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VERACITY, REALITY, AND REGENERATION

BISHOP GORE complains that the huge perils in front of the Church of England are due to a refusal in recent years, and among all classes, movements, and offices, to think clearly about principles. He would welcome Disestablishment as forcing the Church to consider its first principles. But his remark applies to lands where there is no Established Church, and applies as much or more. It is a vice of the Church everywhere, and quite conspicuous in the Protestantism whose special charge a spiritual thoroughness and mental veracity is supposed to be. It is not easy to see what is to shake to its senses sections of the Church which never have been established, and to do for them what Disestablishment may do for Anglicanism. It is part of the general blurring of the features of truth in a nimbus of pious impressionism, or in a mist of social sympathy which impairs the individual conscience.

Other effects of this frame of mind are apparent in the type of preaching which pervades the pulpits of the hour. The preachers were never more able, and the sermons were never more interesting. And yet they do not win the public; or it is more than they can often do to hold it when won. The lack is penetrative power and inner moral passion. It fills one with a sense of waste to mark the able men whose ability is only running at half speed for the lack of a power to seize them, to

unite and vivify all that is in them, to bring it out and get it home. It is doubtful if anywhere so much ability is going to seed as in the pulpit, if so much toil, ingenuity, intelligence, and feeling are being wasted anywhere as in the thousands of sermons that go to their drawers as to their last cradle and long home, week by week, to haunt as feckless ghosts the preacher's soul. Hence the restlessness that is observable in the ministry in various quarters, the sense of ineffectiveness, the desire to try a new soil with the same seed, in the hope that the Spirit may at last reward the effort and bring back His sheaves with Him.

But it is not a change of sphere that is required most. That may but foment the unquiet, or else become the soul's narcotic. It is a change of note that is needed, and a change that no new place can bring. If the lack is power, the cause of the lack is the absence of a definite, positive, and commanding creed which holds us far more than we hold it, holds us by the conscience, founds and feeds us on the eternal reality, and, before we can do anything with it, does everything with us. Every Church and every preacher is bound to run down without such a creed, and no amount of humane sympathy or vivid interests can avert the decline. In every direction, the Church is suffering from the inability to know its own spiritual mind, or to strike a stream from its own rock, and from its indisposition to face the situation or its impotence to fathom it. For a generation now we have been preaching that experience is the great thing, and not creed; till we are losing the creed that alone can produce an experience higher than the vagaries of idiosyncrasy, or the nuances of temperament, or the tradition of a group, or the spirit of the age. The older preachers complain that by their education they were set afloat alone on a wide, wide sea of thought and question, without the pole that alone can adjust their compass or lay their course. They were not started with the modernized dogmatic foundation that could enable them to carry their age, and so they were carried by it. In various seminaries the dogmatic was either

antiquated, amiable, or absent. It is cruel to the preachers, and it is fatal to the Church. The ministry becomes more restless, and missions break down in our hands. And all through the lack of power from the highest or of footing in the abyss—all because of the lack of a positive, fixing, ruling belief, with its train of security and blessing, most effectual often where most indirect. The surest and securest have often won no right to be either. The current claptrap against theology is only an advertisement of the lack in religion of that passion of spiritual radicalism and mental veracity which will settle nowhere but at the very roots of things, and must draw its strength from the last realities of the soul's intelligent life. The result of the defect is a vague sense of insecurity as to foundations and an insidious dubiety which, unconsciously to the preacher, conveys itself to his flock, and generates a *malaise* that nobody can explain. There is too much judicious detachment and an absence of that passion and conviction which the preacher should utter, whether he is welcome or not to a people blinded by the god of the period, and whether they will hear or forbear. He may be too anxious about the impression he makes, and too careless about the sound source of impression—too little the agent of a searching truth that makes him by comparison indifferent to the cheers.

A positive, creative, and controlling belief of ultimates, a ruling and resting theology, drawn from the nether springs, is the goal and the seal of spiritual veracity, of that lucidity of soul which, though searching, is not sad but strong. It is not a thing that comes easily or swiftly; and it is readily underprized in a day which is the day of the young, and of all the crudity that that connotes. But it has the staying power, and it can guide, temper, dignify, and command. These are powers that the Church needs and the ministry much craves. But the laity are little interested in such truth, often will not have it. They are still too much the belated victims of a revolt against it which at the upper end of

intelligence now grows obsolete. Yet they too feel the effects of its absence, though they have not skill to trace the trouble to its true source. All the other needs of the Church's hour, social or aesthetic, fall into insignificance before the Church's need of a positive, personal, powerful, and creative belief. It is the one thing imperative in a score to be desired.

Yet as soon as that is said, there is a chorus of angry resistance to the re-establishment on the Church of an Orthodoxy long outgrown and for ever now impossible. There is nothing more depressing than to hear such protests from the ministry itself. What is to be done with teachers who have learned so little in their plastic time as to learn no more after years of ministerial life than leaves such stale *clichés* still possible! They at least ought to rise above the common criers in the press and elsewhere, and to know what words like Orthodoxy or Positivity really should mean to instructed minds, and to minds especially that are saturated in New Testament thought and its rich continuity in history. That discernment of essential reality and expansive truth through the ages is the minister's stay and standard. It is the knowledge and the passion *before* the pulpit that give reality to the passion *in* it and save it from sentiment, melodrama, and lusty *blague*. The power in the pulpit always has its source outside the pulpit—a statement which I reinforce with the remark that the preacher will not be a failure, whether he be an idol or not, who thinks as much as he speaks, and prays as much as he preaches.

But such reflections will tempt some to say that the true object of ministerial training is to make preachers and pastors, and that for this purpose a good deal of instruction could be spared if only piety and sympathy were cherished as they should. And no doubt knowledge, or even thought, is too dearly bought at the cost of these. But men from certain sections of the mission field, for instance, who started and went so far equipped with but the pious passion for souls, come and ask me for some guidance in their belated

study, telling me they are no longer competent to guide the churches they gathered, that their field threatens to revert to prairie again. The fact is that, even if a man equipped with due attainments gather a Church, to prevent labefaction it must grow in grace and the intelligent knowledge of Christ, and of what Christ is for the moral soul of God and man. And especially it must grow in that knowledge of Him which is relevant not simply to personal and domestic needs but to the intelligent *milieu* in which the members of the Church find themselves even in every local paper and every public meeting. If the pastor and teacher have no power to handle such things, and no ability to do more than show that he buys the minor books, reads the little paper, and knows the little mind, the influence of his piety alone will not do the work of Christian faith. His sympathy, losing in intelligence, will lose in value as time goes on. And a veil will gradually fall between him and his people, which a devout dogmatism can neither lift nor rend. He will cease to be the preacher he was, because he was never equipped to be more than an impressionist, because at the most he only learned to be a reader and to know the questions. He never learned to be a student and master the answers. He has not learned to go deeper than those who ask the questions did, because his reading was but part of the luxury of his life and no part of its toil; because his thought but occurred to him, and was not dug from a mine; because his truth cost him nothing but a little mental exposure, like a sensitive plate, in an easy-chair to the printed ray; because it therefore was not dear, as the things are dear that cost much to master, and powerful, as the things are that by our wrestling prevail; because he had learned the habit of valuing truth but for its effect, and often its first effect, of pursuing but its impressionist side; because he had not learned to love and worship it for beating himself small; and because, therefore, in the true spirit of a sect, if only he could move an audience, he had less concern for what could win the age. He had

but the tangential mind; he centralized, he bottomed, nothing. The result is that in due course he wears out; and he becomes a burden to the Church because he had no touch either with the great world facing it, or the last reality founding it. He did not even know his Bible, because he knew nothing else. This is not a plea for scholarship, but for the culture of that blended mind, heart, and conscience which is the keynote of apostolic faith, and which will not let us alone till it has fired our clay at the burning foundations of the moral world in the Cross of Christ with its revolution and regeneration of all natural things.

