firebrands has existed for years in Germany, and issued a sanguinary sheet called the *Talwar*, or sword.

Whatever the cause for the general notions current about Indian unrest may have been, stray happenings in the Peninsula have seemingly confirmed them. Ever since the middle of the last decade there has been considerable agitation in the press and from the platform. A movement for the boycott of British goods originated about that time. In 1907 the propaganda to terrorize the officials by throwing bombs and firing revolvers at them and inflicting death or physical hurt upon them by other means manifested itself. Not a year has passed since then without such attempts being made, many of them ending in ghastly tragedies. These outrages have had the effect of deepening the general impression that India was greatly disaffected.

It is said, with what authority I am unable to verify, that were it not for this notion Germany would have hesitated to go to war with Britain. Those who venture to suggest this add that the Teutons believed that the Rajas, who for years have been described as longing for a good opportunity to shake off the British yoke, would find that chance when Britain was embroiled on the Continent, and

the discontented classes and masses would flock to the standards of these mutinous Indian Rulers.

Delusions so egregious have not been cherished by all; but comparatively few people have been wise enough to interpret the Indian unrest in its true light. Its real character was simply this: Indians who are enlightened enough to review the march of events are grateful for the manifold blessings that British rule has conferred upon Hindostan. Immunity from external attack and settled internal conditions have given India that peace which it had not enjoyed for many decades preceding the establishment of British dominance, and for lack of which its institutions were deteriorating. The British established a system of public instruction, which has lifted the veil of ignorance from a part of India's face. The construction of means of communication of many sorts—roads and bridges, railways, posts, telegraphs, wireless telegraphs and telephones—and other public works, the codification of laws and the establishment of courts of justice, and other features of modern government, have conduced to the general well-being of Indians.

While recognizing these blessings which India owes to British rule, Indians are conscious that the Administration needs such improvements as are possible only in case Indians are given self-government. No greater autonomy is desired than that enjoyed by such dominions as Canada, Australia, &c., and even that measure of self-government is not asked for immediately in a single instalment. However, the majority of 'educated Indians' feel that the pace at which those responsible for the Indian Administration are advancing Indians along the constitutional path is far too slow, and they are agitating for greater speed to be put into it.

When these basic facts concerning Indian unrest are realized, it is easy enough to see the folly of those who cherished the delusion that Hindostan was ready to assert its independence the moment it found that Great Britain

was engaged in a death struggle on the Continent and could not spare the military force to keep India's 315,000,000 people in a state of subjection. The moment it is realized that Indians—ignoring, of course, the irreconcilables, who are now known to form a very inconsiderable portion of 'educated Indians'—are agitating, not to break away from the Empire, but to better their status *in* the Empire, the part that India has chosen to play during the course of this war causes no surprise whatever.

II

Few people in the United Kingdom and the Over-Seas Dominions and Colonies have really grasped the comprehensive character of the aid India is rendering to the Empire at this crisis. I may, therefore, note down the principal facts concerning this activity.

First and foremost, 'educated Indians' have voluntarily given up agitation on all questions.

Second, Indians of all ranks, religions and races—Rajas and commoners, educated and illiterate, military and civil, Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Indian Christian, &c., and Aryan and non-Aryan—have each and all undertaken to do everything in their power to aid the British in crushing the common enemy.

1. The Rajas—nearly 700 in number—have placed their military resources at the disposal of the Empire. Some of them have undertaken to lead their soldiers into action, and a few have actually journeyed to the Continent for this purpose. Two Rajas, the Nizam of Hyderabad, His Highness *Nizam-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ud-Daula*, Nawab *Mir* Sir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, G.C.S.I., and the Maharaja of Mysore, Colonel His Highness *Sri* Sir Krishnaraja Wadiar Bahadur, G.C.S.I., between them have given nearly three-quarters of a million pounds (one hundred lakhs of rupees) to be used in defraying the expenses of the units comprised in the Indian contingent of the British Expeditionary Force. Many others have

contributed towards the war-chest and towards various relief funds, and have offered to supply thousands of remounts, stores, etc. Some of them—the Maharaja of Gwalior, Major-General His Highness Sir Madho Rao Sindhia Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., LL.D., A.D.C., the Begum of Bhopal, Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.I., and others have banded together to fit out a hospital ship, most appropriately named the *Loyalty*, to transport wounded soldiers to points where they can be properly cared for.

2. Wealthy and influential Indians have rushed forward to do all they can to comfort the soldiers at the front, to woo back to health those who have been wounded, and to mitigate the distress of the families left behind by them. Indian names are to be found upon the lists of various funds opened in the United Kingdom. Relief funds have been opened in India, and have been generously supported by all classes.

Monetary aid, however, is not the only assistance proffered. 'Educated Indians' engaged in various professions and in Government services, and the students in colleges and high schools, have volunteered to receive training in medical relief work, and are fitting themselves to be useful in minimizing the havoc wrought by modern warfare. Indians studying at the British Universities and at the Courts of Inns, &c., in the United Kingdom have been as quick to organize themselves into corps and render relief to wounded soldiers.

3. The martial races of India have obeyed the summons to the firing line with an alacrity and enthusiasm which would do credit to any member of the Empire knit together with Great Britain by ties of the closest blood relationship.

III

Very little has appeared in the British press in appreciation of the patriotic move made by 'educated Indians'

to refrain from doing anything that might in any way weaken or impair the authority of the British Indian Government or cause any complication or embarrassment while the Empire is engaged in the present stupendous struggle. Indeed, some misguided Britons have been foolish enough to seek to belittle this action, or to ascribe low motives to it.

It is not necessary for me to say much in order to bring out the importance of the Imperial service which my countrymen have rendered by sinking, for the time being, all differences which existed between them and the Government. Clamorous agitation during this crisis would have been injurious to the Imperial cause. The recital of grievances against a foreign domination at a time when the war has rendered the people excitable might easily have led to more or less serious disturbance of the peace. It, therefore, means that if Indians, through lack of Imperial spirit, had kept up their agitation, no matter how legitimate it might have been, it would have been necessary for the Government to maintain the military strength in the Peninsula at its highest pitch, in order to be ready for any emergency. Nay, in that hypothetical case it might have been necessary to reinforce the British garrison in India. It was this contingency, it is said, that Great Britain's enemies counted upon.

By the magnanimous spirit that 'educated Indians' have shown at this juncture, they have confounded their Suzerain's foes. Their action, in this respect, is on a par with that of Ireland and of the Suffragettes. The resolve on the part of all these factions to desist from agitation so long as the war lasts has made for solidarity, without which it would have been chimerical to expect to be able to carry on so stupendous a struggle.

Special stress must be laid upon the Imperial spirit that is being exhibited by Indian Musalmans. Their decision to refrain from agitation has an important bearing upon

the situation. The Moslem is an emotional person. The phrase 'holy war' (*jehad*) is apt to inflame his passions. German machinations have led Turkey to become embroiled in the present conflict. The Kaiser's tools, bearing Musalman names but professing Islam no more than does a non-Moslem like myself, have declared a 'holy war' against Great Britain and its Allies, and have issued proclamations inciting Musalmans all over the world to strengthen the hands of Wilhelm. In this circumstance, if 'educated Indo Moslems' were bent upon carrying on agitation against the British Indian Government, no matter in how constitutional a manner, there might have been grave danger of setting afire the inflammable Moslem masses.

As it is, 'educated' Musalmans are doing their utmost to expose the Turkish tactics in their true colours. Men so highly placed as the Nizam of Hyderabad and His Highness the Aga Khan, Aga Sultan Mahomed Shah, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., LL.D. (hon. Camb.), have issued manifestoes pleading with their co-religionists not to be misled by the action dictated by Berlin. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, who possesses the unique distinction of being the only woman ruler in the Moslem world, has come forward with equal alacrity and pointed out that the *Caliph*, or head of Islam, has had no more to do with initiating this outrage than an unborn babe. The effect of these declarations is so far-reaching that it is advisable for me to reproduce two of them, showing the spirit in which all of them are written.

The Nizam of Hyderabad issued the following manifesto:

> 'In view of the present aspect of the war in Europe, let it be generally known that at this critical juncture it is the bounden duty of the Mohammedans of India to adhere firmly to their old and tried loyalty to the British Government, especially when there is no Moslem or non-Moslem Power in the world under which they enjoy such personal and religious liberty as they

do in India, and when, moreover, they are assured by the British Government that, as it has in the past always stood the best friend of Islam, so will it continue to be Islam's best friend, and will always protect and cherish its Moslem subjects.

'I reiterate that in the crisis before us the Mohammedan inhabitants of India, especially the subjects of this State, should, if they care for their own welfare and prosperity, remain firm and whole-hearted in their loyalty and obedience; swerve not a hair's breadth from their devotion to the British Government, whose cause I am convinced is just and right; keep sacred the tie which binds the subject people to their rulers; and, lastly, that they should in no case allow themselves to be beguiled by the wiles of any one into a course of open or secret sedition against the British Government.

'Finally, I give expression to the hope that as I, following the traditions of my ancestors, hold myself ever ready to devote my own person and all the resources of my State and all that I possess to the service of Great Britain, so will all the Mohammedans of India, especially my own beloved subjects, hold themselves whole-heartedly ready in the same way.'[1]

His Highness the Aga Khan, who is not the ruler of a State, but who is the spiritual head of the Khoja community of Musalmans, and has a following in and out of India of 60,000,000 Moslems, sent the following message, dated November 2, to Moslems in India and other British Dominions:

'With deep sorrow I learn that the Turkish Government has joined hands with Germany, and acting under German orders is madly attempting to wage a most unprovoked war against such mighty Sovereigns as the King-Emperor and the Tsar of Russia. This is

[1] Indian Papers, *The Times*, November 7, 1914, page 7, column 5.

not the true and free will of the Sultan, but of German officers and other non-Moslems who have forced him to do their bidding.

'Germany and Austria have been no disinterested friends of Islam, and while one took Bosnia, the other has long been plotting to become the Suzerain of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, including Kerbela Nejef and Baghdad. If Germany succeeds, which Heaven forbid, Turkey will become only a vassal of Germany, and the Kaiser's Resident will be the real ruler of Turkey, and will control the Holy Cities.

'No Islamic interest was threatened in this war, and our religion was not in peril, for the British and Russian Empires and the French Republic had offered to solemnly guarantee Turkey all her territories in complete independence if she had remained at peace. Turkey was the trustee of Islam, and the whole world was content to let her hold our Holy Cities in her keeping. Now that Turkey has so disastrously shown herself a tool in German hands, she has not only ruined herself, but has lost her position of trustee of Islam, and evil will overtake her. Turkey has been persuaded to draw the sword in an unholy cause from which she could be but ruined whatever else happened, and she will lose her position as a great nation, for such mighty Sovereigns as the King-Emperor and the Tsar can never be defeated. Thousands of Moslems are fighting for their Sovereigns already, and all men must see that Turkey has not gone to war for the cause of Islam or for the defence of her independence. Thus our only duty as Moslems now is to remain loyal, faithful and obedient to our temporal and secular allegiance.'[1]

It is also necessary to attach particular importance to the action taken by the 'educated' Sikhs in giving up,

[1] *The Times*, November 4, 1914, page 8, column 5.

agitating their grievances. Roughly speaking, about one-third of the Indian ('Native') Army is composed of men professing this religion (Sikhism). The Sikh, as a rule, is a majestic fellow, tall and straight, broad-shouldered and long-limbed, with regular, handsome features. His ability to master Occidental tactics and to gain skill with Western weapons has justly made him famous as a soldier the world over. If his educated co-religionist was constantly pressing communal grievances upon the attention of the Government, it might have an unhappy effect upon these brave and efficient fighters.

Therefore the cessation of agitation for the duration of the war is a gain all round.

IV

Among those who have resolved to refrain from constitutional agitation are men who, the British were told not so very long ago by well-known English writers, constituted the worst foes of *Pax Britannica* in the Oriental Dependency. Among these Indians I single out the name of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, of Poona, in Southern India. Sir Valentine Chirol thus writes concerning him in his *Indian Unrest*, a book dedicated, by permission, to Viscount Morley, who, about the time of its publication, was the Secretary of State for India: 'If any one can claim to be truly the father of Indian unrest, it is Bal Gangadhar Tilak' (p. 41). He has served two long terms of imprisonment for political crimes. The last one ended just a few weeks before the war was declared. Not long after he had been restored to his home and freedom he declared:

> '. . . the present crisis is, in my opinion, a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it has universally evoked our united feelings and sentiments of loyalty to the British Throne. . . . it is, I firmly hold, the duty of every Indian, be he great or small, rich or poor, to support and assist His Majesty's Government

to the best of his ability; and no time, in my opinion, should be lost in convening a public meeting of all parties, classes, and sections in Poona, as they have been elsewhere, to give an emphatic public expression to the same. It requires hardly any precedent to support such a course. But if one were needed I would refer to the proceedings of a public meeting held by the citizens of Poona so far back as 1879-80 in regard to the complications of the Afghan War, which was proceeding at the time. That proves that our sense of loyalty and desire to support the Government is both inherent and unswerving; and that we loyally appreciate our duties and responsibilities under such circumstances.'[1]

It is not necessary for me to explain whether Mr. Tilak was always the friend of Great Britain, or whether his opinions have undergone a radical change. The quotation shows his spirit at the present time, and, I believe, reflects that of thousands upon thousands of Indians, young and old, who look upon him as an erudite scholar and an incorruptible patriot, and follow his lead. Mr. Tilak's statement may well be taken as representative of the opinion of the so-called 'extremist' section of 'educated Indians.'

V

So far I have only spoken of the 'negative' part taken by India in the European war. I have given it the first place because of its great importance. But it must not be taken for granted that the positive action taken by India is lightly to be valued. Both in supplying trained, fully equipped and brave fighters and affording relief to the sick and wounded soldiers, India has rendered invaluable service to the Empire in its hour of greatest need.

The number of soldiers, Indian and British, sent by

[1] *The Maharata*, Poona. Also *The Indian Review*, Madras, September, 1914, pages 718-9.

India to the field is enveloped in a veil of secrecy. The motive behind the mystery is praiseworthy—it is to keep the enemy from knowing the strength that is to be thrown against him. Whether these tactics succeed in their purpose is a moot question. However, the total number of officers and men spared by India for employment in the firing line is bound to remain a secret until Lord Kitchener decides to change his policy in this respect.

Much effort seems to have been made to keep the public from knowing the names of the fighting clans to which belong the Indians who have been sent across the 'black water' to fight on the Continent of Europe. Indeed, I have been told that the photographs of Indian soldiers taken in France and elsewhere have to be printed without any indication whatever being given as to their race, tribe, religion or caste.

However, the Press Bureau has published accounts which show that the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Dogras and Pathans have already seen action and distinguished themselves. The *London Gazette* recently awarded commissions to Rajas, Princes, Nobles and gentlemen, who were to fight for the British cause, some of whom are Rajputs, others Sikhs, &c. At least four Rajput Rajas, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the Maharaja of Kishengarh, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, and Sir Pertab Singhji, all of whom left India to engage in combat with France, recently came to London to attend the funeral of the late Field-Marshal Earl Roberts. It is an open secret that they are going to lead Rajputs to fight against the Germans. It is, therefore, certain that at least four martial races of India, namely, the Sikhs, Gurkhas, Pathans and Rajputs (including Dogras), are actively employed at the present time. How little is known of these valiant soldiers by those for whom they are spilling their life blood! I may say a few words concerning each class of fighters.

I may, first of all, deal with the Rajputs, who unquestionably belong to one of the oldest human races, with a

brilliant record as soldiers and administrators. They are the descendants of the fighting caste of Hindus—the *Kshatriyas*. Their history dates back to the days when the Indo-Aryans first settled in the Peninsula. Different tribes of them ruled various parts of Hindostan, all struggling to be supreme. So hopelessly divided were they that they were not able to resist the incursions of warlike races, such as the Scythians and Huns, which invaded India in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is contended by some scholars that the Rajputs amalgamated with these invaders, but others stoutly deny such intermixture. The Rajputs consider themselves to be pure Aryans, a claim which appears to be substantiated by modern research. In any case, the Rajputs reigned supreme in the fifth and sixth centuries. Several Rajput dynasties were exercising sway in the eighth century, when the Moslems began to invade India. These clans were at enmity with one another, and that is considered to be one of the chief reasons why India was not able to repel the onslaught of Islam.

With the establishment of Moslem rule in Hindostan the Rajputs were pulled down to a status of comparative insignificance, but no race of Musalmans was ever able to break their indomitable spirit and reduce them to subjection. They heroically defended their possessions against the tremendous odds that Islam dispatched against them year after year, decade after decade, century after century. They took to mountain fastnesses and to the primeval forests, but did not submit to the Emperors of Delhi. The wise and benign Akbar tried to conciliate them, and some of them contracted matrimonial alliances with his family. But many of the Rajput clans disdained these overtures and held haughtily aloof.

With the decay of the Moghul power and the ascendency of the Marathas of the Deccan the Rajput rulers of Rajputana and Central India had to face this fiery race from the south. The Marathas greatly harassed the Rajputs, de-

spoiled their territories and subjects. The Rajputs joined forces with the British, and in course of time defeated the 'mountain rats of the Deccan.'

Through the long series of centuries which I have hurriedly scanned the Rajputs maintained their traditions of fighting and chivalry, their passion for soldiering and ruling, their hatred of business, agriculture, and physical labour of all kinds, and, above all, their racial pride. The Rajput to-day is a thorough gentleman, courteous and hospitable. He is fond of riding and hunting. He is not tall, and is more or less stout, but his is a hardy physique, with great powers of endurance. Traditions of heroism live among these people, and large numbers of them are employed in the armies of Rajput Rajas and the soldiery maintained in British India.

The section of Rajputs dwelling in the hilly regions of the Punjab and the Indian States nestling at the foot of the Himalayas, such as Jammu and Kashmir, Sirmur Nahan, Mundi, Suket, &c., are called Dogras.

Some of the clans of Gurkhas claim to be of Rajput descent. This indisputably is the case with the dynasty dominant in the Gurkha country—Nepal, the large, mountainous State to the north of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The Maharaja of Nepal is descended from the tribe to which belongs the Maharaja of Mewar, or Udaipur. This clan claims descent direct from the sun (*surajbansi*). It is said that in the course of a Moslem invasion the Rajputs of Mewar were so hard pressed by the Musalman invaders that they, headed by the Raja of Chitor, sallied out of the fortress, cut through the lines of the besieging army, and made their way to Nepal.

The Rajput admixture of blood appears to be limited to a comparatively small percentage of Gurkhas. The majority of them are out and out Mongoloids. They have slant eyes and high cheek bones, and are short and stout. They are somewhat fierce in appearance, and their

bodies show an enormous muscular development. They are a hardy race, the cold climate and strenuous life of Nepal having bred in them exceptional powers of endurance. They can climb the steepest hills, brave the deepest snow, and rough it, even in the hottest clime. They can see objects and detect sounds which other human eyes and ears are unable to discern. Whether handling their national weapon, the *khukri* (which they use in a hand-to-hand fight and also throw at distant objects), or Western rifles, they are sure of their aim. They are very highly esteemed for these qualities by the British Army authorities.

Some Sikhs, like the Gurkhas, are stout, but few of them are so short as the little hill men from Nepal. On the contrary, the majority of the Sikhs are of or above the medium height, and are well proportioned. Some of them are more or less pure Aryans in descent. Others are supposed to be largely of Dravidian origin. The link which unites these diversified elements is not one of race, but is Sikhism, a faith founded in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

The rise of the Sikh as a soldier was due to Moslem high-handedness during the Middle Ages. The Sikh leaders, or *Gurus*, were at first engaged in a propaganda to improve the religious and social condition of their followers, but met with persecution at the hands of Musalman officials. This let the *Gurus* to organize their Sikhs, or disciples, to resist aggression and tyranny. In the course of a few decades these men were filled with such a martial spirit and were so efficiently organized that they completely terrorized the Islamic authorities in the Punjab—their home. Gradually they dismembered portions of the Province of the Five Rivers and assumed sovereignty over it. Ranjit Singh—1784–1839—known as the 'Lion of the Punjab,' consolidated these possessions and greatly added to them. After his death Sikh nobles and officials quarrelled with one another and were betrayed by those whom they believed to be their

friends. Luxury undermined their physique and intellect. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century they collided with the British, and soon their Empire was lost. All that remained of it were a few States ruled by Sikhs who allied themselves with the British.

Not long after the Sikhs submitted themselves to British administration the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 broke out. During this crisis the Sikhs showed their loyalty to the power to which they had bound themselves a half dozen years or so before. They readily helped the British with money and soldiers, and cheerfully underwent privations of all kinds. Ever since then the Sikhs have been steadfast in their loyalty and have fought in practically every leading campaign in which the British have been engaged.

North and north-west of the home of the Sikhs (that is to say, the North-West Frontier Province, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, &c.) is the real habitat of the Pathans. Small numbers of them, however, are to be found all over the Peninsula. In the centuries gone by the Pathan invaders and immigrants have mixed with Indians and have produced progeny of mixed race. To a small extent such mixture is still taking place.

The Pathan is usually a tall, sturdy man, with handsome, regular features. His hair is light to dark brown in shade, his eyes are blue or grey, and his complexion is fair. His powers of endurance are great, and his spirit is untamable. He has an amazing capacity for mastering the use of the rifle.

The Pathans are of so many clans that it is not possible to speak of the tribes individually. The racial antecedents of the various sections are diversified. They choose to believe that they are of Jewish descent. This, however, is the case only in respect of a few clans. The truth is that through their home have passed all the invaders who have pounced upon India through its north-western passes. These successive marauders left some of their retinues in

this region as they pressed forward, and as some of them retired. In the course of centuries the various elements have amalgamated, producing much diversity of race and character.

Despite the difference in race and religion of the Rajputs, Gurkhas, Sikhs, Pathans, and other races and clans who are fighting for the British, they are all united in their devotion to the King-Emperor, in whose Indian armies they are employed, or who is the Suzerain of the various Rajas whom they serve as soldiers. It is true that Indian fighters have been brought over to Europe for the first time in the annals of mankind to fight the enemies of the Empire. But that does not mean that this is the first time they have been engaged in combat for Great Britain outside India. For over a hundred years Indians have been fighting Britain's battles in various parts of the world—in Africa and Asia. Their services, however, appear to have made very little impression upon the mind of the Briton. This is no doubt due to the fact that the causes for which the Indians were employed to fight did not directly and intimately concern the British people in general; and the fighting was done in distant lands. The struggle in which they are now engaged, however, affects Britons most intimately, and it is being waged at a short distance from the heart of the Empire. It seems to me that these reasons have prompted the British to take a livelier interest in Indians than they did heretofore.

VI

The service which Indians engaged in rendering medical aid to the wounded and sick soldiers has its own importance. Thanks to the courtesy of the authorities, I recently had the opportunity of passing the best part of a day among the wounded Indian soldiers, and saw what Indian doctors, medical students and other compatriots of mine are doing to relieve their distress and nurse them back to health and strength. I was greatly impressed with the cheerfulness of

the soldiers, who appeared to be happy because they were being taken care of largely by men of their own land, able to converse with them in their own language, in many cases their own *patois*. I was also struck by the efficiency of the hospital arrangements. Medical and surgical work was producing results that were visible on the surface. The wounds were healing rapidly, and practically all the men were in good health. The clean surroundings made a good impression upon me. The food consisted of the articles most esteemed by Indians and cooked according to their peculiar requirements, and showed the desire of the authorities to do all in their power to make the men comfortable. I found the convalescent soldiers engaged in a merry spirit, in preparing meals for their disabled comrades. What appealed to me most was the freedom with which the soldiers moved about and their exceptionally cheerful outlook on life.