The plea for a radical and positive belief is no plea for a repristinated orthodoxy, as its critics ought to know. It urges the only way to escape from Orthodoxy without falling into spiritual vagrancy and mental anarchy. A man may be very positive and creative with a gospel that permits many reputed heresies as to the Bible, the Church, Christ, and the Eternal future. These views may be peripheral; but he stands in the dynamic centre of the grace that creates Bible, Church and salvation, as well as views about them. And to reach that position he will spare neither thought, prayer, nor humiliation. He will be thorough. He will sell all the pearls of old tradition for this pearl of infinite price, which has all Christian doctrine, and a new career for it, sleeping in its deep, rich, and creative heart.

Again, a positive belief is not only not Orthodoxy, but it is not the same as current pietism. It may consist with such pietism, which is largely a matter of temperament, being as natural to some as to others it is alien. But it does not run to coteries, introspection, or the 'language of Canaan'; though, if it do, it possesses the great antiseptic for such complaints. It gives power to the sweet, and to them that have no light it increases understanding.

Once more, a positive belief is not necessarily an ecclesiastical, nor has it a Church seal for an authority. It makes the Church rather than is made by it. Some who

are strongly positive do not much court the accent of the current Church. And some who have that accent strong are anything but positive, so far as a gospel goes. A Church note and a Church spirit can be very strong and exclusive among some whose theology is Sadducean; and some, on the other hand, whose gospel is highly evangelical, do not disown their obligation and sympathy to circles that refuse to come into a Church pale.

Nor is it always positive to be religious, spiritual, mystic, magnetic, or so forth. Christianity is much more than spirituality, mysticism, or idealism. It is the moral rescue by grace of religion from religiosity, of faith from mere spirituality, of piety from temperament, of creed from the idiosyncrasy either of an individual or of an age. It saves Christianity from the aesthetic note and the poetic style that blows through an age; for what is often called inspiration may be no more than the result of 'sitting in a psychic draught.' Much religion is not faith but inferior poetry, or it is mawkish fiction which sells by the ten thousand and is worse for the soul than the virility of *Tom Jones*. It is certainly not believing. It is but the willing suspension of disbelief for the moment, in a warm air. A positive faith is so far conservative that it stakes the salvation of history upon history. It therefore finds the core, crisis, and spring of eternal life in a divine action. If the first creation was by a word, the second was by an act. It can therefore be moral and powerful, and not simply true and charming. Revelation has its field in the conscience and will. Given or taken, it is a moral act; it is *the* act and crisis of the world-conscience. So that the root of all human morality, the principle of all historic ethic, the foundation of a new Humanity, is in the Cross of Christ and the action there by the divine holiness and upon it, the crisis there of the moral world, and therefore of the universe. *There* is the decisive thing for the soul and for the race, the one vital issue of God's conscience and man's; *there* is the node where

Time and Eternity really intersect (if we may escape from the notion of mere duration in these words).

Here we come upon the element missing in so much of the preaching which is found both able and interesting, and which desires to be large and liberal. It is humane, sympathetic, *vif*, optimist, and in a sense Catholic; it touches us at many points, and we respond; it was its object that we should. But we go away and we know that at the depth and at the centre it does not touch us. It is as if we were translated into a land where every desire of the soul was satisfied, one here and another there, but we were left with the soul itself unsatisfied—unfed, unfathered, and even unreached. And the secret sorrow in the life of many an earnest preacher of the kind must surely be that he is too clear-eyed not to know this. The message (if message it be) may be interesting and able, but it has nothing powerful, creative, miraculous, revolutionary, crushing, and regenerating in it. And yet at last Christian faith is faith in a miracle of re-creation, or it is little. Preaching may be impressive without being regenerative. Some would harshly say that much of the popular preaching of the day is such. But the impression fades. The interest strongly roused, being but interest, wanes. The elation subsides, and we slip into the grey light of common day. We look back it may be to the hour of uplifting, but it is only as a happy memory, not as a fixture of choice, not as a permanent deflection, and a foundation of life or a replacement on rock. We look back as to a memorable play, or a moving symphony, or something equally aesthetic, not as to the crisis of our own life drama. We felt greatly, memorably, the better for it, but we did not live anew, we were not changed and re-settled after the inmost man. We were flushed on a mountain-top, but not glorified in heaven. There was a transfiguration of life, but not a resurrection from death. The grand moral lack of the soul and of society is a regenerating plant for forcing ethic into religion. We

need a religious atmosphere laden with the germs of a fundamental and immutable morality which kill the old man and his deeds by a new life in Christ. What we need is not the regularizing of our natural connexions but their revolution.

If the central issue of Christianity is in the Cross it is a moral issue. What we call the Passion was not merely passive; it was active, holy, and passionate far more. It was the passion of One with the prophet's insight of the righteousness of God and the King's function to establish it, the passion of one whose first charge was to set up and secure the holiness of God in face of man's sin. If the issue was more than moral it was because it was moral on the scale of eternity, moral with all the mystic air that makes the ethic of heaven—that makes holiness. Dealing radically with holiness it was the moral crisis of Eternity and the root principle of human society.

We do not school our conscience at such a Cross. We are afraid it would be a lapse into Orthodoxy and a preaching of the Atonement—a thing now too antiquated for public use. Our moral passion is all used up in the preaching of social righteousness, in proclaiming respect for the moral personality of man as man, and in the denunciation of abuses. Even the Church has but little left for the radical appropriation of our Redemption by our conscience, and the appreciation of its moral essence and its moral cost. Our faith becomes a matter of sympathy and sentiment. And so we have that blend so deadly, from Pharisaism down to Tammany, of a popular manner and a moral vacuity—a natural ethic of the interests and the egoisms with a sentimental religion. From which wars and rumours of wars—foreign war let into a background of civil discord on the like huge scale. There may be little to choose between the mere nationalism of the awful war that paralyses Europe, and the mere labourism of that which was (perhaps is) threatening to paralyse England by the greatest strike on record. As Industrialism comes to be in an age of competitive egoism,

when the spiritual control has gone and the humane has not yet come, militarism is but commerce in mail, and commerce is but militarism in mufti. A catastrophe so wide as the present war is the result less of a political situation than of a moral situation common to all the nations. It means a day of judgement and the end of an age. It goes back in the last remove to a religious situation, one with more religion than God in it, and more God than Christ. The Kaiser's belief, for instance, is much more Jewish than Christian. He holds but to a Lord of Hosts, the tutelar of a conquering race.