Of the Indians who were engaged in relieving their distress, the great characteristic common to all was their lively sense of duty. They occupied themselves with their apportioned tasks without giving a thought to their own comfort or inclinations. With a view to being useful at such a critical time as the present, they had cast to the four winds their pride of worldly position, of race, and of caste. Many of the occupations in which they were engaged must have required self-control of the highest order.

The sacrifices that these men were making for the Empire impressed me ineffably. They were not in their native land, like British students. On the contrary, they were far away from their homes, thousands of miles distant from those whom they loved and those who held them dear. Not a few of them had left wives and children behind them when they sailed away from India. The families from whom they were thus parted in some cases had made the hardest kind of a struggle to find the money to send them to and keep them in the United Kingdom for training. The exiles, almost without exception, were longing to go back to their own people,

who were counting the hours until they should return. And yet many of these men postponed their departure for home after they had finished their studies, while others had interrupted their scholastic careers and thereby extended the time of their absence from India, just for the sake of being useful to their King and their Empire.

Probably the greatest sacrifice is being made in this connection by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, who has been taking the lead in organizing the Indians in the United Kingdom into a corps to do medical relief work. Throughout the time he has been thus engaged he has been in a delicate state of health. Indeed, his medical adviser declares that the exertions he is making are threatening soon to end his career upon this earth. But heedless of all warnings, he is busy showing his countrymen in these isles how they can be of service to humanity.

Within the measure of space allotted for this purpose only a rough outline of India's part in the war could be attempted. But enough has been said to show how ready and whole-hearted has been Hindostan's response to the call to arms. India's action during this trying time entitles it to the British affection and consideration now and in the years to come.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

Notes and Discussions

THE FUTURE OF JUDAISM

AMONG the thousand subjects that will wear a new aspect when this terrible cataclysmic war is over is the position and prospects of the Jews. Whatever people may be adjudged to have been the most influential and commanding in history, the Jews are assuredly among the most interesting. Their national history has all the fascination of an enigma and all the urgency of a pressing, unsolved problem. Some time before the war began, signs were multiplying that the Jewish question would have to be handled afresh ere long. An article appeared in this *Review* in the early part of last year, by Rev. W. Hudson, entitled, 'The Jews of To-day and To-morrow,' in which the writer drew attention to a translation of a notable book by Dr. Arthur Ruppin, with a Preface by Dr. Joseph Jacobs, in which the present position of the Jews is shown to raise 'a world-problem of the highest interest.' Since then a more complete discussion of the whole subject has been undertaken by Mr. Israel Cohen in his 'Jewish Life in Modern Times'—one of the best recent books in English in its exposition of the present social, political, economic, intellectual and religious aspects of the ever-recurring Jewish question.

No one can discuss it intelligently who does not take a tolerably comprehensive view of all the facts, and these are full of paradoxes. The Jews are, as Mommsen said, 'Everywhere and nowhere at home; everywhere and nowhere powerful.' They are at the same time amongst the richest and the poorest of peoples, the best educated and the most ignorant and prejudiced; they hold themselves haughtily aloof from Gentiles, yet possess remarkable powers of assimilation, adapting themselves to the conditions of the nations among whom they are domiciled; they are intensely religious and utterly secular and materialistic; they exhibit signs of dissolution and disintegration, yet seem to possess a tenacious vitality that nothing can disturb or threaten—as a saying in the Midrash Tehillim has it, 'One people ariseth, another disappeareth, but Israel endureth for ever.'

Of course, these contradictory qualities are not found at the same time, in the same place, among the same strata of Jewry. But when generalizations are made concerning 'the Jews,' it is well to remember that induction is not wide enough unless it embraces *all* the facts. Part of the variety observable is obviously due to the different conditions under which Jews have lived, and the very different treatment accorded to them in different countries and at different times. It is

not much more than a century since their emancipation began. Cruelly oppressed and persecuted for 1,700 years, huddled together in the reeking alleys of the Ghetto, pressed literally and metaphorically into the mire of the gutter, the Jew preserved his religion with a wonderful fidelity, and even in his rags retained a dignity which his arrogant and prosperous persecutor could neither understand nor diminish. At one time pursued by the terrible 'Hep, hep!' or victimized by pogroms or Anti-Semitism, they have at other times provoked deserved enmity by their extortion and greed, replying in the spirit of Shylock, 'If you poison us do we not die? and if you wrong us shall we not revenge?' From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards the Jews of Western Europe, England and America have been prosperous (and sometimes arrogant) in their turn. Dr. Ruppin and Mr. Cohen agree that in proportion to the measure of freedom granted has been their assimilation to environment, and alas! assimilation has meant denationalization, and for the most part neglect, or loss, of religion. 'Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked,' it was said long ago; and Jeshurun is not the only people who have found it easier to serve God in adversity than in prosperity. While history can point to thousands of martyrs, it knows too few devout millionaires.

What is the position of the Jewish question to-day? How will it be affected in the near future by such changes as are likely to come over the map of Europe? Is wide dispersion, with accompanying diversity, to be viewed as the fundamental factor in the Jewish national character and life, or that strange indissoluble solidarity which has marked the nation amidst all its many wanderings and vicissitudes? Is the religious and intellectual conservatism which distinguishes the Jews of the East the true ideal, or the breadth of tolerance and liberalism which characterizes the Jew of the West in lands where he enjoys political liberty? Or may it be said that neither, taken alone, represents real Judaism, but that in the course of another century or so events are likely to favour the production of a religious type which will combine the best elements in both?

It is easier to ask these questions than to answer them. History may point to an answer, but its lessons are hard to read. Mr. G F. Abbott's survey of the long history of 'Israel in Europe' is full of instruction as to the facts, as it is full of suggestion for the student. But neither the condition of the Jews under the Roman Empire, nor in the Middle Ages, nor the phenomena of Anti-Semitism, nor the examples of the flourishing financial houses of whom the Rothschilds are the modern representatives, nor the careers of Jewish idealists, of whom Solomon Maimon in the eighteenth century and the character of Mordecai in 'Daniel Deronda' are typical illustrations, shed any clear or steady light upon the vexed questions, Where lies the true Jewish ideal, and how is it to be attained?

Is religion the real bond of unity among this unique people? When any one has succeeded in separating the elements in national life which may be called religious from all the rest, it may be possible

to answer such a question—not before. One fundamental fact is the preservation of purity of blood through the steadfast refusal of Jews, generation after generation, to permit intermarriage with Gentiles. Side by side with this has gone the persistent maintenance of a high standard of education, in which a peculiar type, or tone, is steadfastly maintained. 'The world is saved,' says the Talmud, 'by the breath of school children.' The strict observance of certain sanitary laws, especially those relating to diet, has no doubt contributed to the vitality and longevity which in the main have been characteristic of the Jewish communities.

But though it is impossible to separate the religious element in national life from the rest, and decide exactly how far religion constitutes a bond of unity, no one can question that in the case of the Jews religion has thus far been paramount. The carefully observed customs in relation to marriage and modes of life are dictated by religion. The education of children is religious, often to a fault. Learning is largely identified with minute knowledge of sacred books and Rabbinical precepts. The study and cultivation of the Hebrew language—in contradistinction to Yiddish or Spaniolish—form a kind of sacred duty. And who can question that the repetition of the benedictions and prayers in the venerable Jewish liturgy has shaped character, as well as helped devotion? There are no prayers in any modern Christian liturgy to compare with them. The world has gone to school to Israel to learn religion, as it has sat at the feet of Greece to learn art, and been content to receive law and organization from Imperial Rome. It is not true to say that 'one half Europe worships a Jew, the other half a Jewess.' But it is true that every Christian, who really understands the teaching of the Founder of his religion, recognizes with thankfulness the permanent element in his worship which has come down from the Old Testament, and never forgets who it was who said that the first commandment in the law is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy powers: and the second, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

Another fact points in the same direction. In countries where complete freedom is granted to the Jew, and he becomes denationalized, he loses also his characteristic religious distinction. Too often he loses religion altogether. A secularized Jew is secular indeed. But where, as in the Reformed Judaism represented by Mr. Claude Montefiore, true religion of a very real character is preserved, it is in danger of becoming a kind of pale Theism. It loses, or rejects, not only the minute ceremonial legalism which had become a burden and a weariness, but a characteristic note which marks off the religion of the Old Testament from (let us say) the Deism of the eighteenth century. It is not for an outsider to judge, but it may be questioned whether this Modernist Judaism possesses any considerable cementing and cohesive power. It gives some colour to Coleridge's satire that its religious light is the light of the glow-worm, 'which gives no heat and illumines nothing but itself.' Jewish orthodoxy can be narrow and rigid enough; some would say

it is always bound to be so. But it has possessed, and still largely retains, a mighty power of its own in binding together elements that would otherwise have blended ill with one another, or fallen entirely to pieces like a rope of sand.

How will the convulsions that are shaking the European system to its foundations affect the Jews, especially those of the East? He would be a bold man who would venture to prophesy at present how the huge waves caused by the great earthquake will break upon the shore and how its contour will be affected. But the problems which Mr. Cohen discusses with care and sagacity will certainly take different forms from those which were contemplated only six months ago when his book was published. Mr. Cohen, like Dr. Ruppin, is a convinced Zionist. He thinks that nothing but the provision of a fatherland for at least a portion of the 13 or 14 millions of Jews now scattered in various countries, will meet the needs of the case. More than half this population is found in Eastern Europe, chiefly in Poland and adjacent countries. It is here that the lot of the Jews is hardest. Russia and Rumania have been their bitter foes and oppressors; Germany and Austria love them as little, though for various reasons they treat them better. Mr. Cohen, like Mr. Israel Zangwill, advocates a settlement in Palestine. He recognizes that it would provide for barely a couple of millions, and does not deny that a large proportion of his kindred would refuse to return to Zion, if the way were made ever so easy. The exiles may not be at home in the modern any more than in the ancient Babylon, but they are as loth as were their ancestors to go back to Jerusalem. Such a return would mean poverty, obscurity, banishment from all they care for most, for the sake of a mere sentiment. There are Jews pathetically wailing to-day by the wall of the Temple, and their dirges are full of poetry. But such a restoration as the Zionist proposes is in the eyes of most leading Hebrews a dream. It may be romantic, it is not 'practical politics.'

Such, at least, has been the conclusion reached at a series of Zionist congresses during the last decade or two. Hertzl's schemes were commended and neglected. A portion of Baron Hirsch's millions has been spent in the establishment of colonies in the Argentine and elsewhere, but these have succeeded no better than the attempted settlement in British East Africa. The Jew is not an agriculturist. The town mouse has always eyed the country mouse with a measure of disdain, and the Jew for centuries has been at home only in urban and suburban life. The possibilities opened up by the war seem to develop in two different directions. (1) The conditions under which Jews have lived for centuries in Poland are likely to be greatly improved. Many nations are hoping that this war will be known—it will if the Allies are victorious—as a great War of Liberation. Poland will profit and so will Jewry. (2) What will become of the Turkish Empire remains to be seen. Some of the wise men, who know all that is going to happen, have already parcelled it out amongst rival competitors, and they have

much to say about an autonomous Palestine, colonized and inhabited largely by Jews. Is it a mere dream that the Christian Holy Places in Constantinople shall come again under Christian rule, that Santa Sophia shall echo again to the sound of Christian music, and that an independent Palestine established under Christian auspices shall welcome again God's ancient people to Mount Zion, the city of the great King?

Probably it is no more than a dream. But far more unlikely events have come to pass in the history of the 'Holy Land'— so called by Christians as well as Jews. Russia cannot settle the problems of Poland without frankly facing the difficulties raised by the presence of millions of Jews. And if more than one 'ramshackle' Empire is dissolved by the tremendous clash of forces brought more violently into collision than at any but a very few crises in history, Syria and Palestine cannot remain as they are. It is exceedingly unlikely that the Jews will remain as they are, and as they have been for centuries in Eastern Europe. At present it is only possible to hope—and that in the midst of fear and trembling.

But the phrase 'the future of Judaism' does not properly refer to the question of a home for a nation 'scattered and peeled'; it contemplates the issues and destiny of a religion rather than of a nationality. Christians believe that the Jews missed their way when they rejected their true Messiah nineteen hundred years ago, and view their subsequent history as more or less bearing testimony to the terrible error implied in that great refusal. Jews have for all these centuries repudiated the Christian reading of history with scorn. But they have not been able to suggest an adequate alternative. Only a section of them still look for a Messiah, and these are far from agreed as to what Messiahship means, even in the most general sense of the word. Can it be that before long St. Paul's intense desires for his fellow countrymen will in any sense be realized? That the mystic hints of Romans xi. will begin to take shape and substance, that the 'hardening in part that has befallen Israel' will yield and men be enabled to see, as well as to believe, that 'the gifts and calling of God are without repentance'? It is possible. One hope alone makes tolerable the great catastrophe which now darkens our sky with hues of earthquake and eclipse. It is that the resulting order will bring us a little nearer to the new heavens and new earth, wherein dwells righteousness. And the people, whose prophets first foretold that blessed time, shall assuredly have their share in the great consummation.

W. T. Davison.

HAS PROFESSOR LOFTHOUSE VINDICATED THE DOCUMENTARY THEORY?

The article by Professor Lofthouse in the *London Quarterly Review* for October, 1914, pp. 333-338, calls for a short reply on behalf of those whose views on the Pentateuch he combats. It is a model of fairness, but there seem to me to be some errors, and from the tone

of the article I should judge that the professor himself would be the first to wish to have his attention drawn to these, and to give them further consideration. The subject is too vast for full treatment in reasonable limits, and accordingly attention will be concentrated on a few cardinal points.

1. The professor, after defining what he calls the 'modern view,' rightly says that it 'colours the whole conception of the history of Israel,' and adds the following: 'To reject the "modern view" of the Pentateuch means to be compelled to attack afresh the whole problem of development in the history of Israel. Dahse, however, and his fellow labourers, have no idea of doing this.' The first sentence is correct, but the second is misleading. In season and out of season for a number of years past I have shown that the Wellhausen conception of the history rests on certain extraordinary mistakes, and have challenged him and his followers to defend their positions. This has not been done by any of them. I invite Professor Lofthouse to deal in detail with the sixth chapter of my *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, and with pp. 280-289 of my *Pentateuchal Studies*. The former of these is a reply to what Wellhausen himself has called his 'whole position,' and Professor Lofthouse must dispose of it before he can rightly use the expressions I have quoted. The latter answers Wellhausen's attack on what he calls 'the Achilles heel of the Priestly Code,' and seeks to substitute an entirely different solution of the problem of development in Israel. If the Professor can answer them, well and good: if not, he will see that the matter requires further study.

How damaging my indictment of the Wellhausen case is may be shown by a single instance. I have repeatedly stated that Wellhausen has confused two entirely different things, an altar of earth or unhewn stones and a temple or House of God, through calling both 'sanctuaries.' The simple altar was used by laymen without priestly assistance for certain classes of offerings: the House of God was an entirely different structure with an altar of an utterly different type served by priests, and the sacrifices brought thither by laymen could only be properly disposed of with priestly assistance. The gratuitous confusion between these two (which could never have been confounded by any contemporary) has played havoc with the interpretation of narratives and laws, and with the whole conception of the history. Accordingly I submit that this part of Professor Lofthouse's contention stands in urgent need of revision.

2. While there are certain minor differences between Dahse and myself in the matter of textual criticism, we have both always contended that the primary duty was to get back as nearly as possible to the original text, not in respect of this or that name only, but in all respects. In proof of this I quote Dahse's preface (dated August 27, 1918) to the German translation of my *Origin of the Pentateuch*. 'H. M. Wiener's works appear to me in two respects to point out to the Pentateuchal research of the future roads that are new, or at any rate have hitherto been little trodden: on the one hand they stimu-

late to a *more exact investigation of the original text—a matter that has hitherto been entirely neglected in the Pentateuch*' (my italics). My various publications (including the reply to König's *Die Moderne Pentateuchkritik und ihre neueste Bekampfung*, now appearing in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*) will show Professor Lofthouse that such an inquiry throws the most unexpected light on the origin of innumerable difficulties in our received text. Some of these the higher criticism seeks to explain: others it only makes worse: others again it has to leave severely alone. A scientific textual criticism operating in the same way as on other works that have depended on MS. tradition can give us a clearer, a better, and a more religious text of the Bible.

8. The two preceding sections have largely answered many of Professor Lofthouse's supports of the documentary theory. It may be added that conservatives have frequently shown particular divisions to be impossible, and that the higher critical school have never attempted to answer them. Not to go beyond the books cited by the professor himself I refer to the passages relating to this subject in the *Origin of the Pentateuch* and *Pentateuchal Studies*. It should, however, be added that many of the supposed differences are merely the result of a division, and could be reproduced by tearing any document asunder. If we take such a simple sentence as 'John spoke' and divide it between two sources, we shall be able to speak of a document which dealt with a man called John and another which 'knows nothing' (a favourite phrase with the critics) of John, and has reference to an entirely different topic, viz. a conversation. That is a very simple and elementary instance of the essence of the higher critical method. But the soundness of the method has never been proved, and has often been disproved. Will the professor deal with the specific passages in which we have attacked the theory?

4. Coming now to the problem of the divine appellations several of Professor Lofthouse's statements must be challenged. (*a*) He says that with J the divine name is the Tetragrammaton throughout. That is not so in the Massoretic text, as may be seen from p. 8 of *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism*, though the critics would doubtless like it to be so. (*b*) 'P— like E, uses *Elohim* till the call of Moses.' This again is not in accordance with the facts of our Hebrew text (*op. cit.*, p. 7), though it too would be very convenient for the documentary theorists. (*c*) 'In M.T. the different names occur in blocks.' Here I can refer to the instances on pp. 8f of my *Essays*, where I have pointed to impossible divisions necessitated by the critical hypothesis. In all these matters the professor's statements correspond accurately to the state of affairs that we might have expected to find had the documentary theory been correct, but they are refuted by the actual facts of the Massoretic text. (*d*) As to the textual question respecting the divine appellations I think we have to deal with two problems. The first is the whole general question of the textual history, the second that of the

transmission of the divine appellations themselves. On both these I refer to *The Pentateuchal Text, A reply to Dr. Skinner*, and to the articles now appearing in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in reply to König and Skinner,[1] and on the latter to the facts and arguments adduced in the first chapter of my *Essays*, and pp. 18–52 of Dahse's *Textkritische Materialien*. It would carry me too far to attempt to summarize the answer that these various discussions offer to Professor Lofthouse's contentions. HAROLD M. WIENER.

REPLY BY PROFESSOR LOFTHOUSE

THE Editor of *The London Quarterly Review* has kindly allowed me to see the above, and to add a brief reply. And I should like at once to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. Wiener's tone. How much better is this than the flinging of accusations of ineptitude and 'exhaustive ignorance' at an adversary! By these amenities no controversy is clarified.

I must refer more particularly to the first two points raised by Mr. Wiener. (1) My paper in the October number was not a general vindication of the documentary theory. It was an attempt to show that Dahse's attack on that theory could not be held to be successful. I had hardly thought of Mr. Wiener (I trust he will forgive me!) as Dahse's 'fellow labourer.' He has, as I gather, worked independently of Dahse. He disagrees with Dahse as to the origin of the diversity of the divine names in the M.T. of Genesis; and although he has given devoted labour to the question of M.T. *v.* LXX., he is far from confining his attacks on Wellhausen to that ground.

None the less, I do not think that Mr. Wiener has really 'attacked afresh the whole problem of the development of the history of Israel' in his writings. He has isolated certain aspects of the Wellhausen view, and suggested that they do not bear the interpretation put on them. To take the instance of the altar given above. It has been repeatedly pointed out by the 'critics' that laymen offer sacrifices in the earlier history, and no one can deny the existence of sanctuaries like Shiloh or Nob. But there is nothing to suggest in Dt. xii. or elsewhere that any distinction is to be made between lay and priestly altars; that only one house of God existed, served by priests, is disposed of by the provision in Dt. (xviii, 6, cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 9) for the 'dis-established' Levites from the local sanctuaries; P (the section of the Mosaic law held by 'critics' to be latest) never suggests that a layman could offer sacrifice anywhere; and in Chronicles (written under the influence of P), the notices of lay sacrifice in the earlier history are omitted. The facts seem all against Mr. Wiener's hypothesis that there was only one house of God even before Dt., and that there were lay altars afterwards. In the *Essays on Pentateuchal Criticism*, and elsewhere, Mr. Wiener propounds another hypothesis. If it is alleged by the 'critics' that P knows

[1] See also for a short sketch of the former, 'The Textual Criticism of the Pentateuch' in *The Churchman* for October, 1914.

nothing of lay altars in early Israelite history, he urges that the so-called P of the 'critics' contains only rules of procedure as against rules of law.[1] It is true that a large part of P is a manual for sacrifice at the House (e.g. Lev. i–vi, 7, is a manual for lay sacrificers; chh. vi, 8–vii for priests). But P speaks of all sacrifices as being brought to the House; would its language have been possible if every Israelite could also sacrifice where he pleased? Either P rests on a principle unrecognized in the early history, or the sacrifices of the early history would continue after as well as before the date assigned to P, i.e. the time of Ezra. But will Mr. Wiener contend that lay sacrifices were ever offered between Ezra and N.T. times?

(2) No one will deny the necessity of doing everything possible to get back as near as may be to the original text. Nor have the scholars whom Mr. Wiener opposes been in the habit of regarding the Massoretic Text as impeccable. But Mr. Wiener's articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* show that, as I said, the question of M.T. *v.* LXX is most complicated. An authoritative LXX text is very far from being attained. Mr. Wiener has also paid great attention to the Vulgate and Syriac versions. But could we show that in any large number of cases these agree with each other and with the LXX as against M.T., we should still have to decide whether the method of counting heads was the best. I do not understand that Mr. Wiener wishes to replace, as the authoritative text of the O.T., the M.T. by the LXX or a composite text of LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate. He would rather, I think, correct M.T. in many places by LXX and the other authorities. In that case, no array of textual variations can alter the fact that the divine names are found for the most part in blocks, and that the transition from one to the other regularly corresponds to a transition from one set of characteristics, stylistic and religious, to another. The recognition of this fact is entirely different from the 'simple and elementary instance of the higher critical method,' that Mr. Wiener adduces above. And those who shrink from the 'critical' theory as taking their Bible from them may well ask whether they would be more at rest with Mr. Wiener's description of the text of the Jewish and Christian O.T., the basis of our English translation, as filled with glosses and scribal errors, and editorial efforts to remedy the resulting confusion. The words exactly fit the textual hypotheses of Cheyne! But, in conclusion, let me ask Mr. Wiener whether he holds that the whole of P was known right through the time of the Judges, Solomon, Hosea and Micah; that it was known, and held to be of divine origin, by Ezekiel; and that the corpus of Jewish law was never enlarged, save by unauthorised glosses and the traditions of scribes, between Moses and Ezra?

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

[1] Mr. Wiener points out that he writes as a lawyer; but it is dangerous to draw analogies between forensic and ritual law. The rubric of a Cathedral or a Temple is very different from a manual of procedure as followed in the Courts of Justice or the Old Bailey.

ATTILA'S CAMPAIGN OF FRANCE: AN EARLY BATTLE OF THE MARNE

'WHEN you meet the foe you will smash him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Gain the reputation of the Huns of Attila.' In some such words as these—for they appear in slightly variant forms—did Kaiser Wilhelm II., on July 27, 1900, bid God-speed at Bremerhaven to the contingent which he was dispatching to take part in the international expedition against the Chinese Boxer rebels. That this imperial injunction as to military conduct was as seed cast into fruitful ground has, after the lapse of fourteen years, been made abundantly manifest by a series of happenings that have shocked the shuddering beholders, and have very adequately earned for the German soldiery the sobriquet of 'Huns,' which has by common consent, in accordance with their War Lord's suggestion, been applied to them. The blackened ruins of Louvain, the wreckage of Rheims, the desolation of a fair and smiling country, and the exceeding bitter cry of a stricken people, which, by the admission of the ravager himself, has not done, but suffered wrong, bears witness to the thoroughness with which a policy of 'frightfulness,' such as Attila himself might well have contemplated with wonder and despair, has been carried out by the armed apostles of imperial German culture.

The almost forgotten utterance, quoted above, was in August last rudely dragged out of oblivion by the ruthless vigour of the Belgian campaign. It has so caught the popular imagination that the original Attila and the old-time Huns have forthwith become the objects of a wider interest than perhaps ever before. This interest is not lessened when one observes that Attila passed the crisis of his fate upon the very fields that have witnessed the first serious check encountered by the swarming hosts of his spiritual successor. It was in the plain of Marne that the Warrior Chief of the fifth century met with a check which was decisive so far as his dream of world-power was concerned; and the plain of Marne has again re-echoed with a more tremendous battle-thunder, which we here in England have heard from afar. The ultimate result of that battle of Titans is not fully seen as yet; the history of those awful yet sublimely heroic days still remains to be written.

This is not the place to tell the story of the rise of the Huns, a people of Mongol stock, to which the Turks of to-day are racially akin—how, slowly advancing from the Far East, they, at length, early in the fifth century, began to menace the Roman Empire itself. Under the aggressive leadership of their king Roua, so threatening did their attitude eventually become, that, in 424, the weak and irresolute Theodosius II., Emperor of the East, stooped to buy them off by submitting to pay blackmail in the form of a tribute of 350 pounds of gold. By Roua's successors, Bleda and Attila (433-

58), this amount was doubled ten years' later, being subsequently trebled by Attila, who soon put his colleague Bleda out of the way, and for twenty years lorded it without a rival from the Caspian to the Rhine. Within eight years of his accession to power, Attila had already fallen foul of the Empire, and invaded and wasted Thrace to the very walls of Constantinople itself. This was in 441.

With the accession of Pulcheria and Marcian to the imperial throne, on the death of Theodosius in 450, the whole spirit and atmosphere of the East Roman Court underwent a decided change for the better. Less yielding than their predecessor, the new sovereigns were little minded to pay blackmail to the Hun, and promptly stopped the now customary tribute. Attila, acting after his kind, indulged in a good deal of bluster; but, when he found that nothing was effected thereby, that abject compliance with his demands was no longer to be expected from Constantinople, and perhaps thinking that richer prey on easier terms was to be gathered elsewhere, the *Dread of the World*, as he loved to call himself, resolved to turn his attention to the West.

In accordance with this new purpose Attila addressed himself in very insulting terms to the Western Emperor Valentinian III., whose sister Honoria he claimed as his betrothed. In making this apparently preposterous proposal the Hunnish chieftain was not without some show of reason afforded by the lady in question, into the story of whose somewhat sordid love affairs it were bootless here to enter. This entanglement, however, afforded Attila with abundant excuses for worrying the two imperial Courts; and might readily be made to furnish a pretext for war—as in fact it speedily did. For upon the refusal of his demand for the person of his intended bride, together with the cession of half the Western Empire as her dowry, the barbarian king immediately made appeal to the arbitrament of war.

Italy was altogether unequal to a conflict with the Hun; and had Attila fallen upon the peninsula forthwith the result might have changed the destinies of Europe and of the world. Providentially, he preferred to take Gaul, more than half of which was at this time governed by Teutons—Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, among whom the invader doubtless looked to find allies. Posing as a deliverer from the Roman yoke, Attila sought to win over Theodoric, King of the West Goths, who, however, was not so to be blinded to the real nature of the issue; but, preferring order to anarchy, at once prepared to meet the invader in arms. Common peril laid old feuds to rest, and the imperial general Aetius and Theodoric, erstwhile foes, stood shoulder to shoulder for the defence of Gaul.

Attila's host, a mixed horde in which were included sundry Teuton contingents, crossed the Rhine in two divisions, one not far from the river's mouth, the other in the neighbourhood of Strasburg. At Treves, the Roman metropolis, which underwent a sack, Attila established himself; city after city then fell before his irresistible advance, his course in part being over ground which in these last

days has again trembled beneath the tramp of marching legions. Metz was destroyed; Rheims, Laon, and St. Quentin also fell, but at Orleans the rising tide of barbarism was stayed. To Anianus (St. Agnan), Bishop of Orleans, this check was mainly due. That resolute Churchman prepared to make a stout defence, having arranged with Aetius for the relief of the place. The coming of the relieving force was, however, unavoidably delayed; the Huns, in spite of resistance encountered, were already fighting their way into the city when, in the very nick of time, Aetius appeared on the scene, and drove them back with great loss.

Followed by Aetius and Theodoric, Attila fell back in a north-easterly direction, making for the Rhine. The persuasions of Bishop Lupus (St. Loup) availed to save Troyes from pillage or destruction at the hands of the Huns as they retired past that place. At length, in the Marne country, Attila prepared to meet his pursuers. The armies met on the Catalaunian plain, in the neighbourhood of Chalons, and as the Battle of Chalons the mighty conflict has been generally known. Great was the slaughter in this fiercely contested battle, which, in its consequences, if not in itself, may fairly claim a place among the decisive battles of the world. It was the last victory of the old Roman Empire of the West, already tottering to that collapse which took place a quarter of a century later. Though not exactly routed, Attila had suffered a serious reverse, and immediately withdrew from Gaul.

It is somewhat foreign to the purpose of this note to tell how, in the following year, Attila fell upon Italy; how Rome, to all intents and purposes, lay within his grip; how, when the imperial armies could effect no salvation, a Christian bishop, Leo of Rome, almost as a counsel of despair, was despatched to confront the heathen king; how, though all the chances seemed adverse, what armed force could by no means have done was accomplished by the unarmed Leo, who, by sheer moral force conquered the conqueror, and prevailed upon the *Scourge of God* to leave Italy. With this story, dramatic as it is, we have here no concern, though the traditional comment of Attila upon his own retirement is worth recording. He might make shift to conquer men, but the wolf (Lupus) and the lion (Leo) were too much for him—such is the punning allusion to his yielding to the persuasions of the Bishops of Troyes and Rome attributed to the terrible Hun.

The story of Attila's campaign in Gaul is of considerable interest, owing to its geographical coincidence at several points with the military operations of the present campaign—an interest which is not lessened when the circumstance which has given a wide currency to the name of Attila during the last few months is also taken into account. There are, moreover, certain other analogies between the two enterprises, separated by nearly 1,500 years, which are worthy of attention. The issues at stake then and now, for instance, may be profitably compared. The element of miscalculation by which the Hunnish campaign was hampered from the first are also suggestive.

Attila reckoned with some confidence upon certain past enmities which were patent enough, oblivious to the fact that, in presence of a greater peril, smaller feuds are apt to be quickly laid to rest. This expectation having failed, his military plan was to anticipate the co-operation, and to crush in detail his allied foes, Theodoric and Aetius; but he did not succeed in warding off their joint attack. The modern parallels to these miscalculations are so obvious as to need no pointing out.

The destructive progress of Attila's campaign has been compared to a deluge of rain which sweeps a district and leaves no further trace than the débris washed down. At this point the analogy between the past and the present completely breaks down, save in the matter of débris, of which, alas! there will be more than enough. For it is, as yet, impossible to forecast what the new world will be like, when the appalling deluge, beneath which a hemisphere is now submerged, shall have subsided from off the face of the earth.

W. Ernest Beet.

THE MISSIONARY AND THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE[1]

Should the missionary have any doubt regarding the fitness of the gospel for the people among whom he labours, or of their capacity to receive it, he will be able to take heart after reading Dr. Caldecott's essay in *The London Quarterly Review* for April. But it is likely that the last man who has any doubt concerning that matter is the man among the people, always among the people. At the beginning of his work he may have had his doubts; but the more he gets to know even the most backward people the more is he *compelled* to feel the fitness of the two for each other. The difference in practice and precept may not be small among them, but he remembers that other peoples are thus afflicted. Some of his knowledge may be gathered by rule of thumb and long experience, but it is often proved to be reliable, and he has not much difficulty in accounting for the differences that merchants and officials may observe in the people among whom they make their money or over whom they rule. These differences are almost always superficial, and are not far from normal. We know that these differences affect people at home, even as they affect those who get their living among them. Most of them, even scientists, seem to think that the difference in precept and practice is fatal, though it is only normal. So many people imagine, even those on the spot, that primitive races are true to their gods and their religion. This is quite wrong. The difference in precept and practice is quite as great and greater than it is among more civilized races. The large majority rarely, if ever, trouble about their religion

[1] Mr. Bond is a lay missionary at Igbora, West Africa, who has spent nearly a quarter of a century on the field. He sees 'an outside white face' very seldom, but looks for and welcomes this *Review*, and has been much interested in Dr. Caldecott's recent article.

or trouble their gods, except for something definite needed just at the time, such as help in an undertaking good or bad, or for protection. Recently two men were passing the writer's house, men quite untouched by civilization, who were loudly talking and agreeing that money was of far greater power than all the gods. They might have been two Americans talking about the Almighty Dollar.

This deep, underlying uniformity of cast in character is seen only by those of long residence among a people, and by those of a certain class. The man who has best opportunity of study is the man the people can afford to ignore, and they cannot well ignore either the official or the merchant, or even the scientific man who is there to study them. It is only when a man becomes completely familiar to the people among whom he lives that he may look out for revelations of what the people really are. Just as a man wishing to study birds and animals in their natural surrounding erects what he thinks the creatures will take to most readily, with room for himself at the moment, when familiarity has bred contempt; so the man needs to do who wishes to study primitive people. Only he who does this work must start at the other end, and stay among the people until he is, as far as they are concerned, transformed into some familiar object. Then, and not until then, will timidity, reserve, and fear disappear. For instance, the people will never fail to salute the official, they will often fail to salute the missionary. The former has been out perhaps a few months and cannot be ignored, the latter has been out twenty years, and has become part of the daily environment; it is then he sees things that have been hidden. The man of science, the man with 'intentions,' has many of the disadvantages of the official. Such a people will never open out to any one with 'intentions,' and none, not even the female sex, have a keener intuition for intentions than the primitive being.

One of the first things that a knowledge of Christianity does for the people who receive it is to take away that cringing submissiveness, so common in races conquered and ruled by aliens. On the contrary, many merchants and officials look for Christianity to increase this rather than diminish it; having generally been brought up on that catechism which teaches that the majority of people should obey, reverence and honour their 'betters.' We never find that such people bring any scientific physical or psychological objections, or show that they have made more than general observations, and these nearly always in regard to conduct. We do not disagree with Matthew Arnold when he says that three-fourths of religion is conduct, but remember he was speaking of people who had heard the word 'righteousness' for centuries. When such objections are made it is as necessary to get behind the mind of the objector as of anyone else. A Christian merchant presiding at a missionary meeting abroad gave it his benediction because he found, so he said, that his native clerks were more honest if they were Christians. Conduct counts, but there are other things. As Putnam Weale says in *The Conflict of Colour*, speaking of the coloured races,

'Their democratic feelings are in the main far above anything that Western culture has yet evolved. The East is in many ways the home of pure democracy—the region where the cobbler may always magically become the great Minister. Their sense of mutual, or family, responsibility is so great that where no alien influences have been at work, millions of people still govern themselves without police or any of the artificial restraints which the nations of the West have been methodically adding to during the past centuries; and their individual reasonableness is such that they are not easily prompted to attempt a thousand stupid things which the white man is constantly doing" (p. 129). This is from a man not over favourable either to coloured people or to Christianity. It is these conditions that trouble so many people, while the coming of pure Christianity—untainted by civilization—tends to increase rather than lessen such conditions; and the discernment here required is rarely found in those who are sent to rule or to make money.

We often wish that science was more in evidence when investigations supposed to come under that head are being made. Some time ago there was an account in the *Times* given by one who was trying to collect evidence and information on the drink question among the people themselves in Nigeria. He said he went to the chiefs and told them (through an interpreter), what he wanted, and how he was doing it all from totally disinterested motives. Their answer doesn't matter. The result was supposed to be a sort of scientific work. It was far from that. To convince a primitive race about disinterested motives by talking (especially through an interpreter) cannot be done. No one can get reliable information in that manner; at least not from any coloured race over which the white man rules. Such people don't reckon with disinterested motives; every man has his axe to grind. How far are they wrong?

There is another side which we so-called Christian races overlook. We seem to take it for granted that if there is any difference in the unity of the human race, our own race is most capable of Christianity. On what grounds it is hard to say. We have had more opportunity, but does that prove fitness? Mr. Masterman, speaking of England in the eighteenth century says, 'Men lived as the beasts, and as the beasts perished' (*The Condition of England*, p. 267). Of the present time, he quotes Taine thus, 'By an insensible and slow backward movement, the great rural mass, like the great urban mass, is gradually going back to Paganism,' and then says himself, 'It is the passing of a whole civilization away from the faith in which it was founded and out of which it has been fashioned' (p. 270). We need not speak of France, but as practically all the English Churches, Anglican and Nonconformist, again report decreases for the past year, this verdict cannot well be assailed. On the other hand, reports of increases come from all over the mission field. Two years ago two Wesleyan Districts reported the doubling of their membership in ten years. One District again reports an increase of over 1,000 during the last two years.

Does it not seem that there is a strong case for the other side? This patronage of the Christian races for others will not bear investigation. Dr. Caldecott mentions the students from non-Caucasian races who completed their courses substantially as well as those of European races. It would be interesting to find out how many of those students went home with an exalted opinion of the religion of the European race as it works out among them. How much proof have they that those who advance the quickest in arts, commerce, and war are at liberty to reckon themselves above others in capacity for receiving the gospel? If the officials and merchants of Dr. Caldecott's essay (pp. 194, 199) could be brought together to discuss the matter, the result would be interesting, and would possibly add more to our knowledge concerning the unity of the human race and religion than much scientific work has done, especially if Saint Nihal Singh were among the company.

We also have not brought the Word of God into the discussion, but into all this physical and psychological fitness the words of Paul will insert themselves, 'how that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called.' (R.V.) Many facts tend to make them unanswerable, and they seem likely to hold their own against much writing.

J. Bond.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Christian Freedom. The Baird Lecture for 1918. By W. M. Macgregor, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.)

A NEW precedent was created when Dr. Macgregor, who is not a minister of the Church of Scotland, was invited to deliver this lecture. He has made excellent use of a unique opportunity. The theme is 'the priesthood of all believers,' and the point of view, from which controversies arising out of it are approached, is clearly indicated by the motto selected from the writings of Professor William James, 'Surely the individual, the person in the singular number, is the more fundamental problem, and the social institution, of whatever grade, is but secondary and ministerial.' The Epistle to the Galatians is taken as 'the declaration of the profound significance of an individual experience of Christ, and of the many directions in which such an experience may serve for guidance and for impulse.' Dr. Macgregor has nobly vindicated what he rightly calls 'the distinctive part of Mysticism,' namely, the possibility of having 'a direct apprehension of the spiritual realities, when the Church or any other society falls away, and man is left alone with the Father of his spirit.' Among the most helpful lectures are those entitled: 'Is there a Common Faith?' 'A Valid Ministry,' and 'The Fruits of the Spirit of Jesus.'

Dr. Macgregor makes many sympathetic references to Methodist history and polity. After discussing Wesley's action in ordaining Dr. Coke, he says: 'Paul would contentedly have claimed Coke as a bishop and apostle after his own pattern, however irregular the mode of his creation might appear. The only reality for which Paul cared was the reality of a divine call, which may come through ecclesiastical channels or apart from these.' The story of the origin of the Methodist classes is given as 'a really beautiful example of the way in which the character of Jesus may unconsciously shape the character and even the policy of a living community.' The reference is, of course, to Wesley's conversation with the Bristol society about paying the debts there. 'The classes which exist for spiritual fellowship, and which have so enormously enriched the life of Methodism, thus sprang from the suggestion of a man in whom was the brotherly heart of Christ; and the same Heart has guided men in every generation into similar originalities of conduct, wise, practical, and permanent.'

The Fellowship of the Mystery. By J. N. Figgis, D.D. (Longmans. 5*s.* net.)

Dr. Figgis delivered these 'Bishop Paddock Lectures' at the General Theological Seminary, New York. Their object is to state the grounds of Churchmanship as it presents itself to one who is unfeignedly loyal to it. We are living in a new age when men are crying for religion, struggling for it, determined in some way to get it. 'Science has awakened to religion as a human fact.' But the task of proving that only in Christ can men slake their thirst for God is by no means easy. Dr. Figgis is persuaded that we are 'worse than foolish if we preach the Christian faith mainly as the Incarnation or the Resurrection, and put into the second place the thought of Jesus Christ and Him Crucified.' The second lecture sets forth the Church as 'The Inseparable Society.' The religion of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man 'must inevitably be the most penetrating of all forms of Social Union.' A contrast is drawn between the Catholic and the Protestant spirit. Dr. Figgis is, perhaps, a little unfair to the latter, but he admits that at some points the Catholic tendency 'needs to be severely controlled, or there may be a danger of religious worship becoming a dilettante aestheticism.' The criticism of Mr. Houston Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* is well timed, for, as the lecturer says in his preface, the new Teutonic Christianity is 'conducting its first mission with the bonfire of Louvain for its Bethlehem star.' Each of the chapters contains much that is stimulating and suggestive. In dealing with self-development Dr. Figgis shows that so far from the Christian ideal of cross-bearing being inhuman, it is congruous with the whole method of the development of human life. There is much on conversion, on the Eucharist, and on authority from a High Churchman's point of view, which is of great interest, though we cannot accept it without qualification. The study of Newman, given in an appendix, is one of the most illuminating we have read. Another appendix, 'Modernism Versus Modernity,' deals ably with various points in Dr. Sanday's reply to the Bishop of Oxford's *Open Letter*. Dr. Figgis says in his Preface that the 'progress in mutual understanding is becoming every day more real between the two parties commonly called Catholic and Evangelical. Each is beginning to recognize in the other the vital sense of faith in the Cross of Christ.' That is the spirit of his book, and those who are not able to endorse all his views will not be the least eager to recognize it and rejoice over it.

The Religion of Israel: an Historical Study. By Henry Preserved Smith. (T. & T. Clark. 8*s.* net.)

Dr. H. P. Smith has at length followed up his History of Israel (in the International Theological Library), with a history of Israel's religion. The general standpoint is the same as in the earlier book. Israel started upon its career as a body of desert nomads and, entering

Canaan, learnt many of the customs and religious practices of the more civilised inhabitants, till something like amalgamation took place: then came the monarchy, first single and then divided, the downfall, and the rise of the Jewish Church. Of the religious life of the nation through these varying experiences, the Bible is the expression. Assuming the main results of what is known as the critical position, the author traces, through the various books of the Bible, with copious references, the developing religious conceptions. He touches somewhat lightly on the earlier stages, finding in Moses 'the founder of the Yahweh religion for Israel,' though he does not believe 'that Moses wished to abolish the worship of minor divinities, the clan and family gods.'

The primary purpose of the prophets is to get into close relation with the Divinity for their own enjoyment,' but as Yahweh was the God of the social order, his servants inevitably 'concerned themselves with affairs of state.' He feels deeply the austere ethical majesty of the earlier prophets: he points out that the Hebrew ritual 'went back to immemorial times.' Ezekiel, more influential than his predecessors over his country's future, was the founder of its ecclesiasticism. It was after the return from exile that Messianism grew and was spiritualized: while side by side therewith appeared the sceptical reaction (manifesting itself in diverse directions in Job and Ecclesiastes), the attention to legalistic problems of conduct in the Wisdom literature, and 'the treasure of the humble' in the book of Psalms. The 'final stage' is found in the Maccabean period, and the history of the rival sects of Sadducees and Pharisees which followed it. The inquiry, as the author claims, is 'purely historic,' but the training of the religion from its desert beginnings to the legalism which preceded Christianity makes the more impressive the educative method of the God of Israel.

The Books of the Apocrypha, their Origin, Teaching, and Contents. By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D. (R. Scott. 16*s.* net.)

There is no more valuable and interesting study of the present day than that directed to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, which form the link between the Old and New Testaments. The interval is no longer one of the dark ages of literature. The amount of light cast on the two Testaments is very great. The study is represented by our 'International Society,' and a quarterly *International Journal*. The work spent on the subject has already culminated in Canon Charles' sumptuous volumes, which are 'the most elaborate thing of the kind ever published in any country.' Mr. Oesterley has wisely judged that another work, giving all the essential matter of the subject apart from the costly illustrations, is called for, and this need is admirably met by his volume. The thoroughness of the work may be seen in the fact that the Prolegomena containing everything belonging to Introduction, forms more than half the volume, while

the Second Part analyses and comments on the separate books. It is no mean advantage to have a synopsis of books like Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, the Maccabees and the others presented together in clear, handy form, as here. It is needless to argue how necessary a knowledge of these works is to any one who would fully understand Jewish thought and history in this middle age. The *Book of Wisdom*, especially, has long been a favourite with students of sacred Jewish literature. If not a part of canonical Scripture, it is in a line with canonical Scripture. While we have no doubt that the exclusion of these works from Scripture is right, we have as little doubt that they should be better known than they have been in the past. The author is probably right in thinking that the name, Apocrypha, has something to do with the prejudice felt against the books; and he does well to remind us that the name, as applied to these books, 'does not correspond to what is nowadays understood by the word apocryphal.' The printing of the work is excellent.

The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature. By Henry J. Wicks, B.A., D.D. (Hunter & Longhurst. 10*s*. net.)

This thesis won the writer the degree of divinity in the University of London, and contains a brief Introduction by Canon Charles, who examined it, and advised that Dr. Wicks should be encouraged to publish what his examiner felt he should 'like to possess in a permanent form.' No one who studies the work will be surprised that it gained such a tribute from the foremost authority of the day. Dr. Wicks stated in his Introduction the conclusions which he has reached as to the composition of the books under discussion, and the dates to which they should be assigned. He then divides his subject into three great branches—the transcendence, the justice, and the grace of God. Under each of these divisions the books are discussed according as their dates seem to be in the second or first century B.C., and the first century A.D. A summary of the teaching of each of these centuries is given, and then 'Conclusions' are drawn from a general survey. The study of these documents of the transition period between the Old and New Testaments is of great importance for the purposes of Historical Theology, and this workmanlike volume claims a place on the shelves of every one who wishes to pursue that study.

Christianity and the New Age. By George P. Mains. ($1.50 net.)

The Stars not Inhabited. By L. T. Townsend. ($1 net.)

Our Brother of Joy. By David Baines-Griffiths. (50*c*. net.)

A Pilgrim of the Infinite. By W. Valentine Kelley. (50*c*. net.)

(The Methodist Book Concern: New York and Cincinnati.)