It all means a paralysis of Christian Ethic through a demoralized Christian religion which is more concerned to consecrate a natural ethic than to create a new ethic from the fountain of the New Humanity in the Cross. The source of the one war is the same as the source of the other in principle. It is natural and egoist Ethic baptized with religion but not regenerated by sacrifice. And can we escape the divine judgement on the aggressor, be it capital or labour, which in this present war is falling on the whole naturalist competitive God-oblivious structure of society? So far from its destroying faith, faith might well shake if no such judgement came on a loveless world. What is to make religion the creator of righteousness and the moral revolutionist not of society but of human nature? What is to change its passion from success to service, from grasp to give? Nothing but the Cross of Christ coming home as the New Creator, not directly of the social order, but of the social will, which means the moral soul of each individual man.

Let us approach this whole matter on another tack. We have two kinds of admiration, one for the man that can do much better what we are always doing not so well, and one for the man who can do what we never can do or hope to do. We have an admiration for the teacher who is far beyond us, but who may hope in time to make us his own equal, rival, or even superior; and we have an admiration

for the man who has a divine something, a *mirum quid*, in him which parts us from him by a great gulf, and makes him do, with ease and by a touch, what is for ever beyond us and all our toil—a something which belongs much less to its possessor than the inferior gifts or aptitudes do. We have the man of talent, that is, and the man of genius, the man who spurs us as an ideal and the man who is a wholesome humiliation to us, the man who has more than most of a certain endowment and the man who has an endowment that puts him in another kind, who does not simply offer us our ideal, but comes with a θεῖον, and lays on us a spell of magic difference, as speech owns music, man woman, and woman man.

It is the latter kind of power that is the analogue in nature to the object of our worship in the spiritual realm. The genius is nature's prophet with a special inspiration, as the apostle is the prophet of grace. The reverence for genius is in the natural world the counterpart of the worship of Christ in the spiritual. Genius promises that which grace *is*. As the genius is to other men, so Christ is to all men, including the genius. He is as far above the spell genius lays upon us as that spell is above the talents we can toil to emulate. We do not compare here, we capitulate. We do not argue, we adore, and we come to rest. His region is creation; the other, inferior and prelusive, is evolution.

Having made this distinction, let us carry it forward on a wider scale. There is a way of regarding all religious history, and Christianity in particular, which views it as the superlative of that evolutionary process immanent in the race (though, perhaps, by God implanted there); and there is a way which views our spiritual history as made and moulded by the invasion of factors transcendent yet not alien, and creatively divine though not the less truly human. In the one case the movement is a process, which may or may not be moral—only civilized; in the other it is an act,

which is moral or nothing. In the one, the prime interest is that excellent creature man, to whose expansive eminence of soul Christ gives vast aid and superlative effect; in the other the striking thing is not human excellence but human impotence, deepening to human guilt; and Christ brings not an ideal consummation of our best, but a moral Redemption of our worst. For the one view Christ is the greatest symbol, not to say agent, of the natural evolution of the spiritual; man comes to himself in Christ, the pride of the race. For the other view, the greatest thing in the world is not an evolution, but a miracle. It is the miracle of its salvation by a Christ whom we worship as all we could never be, and do not merely revere as the ideal bloom of all it is in us to be. The one view starts from man's fullness, the other from his need. And, while the former finds in Christ the incarnation of a humanity glorious amid all its defect, the other finds in Him the incarnation of God's grace to a race whose glory without Him is, in the end, hollow, doomed, and lost for lack of spiritual power to carry its natural success. For the one view our religious experiences are products of man's natural, though latent, destiny to rise to the higher triumphs of a soul of goodness in things evil; for the other, they are chiefly the result of a special visitation and creative action of God. For the one they mean a higher stage, for the other a new creation. For the one they arise, at most, out of a divine love, ample and imperturbable as the Zeus of Phidias, which our sin cannot agitate or deflect, and from which we are never severed, as our representative Christ never was; for the other, these experiences are such response to God's creative grace as takes in earnest the holiness of His love, and the tragedy of man's guilt. This view finds in the historic Christ something far more tense, real, dramatic and triumphant than a revelation of kindness unruffled and unweary. It finds there something that is more in the nature of history, will, action and agony, yea, an act and crisis within Eternity (not to say the divine

Nature) itself, a new creation, more creative than the old, the last creative Act, of which the first creative Word was but the preamble, and which recovers us for living and mystic union with God in the moral crisis of the holy Christ crucified, risen, and royal for ever. In a word, the difference between the two views is that the one rests on the evolution, however divinely guided, of a spiritual nature indelible in us as children of God in a natural Fatherhood; the other rests, not on spiritual evolution and education, or coming to ourselves, but on spiritual miracle, absolute crisis, death turned life, new creation, and an eternal redemption which is worlds more than another step in the evolutionary series. We have there spiritual evolution, expanding under a natural but infinite fatherhood, and here moral miracle and re-birth, worked by the creative grace, and not the mere nursing kindness, of a Holy Father. We have there sympathetic intuition as the key of the world, here the soul's moral experience. In the Cross of the Holy Son, Jesus Christ, we are created anew, and our impotence is empowered to all the good works that we could dream for our torment but never reach for our rest. The heavenly thing was latent in Him and not in us.

These are the two issues—evolutionary idealism and new creation—which dispart to life and to death for the Church of the day. They should be clearly grasped, for they make the great watershed of Protestant Christianity—development or redemption. Their difference is more vital than that between Rome and Luther, more vital than any difference in the world, except that of evil and good; of which, indeed, they are the heavenly counterpart and eternal crisis. They differentiate the liberal Christianity and the positive, the Christ of excellence and the Christ of Grace.

It is the latter of these alternatives that alone does justice to the searching passion of veracity and reality, piercing indomitably to those moral issues that form the central tragedy of a tragic world and the crucial area for human destiny.

Man turns on his conscience; and it is the conscience also that goes to the heart of Eternity, and is, therefore, the organ of the holy. For if morality is the nature of things, the crisis of things is man's relation to the Holy. It is in man's sin. For the classic consciences the certainty of salvation is inseparable from the sense of damnation. It is there, to that arena, that we are carried by the most unsparing spiritual veracity, by an insatiable moral realism, by the radical pertinacity of moral thought and the energy of moral imagination that *will* go to the root of things in a spiritual world, and rest only at the deep centre of a universal whole. It can rest but where Eternity rests—in the Being, Will, and Act of the Self-existent, Whose Being is Holiness and Whose Will is Grace, and Whose Act is the New Creation of the New Humanity. The theology of grace is the higher realism of that conscience which makes life real and growth radical.