Dr. Mains, amid his exacting work as agent of the Book Concern in New York, finds time for the preparation of volumes which have

gained what he here expresses his desire to gain, 'a wide welcome, an undenominational welcome, from both the ministry and the laity.' His subjects go far to win them a welcome. *Modern Thought and Traditional Faith* made a strong appeal to biblical students and thinkers; and the present volume, which discusses many phases of modern fact and thought, will be of equal interest to all social reformers. His theme is 'The world-kingdom of Jesus Christ.' His discussion is opened by a chapter on 'The Incomprehensible Christ,' whose greatness the world has but faintly learned to comprehend. He has survived nineteen centuries, and after the exhaustive research of the last seventy-five years 'His widening supremacy over the world's thought is increasingly acknowledged.' Strauss and Renan had their theories, Schweitzer had his, but Christ is still 'incomprehensible.' He is the corner-stone of His Church. Dr. Mains admits that there is ground for pessimism in the modern outlook, and feels that it will be a lasting reproach to the Church, 'if in this age she fails to realize her own great opportunity, under the standards of the gospel, to install herself as the leader and inspirer of the armies of labour.' The factors of limitation are discussed—'Biblical Criticism, secularized education, educated leadership, plutocracy, socialism.' Then the 'Factors Prophetic' emerge. Some faint conception of Dr. Mains' work is gained from such an outline. Christian men will turn to the book with eager interest. They will not be disappointed by the frank and judicial survey of a momentous subject.

In *The Stars not Inhabited*, Professor Townsend has availed himself of the secrets disclosed by the stellar spectroscope, and has collected facts from every quarter to light up the scientific side of his subject. He quotes the opinions of those who believe in other inhabited worlds, and meets this popular theory by a most comprehensive examination of our modern knowledge of the heavenly bodies. Man could no more live on our sun or any planets of our Solar System or any of the visibly fixed stars 'than he could live in flashes of dynamite or gunpowder.' That is his conclusion. If man, therefore, is alone in the physical universe, it is no wonder that God's solicitude for him is like that of a father for his only child. The philosophical and theological points of view are then dealt with: Ancient beliefs are discussed, the 'Bible Estimates' of man in Genesis and the Psalms are considered, and man's greatness is shown to leave no doubt of his immortality. The subject is one which attracts many minds, and the way in which Professor Townsend describes it is so fresh and so fascinating that he will reach a large circle of readers.

Our Brother of Joy is a picture of Jesus Christ, who 'glorifies the common-place, and calls us to the Sacrament of a deep and quiet joy.' Calvary has made many place an undue emphasis on human suffering and magnify asceticism. Some grim pages from the history of monasticism illustrate this 'ascetic blight' and 'blasphemy.'

Suffering and joy are 'the Christian paradoxes,' 'but in every cross we may find peace, and show that Christ is Brother for our adversity, and Brother of our joy.' Such an interpretation of ourselves and our circumstances will appeal alike to the young and happy, and to all who suffer.

Dr. Kelley's *Pilgrim of the Infinite* is an argument for personal immortality, which made a deep impression when it appeared in the *Methodist Review*, of which he is editor. He brings out the meaning of personality, shows its range, and lets us look at such specimen thinkers as Descartes, Kant, Bishop Butler and St. Paul. The conclusion of Frances Power Cobbe is reached: 'If man be not immortal, God is not just.' Impressive testimonies from Tennyson and Meredith are quoted, and the argument leads up to the conclusion that man is 'A Pilgrim of the Infinite.' Those who shrink from treatises on the subject will find this summary inspiring and comforting.

We have received from The Abingdon Press, of New York, a number of books which are of unusual interest:—

Social Heredity and Social Evolution (50 cents.), by Herbert W. Conn. The writer, who is Professor of Biology in Wesleyan University, shows that the laws of the evolution of animals and plants apply to human evolution only up to a certain point, beyond which man has been under the influence of distinct laws of his own, which may be grouped under the title of Social Heredity. That position is made clear by a careful study of the origin of language and the evolution of moral codes and of the moral sense. The danger of pushing eugenics too far is shown, and the non-inheritance of acquired characters is clearly brought out. They are handed down by education and precept. The subject is one of high practical significance. It is worked out with scientific precision, yet is made so clear that every one can follow the argument with keen interest. Such a book will be of real service to a very wide circle of intelligent readers.

A Man and His Money. ($1.) By Harvey Reeves Calkins. Dr. Calkins is Stewardship Secretary to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and embodies in this discussion the fruit of ample knowledge and experience. The pagan law of ownership is first discussed, then the Christian law of stewardship, the meaning of value, the ownership of value, and the stewardship of value. That is the scheme of the book. It is a vital subject for our times, and the responsibilities of stewardship are wisely and persuasively set forth. 'A man and his money! The money is sent forth into the world to work new miracles upon the earth. But what of the man? Surely he has rendered an exalted service. Surely his stewardship has risen into high partnership, and surely that partnership shall abide.'

New Testament History: A Study of the Beginnings of Christianity. By H. F. Rall, Ph.D. (Abingdon Press. 6*s.* net.)

This volume is one of a useful series entitled 'Bible Study Text Books,' published under the auspices of the Methodist Book Concern, New York. The object of the series is to promote a first-hand and comprehensive study of the Bible, especially in schools and colleges. The present volume is by Dr. Rall, President of the Iliff School of Theology, Denver, and it bears testimony to the teaching powers of the author. The style is clear, the arrangement good, and at the close of each chapter are directions for reading and study, sometimes with questions attached. A thorough knowledge of the contents of the Bible itself is only too rare in the present generation of young people, and both teachers and students of to-day will find this volume helpful in dealing with New Testament History.

The Bible as Literature: An Introduction ($1 50 cents.). By Irving F. Wood, Ph.D., and Elihu Grant, Ph.D., belongs to the same series. The aim of the two professors responsible for this volume has been to provide an introduction to the literature rather than to the history or theology of the Bible. They have given information in as clear and compact a form as possible, so that the student may be sent to the divine library itself, and may give his chief strength to reading that. The results reached by modern scholarship are used, and the order of study is in the main chronological. The volume admirably fulfils its purpose. It represents mature work in college classes, and after each book a set of 'Topics and Assignments' helps the student to test his knowledge of the subject.

The Study of Religions. By Stanley A. Cook, M.A. (A. & C. Black. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Cook is convinced that 'religion—the "old-fashioned" type, with its insistence upon a transcendent Personal Deity—is necessary for progress.' Our theories and convictions of God's work in the Universe are indeed bound up with progress in thought and in social and political life. Mr. Cook's earlier chapters show what the science of religion involves, and trace the development of the comparative study of religions. Special attention is given to the work of Robertson Smith, whose *Religion of the Semites* is 'justly believed to be the soundest introduction to the study.' He was master of his special field, and his treatment of it 'stimulated research both in his own field and without.' Two chapters on 'Survivals' introduce us to 'those curious phenomena which appear in the higher levels or in civilized lands, but take us away to the lower levels, to savage lands, and to bygone times.' Witchcraft, fairies, good or evil spirits come under this heading. Environment and change, development and continuity, failure and success are then considered, and a final chapter sets out the considerations that arise from a survey of the

whole subject. 'Religion is seen to be, not a thing apart, but that which involves the depths of man's psychical nature. . . . In the evolution of civilization Religion has been linked with all life and thought.' Man has been able in some way to advance from the humblest and lowliest state, and it is impossible to ignore the conclusion that the factors that made for success in the past are indispensable for the future.' That is the conclusion to which Mr. Cook has come. He thinks that 'the unbiassed student of religions can hardly escape the conviction that the Supreme Power, whom we call God,' desires the furtherance of those aims and ideals which are for the advance of mankind. The study brings out more and more clearly what is entailed in God's love for the Universe. It shows His nearness to man, and 'unites at once man's reverence and fear of God, and his honesty to his race.'

Democracy and Christian Doctrine: An Essay in Reinterpretation. By W. H. Carnegie, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Canon Carnegie's standpoint is 'individual and local—that of personal experience gained in the heart of a great democratic community.' His purpose is to find a means of satisfying the personal and social needs of living men with whom he has been brought into intimate daily contact. To satisfy them means to satisfy the class to which they belong, and 'to establish vital relations with the organized movement to which that class has, as a whole, committed itself.' Nor can the subject be looked at only from a national standpoint. The Protestantism of Germany has failed to 'withstand a movement subversive not merely of the theological beliefs of the Christian religion, but of its fundamental ethical positions.' Canon Carnegie hopes that the English Church will be able to establish vital relations with Russia. 'The Anglo-Saxon and Russian races seem destined to share the leadership of the world's civilized progress. The combination of their religious resources in a movement which, while in essential continuity with the historic Christian movement of the past, was in vital touch with the needs of the present and the claims of the future, would be an event of far-reaching importance in man's religious history.' The object of his book is to rouse the Church to a sense of its responsibility. 'Before Churchmanship can hope to re-Christianize England, it must itself be re-Christianized.' The rift between the Church and the working classes shows that something is wrong, but Canon Carnegie thinks that the Church is learning that it is Christ's instrument for the restoration of human nature to its true image. Its effectiveness must be tested by its power to form character, which is a social product and needs for its development a strong, active, progressive corporate life. Canon Carnegie asks how the chief Christian doctrines connect themselves with our practical needs. He begins with faith, which holds together the doctrinal system of the Church. Its external evidence

is weighed, and its relation to duty—or moral endeavour—is shown. The foundations are thus established, and the way prepared for a consideration of the doctrine of the Trinity, the Resurrection, the Real Presence and the Sacramental Principle. The treatment is always suggestive, and Canon Carnegie shows how much religion suffers because 'the type of manhood displayed by many professing Churchmen, even by active and interested Churchmen, lacks those strong and virile graces which so conspicuously marked the manhood of Christ.' The Church's 'organised activities also are far inferior in efficiency to those of many forms of secular society.' We have found this a searching and stimulating book. The world never needed the Church of Christ more than it does to-day, and Canon Carnegie's strong yet restrained words will stir up many to a higher conception of Christian character and duty.

A Theologian's Workshop, Tools, and Methods. By J. Agar Beet, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This work is meant to serve as a guide to beginners in theological study, and as a crown to the author's extensive work in that field. The clear, direct style, the constant appeal to Scripture, and certain idiosyncrasies of interpretation will at once strike many readers. The argument in the first three chapters on the necessity and value of theological study is most timely. Such study has fallen on evil days. The author tells how he forsook Pearson and Watson for Scripture as his only and sufficient guide. Now not merely theology of a particular school, but theology of every school is at a discount. If the author's reasoning helps to restore lost ground, the service will be great. The methods of theological work sketched with much illustration are the author's own; the 'workshop' is easily recognised. For still fuller references we are referred to the author's previous works. The analogy between natural and revealed theology is strongly emphasized. The analyses of scripture words and arguments, the explanations of inflexions and particles, of metaphors, parable, and prophecy will be helpful. In all these matters we hope that the author's example will find many imitators. We cannot say the same of his teaching on future retribution, or of his treatment of 'eternal torments' and man's immortality as equally unscriptural, and still less of his repeated imputation of unworthy motives to others for a silence which does not exist, except in imagination.

Studies in the Spirit and Power of Christianity. By William Temple, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

We are glad Mr. Temple has published this volume. Two of the sermons were preached at Oxford, one at Cambridge, another at Manchester, the rest are Repton School Sermons. They are distinguished by that intensity and power which marks whatever Mr. Temple has to say from the pulpit. The description of the undergraduate's position at the University is admirable, and the sermon on

'Faith and Doubt' deserves to be read again and again. The school sermons are very effective. They compel a hearer to think. They are not afraid of strong words: 'If Christianity has never frightened us, we have not found out what it is.' We do not like the passage on Kingsley's controversy with Newman, but here again Mr. Temple makes us think. His illustrations are telling, but above all his own enthusiasm for truth, for social righteousness, and for Foreign Missions are very impressive.

Thoughts for Teachers of the Bible. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D. (Longmans. 6*d.* net.)

The Dean of Wells has linked together in this pamphlet three addresses. The first on 'The Bible as a whole,' was delivered at Mrs. Bryant's wish to the girls of the North London Collegiate School, and had to be limited to a sketch of what the inspiration of the Old Testament means. The Bible is a library, and its unity is due to the fact that it is the record of the revelation of God to man through man. To the dean inspiration primarily means the inspiration of a people. It is made through human lives and thoughts, guided and lifted by the special care of God. The second paper, 'Central Teachings of the New Testament,' finds the soul of the gospel in One for all, and All in one. Christ's 'life, His death, His resurrection, His glory—all are ours, for we are all in Christ.' Hence follows another word. 'All one man'—the unity of the race in Christ. A brief paper on 'The Christ of History' closes this choice little book.

The Morning of Life. By W. T. A. Barber, D.D. (C. H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Head Master of the Leys School presents in this volume a collection of the addresses delivered by him in the School Chapel. Schoolboys are keen critics alike of the manner and matter of pulpit discourses. There must be no undue familiarity, still less the intrusion of the colloquial; and there must always be dignity of expression and thought. These conditions are admirably fulfilled by Dr. Barber, who deals for the most part with the ethical and experimental aspects of the Christian life, as every schoolmaster is bound to do. There is no attempt to discuss the difficulties of biblical interpretation or of Christian belief, which sooner or later the intelligent schoolboy has to face. Dr. Barber is content to treat of the more obvious problems of daily life and conduct in a style at once direct and interesting, lighting up his message with telling illustrations. Moreover, as might be expected, there is a fine glow of evangelical warmth and tenderness in his application of the truth. He invariably places before his hearers a noble ideal of Christian character and, perhaps, no higher praise than this could be accorded to any utterances.

In Life's Golden Time. By Frank Cox. (C. H. Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a series of popular addresses to young people, but 'popular' in the best sense of that much-abused word. There are no rhetorical platitudes: on the contrary, it is a thoughtful, high-minded Christianity that is proclaimed and proclaimed in a bright, attractive, and lucid style. For average young people they are admirably adapted, because they inspire thought without becoming dull, or making too strenuous a demand on the intellect. The author gives four addresses under each of his headings, which are, in order, the discouragements, the mistakes, the questions, the perils and the ideals of the time. Fortunate, indeed, are the congregations that have listened to Mr. Cox's earnest and up-to-date utterances: and we cannot imagine the young people whom he had addressed being other than aroused and moved to the highest issues by his teaching. Warning, counsel, exhortation, exposition are skilfully blended and enforced with many felicitous illustrations.

Plain Talks on the Pastoral Epistles. By Eugene Stock. (R. Scott. 5*s.* net.)

Dr. Stock's new volume is not a commentary on the Pastoral Epistles but a discussion in a well-considered order of various topics, doctrinal, ecclesiastical, and ethical, suggested by the teaching of the epistles. The method is, indeed, a happy variation on the usual verse by verse exposition, and might profitably be followed in other portions of the New Testament. Dr. Stock's treatment, moreover, is so thorough that we get what is the equivalent of a commentary in the end. He regards the Epistles as genuine utterances of the Apostle Paul, and his standpoint throughout is that of a liberal-conservative, who has mastered all the most recent English authorities on the text, and draws upon their discoveries and interpretations for his own elucidation of its matter with many a happy touch and illustration which reveal his competent judgement and intelligent grasp of the subjects handled. 'Plain' these studies undoubtedly are, being at once scholarly and lucid, but they are much more than 'talks,' as most readers will agree who follow the author's careful guidance in the difficult questions raised by these comparatively neglected epistles.

Messages of the Beatitudes. By T. Arthur Bailey. (R. Scott. 2*s.* net.)

It is not easy to say anything new on the Beatitudes, and Mr. Bailey lays no claim to any original presentation of a familiar theme. His object is to bring out the practical side of the Beatitudes in a series of sermons, which have proved to be helpful to his hearers. There is much that is sound and useful in his expositions, and it is encouraging to know that continuous discourses on the ethics of Christianity

are appreciated by Christian worshippers. It is unfortunate that these messages were published on the eve of the great war, which would have furnished timely and striking applications for Mr. Bailey's teaching, and has already raised a host of problems for the Christian consciousness.

Perfect Love: a Study of Wesley's View of the Ideal Christian Life. By John Findlater. With Foreword by Principal A. Whyte, D.D. (Leith. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

'Perfect love' is Wesley's favourite definition of Christian perfection, and is his most distinctive contribution to Christian theology and practical Christian life. Mr. Findlater's book, while it contains no new discussion of the subject, is an excellent statement of Wesley's own teaching, supported by ample quotation from his works, and not least from Methodist hymnology. There is a distinct revival of interest in the subject in our days, and preachers will render priceless service to spiritual religion by taking advantage of this interest. The present work is by no means limited to Methodist writers, as the brief 'Foreword' indicates. Calvin's emphasis on the spiritual nature of religion is aptly referred to. The substance of the doctrine is shown to exist in other churches. The wide use of the book will do great good.

Essays in Constructive Theology. By G. F. Terry, Rector of St. John the Evangelist, Edinburgh. (R. Scott. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Four of the seven essays in this volume make a general appeal. The Christian Revelation of God, Modern Criticism, the Authority of the Christian Revelation, Progressive Revelation, are questions on which thoughtful, suggestive comments are always welcome. The author does not profess to exhaust any of the topics, but simply to indicate sufficient guidance, and this he does effectively. Thus, in the first essay the two points dealt with are the trustworthiness and the miraculous character of the Bible records. While the conclusions arrived at are the author's own, they are buttressed by references to other well-known writers of the day. The other three essays on Anglican views are more sectional, and are marked by the same moderate and frank spirit. The type and paging are admirable.

The Great Texts of the Bible. Edited by James Hastings, D.D. Psalm cxix. to Song of Songs, St. Matthew. (T. & T. Clark. 6*s.* net per volume.)

There are few ministries that would not be enriched by the assimilation and judicious reproduction of the homiletic, expository, and illustrative material contained in these two volumes, and any young preacher or teacher who is fortunate enough to possess the whole series of ten, so splendidly brought to completion, will find himself

equipped for many years to come. The material has been gathered from wide fields of literature, and, for the most part is both choice and fresh and suited to its purpose. The latest volumes are equal if not superior to their predecessors, and the first of them is specially attractive, inasmuch as it not only covers the least exploited portions of the Psalter, but sets before us the text-gems of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. All Bible users have been placed under obligation once more to Dr. Hastings and his well-read band of helpers. *The Greater Men and Women of the Bible*, also edited by Dr. Hastings (T. & T. Clark. 6*s.*) includes Ruth, Samuel, Saul, David, Absalom, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha and other men and women in the period from Ruth to Naaman. The interest of these lives is inexhaustible, and there is material here for making their story lay hold on the imagination and the conscience. The 'Literature,' prefixed to each study, will direct those who wish for further matter to many rich stores, but the volume itself contains such a wealth of illustration and suggestion that it will meet all needs of preacher and teacher.

The Seer's House, and other Sermons. By James Rutherford, B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These sermons are well planned and carefully thought out. They deal with great themes in a way that leaves a mark on character. They are always direct and unaffected. Their style is admirable. You cannot mistake the preacher's meaning, or miss his application. 'Possible Perfection' is a beautiful unfolding of the command of Jesus (Matt. v. 48). Preachers will find much that appeals to them in these sermons, and so will all devout readers.

In a Preacher's Study. By George Jackson, B.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Some of the chapters in this volume have already appeared as articles in this REVIEW, and many of its readers will be glad to study afresh the appreciation of Dean Church and the paper on Lord Morley. We do not agree with the conclusion reached as to 'The Problem of Demoniacal Possession in the Gospels,' but Mr. Jackson works out his theme with his usual lucidity and fearlessness. 'The Missionary Idea in the Gospels' shows that 'the Source of Christian missions is to be found, not in St. Paul, still less in the activities of contemporary Judaism, but in the declared will and purpose of Christ Himself.' In 'The Ethical Background of St. Paul's Epistles,' Mr. Jackson surveys the life of the time, and finds that the apostle's sense of a 'universal human need' is the starting-point of all his theology. 'The Twofold Debt of the Ministry,' a university sermon on 'Christian Agnosticism,' and 'Three Letters to a Young Man about Books,' which every one ought to read, are also included in this varied and suggestive volume.

Epictetus and the New Testament. By Douglas S. Sharp, M.A., B.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The question of the relationship of ancient Stoicism to Early Christianity and the writings of the New Testament has always been one of deep interest to the student. The well-known essay by the late Bishop Lightfoot, on 'St. Paul and Seneca,' will be recalled by many, and the subject has frequently been dealt with in articles and books on Stoicism. The figure of Epictetus, the lame slave, who became a popular Stoic lecturer, has always stood for the best that was in Stoicism, and still possesses a pathetic interest for the student of that period. Mr. Sharp's book, therefore, is on a welcome topic, and deals with a most interesting phase of it. Acting on the suggestion of his former tutor, Dr. James H. Moulton, who writes a 'foreword' to the book, Mr. Sharp has made a careful study of the 'contacts between Epictetus and the New Testament.' 'Resemblances in language, thought and teaching—together with certain differences' are here set forth in a volume of 158 pages. The writer brings to his task competent abilities and an industry for detailed investigation as unusual as it is creditable. The author would be the first to admit that his results are more negative than positive, as 'after all, it is doubtful whether Epictetus was acquainted with the New Testament,' and such resemblances as exist are to be attributed to the use on both sides of the common language of the time. But he is to be congratulated on stating his conclusions so clearly and fearlessly. The volume is one which many who are interested in Epictetus will be glad to study and will be fruitful in suggestion to those who read their Greek Testament. We heartily congratulate the author on the completion of a piece of work which has evidently been to him a labour of love and which is a very satisfactory token of the high place occupied by sacred scholarship among our younger ministers.

Jesus and the Otherworld. By A. Gordon James. (Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

By the otherworld, Mr. James does not mean the future state, but, if we may so put it, paradoxically, the present world in its unseen aspects, the spiritual world and Christ's presence in it. He contends throughout for the Real Presence of Christ, here and now. 'What is needed at this hour,' he says, 'is a clearer vision of Jesus and a firmer grasp of the unseen,' and the purpose of his volume is to make Jesus more real, and the Otherworld more certain, to any who feel the vagueness of things spiritual.' The appeal is to modern young men by a modern young minister of great ability and promise who, with much freshness and depth of thought, and by clear and cogent reasoning, aided by felicitous and telling illustration, strives to bring home to sincere, earnest seekers like himself, the considerations which, in much perplexity, have brought to him conviction and serenity. It is a thoughtful, frank, and manly

piece of work, and whether it speaks of Jesus Christ, as in the first part, or of The Church, as in the second, or of Religion, as in the third, it will not appeal in vain to the young people of our churches, homes, and schools.

The Life Indeed. Expositions in the Fourth Gospel. By W. W. Holdsworth. M.A. (Charles H. Kelly. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

In this thoughtful and most instructive work, Mr. Holdsworth is concerned to bring out the 'unity of design and purpose' which underlies the writing of the evangelist. With true insight he traces 'two lines of development which culminate, one in the recognition of Christ as "Lord and God," by Thomas, and the other in an ever-deepening hostility which eventually resolved itself into murder.' In his previous works, Professor Holdsworth has dealt at length with the critical problem which must be faced by students of the Gospels, but in this book scholastic details are 'reduced to a minimum,' though on every page there are evidences of true scholarship. With rare charm and spiritual glow, the results of many years' study of this 'spiritual' Gospel are here presented. The expositions have the same purpose as the Gospel, namely 'that those who read may believe.' Those who make it their companion in the devotional study of the Fourth Gospel will find it a stepping-stone to faith, and prove that 'faith deepens into communion, and communion into Life—the Life which is Life indeed.'