So the whole idea of veracity deepens for us beyond mere truth-telling with our neighbour to a veracity with our self, and passes on from speaking the truth to thinking to a finish. We are driven to ask the relation of the self (when its speech has become as honest as you will) to reality. Let us talk less of conscious hypocrisy and think more of unconscious unreality. Is our most intimate experience contact with reality, or is it a mere symbol? Is the highest we feel or think to be God, really God, or may it be illusion?

To illustrate. In the realm of religious truth, we may consider that the kind of veracity represented by the great critical movement has about done its work and nears its term. There is, for instance, in Germany (if we can at present give our mind to Germany's better self and true world power), a standstill for the moment in the region of pure theology; which is explained by the fact that the critical stage is as I say, and that the theological mind is taking in the new situation and preening its wings for a new departure in the direction of depth. The deeper mind

would then take its flight from the sifted critical results, and view the old powers and truths in the new constellation of facts and ideas. We owe the modern passion for veracity largely to modern science. But the veracity of science (and especially critical science) casts us upon the veracity of philosophy; and, as philosophy is now in a new flux, through men like James, Windelband, Eucken, or Bergson, that is again driven to a veracity, deeper still, which adjusts all truth no longer to the metaphysic of substance but to the metaphysic of energy, to the last reality not of thought but of active life—an absolute personality as a holy and creative God. The veracity of range casts us upon the veracity of depth, and seeks the last depth in the abysses of action rather than the recesses of thought. The interest of truth (as it were), from being horizontal, grows vertical; and from vertical it grows energetic. The positivity of science passes upward into the positivity of reality; reality is action; and the last reality is dramatic and personal. Generalization gives place to intuition. And yet for contact with the great reality something more activist is needed than Bergsonian intuition, something more lifelike and dramatic, more of the nature of will and deed, more in the way of personal faith, and the metaphysic of that. A growing conviction arises, from the study of scientific method on the one hand and the modern sense of life on the other, that reality is beyond science, which can only handle the demeanour of reality, and not its purpose or its nature. Our attention, chained and disappointed in soul by the movement of order, is loosed and fascinated by the movement of shock. We ask what it is that is objective to our objective world, what is within the cosmos and makes its goal, to what reality we are brought by all the stages of illusion; and we wonder whether its nature is not given us by something which does not so much crown the sane procession of law, or dawn as a clear warm inner light, but rather arises from the collisions that seem to defy law, and from the

tragedies that rend the soul itself, and shake and eclipse the light within. We have the collision of life with ethic, of reason with will, of morality with happiness, of the will to evil in us and the will to good. We have the deadly blow of the Cross on the normal world. The last veracity, far beyond the placidity of mere peaceful evolution, may well be a veracity of tragic crisis, of reconciliation, and not merely of expansion. For there is a flatness even about an expanding and evolutionary series, which levels life as fast as it enlarges it, and takes depth and power away, as it increases breadth. We lose in value what we gain in order. And the plan of creation may be found, by a due sense of *all* the facts of experience and insight, to be an active and personal purpose of redemption with which the whole world travails. The great metaphysic may be (as I say) a metaphysic of energy rather than substance, of will rather than of pure being, of soul rather than science, of personality rather than of reflection, of history and its action instead of thought and its repose—a metaphysic of society, of the Kingdom of God rather than of entity and essence. As against the plea that the notion of miracle unsolders all order, disturbs all harmony, destroys all forecast, and unsettles all life, my point is that miracle, spiritual or physical, comes nearer to the root of reality than Evolution, than Law, since it partakes of the nature of the incalculable and inexplicable act which founds the world—creation.

This movement of our interest cannot stop short of a fresh interpretation of what creation means or involves as its own consummation. It is even suggested whether a due and new philosophy of the act of creation must not have for its condition a new creation of the philosopher; whether religion does not autonomously grasp and hold a reality which for philosophy is but an asymptotic mirage; whether the nature of evolution is not travail rather than process, a new birth rather than a new stage; and whether regeneration is not the last goal, and therefore the master key,

of the cosmos itself. Men like Wendland and Troeltsch, representing the recent and foremost influences in the philosophy of religion, claim for religion its own metaphysic, independent of a scientific, but not in conflict with it—a metaphysic not of science but of faith—a metaphysic not of substance but of power, in which the leading part is played by a personality reducible to no logical or calculable scheme, and felt by life's experience and action rather than reached by the method of the schools. Is it absurd to think that it takes a creation to understand creation; that the change which perfects and crowns creation in holy personality must be qualitative, and therefore itself a creation; that it is the *process* of the first creation coming to its true self and secret in the supreme *act* of the second, in something which is creation *in excelsis*, and the only creation we can experience; that it is something which is more than the final automatic stage of a process set moving by an initial creation on one plane? This last, this automatism, would make the closing scene but the final step in a series of necessity; and our moral victory would then be only the self-assertion over our head of a latent spiritual nature, or the dénouement of a processional idea which carries us on its crest. Whereas the closest, the crucial relations of person to creating person can be no such evolved and coerced thing. Our moral best is not a great wave's crest. It is a victory crowning the free kind of energy peculiar to will. It is the consummation of a process of *creation*, of a 'creative synthesis' of powers, as Wundt calls it. By that suggestive phrase he means that in the world of life the new thing formed by the synthesis of converging forces or causes is more than their resultant. What causes the convergence of causes? There is a real novelty in the effect, a fresh contribution there, which is in its nature created and creative. The process is thus one whose inner nature all along is creation, fresh contribution, and which is, at its close, not less of a creation but more, than at the first. It is with a creation that the whole creation

groans. Thus the grand reconciliation issuing in the new Humanity must be the supreme creation, the most excellent and characteristic act of a power whose native action is creation, and is more creative at the end than at the beginning. The beginning only exists because of the end, and exists to be glorified in the end. The world which begins in a creation must end in a creation, but in one far greater if evolution means progress at all. It is an evolution of creativeness. We were created to be recreated. The new creation is the destiny of the first. And it is the experience of the new creation crowning all that gives us any key to understand what creation everywhere is and intends, what it was at the first in a mystery, and aims to be in a manifestation.

In a world such as scientific thought presents to-day, whose atoms are nodules of power, whose reality is energy, and of which energy is the true substance, a distinct stream of that energy enters (according to even Ostwald) to raise the inorganic to the organic, with its power of evolution on the one hand, and on the other its metabolism, or change in the atomic parts. To make atoms behave in cells postulates a special and peculiar cause. In like manner, as life ascends to personality and society, a still newer stream of this energy flows in; and, most of all, as personality rises to spirituality, there is required such an agent and action as Christianity brings in the Holy Spirit, the new birth, *the* new creation. This is the last reality; and it casts its light back on all that went before. It illuminates its own wake, and lights up its origin. For its uses all things at bottom were and are created, and the course of their long stream does but roll to the top what was its deepest depth. The spiritual or regenerate person is the key of creation, as being its burthen and 'truth,' as being in the most direct contact and final relation with the ground of all things. The second birth is the final solution of the problem offered in the first. To understand creation requires a creative act. Why Nature was born is known only to the twice born soul.

This new creation is an ethical matter, but much more. Regeneration is not merely sanctification. It is not merely ethical in its method. It is ethical, indeed, in its inmost nature, since it is a union with the holy; but its method is not just the development of character by putting it upon action. It is an ethic not of spiritual self-culture but of divine redemption. It goes below sane character or conduct, behind ordered growth or process, to a birth, an irruption, which is the root of both. It is a transcendental ethic, and can never be reduced to an immanental. Order is kept up by the incessant initiatives and fresh departures of perpetual creation. It is a matter of personality, which is the only energy or initiative we really know at last. Though it is now well recognized that moral personality, as distinct from crude and elemental egoism, is a matter of life-discipline, growth, and acquirement, this very growth postulates an autonomy of the personality; which again means an origin of its own, a new departure by a creative power acting on it directly at its incessant source. Such an autonomy is, like all the highest freedom, a divine creation. It implies a departure of a religious and super-rational kind, breaking free from the causal nexus that holds the natural world and much of the moral, and that controls the instinctive or natural man in so far as he is instinctive or cosmic and nothing more. It involves, therefore, our decisive release from the tyranny of science or its causality, on the one hand, but also, on the other, our release from an extreme social obsession by sympathy, which is apt to stifle the sense of personal responsibility and judgement before God, and so stunts the moral man. Moral culture, as the development of the real and moral personality, is something greater, deeper, more mysterious and divine, than the training of character. It is therefore a religious more even than an ethical matter. Yet it is the practice of action, and not mere behaviour, the practice not of the presence of God merely, but of His supreme divine Act. It is a thing of the living soul itself in its will and

conscience, and not merely of its features. Great and mighty religion is the solution of an intolerable contradiction by a spark it strikes, rather than a light that dawns over it. And it arises in a creative act breaking in with a new nature on the instincts of nature (which carry us more than we carry them). It masters the necessities of this world with the miraculous power and command of another. Ripeness is not all. Our spiritual destiny is much more than the procession and expansion of a moral order to its flower and fruit. It has choice in it and responsible action. And it is impossible, amid the conditions of the world, without the invasive, creative, empowering act of a Creator whose chief creation is our freedom. This Eternal act (and not mere movement) is His vitality; which emerges for history in the Divine Person and holy work of Jesus Christ. This is, as Troeltsch says, 'an abruptly transcendental ethic,' an action far more revolutionary than evolutionary in its nature, and therefore more creative—though its introduction may be as imperceptible as the force that forms a curve. It makes men more thoroughly and radically than anything done in the first creation. It is a greater act of creation that Paul has to speak of than *Genesis*. It founds the real, personal life, individual or social, which is organic in itself, and whose organism 'is the life system of personality,' as Eucken calls it. And, with a creative selection, it builds up this life by a constant appropriation and assimilation of that in the natural and instinctive egoism which was getting most ripe for such distinction. Amid the vegetating vitality, the ferment, heat, and friction of the protoplast region of Humanity it starts a new process, a new departure (Wundt), which is not the action of previous process or causal entail, but of God's subtle will and choice. It attaches to that in the natural man which is most supernatural, most near the frontier of the Divine, and most of a prelude for the last creative action of God—it attaches to the moral will in its freedom, or at its height in the sense of the holy. The

natural exercise of that free will is not yet the new creation, but it is the postulate of it, its anticipation and point of entry. In this supremely new departure we are delivered from the bondage of the ethical, or rather from the ethical as a bondage, into the ethical as the *milieu* of the new power. We are saved from the love of law to the law of love. We are lifted even from the pressure of the ideal, or its mockery of us and our impotence, to its resurrection of us by the Spirit of Holiness into our distinction as sons of God. We rise, by a new spiritual upheaval, to a life that is ethical because it is so much more. It is 'beyond our good and evil'; it is the holy. And the old prophecy in our free-will then receives effect and fulfilment, it comes to its own, by the moral regeneration in evangelical faith. Psychological freedom becomes true moral freedom in obedience. Such Faith *is* a regeneration, it is not a mere condition of it. For it answers a God who is not only credible but creative, and creative above all of that true, free, and holy personality which is freedom set free, which is in command of the world, and which has the reversion of all things. The Christ, who stirs our faith, does it as no mere passing impressionist, but as the soul's new Creator for good and all, the source of that which only a Creator can produce—a new personality within the lines of the old, but with another centre and another note. This alone also survives, ruling the death and dust of the old assertive, egoistic, self-destructive self. Christ is, indeed, our new spiritual world, 'become our universe that feels and knows.'

Hence it is no true worship of Christ to treat Him as differing from ourselves but in degree and not in kind. And it is below the authentic note of Christian faith to regard His person apart from the Cross, to treat Him as Jesus, the soul's dear friend, or as the gracious figure of certain artists and happy pietists. Christians are those in whom there works the power of that personality who, by His redemption, creates from creation. They carry the mark of

the second Creator, who works with a finer clay, but from a worse chaos than the first. They are made neither by Divine dignity alone, nor by kindness alone, but by the grace of the Father holy and royal in the Son—in the attracting and offending, the saving and judging Son, with all the strange, mastering, stern, melting, majestic, and adorable features of Eternity in His conquering face.

His redemption is the redemption of *the race*. And, being of Christian quality, being perfectly holy, it is the action of that of which the holy is but the moral name—it is final, eternal, and absolute. But the relation of the absolute to the world is that of Creator. Christ's Redemption is, therefore, God's second and supreme creation of the race into the communion and likeness, not simply of His freedom in Nature, and dominion over it, but of the ulterior liberty and final wealth of His personal holiness.

The Divine unity is the unity of an organism, not of a unit but of a whole, whose positive and creative energy is constantly subduing everything negative to itself. It is the unity of a life triumphing in a standing conflict and paradox. For without paradox and absurdity, no religion. It is no simple unity that we adore, either domestic or monistic. And the relation between the personal unity of Christ and the racial unity of man is of this dynamic kind. It does not merely confront us as a divine essence might. It masters us. It is a process of collision and conquest, which is the movement of a new creative act of Reconciliation between the Holy God and guilty man, an act, therefore, supremely moral. This is the final theodicy and harmony of good and evil, ineffable as a creation must be, and beyond all reason we can set forth. It takes effect in no adjusted system, not in a symmetrical scheme of eudemonist teleology, but in the communion of living persons. It proceeds in the communion of the holy and the sinful soul on the whole scale of God and man.