The Parabolic Gospel, or Christ's Parables; a Sequence and a Synthesis. By the Rev. R. M. Lithgow. (T. & T. Clark. 4*s*. net.)

The unique feature of this work is its suggestive study of the sequence of the parables, with the object of tracing in them a synthesis of doctrine. In the first two Gospels, for example, Mr. Lithgow finds 'a series of five simple triads, treating in turn of good and evil, of growth, of the receipt and conditions of God's grace, of the divine claims and the final judgement.' The parables in Matthew's Gospel are held to be recorded in their 'historical and logical order,' and Luke's arrangement is 'not that of their delivery.' Some excellent criticisms are offered of 'the nomenclature of the Parables,' and there is much to be learnt from the chapters on their 'Theology' and their 'Symbolism.' At times, one may hesitate to follow the author in the parallels he draws, but his book will amply repay careful study and open out many vistas to every expositor of our Lord's teaching.

The New Testament in Life and Literature. By Jane T. Stoddart. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This is the companion volume to *The Old Testament in Life and Literature*. Miss Stoddart has 'translated freely from the German

and Latin correspondence of the Reformers, from Sainte-Beuve's great history of Port Royal, and from the writings of the Spanish mystics.' She has found the illustrative material for the Psalter and St. Matthew almost inexhaustible. The four books that come next are, she thinks, *Genesis*, *St. John*, *St. Luke* and *Isaiah*. Miss Stoddart's work represents many years of reading, and it is brought well up to date. So recent a book as Mr. Graham's *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem* has been laid under contribution. We miss Cromwell's famous reference to Phil. iv. 12-18, but the longer we study the volume the more impressed we are with the range of Miss Stoddart's reading, and the excellent use she has made of it. The illustrations are given with sufficient detail to make them live, and preachers and teachers will find the work of the greatest service.

The Sword of the Lord. By Arthur C. Hill. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

Mr. Hill here attempts to outline the character of a true Christian disciple. He sees that if the moral wealth accumulated by humanity is not to be submerged by a new barbarism 'we must look for protection to those who acknowledge, with open confession or with silent devotion, the authority of the Nazarene.' He divides his subject into four parts. Digging for foundations; virtues that count; children of earth; human, not too human. Each section is full of good counsel, aptly illustrated and well applied. Perhaps the most timely chapter is that headed 'Christ or Thor?' It is a fine blend of patriotism and religion, and every young man will be the better for reading it. The whole book is a moral tonic. On p. 268 for George III. read George IV.

The Message of New Thought. By Abel L. Allen. (Bell & Sons. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Allen says that the adherents of 'New Thought' 'do not conceive of God as distant or separated from man, but as a universal spirit permeating all nature, finding its highest expression in man.' It teaches men to say 'The Father and I are One.' Divinity is in every act of the life of Jesus, but it is 'also in every man.' 'The great subconscious mind in man discovered through the agencies of modern psychology' is the Kingdom of God within us, of which 'The Gentle Master' spoke. This is a strange system, indeed, and we fail to see that it has any message for the world.

The Burthen of the Weeks. By James Black, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

Mr. Black gets his title from *In Memoriam*, and one can well understand that sermons so fresh as these must involve constant labour. They are, however, worth all the labour expended on them. The choice of subjects is itself striking, and the titles given to the

sermons are felicitous. The preacher's pictorial gift is shown in his handling of Mark xiii. 18: 'Pray ye that your flight be not in the winter,' and excellent use is made of the word translated 'easily besets' in Heb. xii. The sermons are full of lessons for daily life, and these are put in a way that makes them not easy to forget.

Saints of Yesterday: Talks to Young Men and Women. By Josiah Flew, Ph.D. (Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) These addresses absolutely correspond to the plea which is made for them. They are picturesque and popular presentations of the men in their most characteristic and outstanding qualities. They were what they were, and they wrought what they did, because they had just those things here set forth. 'Yesterday' reaches as far back as to Archbishop Leighton and John Wesley, and is as near as Dr. Maclaren, and the 'Saints' are not men of the cloister, but robust, vigorous, strong men, such as do the work of the world. With a sure insight which rarely, if ever, fails him, the writer has fixed upon just those things that would be likely to arrest the attention of young people, and says them in a way which is interesting and impressive. It is inconceivable that any company of people could listen to these inspiring addresses without feeling the attraction of goodness, without seeing what a gracious and powerful thing it really is.—*The Men of the Pauline Circle.* By Herbert S. Seekings. (C. H. Kelly. 3*s* 6*d.* net.) This is the most comprehensive treatment of the theme—the friends, fellow workers, and indeed the antagonists of St. Paul—that we have met, and it is a treatment which is as competent as it is comprehensive. It suffers in statement from what we cannot but regard as a disability—every man is labelled. Men decline to be scheduled; character, even in the very simple, is too complex to be defined by a single adjective; but in the treatment the writer disregards his own definition, which is entirely to the advantage of the book. Mr. Seekings has made a careful study of all that is recorded of these men of the Pauline Circle, and has set each man before us in the congruousness of his character. It is a fascinating study, and with real ability and a charming distinction of style the writer has carried it to as near perfectness as it is likely to be carried. The whole book bears incidental witness to the wealth of the life of St. Paul in that it touched and was touched by so many lives in such a fruitful way. The book has real suggestion and a fine and gracious charm.

Twelve new volumes of the *Expositor's Library* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2*s.* net each) are now added to the fine list. Preachers will rejoice to have Dr. Dale's *Laws of Christ for Common Life*; Bishop Moule's *Veni Creator*; Dr. Forsyth's *Positive Preaching and Modern Mind*; Professor Orr's *The Faith of a Modern Christian*; Professor Wendland's *Miracles and Christianity*; Canon Simpson's *Christus Crucifixus*; Bishop Boyd Carpenter's *The Burning Bush*; Archbishop Alexander's *Verbum Crucis*, and other treasures. The type is excellent, and the volumes are very neatly got up. It is a library that will do

real service to teachers and preachers.—*Old Gems Reset.* By William J. Pearce. (J. & J. Bennett. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) The gems are taken from Thomas à Kempis, and arranged to form a book of devotion for each day of the month. Mr. Pearce adds two or three pages of exposition and a brief prayer. 'Partial Surrender,' 'The Buckler of Patience,' 'The Inner Ear,' are some of the subjects, and all are handled in a way that leads to self-examination and prayer. Mr. Pearce's selections from à Kempis are happy, and his notes bring out their meaning well.—*Man: the Problem of the Ages, a Theo-Philosophic Treatise.* By 'Homo.' (F. Griffiths. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) The subjects discussed are the greatest possible: Man as the Problem of the Ages, Man and the Universe, Evolution of the Idea of God, Jesus the Ideal Man, Immanence, Transcendence. The solution is sought in the way of theosophy, whatever that means. In some passages pantheism is avowed, in others it is disclaimed. 'For Man to discover himself is to discover God.' 'Both God and man are not only of the same essence, but that principle in man which calls itself "I" is not wholly distinct and separate from, but one with God.' Still, the author will not identify God with the universe. Immanence and transcendence are defined in the usual way as by Dr. Ballard. The booklet has an abundance of quotation—nearly every page has one or more. The supernatural birth of Jesus is disclaimed, but Incarnation in some form is accepted. The writer's spirit is modest and reverent. Other books on the subject are to follow. Plato is not correctly described as a 'historian.' 'Appelation' and 'a Athenian' are mistakes.—Professor Stearns has prepared *A Hebrew Primer: Elementary and Introductory*, and *A Greek Primer for Beginners in New Testament Greek* (Methodist Book Concern. 25*c.* net, each.) They do not attempt to teach too much, but give the elements with a few useful exercises. Suggestions for study, and lists of useful books for beginners are included. No young student should overlook these carefully prepared, compact, and reliable primers.—*The Values of the Cross.* By the Rev. W. Yorke Faussett, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) Prebendary Faussett's six Lenten addresses show how the Cross meets the sense of sin, raises man to God, and throws light on life in all its aspects. It is a little book, but it is full of wise and helpful words, which many will welcome.—*The Lesson Handbook.* By H. H. Meyer. (Kelly. 10*d.* net.) Everything that a teacher needs to light up the International Sunday School Lessons is here in the most compact form. It is a boon to get maps and notes in such a handy little volume.—*Family Prayers for a Week.* (R.T.S. 1*d.*) The prayers are evangelical, simple, comprehensive, and the type is bold.—*These Three*, by the Rev. G. H. Knight (Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*), is a set of 'devotional thoughts for quiet hours,' which are deeply spiritual and suggestive. The subjects chosen are just those on which it is good to meditate amid the cares and temptations of life.—*The Expository Times.* Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., vol. xxv. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.*). Preachers have a special welcome

for this volume. *The Expository Times* has become one of their best friends, and its claim to that position increases as the world of exposition and theological study grows wider and fuller. Its scheme covers almost the whole range of a preacher's interests, and everything is put so brightly and with such discernment and sympathy that it is an education to read these pages month by month. All who are interested in Bible exposition and archaeology will find this a delightful companion.—*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, vi. 7-x. 31. By J. D. Jones, M.A., D.D. (Religious Tract Society. 2*s*.) This is the second volume of Dr. Jones's devotional commentary on St. Mark, and every reader of the Gospel will find it a real help to his study and his personal religious life.—*Atonement and Non-Resistance*. By W. E. Wilson, B.D. (Headley Brothers. 6*d*. net.) Mr. Wilson thinks that 'Christ's death is God dealing with sinful men by the method of non-resistance,' and that this method ought to be followed by all His disciples. We do not think Mr. Wilson is very happy in his theory or in its application.—*Choice Sayings*. Revised by Harold C. Chapman. (Morgan & Scott. 1*s*. net.) These 'Notes of Expositions of the Scriptures' will be useful for devotional reading or for mothers' meetings. They are both interesting and helpful.—*The Secret of Adoration*, by Dr. Andrew Murray (Morgan & Scott. 1*s*. net.), is a set of meditations for each day of the month. Their aim is to bring out the divine side of prayer, and to show God's interest in man. It is a book with a mission.—*Laws of the Upward Life*. By James Burns, M.A. (Scott. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.) These addresses to men deal with matters of vital interest, such as habit and heredity, in a way that will get home to heart and conscience. It is a very suggestive book.—*Flowers of Gold*, by Charles E. Stone (Scott, 2*s*. net), is a volume of talks to children. The subjects are well chosen and brightly handled.—*The Christian Life*. By R. H. Coats, M.A., B.D. (T. & T. Clark. 6*d*. net.) This is a little volume, but it is packed with matter. It has been prepared for study circles, young people's classes, &c. It is full of suggestion and helpfulness, and indispensable to all who work among the young. We most heartily commend it.—*The Class-Leader's Companion for* 1915, edited by Rev. W. H. Heap (Charles H. Kelly. 1*s*. net.), provides a delightful little study for every week in the year. It is indispensable to a class leader, a mine of real wealth, a spring of real inspiration.—*The Junior Leader's Annual*, 1914–15. Edited by Rev. W. H. Heap. (Charles H. Kelly. 6*d*. net.) This is just the thing for the Leader of a Junior Class. There is nothing stale or commonplace about it, but variety, newness of treatment, suggestion, interest. Here every leader, and especially the young leader, will find just the theme, and just the treatment of it, that will be likely to capture the attention of a child, and capturing it, to profit him. It is a most helpful little manual.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

Life of Sir John Lubbock, Lord Avebury. By Horace G. Hutchinson. 2 vols. (Macmillan & Co. 30*s.* net.)

Mr. Asquith aptly described Lord Avebury as 'one of the most remarkable men of our time'; and a friend who knew him well thought his life 'one of the most useful that was ever lived.' Both verdicts are borne out by Mr. Hutchinson's volumes. An ill-natured critic once said that 'bankers considered him a great scientist, and men of science a great banker,' but his biographer has no difficulty in showing how baseless that sorry epigram was. He was born in 1834. The first two things he could remember were sitting at a window in Pall Mall to see the Queen's Coronation, 'and a large insect under a glass.' His father was more devoted to astronomy and mathematics than to the banking business in Lombard Street. He took much pains in training his eleven children, and was struck by his eldest boy's question at the age of four as he sat on a rug and watched some paper burning. 'Where do burnt things go to?' In the same year an entry appears in his mother's diary: 'His great delight is in insects. Butterflies, caterpillars, or beetles are great treasures, and he is watching a large spider outside my window most anxiously.' In 1840 the family went to live at High Elms, in Kent. One evening next year the father came home quite excited, saying that he had a great piece of news for John. He made them guess what it was. John suggested that his father was going to give him a pony. 'Oh,' was the reply, 'it is much better than that. Mr. Darwin is coming to live at Down.' The boy was much disappointed, though he came to understand later that to have the greatest scientific man in the world within a mile from his home was to be one of the inspirations of his life. He went to Eton in 1845, where, against the advice of his tutor, he read some Natural History and Geology. On one occasion 'the Bee' was given out as a subject for a theme. He took some pains with this, but such was the ignorance in high places that his tutor sent for him and asked him confidentially whether all he had written was true. The boy got an impression that the masters were rather afraid that he was quizzing, and doubted whether to commend or to flog him. Happily, they accepted his assurance. When he was nearly fifteen he was summoned to take his place in Lombard Street. His father's two partners who were ill, died soon afterwards, and John Lubbock with his father and an old clerk carried on the business. The junior was allowed plenty of holidays, but it was no small strain for a boy of fifteen to be working-partner in a London bank. He was somewhat lonely, but this threw him back on books. He learned to fill up every spare minute on his journeys, and to make notes of passages which interested him in his

reading. Mr. Hutchinson says that it was largely by such means that he was 'able to achieve the immense total of work which he performed during his life.' He delivered his first lecture at Down in 1850 on the wireworm. Darwin persuaded Sir J. W. Lubbock to give his son a microscope, and showed him constant sympathy and affection. The youth made drawings for some of Darwin's books, and greatly enjoyed his walks and talks with him. A brother of Lord Avebury said that he owed a larger debt to Darwin for 'character formation than in the encouragement and direction of his mental gifts.'

Amid such surroundings the young banker and scientist developed rapidly. He made a happy marriage, and after his father's death in 1865 moved from Chislehurst to High Elms. In 1870 he entered Parliament as Member for Maidstone. He was able next year to carry his Bank Holidays Act, and win for the country what the *Daily Telegraph* suggested should be known as St. Lubbock's Day. His work as legislator was not allowed to interfere with his studies of natural history. In the spring of 1872, when he was in the South of France, he tamed a wasp which he took with him to the British Association of that year in Brighton. It had the honour of a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* and a caricature in *Punch*. In 1880, he found a congenial seat as Member for London University, which he held till he became Lord Avebury in 1900. In his early days he was regarded with some suspicion as a friend and champion of Darwin. Mr. Hutchinson says, 'Without doubt he accepted evolution as a part and a very large part, of the process of creation, and had perfect faith in the Great Creator who made choice of this process by which to work out His plan.' He attended the village church regularly on Sunday mornings, and always read a chapter of the Bible before he began his day's work. One who knew him almost from childhood, says, 'I do not believe that he once, in the course of his life, did a thing that he thought to be wrong.' The family gout from which he suffered much never soured his temper. Some one wrote after his death that 'he touched life at every point.' He practised, however, a wise economy in concentrating attention on his own subjects. Music only attracted him in its simplest forms. His artist brother-in-law tells how they were once admiring the priceless treasures of the Louvre, when Lord Avebury's attention was caught by a tiny fossil shell in the stone base of one of the statues. This had a far keener interest for him than all the pictures. Nature never ceased to allure him. Experiments on the habits of ants and bees gave him constant delight. In the busiest years of his public life he still had 'his ants, all set out in their glasshouses and pursuing their incessant activities in the study, and he had also an observation hive of bees fitted in with their exit through the window.' Two of his ants survived till they were fourteen and fifteen years old. Mr. Hutchinson last saw him sitting in the archway of his house, Kingsgate Castle, with his microscope on a little table and a small brown beetle under it, which thus seen revealed 'a carapace studded, as it seemed, with all

the jewels of the world, glittering in a variety of hues and with an indescribable brilliancy.' To some one who asked whether the other insects saw him like that the veteran answered with a non-committal smile, 'It is very likely that they do.'

One passage is specially significant in this war time. Lord Avebury took an active part in promoting friendly feelings with Germany, and when the Kaiser visited England in 1907 had to present him with an address from the Anglo-German Friendship Committee expressing the hope that goodwill might prevail between the two great branches of the Teutonic people. Lord Avebury was very anxious that there should be a clause in the address insisting on the mutual benefit of diminishing the growth of armaments, but this had to be omitted in deference to the desire of Count Metternich. It is significant to find Lord Avebury writing, 'I can imagine no difference of opinion between our two countries which may not be arranged by a little of that friendly feeling which I hope and believe really exists on both sides.' When the address was delivered, he notes, 'The Emperor was very gracious. He talked some minutes with the deputation, and spoke strongly of the importance of peace and goodwill to both countries.' Would that the Kaiser had kept that spirit!

Mr. Hutchinson allows us some delightful glimpses of Lord Avebury's relations to his own family and to his clever brothers and sisters. In the City he had a high reputation. Sir Charles Freemantle said that for keen business acumen and wisdom he never met his equal. 'From the chair of a stormy meeting his influence spread as oil on the waves, and his dexterous steering and fine vision for a possible haven that would be welcome to all, has averted many a shipwreck.'

His *Pleasures of Life*, published in 1887, was a wonderful success. The second part and *The Use of Life* were scarcely less popular. His list of the best 100 books is famous. He was 'always ready to quicken the intelligence of any who might be in his company,' and once asked a countryman if he knew how some stones that had been gathered off the fields were made. 'Why, sir,' was the answer, 'I 'spect they growed, same as 'taturs.' Lubbock replied, 'Well, but if they lay there for fifty years, they would not get any bigger.' 'No, sir,' said the countryman, 'in course they wouldn't—same as 'taturs. Take 'taturs out o' the ground and they stops growin'.'

Mr. Hutchinson has told the story of this crowded and influential life with sympathy and discernment, and it will be read with unmixed pleasure by a great company who feel that they owe a debt to Lord Avebury, which they cannot easily repay.

George the Third and Charles Fox: the Concluding Part of the American Revolution. By the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., O.M. Vol. II. (Longmans, Green & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is the last of the series of six volumes on which Sir George Trevelyan has been busy ever since he left the House of Commons in

1897. The first four were entitled *The History of the American Revolution*, the last two bear the names of the chief figures in the final stage of the struggle, *George the Third and Charles Fox*. When the curtain is rung down by Lord North's refusal to serve his royal master any longer, Sir George sums up thus: The King regarded 'the dispute with his rebellious Colonies as a matter personal to himself; and, if only Parliament had stood by him, he would have fought America as long as he was able to press a sailor, or raise a guinea. But he had met his match in an adversary with a will not less strong, and an intellect far more vivid than his own.' Things had come to such a pass in March, 1782, that even Dr. Johnson, 'the author of *Taxation no Tyranny*, rejoiced that Fox had got the better of his sovereign.' That is the close of the story. The volume opens with the shameful inquiry in Parliament on the conduct of military affairs in America by Burgoyne and Sir William Howe, which was abruptly closed in June, 1779. The state of the national finances is shown by the Duke of Rutland's instructions to his wife in December, 1779. She must not purchase 'superfluous clothes beyond that is requisite for you to appear clean and decent. You must likewise be attentive to the expenses of the children, whose bills, you know, I objected to last year.' The account of John Adams in Europe gives a fine picture of one of the men whom America did well to honour. The descriptions of the engagements are masterpieces. One of the finest soldiers the struggle produced was Nathaniel Greene, the Quaker General who died at the age of forty-four: 'The very type and model of a citizen-soldier.' Justice is done to Lord Cornwallis: 'The most accomplished and chivalrous of all' England's generals. When he had to surrender at Yorktown nobody blamed him, and everybody was sorry for him. Washington's influence over the State Governments 'during those years of national effort and peril had much in common with the influence which William the Silent, more than two centuries previously, exercised under the stress of very similar circumstances over the States of Holland.' There are no dull passages in Sir George Trevelyan's work, and its fine impartiality and readiness to admire soldierly skill and endurance in both the English and the Colonial forces, and to take a broad view of the whole situation, will win the work deserved popularity on both sides of the Atlantic.

With Poor Immigrants to America. By Stephen Graham. With 22 illustrations from photographs by the Author. (Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Graham spent the Easter of 1913 with seven thousand Russian pilgrims at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The following Easter he arrived with Russian emigrants at New York. These two pilgrimages represent 'significant life-movements in the history of the world of to-day. One of these belongs to the old life of Europe showing the Middle Ages as it still survives under the conservative régime of the Tsars; the other is fraught with all the possibilities of the future

in the making of the New America.' Mr. Graham learned from an immigration agent in the East End of London when the next large detachment of Russians would reach London, and gives a vivid description of their filing out from the steamship *Perm* into Tooley Street on their way to St. Pancras Station. The greatest number were going by the Cunard boat from Liverpool to New York, and in this Mr. Graham took his own passage. At the back of the train coach after coach was filled by Russians, 'all stretched on their sheepskins on the narrow seats and on the floor, with their children in the string cradles of the parcel-racks.' The scenes at Liverpool and the life on board the liner are presented by a master hand, and many a little description of his fellow-passengers gives a glimpse into the romance of immigrant life to-day. The examination at Ellis Island greatly distressed Mr. Graham, but he made his way into New York and found out rooms. He had come to the New World to study men and women, and the result of his conversations made him understand something of the passion of America. 'There is a spaciousness with her, there is contrast, there is life and death, virtue and sin, things to laugh over and things to cry over.' Several months later Mr. Graham 'realized that America was superlatively a place of hope.' He was accustomed to write his book by the road as he travelled on foot from place to place, and one morning as he sat under a bush in Indiana, he seemed to find an answer to the question he had been continually asking himself, 'What is America? What is this new nation? How are they different from us at home in England?' He saw at last that they were fundamentally people who had crossed the Atlantic whilst the English were stay-at-homes. 'They are adventurous, hopeful people. They are people who have thrown themselves on the mercy of God and Nature.' You may see what Britain is, but you can only see what America is becoming. Mr. Graham tramped from New York to Chicago, clambering to school-house windows in order to consult the map of the locality hung on the wall; getting to know the daily life of the farmers and watching all that went on along the road. He found the tramp was not welcomed as in Russia, but he learned the explanation. 'There are often about a million pilgrim-tramps on the Russian roads. The Russian tramp is, moreover, a gentle creature; the American is often a foul-mouthed hooligan.' There are many strange things in this book, and a few that some may wish that Mr. Graham had omitted, but it is the most wonderful and living picture of America in some of its aspects that we have ever studied. Mr. Graham pays a fine tribute to the little Baptist chapel that he attended one Sunday morning, where Russians, Ruthenians, and Poles were engaged in Bible study. His own wayside reading was a chapter of the Gospel of St. John or the Revelation, and when he had finished these he began them again. Cleveland has special notice. It has 'its horde of foreign mercenaries living by alien ethics, and committing every now and then atrocious crimes which shock the American community.' But it is a 'cleaned-up town. All the dens of the city have been

raided; there is no gambling, little drunkenness and immorality.' Mr. Graham thinks that patriotism is the chief characteristic of America. Out of that spring some troublesome minor characteristics, but the national conviction is well put into words by the Presbyterian circular that 'being an American is a sacred mission.' We strongly advise every one who wishes to look through a pair of keen eyes on life in the United States to read this outspoken and brilliant book. Photographs taken by the writer add greatly to its interest.