Such is a shadow of what is meant when we speak of the

new creation as the necessary belief of a radical moral consciousness when it escapes from the platypod type of thought and works with the depth, height, and urgent passion of a penetrative spiritual imagination. It is the discovery of such ethical and ample veracity, such searching and sweeping intelligence, or else it is such stuff as dreams are made of. It is either fundamental or fantastic, according as it is our deep moral soul that gives the last anchorage for eternity, or as our ethic is the mere adjustment of the day's conduct in a way that seems to work out—we know not what.

When we come to view things thus, we may discover what the element was that we so vaguely missed at the outset in much of the able and interesting preaching of the time. For all its zest, it left us untouched where to be touched were to have loosed in us the spring of a new life-joy and a ruling power. What we need for our worship is the kind of power involved in a religion whose inmost nature of freedom and wonder is miracle, i.e. creation. The thing we missed is the one thing that creates worship as the crown of faith—the contact with a miraculous God, a holy and gracious God—a forgiving, regenerating, commanding, and pacifying God. No amount of delightful talk about the love of God can do for a sinful race the regenerating work of the miraculous grace of God; nor can the tender recreate and rule as the holy does. Though we need comfort much, we need command more. There are, perhaps, more moments in life when we need kindness; but, in our few great and decisive hours it is much more than kindness we need. 'With everlasting kindness—will I have mercy upon you.' It is more that must rule in a gospel which proposes to change the heart, reverse the will, and take command of the social conscience on the scale of a whole Humanity. A fatherhood without holy sovereignty is not adequate to the world's conscience; and it is in the holy grace of God that the sovereign authority lies of that Fatherhood whose

grace goes deeper than all kindness to touch with moral tenderness and healing the sorest and deadliest regions of our guilty need. The world's need is far greater than its power and glory. And the supreme proof of Christ is His power to treat that need wherever it is felt with the unsparing keenness of the last moral veracity and the creative mercy of the last moral reality, whose judgement leaves nothing unsearched or unsounded, and, therefore, nothing unforgiven. It is His powerful patience to wait till a disillusioned world come to drink of Him, despairing of every other spring. Only the infinite power of a world Creator has at command the ageless patience of a world Redeemer.

P. T. FORSYTH.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF ISLAM

The Political Aspect of Islam. (Edwin Sears & Co.)
Turkey of the Ottomans. By LUCY M. GARNETT. (Pitman.)
Turkey and Its Peoples. By SIR E. PEARS. (Methuen.)
Europe and the Turks. By NOEL BUXTON, M.P. (Methuen.)
With the Conquered Turk. By L. JAMES. (Nelson.)
Regilding the Crescent. By F. G. AFLALO. (Martin Secker.)
With the Turks in Tripoli. By E. N. BENNETT. (Methuen.)
Abbas II. By THE EARL OF CROMER. (Macmillan.)
Egypt in Transition. By SIDNEY JAMES MARK LOW. (Smith, Elder & Co.)
In the Land of the Pharaohs. By DUSE MOHAMED. (Stanley Paul.)
Veiled Mysteries of Egypt, and The Religion of Islam. (Eveleigh Nash.)
Gordon at Khartoum. By W. S. BLUNT. (Stephen Swift & Co.)
Peeps into Persia. (Hurst & Blackett.)
The Strangling of Persia. By W. M. SHUSTER. (Fisher Unwin.)
Legal Position of Women in Islam. By AMEER ALI. (University of London Press.)
An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem. By GRACE ELLISON. (Methuen.)

THE first seven months of war have furnished many clear indications of the profound effect that the great struggle is destined to exert upon the political future of Islam. I purpose to survey these possibilities.

I

I shall not write of the fate of Turkey in Europe. To say that she will be wiped out of existence, or that she will be able to weather this storm, as she has endured through many a political tempest in the past, would be to indulge in prophecy. But the war has shown, beyond a doubt, that the Turks, whether still ruling a strip of Europe, or confined to Asiatic territory, will never occupy that predominant position in Islam which was the real source of their power.

Turkey joined in this war relying entirely upon her ability to influence the whole Muslim world to aid her. She

expected the Muslims in northern and other parts of Africa to embarrass the French and the British; and the multi-millions of Musalmans in India and its north-west frontier (including Afghanistan) to tie the hands of the British. She also expected that her co-religionists in Arabia, Persia, and Russia would strengthen her hand. With 222,000,000 Musalmans at her back, stirred by the astutely worded, inflammatory *fatwa* of *Jehad* issued to the whole Muslim world, she fancied herself capable of scoring success in the campaign that she had undertaken. The 'Young Turks' dominant at Constántinople believed that they would be able to rush down upon Egypt and capture the Suez Canal. That *coup*, they imagined, would cut off India from the British. With the Musalmans in revolt in Egypt, the Soudan and India, they hoped they would be able to establish themselves in Egypt, the Soudan, and British East Africa. Such a conquest would connect Turkey with German East Africa, which marches with the British territory in that region.

All these calculations have been upset. Islam has not risen in arms. Muslim Asia and Muslim Africa have refrained from embarrassing the British and the French. On the contrary, the very people who were expected to swell the ranks of Turkey's armies have lent influential support to the Allies, and are opposed to her forces on the field of battle. Political and religious leaders among Indian, Russian, and African Musalmans have issued proclamations which most cogently disprove Turkey's specious plea for Islam to come to her help. Muslim soldiers have readily come forward to fight the Turks.

What is the cause of this utter failure?

The answer is said to be furnished by the argument that Turkey has not been able to convince the Muslim world that she had gone to war to protect Islamic interests. At one time millions of Musalmans would not have paused to consider whether Turkey was right or wrong, but would have unquestioningly obeyed the proclamation issued in the name of their *Khalif*.

I find the answer to the query as to why Turkey has so significantly failed to stir up strife among the Muslims in the fact that they have largely lost their faith in the Ottomans. For years the events that have been taking place in Turkey have been disappointing to Musalmans all over the world. The deposition of Sultan Abdul Hamid, the passing of power from the Sultan to a coterie of Turks of the new school, and the autocratic manner in which the 'Young Turks' have conducted the administration, have all combined to undermine the faith that the orthodox Musalmans in every part of the globe reposed in the *Khalif* (*Caliph*). Few persons comprehend the unfavourable impression that has been thus created. Therefore it is necessary to describe the forces that have practically destroyed the religious and political prestige of Turkey.

Much has been done to keep the Muslim world from realizing that the Sultan no longer governs Turkey, but that the land of the star and crescent is ruled by men who are Muslims in name but free-thinkers in reality. The 'Young Turks' in power have done much to cover their life with a tissue of lies to keep the Islamic world from discovering that they no longer believe in the Prophet or conform their actions to his precepts. Some Muslims, not themselves Ottomans, have sought to aid and abet the 'Young Turks' in this endeavour. But the deception has not kept the Islamic world from learning that the men who rule the Turkey of our day are apostates. It is this knowledge which has destroyed that religious prestige of the Ottomans which constituted their real and only source of strength.