Women of the Revolutionary Era, or Some who stirred France. By Lieut.-Col. Andrew C. P. Haggard, D.S.O. (Stanley Paul & Co. 16*s.* net.)

These are pictures drawn from life, and Lieut.-Col. Haggard knows how to paint them. He has made a special study of the court of Louis XV and Louis XVI, and his *Remarkable Women of France* has traced the career of Madame de Pompadour down to the year 1748. The Revolutionary Era may be said to begin at that date 'with the publication by the *Philosophers* of their immense and largely sceptical compilation, the *Encyclopédie*, which set men thinking,' and the works of Rousseau, which appealed to the women as well as to the men of that era. It is a graceless world into which this volume leads us. Madame de Pompadour lost her health and ceased to charm Louis XV., but she managed to keep her power by pandering to his passions. In his absence she often presided at the Royal Council, and by her signature to a treaty with Austria the Seven Years' War was inaugurated. Frederick the Great had his revenge at Rosbach, where the Prince de Soubise suffered a defeat which made him the laughing-stock of France. Amid the stories of royal mistresses none is more amazing than that of the girl who became Madame du Barry. The King's old valet made such remonstrance when he heard that his master intended to raise her to the ranks of the nobility that Louis 'threatened to knock his brains out with the tongs if he would not hold his peace.' Madame Legros, the haberdasher, who succeeded in gaining freedom for one of Madame de Pompadour's victims who had spent twenty-five years in prison, shines out for her unselfish devotion. The story of Marie Antoinette and the diamond necklace is told with much spirit, and Madame de Staël, Madame Roland and Charlotte Corday stand out vividly from these pages. A photogravure of Théroigne de Méricourt, whose strange story is told in one of the best chapters, and sixteen half-tone illustrations, add much to the interest of a volume which will be intensely interesting to all who feel the fascination of the Revolutionary era.

Highways and Byways in Lincolnshire. By Willingham Franklin Rawnsley. With Illustrations by Frederick L. Griggs. (Macmillan & Co. 5*s.* net.)

It is no easy task for a writer in this fine series to maintain the high standard set by previous volumes, but Mr. Rawnsley has done it.

He belongs to an old Lincolnshire family; he has visited nearly every place that he describes by the aid of the motor-car, and he has given close attention to main roads and has not forgotten to point out some of the most picturesque byways of his county. No one can read his introductory chapter carefully and with an eye on the excellent map at the end of the volume without getting a clear view of the itinerary followed, and understanding some things which are not generally known. The marsh land on the eastern side is nearly all pasture land; the fens are rich, flat cornlands, once perpetually flooded, and now drained and filled. The wolds are two long lines of upland running north and south with flat land on either side of them. These give the county a beauty of its own. The traveller by rail may call Lincolnshire 'ugly,' but if he gets to the wolds he will find that the country is 'famous for wide views, for wonderful sunsets and picturesque hollows.' The pilgrimage through the county under such skilled guidance is one that every Englishman ought to take. So much he owes to the county of Wesley and of Tennyson. Lovers of Tennyson will find many details in the chapter given to the Lincolnshire poet laureate, which they will read with eager interest. Mr. Rawnsley even tells us his favourite editions of the poems, and expresses his opinion that in 'daily popularity and extension,' 'Shakespeare alone excels him, though Pope and Wordsworth may run him close.' As to Wesley, he is not such an expert. He pays honour to the Epworth household as 'one of Lincolnshire's most remarkable families,' but he is in error in saying that Samuel and Charles Wesley were trained under Busby, and John Wesley's last letter was sent to William Wilberforce. The wealth of the county comes out in this pilgrimage. We begin at Stamford, than which 'few towns in England are more interesting, none more picturesque.' Lincoln—the city and the cathedral—fills three delightful chapters, then we move northward interested and instructed at every step. At Grimsby we turn to the south till we see Louth spire—'one of the sights of the county.' Scrivelsby has its stories of the champion of England; the Fens have their famous skating contests. The churches of the Fen country are described with a care which will be greatly appreciated by the antiquary. Boston has its own chapter, one of the most enjoyable in the book. Then Spalding becomes our centre for visits to neighbouring churches till at last we bid farewell to Lincolnshire near the ruins of Crowland. This is a book which appeals both to natives of the county and to outsiders. It has no dull pages, and Mr. Griggs has illustrated it with rare skill and taste.

From the Old South-sea House. Being Thomas Rumney's Letter Book. 1796–1798. Edited by his Great-great-nephew, A. W. Rumney. With Illustrations. (Smith, Elder & Co. *7s. 6d.* net.)

The Rumneys were established as statesmen, or yeomen, in the parish of Watermillock on the Cumberland shore of Ullswater, from

the time of the earliest registers of that parish in 1590, and probably for generations before. Thomas Rumney, the writer of these letters, came to London as a clerk about 1783. A clergyman uncle was responsible for his venturing to the metropolis, and both this Mr. Clark and Rumney's employer, we are told, were somewhat ashamed that the youth of nineteen had received no education in the least calculated for a counting-house, 'and which was distressing to my modest feelings beyond expression.' The letters begin in 1796, when the writer is living at Hampstead for the benefit of his health. He pays four shillings a week for his rooms and walks twelve miles a day to and from the city. He describes himself to his uncle as 'very sober, honest, diligent, punctual, active, civil, &c.,' but regrets his 'lame education.' He receives £105 from his employer, a West Indian merchant, and £80 a year for managing the West Indian business of Mr. Trevanion, then M.P. for Dover. Mr. Trevanion supplies him with 'a cover' for his letters or excuses himself from granting a frank because his list was full for the day. When England was threatened with invasion in 1797 Mr. Rumney changed his lodgings from Hampstead to Pentonville 'in consequence of having taken up arms in the Artillery Company in behalf of my Lord Mayor and fellow citizens. I have learnt the use of Brown Bess pretty well, but she was more fatiguing and awkward to me at first than the Plow-tail, flail, &c., ever were. Volunteer choirs (*sic*) are becoming very common all over England. The East India Company have trained their warehousemen behind the Shepherd and Shepherdess, and I assure you they have all the appearance of regular troops, and perform their exercise exceedingly well. The whole city muster is about 2,800 foot and 800 horse, besides supplementary foot and horse.' In 1797 after fifteen years' absence Thomas Rumney was able to get a brief holiday in Cumberland. Next year the death of his elder brother made him the Squire of Mellfell, and he returned to the north. He did not marry till 1806, and the references to domestic affairs seem to indicate that it was not altogether a congenial union. The letters throw light on life in London at the close of the eighteenth century, and we are glad that they have been published.

My Autobiography. By S. S. McClure. With Illustrations. (Murray. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

We can scarcely tell which part of Mr. McClure's autobiography has interested us most. He was born in Antrim fifty-six years ago, and went to the United States with his mother in 1866. His father had been killed at Glasgow, where he was working as carpenter on board a warship, and the widow of twenty-nine with her four little boys set out 'across the ocean to make her living and support her boys in a strange land.' She found that her brothers and sisters in America were able to do little for her, and life proved a hard struggle. But she had a strong desire that her children should have a thorough

education, and her eldest son shared her enthusiasm. He had loved his National School in Ireland, where he was exceedingly well taught, and graduated at Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, after a struggle that was really heroic to keep body and soul together. He earned enough in his vacations by school teaching or by peddling to keep him alive. One summer he crossed Illinois three times in his pedlar's wagon, sleeping out of doors and cooking his own food. Years afterwards he told his experiences to Stevenson, who 'attributed some of them to Jim Pinkerton in *The Wrecker*.' As a boy he had attacks of restlessness, and simply had to run away 'for a day, for half a day, for two days.' He ran away thus dozens and dozens of times. 'I could do without a bed, without an overcoat, could go without food for twenty-four hours; but I had to break away and go when I wanted to.' He found his sphere at last in New York, where he formed a syndicate for supplying newspapers in all parts of the United States with serials and short stories. It was a desperate struggle, but he and his wife toiled together from morning till night, often on the verge of bankruptcy, yet winning friends everywhere, until *McClure's Magazine* was started in 1898. In two and a half years it reached a circulation far in excess of the *Century*, *Harper's*, or *Scribner's*, and soon it was greater than all three. Yet despite this circulation of 250,000 a month there was a loss of $4,000 a month in 1895. Mr. McClure began the year 1896 $287,000 in debt. He was thirty-nine, and had been fourteen years out of college and never out of debt. In 1896 the tide turned. The magazine was clearing over $5,000 a month, and its prosperity was established. Mr. McClure's relations with eminent literary men add much to the charm of his autobiography. Professor Drummond lent him $1,000 and put $2,000 into the magazine at a moment when its fate trembled in the balance. Conan Doyle came to his rescue later, putting $5,000 into the business because he believed in Mr. McClure and his Magazine. The more Mr. McClure saw of the Stevensons the more he became convinced that Mrs. Stevenson was the unique woman in the world to be Stevenson's wife. She had a 'fair-mindedness, a large judgment, a robust, inconsequential philosophy of life, without which she could not have borne, much less shared with a relish equal to his own, his wandering, unsettled life, his vagaries, his gipsy passion for freedom.' Many interesting facts come out in the record. Mr. McClure bought for $250 a new serial novel by an unknown writer that went well in the Syndicate, and brought in about $2,000. It was *A Gentleman of France*, by Stanley Weyman. Rudyard Kipling on his way back from India submitted his entire output of early stories to Harper Brothers in New York. 'They turned down the whole mass of it, not accepting a single story. I think he tried no other American publishing house, but took his stories and went on to England.'

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by Sir A. W. Ward, Litt.D., and A. R. Walles, M.A. Vol. XI. The Period of the French Revolution. (Cambridge University Press. 9*s.* net.)

This is a very fine volume. The Editors have planned it out skilfully, and have been fortunate in their selection of writers, so that from beginning to end it makes delightful reading. It opens with Burke, 'the greatest of English orators, if we measure greatness not by immediate effect, but by the durability and the diffusive power of that effect, and one of the profoundest, most suggestive, and most illuminating of political thinkers.' Other 'Political Writers and Speakers' are considered by Mr. Previté-Orton; Prof. Sorey writes on 'Bentham and the Early Utilitarians.' Then we reach a bevy of poets: Cowper, Wordsworth, Blake and Burns. Prof. Legouis says that Wordsworth's chief originality is to be sought in his poetry of nature. As to his purely artistic gifts 'he reaches, at times, so high a degree of excellence that the mere verbal felicity of some of his simplest lines baffles the imitation of the most refined artists. But he frequently mixes the highest poetry with the flatness of unimpressioned, uninspired prose.' Mr. Aldis gives an interesting account of 'Book Production and Distribution,' but he strangely overlooks John Wesley. Mrs. Aldis writes a charming chapter on 'The Blue Stockings,' and Mr. Darton on 'Children's Books.' Prof. Saintsbury deals with 'The Prosody of the Eighteenth Century' and 'The Growth of the Later Novel,' and Mr. Routh with 'The Georgian Drama.' The bibliographies are wonderfully complete, and cover 105 pages.

France. By Gordon Home. With 32 full-page illustrations in colour.

Austria-Hungary. By G. E. Mitton. With 32 full-page illustrations in colour. (A. & C. Black. 10*s.* net each.)

Mr. Home's first chapter deals with the genesis and characteristics of the people. Far from being frivolous, the French are one of the most serious peoples in the world. The humblest son of the soil sets his heart on becoming a holder of State *rentes*. Mr. Home regards them as 'a serious, cautious, patient, and exceedingly industrious and home-loving race.' Family life, government, education, and religion are described in three pleasant chapters; then we are introduced to Paris and town life, to rural life, to the rivers, the watering-places, and to architecture in France. It is a skilful survey, and it is very brightly done with the aid of fine full-page illustrations in colour, which are well chosen and effective.

Austria-Hungary is less familiar ground than France, and this volume appears at a time when we are all eager for information about the dual monarchy and the making of modern Austria. Mr. Mitton gives it in very pleasant form. He describes the Emperor

as quiet, reserved, shrewd, and kindly. The Carpathian Mountains run round fully two-thirds of Hungary. They are covered with trees, and the highest peaks above the snow line rise grandly from the evergreen forests. The health resorts have wonderful mineral waters, glorious air, and grand scenery. Other chapters vividly describe the people—Vienna and the Viennese, Bohemia, the Tyrol and its heroes, the Dolomites, Illyria, Transylvania, and Galicia. The illustrations of rock and mountain scenery are very striking.

Wesley's Veterans, Vol. VII. (Kelly: Finsbury Library. 1*s*. net.)

This is the last volume of the series of *Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, and contains autobiographies of Thomas Taylor, twice President of the Conference; James Rogers, whose second wife, Hester Ann, was one of Methodism's truest saints; Matthias Joyce, and Benjamin Rhodes, the author of the hymn, 'My heart and voice I raise'; the first-named filling half the book, and the last being very brief indeed. Like its predecessors, this volume is full of reading at once interesting and profitable, and the clear type is a distinct advantage. The narratives, put together, give us a many-sided view of the character and life of these pioneers in evangelism, of their hard and trying experiences, borne with indomitable cheerfulness; of their intrepid courage and indefatigable zeal in doing good; of their studies and pulpit labours, their pastoral fidelity, their family life, their patience, their humour, their loyalty to Christ, and their reverence for Wesley. It was a good thing for later generations that John Wesley drew so many of his first assistants on to write about themselves. Many readers have profited greatly, and others will yet profit, by these 'simple annals' of godly and useful men. This volume concludes with a necessary index to the whole series in this edition.

Who's Who in America. Vol. VIII., 1914–1915. Edited by Albert Nelson Marquis. (Stanley Paul & Co. 21*s*. net.)

Who's Who in America seeks 'to give a brief, crisp, personal sketch of every living American whose position or achievements make his personality of general interest.' The first edition for 1899-1900 had 827 pages and 8,602 sketches; the present volume has 2,920 pages and 21,459 sketches, of which 4,426 now appear for the first time. Our English *Who's Who* for 1914 has 2,344 pages, deeper but not quite so wide as those of the Chicago volume, and about 25,000 entries. A very useful feature of *Who's Who in America* is a Geographical Index which shows at a glance all the names that belong to a given locality. The list includes citizens of the United States who are resident in other parts of the world. The 'qualifications for admission' are special prominence in 'creditable lines of effort' and official position—civil, military, naval, religious, or educational, or connexion with the most exclusive learned or other societies. The

sketches are well arranged and packed with facts. The work is published biennially in May, and the next edition is therefore due in May, 1916.

Men around the Kaiser. The Makers of Modern Germany. By F. W. Wile. Illustrated. (Heinemann. 2*s.* net.)

Mr. Wile's book sprang out of his experiences in Berlin, where he represented the *Daily Mail* during seven militant years of Anglo-German history. Events have given extraordinary interest to his sketches of the Crown Prince, of Admiral von Tirpitz, von Bethmann Hollweg, Count Zeppelin, and other makers of modern Germany. For the present edition Mr. Wile has written a striking Introduction. Events have revealed William II as the twentieth-century Napoleon, and the men around him as the 'war-makers of modern Germany.' Mr. Wile says that at this hour the Kaiser 'undoubtedly rules a nation of men who are all white hot for war.' 'Three months ago the German War Party numbered perhaps a million of the Empire's 66,000,000 of inhabitants. To-day it is the Peace Party which comprises the ignominious minority, only it is impotent and inarticulate, which the War Party distinctly was not.' During Mr. Wiles' residence in Berlin he saw Germany's first all-big-gun battleship launched, and watched her rise to the rank of the world's second mightiest sea power. He gives other facts which throw a flood of light on the 'deadly thoroughness and preparedness with which Germany entered this struggle.' 'The whole war had been planned long beforehand.' The Emperor, Mr. Wiles regards as a gilded puppet in the hands of the 'conscienceless German War Party, who felt that the hour was ripe at last for the gratification of their sanguinary ambitions for the subjugation of Europe.' The German people have been 'duped, deceived and supinely dragged' into the war by 'the Moloch of Militarism, which has yoked them to its juggernaut, and will not be content till it has subdued the rest of Christendom, if it be not crushed in this titanic struggle.'

Sunny Memories of a Long Life. By Charles R. Parsons. (Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is a book that many will want to read. Charles Parsons was a village lad who heard almost for the first time of a railway station when his class-leader came up to the great Exhibition of 1851. His account of the village Methodists and their homely services, and of his own training, and the great work which he began at Bristol in 1880, make a story of extraordinary interest, and it is one that will set many to work in the same spirit and will bear great fruit. We should like to see a copy in every village library.—*Thomas Cook, Evangelist—Saint.* By the Rev. Vallance Cook. (Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is not so much a biography as an 'appreciation,' though, of course, there are many biographical particulars in it. His life has already been written by others, and 'Thomas Cook' will be had in everlasting remembrance by multitudes who

caught his spirit of sanctity and service. This is 'a brother's tribute of love; a wreath placed upon the brow of one whom he regarded as the saintliest of men and the noblest of brothers.' The work is well done, with great delicacy and with evident sincerity and depth of affection. 'My brother,' says Mr. Vallance Cook, 'lived a grand life, and did a great work, but the greatest thing that has been said of him is that "The love of God transfigured his countenance and irradiated his life." He was the most winsome of men, and all I have written is but to show how he lived the beautiful gospel he preached, and how he magnified the grace of God in all he spoke or wrote or did.' The pictures and portraits add much to the value and interest of the volume. Not a few will welcome the portrait of Mr. Cook's mother, and of that once famous evangelist, Mr. Joshua Dawson.—One of the gifts that every woman would love is *Heroines of History*. By Frank M. Bristol. (New York: Abingdon Press. 1$.) The idea is excellent, and the Bishop works it out in a way that arrests attention and throws many a happy light on familiar themes. His heroines are those in mythology, in Shakespeare, and in the Bible. The heroine-mother, the heroine-daughter, the heroine-wife—we get to know splendid types of each. The sketches themselves are excellent, and felicities of phrase and thought add much to their charm. Shakespeare 'forgot to write his autobiography, and wrote the biography of every other character in this multitudinous world.' This is a book to be read and to be treasured.—*The Living Touch*. By Dorothy Kerin. (Bell & Sons. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.) Miss Kerin's recovery from what was described as the last stage of phthisis attracted much attention in 1912. She here tells the story with her visions and corroborates it by the independent testimony of eye-witnesses. We are sorry that our faith is not equal to accepting such a 'miraculous' cure.—*Islamic Africa*. By R. Burton Sheppard. Illustrated. (New York: Methodist Book Concern. 75 cents net.) In 1910-11 Mr. Sheppard visited widely-separated sections of Africa and was able to gather much material for this work. The influence of Islam was thus brought home to him, and he has sought to give a picture of the continent in relation to that religion. After a description of the entrance of Islam into the world family of religions, and a study of the factors in its amazing progress, a sketch is given of the African as a Moslem. 'Aside from the fundamental monotheistic teaching, misconceived and distorted as it is, Islam is not without its good effects upon the native African.' The opinions of experts on this point are quoted. As to the Arab, with whom Islam originated, the case is different. Throughout North Africa drunkenness is common among them. 'The defeat of Islam in Africa necessary for the greatest future of the black man' is the subject of the closing pages. 'The position given to women, in this world and the next, is humiliating. . . . Woman can never come to her rights under the Moslem faith.' The writer sees that 'if Islam is not defeated in Africa, the country may be developed, but the man is in greater need of development than the country.' The illustrations are from

kodak pictures taken by the writer in Africa, and in his 'bibliography' he includes personal interviews and correspondence. The volume is a fresh and personal study of one of the most difficult problems before the Christian Church.—*Missionary Triumphs among the Settlers in Australia and the Savages of the South Seas.* By John Blacket. (Kelly. 5*s.* net.) Here are no fewer than ten 'Foundings' of missionary churches in Australia and Polynesia. The style is simple and straightforward, the wonder is in the facts related. The time was the time of convict settlements and savage cannibals. The work done and the success won are stranger than fiction. The workers, men and women, are heroes all; their names should be held in everlasting remembrance. They were out not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and they did it. The names of Leigh, Hunt, Calvert, Lyth, Longbottom, Turner, Lawry, Cargill, Cross, and many others are sacred. The narrative and portraits are most welcome. But we should have preferred Leigh's portrait as frontispiece to the native mother and piccaninny.—*The Gospel in Fatuna.* By Dr. William Gunn. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*) Fatuna is one of the islands of the New Hebrides, and Dr. Gunn, a medical missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland, who went there in 1883, tells the story of its evangelization. It is a thrilling story told with modesty and simplicity, and is fascinating by its transparent truthfulness. The volume is copiously illustrated from photographs, and two most useful maps are given. Part I contains the story of the mission, and Part II gives a description of the group of islands, and a most interesting account of the people, their languages, their arts and occupations, their religious beliefs and ceremonies, their folk-lore, &c. A valuable and suggestive chapter is devoted to Native Customs Illustrating Scripture, and many notable additions are made to our stores of anthropology.—*Battling and Building among the Bhils.* (Church Missionary Society. 1*s.*) The Bhils are one of the aboriginal tribes of North India, who lost their lands nearly four centuries ago, and took to robbery and cattle-lifting. This little book gives an interesting description of the people and the Christian work which began among them in 1886. It is a story that will be eagerly read and will do much good.—*Buddha and his Sayings with Comments on Re-incarnation, Karma, Nirvana, &c.* By Pandit Shyama Shankar. (F. Griffiths. 8*s.* net.) This small book is remarkably rich in matter. The two parts, dealing with Buddha's life, doctrine, and sayings, with notes added at the end, tell us more about Buddha and Buddhism than many elaborate and costly works. Re-incarnation, Karma, Nirvana, are very clearly explained. It is curious to find re-birth defended as confining responsibility for life entirely to man. In the last resort, if there is a Creator, human nature was His work. But Buddha and Buddhism has no doctrine of God or creation. 'We can safely draw the following inferences from Buddha's doctrine: It is enough for a man to be good in this life without bothering about the existence, non-existence, or attributes of the Divine Being. If we be good in this life, a good

hereafter will take care of itself.' So writes the author, who is a scholarly native of Rajputana.—*Chivalry and the Wounded*, by E. M. Tenison (Upcott Gill & Son. 1*s.*), is a history of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem from the foundation of the first Christian hospital in Mohammedan Jerusalem in 1014 down to the revival of the order in England in 1831. The St. John Ambulance Brigade has sent 5,000 men to serve with our Army and Navy as hospital orderlies, and thousands more are ready to come forward. One hundred and thirty highly trained nurses have also been sent out. The book, which is full of interest, is sold on behalf of the Ambulance Fund.—*The Professor Explains*, by J. A. Staunton Batty. 1*s.*), is a tour among the tablets of the British Museum, and a delightful one it is for a happy boy and girl.—*Sun Children and Moon Children* (1*s.*) gives a picture of child-life in India, which little folk will greatly enjoy. Both are published by the Church Missionary Society.—*Cities which Fascinate.* By R. P. Downes, LL.D. (Kelly. 5*s.* 6*d.*). An experienced traveller and artistic litterateur like Dr. Downes could hardly write with his eye on cities like Paris, Rome, Venice, Cairo, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, to say nothing of London, Edinburgh, Canterbury, York, etc., without making us feel their manifold and varied charms. They fascinate us as we follow him in his impressionist reflections and descriptions, as they evidently fascinated him during his frequent visits. He writes with personal knowledge, cultured taste, and practised literary art, and the numerous pictures with which the volume is illustrated and adorned assist us to realize and feel the charm of these illustrious and famous 'haunts and homes of men.' The fascination is partly historical, partly architectural, and largely picturesque and human. There is nothing of the guide-book about these fine impressionist sketches, and they are altogether out of the reach of the ordinary tourist. A beautiful and most instructive gift-book and a prize to be desired.—*The Story of the Kingdom.* By Francis G. Burgess, M.A. (F. Griffiths. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is a Church History for boys and girls, told with a great deal of spirit, and with much vivid detail which will fix the chief events in the memory. The story of Savonarola, the description of the eagerness to read the English Bible in early Reformation times, and the two chapters on the Puritans in America, are just what young folk will appreciate. Each chapter is followed by twenty-five 'questions for review.'—*The Story of Servia.* By Leslie F. Church, B.A. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.) This little book not only gives the history of Servia from the seventh century to July, 1914, in a compact and interesting way, but also describes modern Servia in five capital chapters which are full of information as to the people, the Government, the army and police, the educational system, and the commerce of the country. Mr. Church has done a valuable piece of work for which many will owe him hearty thanks.