I could reproduce here the substance of many talks that I have had with Musalmans of different nationalities to support my statement; but that would merely increase the length of this article without in any way adding to the knowledge of the reader. Many far-sighted persons have for some time felt apprehensive of the danger that lay in the Musalmans becoming disillusioned in regard to the character

of the contemporary Turkish Government. The late Mr. William T. Stead spoke of it to me three years ago, just before he embarked on the ill-starred *Titanic* to voyage across the Atlantic, a trip from which he never returned. Not long before, Mr. Stead had gone to Constantinople to confer with the Sultan and the 'Young Turks' with a view to furthering his scheme to put a stop to the Turko-Italian war that was raging at the time. One day, as he was discoursing, at his office in the Bank Buildings, upon his plans to bring the campaign to an end, it occurred to me to ask him why the Musalmans did not hurry to Tripoli, in large bodies, to fight for the Sultan. Mr. Stead's answer was characteristic of that brilliant journalist. He said that it was because the 'Young Turks' were fools. They were not good enough Muslims to appreciate the great asset that they possessed in the person of the Sultan and to make good use of him to accomplish their ends. He added, that even if they realized the utility of such a move, they would make it in a manner that would 'give them away' and impress the Muslims with their insincerity and lack of faith. I do not remember whether or not Mr. Stead published this impression in the articles he wrote about Turkey at that time; but his view coincided with my own, which later information has strengthened.

The 'Young Turks' have striven to create a world league of Muslims, held together, not by the bond of religion, but by the tie of political aggrandisement. Some non-Turkish Musalmans have shared their ambition. The result has been the organization of a movement which has been loosely termed Pan-Islam.[1] The sinister possibilities of this propaganda have, during recent years, inspired some writers to make gloomy forecasts. A force such as this, exploited by an unrighteous Power like Germany, no doubt could cause

[1] I imply by this word a political, and not a religious movement. I do not disfavour any propaganda to promote concord among Musalmans of various countries and nationalities. My criticism is directed altogether against the effort to establish the political predominance of Islam.

much mischief. Therefore the alarm created was not altogether without justification. But the menace of Pan-Islam has been excessively exaggerated. Few writers have grasped the fact that the movement was founded upon shifting sands.

One must know Islam and its history in order to appreciate the force of this remark. Its rise and progress indisputably show that the motive power behind Musalman expansion was not political ambition, or lust for power and pelf. It was religious zeal that stirred the denizens of the Arabian desert, and impelled them to carry the religion of Mohammed eastward and westward of Mecca. Musalman invaders committed excesses in Europe, Africa, and Asia. They pillaged and plundered, enslaved men and women, and destroyed much that was of permanent value to humanity. These ugly features of warfare are a blot upon their memory; but they cannot alter the fact that, primarily, the swords of the Muslim conquerors were unsheathed to convert the world to the creed of *Allah*, whose Prophet is Mohammed. I do not write to justify conversion by the sword, or to uphold any wrongs that the Muslims of this or of another age committed. My purpose is to emphasize the fact that religion, and not politics, originally impelled the Moslem hordes to go on crusades out of Arabia.

As centuries sped by, this motive power became corrupted by the desire to acquire the power and material resources to indulge in licentiousness. Spiritual corruption led to political decay. The Muslim Empire shrank. Islam in Europe lost all but the small strip constituting Turkey. The Moghul dynasty became extinct in India.

In our generation an attempt has been made by the 'Young Turks,' and their co-religionists of the same mind, to extend the Muslim Empire. But this endeavour lacks the religious force which once made Islam great, and it is destined to fail. The war has gone on long enough to show that Musalmans outside Turkey find the religious element lacking in the present struggle, and consequently have no

sympathy for it. It is one thing for them to fight in the name of Mohammed, and another to go to the field of battle to further the interests of Enver Pasha and his clique.

The 'Young Turks' have shown themselves to be as incapable of political sagacity as they are lacking in Islamic fervour. Goaded by Germany, they have engaged in a struggle which they would have done well to avoid. Whatever the outcome of the war may be—I, personally, am confident of the ultimate success of our arms—they have placed themselves in open enmity with the Powers which rule the bulk of the Musalman peoples of the world. In doing this, they have cut themselves off from their co-religionists who are British subjects, or who are under the protection of the British and the French. Turkey is likely to find it impossible to resume the relations with the Muslims of other lands after the war is over.

II

The only Musalman of any importance whom the 'Young Turks' have succeeded in allying with themselves, is Abbas Hilmi, the ex-Khedive of Egypt. I doubt if much persuasion was needed to bring about his defection from the British side. Those who have watched the recent trend of affairs in the Land of the Pharaohs have known, for years, that His Highness was not friendly to the British. He abhorred the arrangement whereby the Khedive merely reigned, while the administration was controlled by His Britannic Majesty's Agent, Consul-General and Minister Plenipotentiary.

A writer in *The Times*, in reviewing Lord Cromer's new book, *Abbas II*, published in February, relates how the ex-Khedive showed his inimical attitude towards the British from the very day he succeeded to the throne of his father.

> 'On learning of his father's death in January, 1892, he states that: Abbas, who was then at Vienna, summoned, in the early hours of the morning, Blum Pasha, the

former Under-Secretary for Finance in Egypt, and then manager of a large Austrian bank. He asked Blum Pasha's advice as to the course to be pursued. "Get on well with the English and trust them," was the reply. "Is that all you have to say?" returned Abbas angrily. "That is all," said Blum Pasha—and was immediately and ungraciously dismissed.

'While he strove at first to hide his Anglophobia under a cloak of Turcophobia, Abbas, as Khedive, neglected no means of working up the "Egyptian Nationalist" and anti-British sentiment. It required the severe lessons administered by Lord Cromer, with the support of Lord Rosebery, to persuade him that danger lay in that direction.'[1]

The curb that Lord Cromer applied to Abbas Hilmi was highly distasteful to the Khedive, and it was an open secret that no love was lost between the two. Lord Cromer narrates an incident which throws light upon the feud existing between him and the man at the head of the Egyptian Government. The Khedive was afraid that anarchists among the Italian workmen who had been imported to work on the dam at Assouan might attempt to assassinate him. Lord Cromer pointed out that his own life was quite as much in danger as that of the Khedive, if the Italians displayed murderous activity. He writes:

'The idea was, he evidently thought, novel and felicitous; he at once appreciated the latent humour of the situation. His face was wreathed with smiles as he joyously replied:—"*Tiens, c'est vrai!*"'

In a generous mood, Lord Cromer states that the story illustrates the humour of Abbas. To those who know something of the relations existing between the two, it shows much more than that.

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[1] *The Times* (London), February 10, 1915.

As Abbas grew older, he realized that he did not possess the resources to engage in an open fight with the British. He therefore covered his enmity towards the Occupation authorities with a cloak of duplicity. Lord Cromer says that 'in dealing with Abbas II' he found 'it was particularly easy to conform to all the conventional laws of politeness.'