GENERAL

Spiritual Healing. By W. F. Cobb, M.A. (Bell & Sons. 5*s.* net.)

The Rector of St. Ethelburga set himself a difficult task when he undertook this volume. He attempts to mediate between those who affirm and those who deny spiritual healing. He knows what medical opinion is, he has carefully surveyed the history of so-called cures among primitive races, among the Greeks and through the Middle Ages. In his view the mediaeval stories are 'signalized by an entire absence of the critical spirit. Wonders worked by a saint are all equally useful as proof of special miraculous powers as still residing in the Catholic Church.' But Dr. Cobb inclines to think there was a residuum of fact. He has much to say of Lourdes and the Christian scientists, and has reached the conclusion that we are in the presence of 'a force which at present defies formulation. Spiritual healing, in fact, is a part of Nature's activity.' Fraud has traded much upon it to the undoing of many, but Dr. Cobb thinks that medical science has no need to deny its existence, but should investigate it with open eyes. That, as his appendix shows, has been done with some care by a Sub-Committee of the British Medical Council. Its conclusion was that 'the ministrations of the "Spiritual Healer," as of any other person skilfully using suggestion in its various forms, may cure functional disorders and alleviate pain in organic disease. No evidence has been forthcoming of any cure of organic disease.' Dr. Cobb thinks this attitude, on the whole, wise, and within limits, well grounded. His own idea is that 'When the lower self can come into vital union with the higher Self, the road is cleared along which can travel the health-giving forces of the Great Physician. And their working it is which we detect in every miracle of Spiritual Healing.' The subject is of great interest, and Dr. Cobb has certainly paved the way for a full discussion of it in all its bearings.

A Fourfold Test of Mormonism. By Henry C. Sheldon. (New York: Abingdon Press. 50 *cents* net.)

Professor Sheldon's criticism has been undertaken because he recognizes that Mormonism is not a dead issue. The 'great force of missionaries kept constantly in the field' supplies painful corroboration of this judgement. Scholars have been disinclined to give the claims of Mormonism any serious consideration, yet the system is only too manifestly alive. Prof. Sheldon's fourfold test is therefore of great service. The historical test lays bare the pretence on which Mormonism is based; a critical test of the Book of Mormon finds 'overwhelming proof of its being no antique reality, but a

modern fraudulent concoction'; the rational test brings discredit on a system whose founder makes a superstitious and intemperate appeal to the instrumentality of magic; whilst the practical test applied to the founder's record, and to the social life of Utah, shows what the results of polygamy have been. The temperance and business honesty of the community are duly recognized, but the whole study shows that 'Mormonism, in consideration of the conditions of its origin, the content of its teaching, and the facts of its history, is entitled to but the scantiest respect.' The judicial firmness and reserve of the writer entitle him to increased attention, and English workers who have to meet the influences of Mormonism will do well to keep this expert study close at hand. A scholar who can give his time and care to such an examination proves himself to be in intimate touch with realities.

Messrs. Bell & Sons have added twenty new volumes to *Bohn's Popular Library* (1*s*. net). The cloth covers are neat and strong, the designed title-page and end-pieces are attractive. The type is bold, and the handy size of the volumes makes them good companions for a journey and attractive additions to the bookshelf. The works included in this set are of very wide interest. They include Munro's translation of *Lucretius*; the two last of the four volumes of Lane-Poole's translation of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, which still holds its place as the best popular version; the first two volumes of *Plutarch's Lives* and More's *Utopia*, with Roper's *Life of More*. For lovers of poetry there is a complete edition of Keats, which includes the poems printed in the *Literary Supplement* of *The Times* in 1914, and Cary's translation of Dante, the whole *Divine Comedy* in one volume. Schopenhauer's *Essays*, Coleridge's *Lectures* and a selection of Shakespeare and other English poets are all here. A capital selection from the *Letters of Horace Walpole*, with an Introduction by Miss Greenwood, takes us right into the eighteenth century. America is represented by Hawthorne's *Transformation* or *The Marble Faun*, Washington Irving's *Bracebridge Hall*, and Edgar Allan Poe's *Essays and Stories*. The South-German *Tales* by Wilhelm Hauff are fresh and humorous. Smollett's *Adventures of Roderick Random* (2 vols.) and Fielding's *Amelia* (2 vols.) are classics of English literature, and Lessing's *Laokoon*, to which is added his Essay on *How the Ancients represented Death*, completes a selection which will benefit readers of all classes and will come to be regarded more and more as a friend and companion in all households which are fortunate enough to possess *Bohn's Popular Library*.

A Handbook to the Poetry of Rudyard Kipling. By Ralph Durand. (Hodder & Stoughton. 10*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Mr. Durand has finished a difficult task. Rudyard Kipling makes extended observations of the works and ways of man, from the Four-

mile Radius roughly to the plains of Hindustan, ' with excursions into prehistoric times, ships' engine-rooms, freemasonry, and other subjects. His poems consequently abound in precise technicalities, archaic words, and slang expressions enough to justify a glossary of the terms that he uses.' Into these by-ways Mr. Durand has followed his author, giving explanations of technical terms and brief biographical notices which throw light on various allusions. He follows the order of the poems as they appear in the various volumes in which they have been collected, from *Departmental Ditties* to *Songs from Books*. The notes on the Bengali ' babu ' and on the other characters in *What happened* show what minute research has gone to the making up of this handbook. Sixty-four pages are given to *The Five Nations*. There are notes also on the poems in *A School History of England*, and on various verses from the prose works which do not appear in *Songs from Books*. There is an index to the poems annotated, as well as a general index, and the wide margins and neat binding make this volume very attractive. The handbook brings together a mass of information for which one would search many a library in vain, and every lover of Mr. Kipling's work has reason to be grateful both to Mr. Durand and his publishers.

The Service Kipling, which Messrs. Macmillan are issuing in divided volumes (2*s*. 6*d*. net per volume), will consist of 26 dainty 16mo volumes, bound in blue cloth. The Dolphin Type from an old Venetian model is very clear and good. The monthly issue begins with *Plain Tales from the Hills*. It is altogether a most attractive edition.

Ennerdale Bridge, and other Poems. By Edward J. Thompson. (Kelly. 2*s*. 6*d*. and 5*s*. net.)

Mr. Thompson's earlier volumes have won ungrudging recognition for his gifts as a poet, and this little volume will deepen the impression made by its predecessors. It opens with a touching monody over a friend, ' Dear Sleeper by the brook of Ennerdale,' who was drowned in Floutern Tarn in 1918. Another poem is addressed to ' Rabindranath Tagore,' whose hand Mr. Thompson took when the cablegram arrived announcing that the Nobel Prize had been awarded to the Indian poet :

> I of western folk
> First took your hand and for our Europe spoke.

There is an easy mastery about all the pieces. The language is choice, and the lines are musical, and there is no lack of thought and fancy. ' The Ghost's Tragedy,' with which the volume closes, is a Japanese story, intensely powerful and well sustained. The little poem, ' The Visit,' describes how the face of Christ shone in as the poet stood ready to trace ' hard meanings on the board.' The visitor withdrew unsatisfied :

'Dear disappointed Presence, come again,
For though, with vision foiled and failing brain,
I falter from the gracious duty set,
I could be faithful, did that face remain,
I could remember, didst not thou forget.'

This is the rich work of a true poet.

The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro. Edited by W. P. Mustard, Baltimore. (Johns Hopkins Press. $1·00.)

Sannazaro was born in 1458, and followed the Virgilian forms of eclogue: his originality consisted in transferring Arcadia to the shores of the Bay of Naples with fishermen for lovers, sea-nymphs for wood-nymphs, shells and corals for fruits and flowers, and so forth. There are echoes of Theocritus, Statius, and other poets, and the scenery of the Aristaeus story in the Fourth Georgic is recalled: perhaps he got his background for his marine idylls from that episode or from its prototype in *Iliad* 18. There is nothing of the Isaak Walton in this mediaeval Latinist: there are no precepts or lore for the peaceful river-angler. The fishermen talk of their woes and loves in creditable Virgilian hexameters, but with a coldness that suggests the sea. Nevertheless, it is a brave attempt that secured considerable popularity and much imitation. Among his critics (and both imitations and criticisms are collected in the editor's industrious pages) was Dr. Johnson, who in a *Rambler* essay overwhelmed Sannazaro by means of a few sonorous dogmatic paragraphs. The text of the five eclogues and a fragment (about 600 lines in all) is carefully annotated, and the book is an interesting and useful study which should appeal to lovers of classical and mediaeval Latinity. The strong point of American classical scholarship, which is once more illustrated in this edition, is the thoroughness and care with which every reference to the text, its history and criticism, in English, Italian and other literatures is recorded.

Ionica. By William Cory. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1*s.*)

By their 'Sesame' Library the publishers are conferring a real boon on the public, the reprints being skilfully selected. Most lovers of nineteenth-century poetry have been familiar with William Cory's name, and will be glad to possess his *Ionica* in so charming a form. Mr. A. C. Benson contributes a Biographical Introduction and notes, which are written in his well-known graceful style. William Cory (or Johnson) had a brilliant career at Cambridge, was a Fellow of King's, and was afterwards appointed to a mastership at Eton by Dr. Hawtrey. Here he spent twenty-seven years of his life until his retirement to country seclusion near his native Torrington. 'His mind,' says Mr. Benson, 'was probably one of the most vigorous and commanding minds of the century': but his wider ambitions of professorial eminence were never fulfilled. He might have been

a great professor or writer, or jurist or administrator: he remained a man of erratic genius, and a teacher in a restricted sphere, with unique gifts of mental energy and original insight. His verse is Tennysonian in manner, but singularly fresh, breathing 'a kind of Platonic agnosticism,' peculiarly classical in spirit, yet delighting in the elemental emotions of passionate vigorous youth, its noble ardours and loves, its generous companionships and loyalties. He has no Virgilian yearning for 'the further shore': he sings rather:

> Sweet, sweet is this human life,
> So sweet, I fain would breathe thee still;
> You chilly stars I can forgo,
> This warm, kind world, is all I know.

Two minds flowed together in him, 'the English and the Greek,' and his poetry is the remarkable and beautiful fruitage of that commingling.

The Book of Sussex Verse. Edited by C. F. Cook. Foreword by Arthur F. Bell. (Hove: Combidges. 2*s.* net.)

The foreword to this little volume is alluring. Mr. Bell is himself a poet, and four of his pieces are included in the collection, but as he says in addressing his county: 'The very best verse in the world, set to the very best music, would still fail of giving a full and right idea of your greatness and beauty.' Mr. Cook has been fortunate in securing permission to gather in treasures from all quarters. Three poems in praise of the county, by Rudyard Kipling, Hilaire Belloc, and C. F. Cook, are placed first. Then we learn what poets old and new have thought of West Sussex, Brighton and neighbourhood, Downland, East Sussex. A little set of Old Sussex songs closes the volume. Mr. Cook adds some biographical notes as to poets who have been connected with Sussex. It is a charming tribute to a county whose beauties are appreciated more and more by those who live in it.

Poems of Calm and Stress. By T. Frederick Lewis. (C. H. Kelly. 1*s.* net.)

There is spirit and promise in the versification of Mr. Lewis. He is a young poet, and will do better with a closer attention to technique and to the choice of words in combination. Occasionally there is a dissonance that offends the ear: for a great test of a poem is its capacity to be read aloud. We dislike the trick of turning words of three syllables into two for metrical purposes, e.g. 'mem'ry' and 'clam'rous.' But apart from these minor faults, the little volume reveals a poetic gift, and no little spiritual insight.

The Days of our Years. By Helen W. Gibson. (C. H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mrs. Gibson's volume is a successor to that published a few years ago with the title *Seen from the Hill*, a selection of devotional verse which

found many grateful readers. The same devout spirit, the same unquestioning faith, and the same invincible sense of immortality runs through this larger collection. They are, to use the sub-title, veritable 'Songs of a Wayfarer,' whose living trust in the divine love has never been shaken by the vicissitudes of the journey. The genuineness of the spiritual emotions which here find expression makes perhaps a deeper appeal to the reader's sympathy than the form in which they are set. They are sincere outpourings of a rich Christian experience. At the same time, Mrs. Gibson's literary taste and skill, manifest in the manipulation of her very varied metres, and in many a happy turn of diction, combine to make the volume one which will be prized as a solace by the sorrowing, and as a confirmation of faith by the baffled and forlorn.

Poems. By John T. McFarland. (New York: The Methodist Book Concern. 75 *cents* net.)

Dr. McFarland was born in Indiana, and spent his boyhood in Iowa, entering with zest into the life of that virgin land. To the end of his days he had the power to lose himself in any book which made a strong appeal to him. As a Methodist preacher, and as editor of the Sunday School publications of his Church, he did noble service, and when death came he faced it as one who felt it to be the entrance to another life. That is his friend's story, as told by Bishop McConnell. The poems gain new meaning in the light of their writer's history. They are short but packed with thoughts, hope and peace have inspired them, and the vision of grace and its triumphs never fades from the poet's view.

Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Vol. II., No. 1, October, 1914. (6*d.*)

From 1908 to 1908 an annual bulletin was issued by the John Rylands Library, but it was then suspended until the pressure of more urgent claims could be met. The hope of relief from such pressure has not yet been realized, but the need of the Bulletin has been so widely felt that it is now resumed. Its object is to show what possibilities of usefulness the library offers to students. The policy of the library is explained, and an account is given of the extensions which are now being carried out to meet the requirements of a modern research library. Room will also be provided for 500,000 more books. A photographic studio has been installed, which supplies photographed facsimiles of printed books and manuscripts. Lectures by eminent scholars have been given with great success. Papers by Prof. Thumb on 'The Modern Greek and his Ancestry,' by Dr. Rendel Harris on 'The Odes of Solomon,' and 'Bibliographical Notes for Students' of the Old and New Testament,' by Prof. Peake, add to the interest of a Bulletin which will be welcomed by all students, and will increase their estimate of the value of the John Rylands Library. We congratulate Mr. Guppy warmly on the form and contents of the Bulletin.

The English Parish Church. By J. C. Cox, LL.D. (Batsford. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Cox has put into this charming volume the treasured learning of a lifetime. With one exception he has visited all the churches he describes, and many of them repeatedly. 'With thousands of England's parish churches,' he says, 'I seem to be on terms of friendship, and in at least ten counties I know them all.' 350 illustrations are given from photographs and drawings, which are reproduced in the most skilful way. The parish church is England's finest and most characteristic contribution to mediæval art. It was a centre of the life of the community, and was regarded with pride and affection by all classes. Dr. Cox thinks there is little or no doubt that 'England stands first in all Christendom in the number and antiquity of her churches.' Their endless variety makes them a fascinating study. A chapter packed with information is given to the plan of the parish church. Its drawings are in a uniform scale; the cruciform type was adopted to meet the growth of ritual and the desire for special accommodation. Architectural styles and materials are discussed at length in two valuable chapters. Greensted is the only church with the walls of its nave made of split oak trees of very ancient date. Dr. Cox's final chapter, 'What to Note in an Old Parish Church,' will be of great service to students. The book is provided with a full general index and an index to the illustrations arranged under counties.

British Birds, Trees, and Wild Flowers. (Holden & Hardingham. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Three popular little volumes which have met a felt need are here bound together. The special aim is to enable one to recognize birds, trees, and flowers at a glance, and this is effectively done by skilful description and by 220 illustrations. There are also three effective coloured plates. Walter M. Gallichan describes their plumage, haunts, habits, eggs of birds. The 84 drawings are by Forster Robson, who is entirely responsible for the book on Trees. Colonel Mackenzie deals with Wild Flowers in a way that is scientific yet free from technicalities. The botanical names are, however, given. The descriptions of trees and flowers are full and clear, and the book will add sensibly to the charm of every country ramble.

The Abingdon Press, New York, sends us *Is Methodism Re-discovering Itself?* (*40 cents* net.) Dr. Kavanagh, Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Hospital at Brooklyn, gives some facts about the Churches of Greater New York, and the need for more philanthropic work and better methods of finance. This is followed by a section on 'The Pastor and his Church in Action.' An Appendix shows the practical steps taken by the New York Preachers' Meeting as a result of Dr. Kavanagh's suggestions. It is a frank and most suggestive book.—*God's Path to Peace* (*75 cents* net, by Ernst Richard)

is a plea with which all will sympathize. It was written before war broke out, and the writer holds that there is not one of the forces which he has shown 'to operate toward the legal organization of the world that has become ineffective through the war, not one that will not offer itself as a proper avenue by which to proceed on our way of peaceful progress when this calamity will have passed over, and even before.' Unfortunately such optimism has been terribly discounted by events.—*Desert, Pinnacle, and Mountain* (50 *cents* net) by George Clarke Peck, is a study of the temptations of our Lord, and their application to human life. It is a beautiful little book.—*Leaves of Life for Daily Inspiration*, by Margaret Bird Steinmetz, gives from three to five events connected with each day of the year, with quotations often from writers born on those days, closing with a verse of Scripture and a brief prayer. It makes a very attractive little book. John Wesley's birthday is, however, forgotten. —*Silent Night. A Song of Christmas* (25*c.* net) is a dainty piece of verse on the magi, set to music and with delightful decorations by Harold Speakman.

Britain Justified: The War from the Christian Standpoint. By Frank Ballard, D.D. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.)

This book answers questions which many have been asking. A frank discussion of the relation of Christianity to war in general is followed by a clear account of the Christian attitude towards the present war, and an outline of the duty of Christian people and Christian churches during the crisis. Dr. Ballard shows how Nietzsche's 'brute-philosophy' appealed 'to the German nation after 1870, when, through that tragically easy victory, Prussian pride and lust of conquest entered into the blood of the new empire as disastrously as cholera or typhoid germs too often into soldiers on the field.' The defence of Great Britain's action is loyal to the highest Christian principles, and will make a deep impression.

In Germany and Europe. (Bell & Sons. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. J. W. Allen attempts 'to state a case for Germany,' but reaches the conclusion that at the bar of reason and of justice it has no case. According to the German theory the highest moral duty of the State is to increase its power. That means war and, as Mr. Allen says, 'if the highest function of the State be war, the State is self-condemned.' It becomes not an instrument for power, but for self-destruction. The circumstances that led up to the present war are carefully considered, and the conclusion is reached that Germany alone brought it about. England's part is clearly stated, and the issues of the conflict are set forth in a very impressive way.

Papers for War Time. (Milford. 2*d.* each.)

These papers are 'published under the auspices of a group drawn from various Christian bodies and political parties, the Editor-in-

Chief of the series being the Rev. William Temple. Their object as set forth in an explanatory note is to reach a truer understanding of the meaning of Christianity, and of the mission of the Church to the individual, to Society and to the world. Mr. Temple's own paper on *Christianity and War* sets the problems of this time in clear view, and other papers deal with various solutions and applications, *The Woman's Part*, by Mrs. Luke Paget; *Brothers All*, by Edwyn Bevan, and *Are we Worth Fighting for?* by Rev. Richard Roberts. *Active Service: The Share of Non-Combatants*, by W. R. Maltby, shows that 'the great national task is one but manifold. Fighting abroad, the adjustment of social wrongs at home, the healing of international schisms, the revival of religion, pure and undefiled, all these are parts of the one campaign.' *The Decisive Hour: Is it Lost?* by J. H. Oldham, deals with the missionary situation as affected by the war. Mr. Oldham sees bright rays of hope through the dark clouds. *The War Spirit in our National Life* and *Christian Conduct in War Time* are the latest additions to this series. Many perplexed minds will be relieved by such guidance as these papers offer.

A Parcel of S.P.C.K. Books.

The Cruise of the 'Nonsuch Buccaneer,' by Harry Collingwood (3*s.* 6*d.*), is the story of a fine Plymouth sailor who saves his brother from the Spanish galleys, to which he has been sent as a slave, and wins many rich prizes, and rescues many victims of the Inquisition. It is a spirited tale.—*Love, the Leader, or Defenders of the Faith* (2*s.* 6*d.*), by Mrs. Wilson Fox, is a dainty love story of Commonwealth times.—*The Little Schoolmaster* (S.P.C.K., 2*s.* 6*d.*), by Mary Pakington, begins by losing the banner in the musical competition, but ends by winning back the lady of his heart.—*The Crew of the 'Silver Fish,'* by E. E. Cowper (2*s.*), is the story of a delightful holiday which two boys spend with a school friend. Fishing and detecting some wreckers give abundant spice to the holiday.—*The Baymen of Belize* (S.P.C.K., 2*s.*) describes the wresting of British Honduras from the Spaniards. Some dates and facts are given in the Prologue, and the story is told with much spirit by one of the baymen.—*Jack the Englishman* (1*s.*) is a capital story of life in Tasmania.—*Harold's Mother, or The Bugle Call* (1*s.*) finds its chief event in the Boer War.—*Stolen Feathers* (6*d.*) has a happy little maid as heroine. All the books are illustrated in colours.—The Churchman's Pocket-Book, Almanacks and Calendars are well adapted to the needs of their special constituency, and the prices are moderate. The sheet almanacks give wonderful value for a penny.

The House of Love. By Elizabeth Cheney. (Abingdon Press. $1.25 net.) Doris Avery left alone in the world finds a hard mistress in Abigail Wilde, but the little maid lives in 'the house of love,' and friends gather round her in a wonderful fashion till her family Bible

tells its story and she is adopted by a distant kinswoman. Doris herself is one of the most lovable of beings, and her good fortune will delight every reader of this charming story.—*The Owl Patrol.* By Ernest Protheroe. (Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.*) This story for boys, finely illustrated by Mr. D. Colbron Pearse, and written with Mr. Protheroe's brightness and verve, is sure to be a popular gift-book in these exciting times. The 'Owls,' of course, are scouts, and the story is made up largely of their exploits and adventures. Some of these are very amusing, and all of them bring wholesome excitement for boy readers and timely lessons for all. The pictures are particularly good, and paper, print, and binding all that the most greedy prize-receiver could desire.—*The City of Mystery,* by Felicia Buttz Clark (Kelly, 8*s.* 6*d.*), is a story of modern Rome, in which an attractive modernist priest and a delightfully naïve, warm-hearted Italian colporteur play prominent parts. The author writes with an eye on the scenes and objects which she describes, and is evidently familiar with the many sided life of Rome as it exists to-day. The story is pleasantly exciting, and the illustrations really help the narrative. The book is both instructive and edifying, and forms a most suitable prize or present for discriminating readers of all ages.—*The Witch.* By Mary Johnston. (Constable & Co. 6*s.*) Gilbert Aderhold has studied at Paris under Ambroise Paré and returns to England with a strong recommendation to Sir Robert Cecil. He has a hard life in London, where he is suspected of being an atheist, and though he finds peace for a time in the country he is finally condemned as a sorcerer. He escapes from prison with a girl who is said to be a witch, and their love and adventures make a stirring and tragic story. Misfortunes dog their steps, and at last they suffer the grim penalty.—*The King's Token.* By Elsé Carrier. (Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.*) Another fine historical novel from Miss Carrier's bright, dramatic pen, with realistic illustrations by Mr. Robert Fisher. King Henry II and Thomas à Becket play prominent parts, and the story abounds in vivid scenes and stirring incidents of twelfth-century English life. No pains have been spared to make the story historically true, and the working out of it displays both literary art and insight into character.—*Nipping Bear.* By H. B. L'Estrange Malone. (Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) Young folk and the grown-ups with the child-heart fresh within them, will revel in this nature fairy story by a writer of much skill in prose and verse. It is full of fancy and imagination, and the sentiment is always wholesome and the humour sweet. The numerous drawings and the full-page coloured illustrations by Mr. Gordon Robinson will afford delight to young and old alike. Some are comical, and all are finely executed. A splendid gift-book for the New Year and the coming spring time. The story is dedicated 'to all children who love animals and to all lovers of children'; and amongst them it is sure of a warm welcome and a permanent popularity.—*Bright Hours.* (Kelly. 2*s.*) This volume is full of good reading for the home. It has a serial by David Lyall, and a great variety of papers and short stories with a wealth of pictures, which will make it popular every-

where.—*In the Vulgar Tongue.* By the Rev. T. H. Darlow, M.A. (The Bible House. 1*s.* net.) This Popular Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1913-14 is at once a piece of literature and a work of art. After a most valuable and popular dissertation on the growth and change of language, and on 'the astonishing translateableness of Scripture,' the work of the Society is described at home and abroad in seven delightful and most interesting chapters, 'In Simple Speech,' 'In Heathen Lands,' 'At Humble Doors,' 'In Human Hearts,' &c. It is altogether out of the way of ordinary reports, and will be a treasure to all who possess it. The numerous full-page illustrations, in the highest, finest form of photogravure, must have been costly to produce, and will be greatly prized by the supporters of this enterprising and incalculably beneficent Society.—*The Divine Brethren.* By H. S. Grey. Illustrated by Wilfred Walker. (Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) This purports to be a discourse in Paradise, in which Hermes who represents mankind, and Urania who is called on earth 'wedded love,' talk with one whom Hermes calls 'my brother Jesus.' There is a terrible struggle between Hermes and Belial, in which Urania helps her husband to win the victory, whilst Jesus prays for him. Then he is crowned by Jesus, and reaches his full manhood, tempted yet victorious, and charged to prepare men to become fitting citizens of the kingdom. A little programme of life is sketched out for Hermes, who is now called Adam, and Urania is to help and reverence her husband. The idea is skilfully and suggestively worked out.—*The Supplement* (Morgan & Scott. 2*s.* net), is a collection of modern hymns and tunes which the publishers claim to be suitable for use as an addition to any existing hymnal. Be this as it may, the book includes a large proportion of new and beautiful hymns by many present-day writers. The tunes are all new, and are mostly bright and stirring in character. This collection should be of special interest and value to Christian musical workers.—*Annual Agendas.* By the Rev. W. Wakinshaw. (Kelly. 2*d.* net.) A carefully compiled and much-needed handbook, giving a model agenda for each of the annual local meetings in connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Church, together with notes conveying a vast amount of information respecting the composition, functions, powers, and usages of such meetings.—*Sanct Androis and Other Scottish Ballads.* By Henry A. Wood. (Aberdeen. Jolly.) These ballads are based on Scottish history and legend. They give vivid pictures of some famous scenes, and are full of spirit.—*The Methodist Diaries* for 1915 have been skilfully prepared to meet the needs of ministers and laymen. They include a neat and thin waistcoat pocket diary, a desk diary, and pocket books in various bindings. An Accident Insurance Coupon is given with each. Prices range from 9*d.* net to 2*s.* 6*d.* net.—*Peace in Time of War,* by W. B. Brash, B.D. (Kelly, 6*d.* net), has been prepared for Christmas, but its exquisite little papers will be welcome in the New Year as well. The pathos of the war is in them, but love and goodwill are here also.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Quarterly Review (October-December) has an article of the first order on 'The Origins of the Present War,' by Sir Valentine Chirol, who, as Foreign Editor of the *Times*, had first-hand knowledge of the springs of European diplomacy. It has been an eye-opener to thousands who have read it all over the world. Among the more notable literary articles is the one in which Mr. T. Sturge Moore, basing his remarks on the collected works of Gustave Flaubert and on much recent French criticism, analyses and discusses the theory and practice of literary art adopted by this brilliant and still widely influential writer.

The outstanding article in the Edinburgh Review for October-December is Mr. Sidney Low's dissertation on 'Germanism and Prussianism.' In tracing the evolution of Prussianism, the writer notes that the Germanic idea was once almost as popular among English scholars as it is in Germany to-day, and dwells suggestively on the writings of our nineteenth-century historians and men of letters.

> 'In the revulsion,' he says, 'against Gallic and Latin influence, of which the origin is probably to be found in the feeling roused by the Napoleonic wars, there was a tendency to over-emphasise the Teutonic element in our character and institutions, and to magnify the supposed Teutonic traits. Coleridge set the fashion, followed by De Quincey and others, of contrasting the strength and sobriety of the 'Saxon' culture with the assumed levity of the French. Then came Carlyle with his vehement presentation of the same contrast, his resounding eulogies of German writers, and his sustained effort to exhibit Frederick the Great as the embodied representative of the heroic Teuton type, a type to be commended and admired even in this ruthless and cynical form. When we condemn the Machiavellian morals of the Prussian professors it is worth while to remember that it was Carlyle who 'began it,' Carlyle with his apologetics for violence and antinomianism, his exaggerated worship of success, his intolerance of failure. It was Carlyle who did more than we commonly recognize to give respectability and orthodoxy to the Prussian legend in Prussia itself; and it was Carlyle who, as late as 1870, was describing the collapse of France before Germany as the most beneficent

thing that had happened in the universe since he had been in it. This is quite in the vein of the German Emperor, who regards himself as God's vice-regent on earth, and his opponents as the children of the devil.'

The Dublin Review (October-December) has two articles by the editor, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, the one on the late Pope Pius X, and the other on 'The Centenary of Waverley.' There is also a timely and welcome 'impression' of the new Pope, Benedict XV, by the Rev. J. S. Barnes, who says that, if the general anticipation be realized the new Benedict 'will be a Pope of supreme tact and of exquisite nobility. In matters of religion he will be a pious ascetic and a vigorous disciplinarian; in mundane affairs a supporter of the arts and sciences and of elaborate ceremonial. He will be a Pope who will work to win the world by his piety and good example, and he will endeavour to lead his people both in morals and in politics along the *via media* between excess and deficiency which is the true secret of life.' In particular, he will make it a cardinal point to effect a happy reconciliation with France. He will be a cultured and a humanistic Pope. He is well read in authors sacred and profane. He is 'a great admirer of Gabriel D'Anunzio—no less aristocratic and austere, thoughtful, witty and ascetic.' The writer ends by asking, 'Will Fogazzaro's liberal Pope Benedict [in *The Saint*] prove a prophecy?' There is also a notable and brilliant paper by Canon Barry on 'Samuel Butler of "Erewhon,"' whom he places in 'the entertaining company who discovered Utopia—the Lucians, Mores, Rabelaises, Swifts, famed for their lying truth and sarcastic showing up of their fellow mortals.'

In the Poetry Review for November, Miss S. Gertrude Ford writes on Mr. William Watson's patriotic poems, under the title, 'A Peace Poet on War.' In 'For England,' she says, 'the little book which to some of us seems to contain the purest gold of his genius, patriotism, and peace join hands.' 'Who does not feel,' she asks, 'the wail of the lovely "Lamentation" echo in his own heart in these days of doubt and suspense?' 'The lofty beauty of "The World in Armour," with its remarkable prophecy of "the world-war's world-wide fire,"' which rages to-day. In 'The True Imperialism,' it is noted, 'the war for honour's sake has no keener champion than William Watson.'

Much of the writing in the reviews since the war began has already become obsolete, but there are here and there articles like that by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott in the October Nineteenth Century on 'The Logic of History,' which are likely to be of permanent value. Taking for his theme the famous saying of Mirabeau, '*La Guerre est l'industrie nationale de la Prusse*,' the writer declares that war is much more than the national industry, it is the national religion and the national life of Prussia. Prussia, he says, is as Professor Delbrück expressed it, a *Kriegsstaat*.

'What beauty was to the Greek, holiness to the Hebrew, government to the Roman, liberty to the Englishman, war is to the Prussian. . . . Germany is fighting not merely for the existence of the Empire—that existence is threatened only by the criminal folly of Potsdam, she is fighting not merely for geographical extension and economic expansion; she is fighting for an ideal. That ideal seems to us wholly perverted and false, but it does not on that account cease to be an ideal, and it is, as a fact, the quintessence of Prussian morality. . . . For the Prussian defeat would mean, in the strictest sense, demoralization. The whole moral foundation on which the national fabric has been built would be completely undermined. It is essential to the future peace and happiness of mankind that it should be so. It is not less essential to the well-being of Germany herself. For this war represents not merely a clash of national ambitions but a conflict of moral ideas. In the words of King George's noble message to the self-governing Dominions, we have 'to confront and overthrow an unparalleled assault upon the continuity of civilization.' That is why we can confidently count upon the moral support of the civilized world. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*'

Blackwood's for October opens with a paper by Sir William Willcocks, the eminent engineer, entitled, 'From the Garden of Eden to the Passage of the Jordan.' This continues the results of his long study of the problems connected with the Garden of Eden, Noah's Flood, Joseph's Famines, Moses's Crossing of the Red Sea, and Joshua's Crossing of the Jordan. 'Accurate plans and levels,' he says, 'and knowledge of irrigation, and of the spoken languages of these lands, have helped me to understand the meanings of technical terms, and to fill in the true background of the events which took place in these two irrigated countries. Of myself I can only say that as the meanings of events which seemed impossible to me have unfolded themselves the Bible has again become the living book of my early days.'

Mr. Arthur Waugh, who is exceptionally situated and qualified to speak on the subject, discourses in the November Fortnightly on 'Literature and War.' The first part of the paper is devoted to the effect of the war upon the publishing and bookselling trade and the second to the probable effect of the war on literature itself. The writer thinks that literature is safe. There will be plenty of books that will bear their tribute to the strenuous influence that is at work on the fibre of the nation. He looks forward, therefore, with confidence and hope.

The Constructive Quarterly (September).—Great interest will be taken in an article by the Rev. J. H. Ritson, on 'The Scriptures as a bond of Co-operation.' The great library at the Bible House contains 12-18,000 volumes, which need a catalogue of 2,250 pages.

To him the thousands of volumes at Queen Victoria Street speak of unity. The Church militant is 'sundered politically, socially, nationally, racially, theologically, ecclesiastically,' but in the Bible House Library we see the work of men who, as translators of the Scriptures, laboured at a common task, and were one in their loyalty to the gospel.

Church Quarterly Review (October).—Dr. Headlam, in 'Nature Miracles and the Virgin Birth,' says that he does not think 'that a Christianity which is mutilated will ever be a real power. The traditional life of our Lord is a complete harmonious picture; it represents the life of the Incarnate Son of God; as such it has won the assent of the civilized world as a whole, as such it is still a power wherever it is preached with reality and earnestness. I do not believe that the Modernist interpretation of it can claim any strong evidence in its favour, or can be looked upon as more rational as a system, or as in any way likely to be a real religious power in the world.'

International Review of Missions (October).—The Editor writes on 'The War and Missions.' Dr. Zwemer, in his article on 'The Present attitude of Educated Moslems towards Jesus Christ and the Scriptures,' says that 'The whole situation is hopeful to the last degree. The light is breaking everywhere. There never was so much friendliness; such willingness to discuss the question at issue; such a large attendance of Moslems at Christian schools, hospitals, public meetings, and even preaching services as there is to-day.'

Hibbert Journal (October).—The war claims nine articles in this number, and each has its own value. Pathetic interest attaches to Lord Roberts' opening appeal on the supreme duty of the citizen, ending with, 'Two years ago, I said, the time of your ordeal is at hand; now I say, Arm and quit yourselves like men, for the time of your ordeal has come.' The Editor writes on 'Mechanism, Diabolism, and the War,' and he indicates the only way in which civilization can triumph over methodical diabolism. Sir H. Jones' paper on 'Why we are fighting' will not carry conviction to all, but he will have set many readers thinking. Prof. Gilbert Murray's 'Thoughts on the War' are excellent—among the best, when so many are pouring out thoughts on this subject, good, bad and indifferent. The Bishop of Carlisle discusses 'The Ethics of the War,' and three separate articles by Prof. Dawes Hicks, J. W. Rolleston, and M. M. Salter deal with the relation between German action and German thought, the bearing of German philosophy on the present crisis. As to other articles, Prof. Overstreet illustrates contemporary atheism in his attempt to resolve God into 'the common will,' and Principal Carpenter writes interestingly on 'An Ancient Buddhist University.'

Journal of Theological Studies (October).—No leading article appears this quarter. The section 'Documents' contains a collection of Old Latin Bible Quotations from the *Somnium Neronis*, by Prof.

Dobschütz. Notes and studies include a further instalment on The Gelasic Sacramentary by Martin Rule, Notes on the Apostolic Constitutions by C. H. Turner, an interesting paper by Prof. Burkitt on the Psalm of Habakkuk, and a long, minute examination of the text of 'The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,' in which Rev. J. W. Hunkin ventures to assail Canon Charles' theories on the subject—apparently with some success. It is true that Prof. Burkitt had previously led the way. The Reviews constitute in some respects the best part of the number.

The Holborn Review (October).—The chief articles are one on the latest Hartley Lecture, 'The Permanent Values of Religion,' by T. Sykes, 'Fra Paolo Sarpi,' by A. E. Rose, 'Rabindranath Tagore,' by A. Hird, and 'The Superman, Nietzschian or Christian?' by Arthur Wood. The last of these seeks to show how Christianity supplies what Nietzsche wildly aimed at. Otherwise, a sermon on 'Which is God's side?' by Rev. Baldwin Brindley, is almost the only indication in this issue of the European crisis.

The Expositor (October and November).—Amongst the serial articles that are continued from number to number may be mentioned Prof. Mackintosh's 'Studies in Christian Eschatology,' whose initial promise has hardly been fulfilled, Mr. Hutton's 'Sense of Sin in Great Literature,' and Dr. Garvie's 'Notes on the Fourth Gospel.' These 'notes' will be still more useful when gathered into a volume, as we hope they will be with a good introduction and summary of conclusions reached. Other interesting papers are those by Prof. Bacon, who discusses two difficult passages, giving interpretations of his own—'Will Christ find faith on the earth?' and the 'Christ-party' in Corinth. Rev. Douglas Sharp has worked hard on Epictetus, as a recently published volume of his proves, and in the November number he adduces some of the chief resemblances between the discourses of Epictetus and the New Testament. These are full of interest; the immense differences are also noted. On the grammatical side, perhaps, the writer exaggerates somewhat the importance of resemblances which only indicate current linguistic usage. Dr. Moffatt's literary illustrations of Ecclesiasticus and Philippians are most interesting, and give further evidence of the author's multifarious reading.

The Expository Times (October and November).—In addition to that characteristic feature, the Editor's 'Notes of Recent Exposition,' these numbers contain the following noteworthy articles, 'The Theology of Paul and the Teaching of Christ,' by J. G. James, 'Fulfilment of the Law,' by W. T. Whitley, 'Arabic Christian Literature,' by Margaret Gibson, 'Difficulties in Rev. xx.-xxii.' by Canon Charles, and 'The Book of Job,' by A. D. Martin. As readers of this periodical know, considerable space is given to reviews, 'contributions and comments,' 'Great Texts Commentary,' sermonettes for children and an amount of miscellaneous matter which con-

stitutes one of its most excellent features. There is always variety in *The Expository Times*, and every page is fruitful in its own way.

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (October).—The first article by Prof. Knopf, of Bonn, discusses the vexed question of St. Paul's relation to Hellenism. The conclusion reached attaches more importance to the influence of Hellenism in shaping St. Paul's thought than some of the best judges, such as Clemen, allow. The influences of a world 'exceptionally rich in religious thinking' made themselves felt, according to Knopf, in Paul's mysticism and sacramentalism. The arguments by which this is supported are slender and have been abundantly answered by H. A. Kennedy. Prof. Knopf, however, gives the apostle full credit for the 'power of personally experienced religion,' which gives him 'greatness and distinctiveness.' That such a religious leader, bred a strict Jew, derived some of his main ideas from the effete Hellenism of his time is not very probable. G. Birney Smith in his article on 'The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History,' holds that we are passing through a reconstruction of our Christology which will bring it into harmony with some other reconstructions that have been made. He desires a 'broader' Christianity that is not 'compelled to validate its entire content to explicit reference to the person of Christ.' In another article, 'Nietzsche's Service to Christianity' is explained to lie in his providing a distinct and recognizable alternative which brings out the excellence of Christian teaching, a foil, or dark background, such as has previously been lacking. Prof. D. C. Mackintosh, of Yale, concludes his series of papers on 'The New Christianity and World Conversion.' The old Christianity is known with its successes and failures, the new has yet to be tried. Prof. E. D. Burton continues to provide valuable material for the study of 'Spirit, Soul, and Flesh,' in the Greek of the New Testament.

The Methodist Review (New York), September–October.—Amongst the articles in this number are the following: 'A Study of the Praying and Promises of Jesus,' by Bishop Warne, 'Thoughts on Religion,' by the late Prof. Terry, 'The Magic of a Book,' by Prof. Hough, 'Christianity and the New Orient,' by Professor Shepard and 'Subjectivism,' by President Crannell. The notes and discussions contain a full account of 'The Real George Whitefield.'—The number November–December contains several thoughtful and instructive articles, among which we may mention one on Bergson's Philosophy, by Prof. A. C. Armstrong, 'The Influence of Foreign Missions on Theology, or the New Catholicity,' by Dr. Wark, of Calcutta, and an interesting account of Andrea del Sarto and his wife by Professor Crawford, of Winnipeg, Canada.

The Methodist Review (Nashville) opens with a characteristically able article by Dr. Forsyth, on 'Regeneration, Creation, and Miracle.'

Both sides of the controversy on Methodist Union, 'Why Not and Why,' are discussed by Dr. T. H. Lewis, formerly President of the Methodist Protestant Church. The subject is discussed only from the American standpoint, and in spite of difficulties the writer thinks that an attempt at organic union ought to be made. 'The Strength and Weakness of Eucken's Philosophy' are well brought out by Dr. H. W. Clark, well known as a writer in this country. Other good articles are 'Church Union, the Hope of Christianity,' by W. B. Duncan, and 'The New Day in the Rural Life of the South,' by A. C. Cree. Rev. J. A. Burrow discusses what seems to be a debated question in the M.E. Church South—whether unordained ministers should administer the sacraments.

Princeton Theological Review (October).—Professor B. B. Warfield devotes sixty pages to 'Kikuyu, Clerical Veracity, and Miracles.' He has no difficulty in showing the close connexion of these three heterogeneous subjects. Dr. Warfield's main object is to denounce the attitude of 'liberal' Christianity in its negation of miracle. He approves Bishop Weston's protest against the retention in the Anglican Church of clergy who virtually deny the creeds they solemnly recite, and he criticizes, not unkindly but very searchingly, Dr. Sanday's defence of their position. The subject is a vital one, and Dr. Warfield's fidelity and thoroughness in relation to it are admirable. A long and minute criticism of Haering's *Dogmatics*, lately translated into English, appears among the Reviews, also from Dr. Warfield's pen. Here, again, the staunch Professor shows a godly jealousy. Some of the eulogies of Haering that have appeared by well-known Evangelicals in this country have amazed us by their lack of discrimination. The foundation of what Haering calls 'faith' is little better than shifting sand. An able article by Prof. W. P. Armstrong deals with the Resurrection of Jesus, the attacks made on its historicity and the evidence in its favour.

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The October number opens with an article by the editor, Dr. G. F. Wright, on 'Present Aspects of the Relations between Science and Revelation.' It is urged that 'history cannot be brought within the dimensions of a physical science. The exalted nature of man opens to him the possibility, yes, even the necessity of intellectual and spiritual communion with his fellows both of the present and of the past, and of receiving direct spiritual influences from the Divinity in whose image he is created.' The conclusion to which the article leads up is that 'the true way to secure peace between the interpreters of the Bible and the interpreters of the physical phenomena of the universe is to increase the knowledge of both parties. . . . The Bible is a more reasonable book than many of the devotees of science are accustomed to assume.' 'The Law and the Gospel of Giving' is forcefully expounded by the Rev. Dr. Frank Fox. 'In the Old Testament, God gave man a law to guide his giving: in the New Testament He gave him the gospel to govern his giving.' The moral principle of the law of tithing is that

'it is every man's duty to set apart a portion of his income for the service of God'; the legal element in the law states 'just how much should be given.' The New Testament reaffirms the former principle, but does not fix the proportion to be given. Dr. Fox explains giving as God has prospered us to mean tithing the increase on investments as well as the increase of salary. 'Never expect spiritual dividends to be declared on financial deficits.' Too much space is given to Mr. Harold M. Wiener's reply to Dr. König on the subject of 'Historical Criticism of the Pentateuch.' Dr. König briefly appeals to his book, in which he has shown that 'the truth of the Old Testament religion is not endangered by [his] critical conception of the Pentateuch.' Those who are familiar with his writings know that he has defended 'the religion of the Patriarchs as the divine beginning of the legitimate religion of Israel.'

Harvard Theological Review.—The contents of the October number attain a high level of excellence, and are of varied interest. Dr. Francis G. Peabody contributes a paper of much charm on 'Mysticism and Modern Life.' 'The mystical conception of the religious life, the supreme and convincing assurance that the soul of man has the capacity to respond to the spirit of God, and is freed by this communion from all dependence on external authority, runs like a golden thread through the dark texture of Christian doctrine, and binds together centuries and creeds which have little else to share.' Dr. Peabody shows that mysticism and efficiency are not mutually exclusive. 'Wherever the worth and dignity of the individual soul have been deeply realised, and its immediate and personal communion with God has been the supreme desire, there the sins and wrongs of society which obstruct that communion have been the natural object of attack.' Good use is made of the work of Elizabeth Fry, and of John Bright, who are cited as 'witnesses of mysticism in action.' Dr. E. S. Drown writes on 'The Growth of the Incarnation'; his aim is to emphasize its moral significance for humanity.

FOREIGN

The **Revue des Deux Mondes** for October 15 opens with a letter specially written at the request of the Editor on 'Germany and War,' by M. Emile Boutroux, who is exceptionally qualified to deal with the philosophy underlying the present terrible conflict. "The violence, brutality, barbarism of which it affords us the sorry spectacle no doubt springs from the deepest instincts of the race; but man always feels the need of justifying his conduct, and the Germans are too great philosophers not to have sought the justification of theirs in the scientific system where these doctrinaires of a new order have found an encouragement to persevere in it without scruple or pity.' This philosophy has issued in a 'creation against Nature, a monster whose implacable egotism is a burden to the world.' This is a very rough translation of some of the opening sentences, but the whole letter should be read and pondered.