His hatred for Lord Cromer and the British, cleverly masked as it was, grew with years, and Abbas Hilmi resorted to underhanded means to attempt to overthrow the Occupation. The Egyptians who hated the British felt—and were given every reason to believe—that the Khedive was on their side. But he lent his support to the agitators so cleverly that he did not hopelessly commit himself. Of course, if the British had deemed it politic to quarrel with him, they could, without difficulty, have found much evidence of his complicity in the seditious propaganda. It has been an open secret for some time that the ex-Khedive used every means in his power to block the British plans.

In stating this, I do not wish to imply that Abbas Hilmi hated all Britons. Far from it. Lord Cromer's successor at the British Agency at Cairo, the late Sir Eldon Gorst, was much liked by Abbas. Perhaps Sir Eldon did not employ Lord Cromer's methods to manage the Ruler of Egypt. The ex-Khedive paid a touching tribute of friendship to Sir Eldon Gorst when he quietly came over to England to visit the dying British Agent. Possibly had Sir Eldon lived and continued in office, Abbas might have given up his attitude of hostility to the British, and have been rewarded with the prize that he coveted above all things—the real power of administration. But that was not meant to be. Abbas continued to resent the British curb, and kept on intriguing against the Occupation authorities.

A veil of secrecy might have covered the animosity felt by the last Khedive of Egypt for years to come had not the 'Young Turk' party persuaded him to take a definite action. Lord Cromer says in his new book :

'It is probable, though by no means certain, that if Abbas II had continued to intrigue in the dark and to cast a prudent veil over his extreme Anglophobia, he would have remained Khedive of Egypt until the day of his death. He has, however, preferred to throw in his lot with the enemies of Great Britain, being probably under the impression that he was joining the side which would be ultimately victorious in the war now being waged. In adopting this course he has committed political suicide.'

III

In losing Abbas Hilmi, Egypt gains much. Turkey no longer is the suzerain of Egypt. Whether or not this will result in annually saving the people of the Nile-land the amount of tribute yearly payable to the Sublime Porte, about three-quarters of a million sterling, is questionable. Strictly speaking, this drain should cease. But the amount is earmarked to pay interest on certain debts: and any tampering with it is likely to raise a hue and cry from those who are financially interested. But the country and the people will gain in other ways. The anomalies connected with her position, of which I wrote in a recent issue of this *Review*, in an article entitled 'Egypt's Impending Fate,'[1] automatically disappear. The establishment of a British Protectorate in name as well as in deed, will free them from the vexations and injustices of the 'capitulations.' The subjects of foreign Powers are certain to cease to enjoy that immunity which these cessions gave them. The Diplomatic and Consular Agents of the various Occidental governments will not be able to shield their nationals from the punishment that the law otherwise would inflict upon them. The abolition of the 'capitulations' will give that security to the Egyptian in his dealings with Westerners that he has so far lacked. One of the most important charges brought

[1] *The London Quarterly Review*, October, 1913, p. 209.

against the state of affairs in Egypt as they existed previous to the establishment of the British Protectorate, was that Egyptians could not obtain justice when they were involved in disputes with Europeans and Americans. The disappearance of the juridical anomalies, therefore, are not lightly to be valued.

Quite apart from this, Egypt will gain from having a progressive Ruler placed at the head of her administration. The new Sultan—His Highness Hussein Kamel Pasha—is known to be a great believer in education and reform. In the course of an interview that he accorded to a representative of *The Times* (London), he made it clear that, after the present struggle is over, he intends to devote himself to constructive work. He said:

> 'If I can succeed in inspiring the people of Egypt with some of that civic spirit which the young nations of the British Empire have displayed, I shall be content. To reach that goal education is required—not mere book learning, but social and moral training which men learn first from their mothers. Female education is what the country really needs, and if I am in some things a Conservative I am a Liberal in this.
>
> 'I believe there is a great future for my country. Once the disturbance caused by the war has ceased Egypt will be a centre of intensive cultivation, moral as well as material. Remember we have three great assets—the Nile, the Egyptian sun, and above all, the Fellaheen (peasantry) who till the fruitful soil of Egypt. I know them well and love them. You will not find a race of men more accessible to progress, better tempered, or harder working. They need paternal guidance to direct them on the road traced by the founder of the dynasty, the great Mehemet Ali. With education, they will be a fine people. Would I were ten years younger, but be assured I will do all in my power for Egypt and her people in the years that God will be pleased to grant me.'

It is my belief that after the war ends a new political era will dawn upon Egypt. It is not too much to expect from Britain that she should take steps whereby, within a short time, if not all at once, the Sultan will possess internal sovereignty such as is guaranteed by the British to and exercised by the Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and Buddhist rulers of India.

The inauguration of such a scheme would be an act of the highest statesmanship. It would, at one and the same time, conserve British interests and satisfy the demand for a national government which the Egyptians so insistently press.

The British interests could be partly safeguarded by placing limitations upon the military powers of the Egyptian government—by not allowing the regular army to exceed a definite strength and efficiency, restricting the manufacture of arms and ammunition, and prohibiting the importation of munitions of war through other than British agency; and partly by placing garrisons in Egypt. These provisions would be enough to guard against Egypt cutting the communication between India and Britain, and would insure that the Suez Canal would be kept open. After all, that is the real stake that Britain has in Egypt. That the British are financially interested in the country, and that its services furnish positions to a body of Britons, are secondary considerations to this. So long as the administration of Egypt is entrusted to capable hands, and so long as the British Agent stationed at Cairo is in the confidence of the Sultan's government, the repayment of loans and the payment of interest on debts would be a comparatively simple matter to adjust. As for billets for British youths, opportunities would continue to exist in Egypt, and the world is wide. At any rate, the last consideration is not one that should counterbalance an equitable adjustment of the Egyptian problem.

It is only fair to add that internal sovereignty of the type enjoyed by the Indian States would not satisfy the

ambition of all Egyptians. A section of them will not be content unless and until the British absolutely free their government from all trammels. However, such radicals are in the minority, not so harmful as they are noisy, and therefore may safely be disregarded.

IV

The spirit which the Indian Rulers of all religions and races, and their subjects, have shown during this war, demonstrates the success of the scheme of sovereignty which has been outlined above. It would be beyond the scope of this article to refer to any but the Muslim Rulers. The greatest among them is the Nizam of Hyderabad, who contributed £400,000 (Rs. 6,000,000) to the British war-chest, and issued a proclamation urging his co-religionists not to be misled by the action which the 'Young Turks' called upon the Muslim world to take.[1]

The other Musalman Rulers have also given sums to the various funds opened for the relief of distress caused by the war, and have used their personal influence to prevent Indian Musalmans from being befooled by the Germans.

Few persons in or out of India realize the large area and population that is under the rule of Indian Musalmans. The 'Dominion of the Nizam' constitutes almost 82,700 square miles, and is nearly seven times as large as Turkey in Europe and more than six times the size of the cultivated and inhabited area of Egypt, which is 12,000 square miles in extent. The Nizam's subjects number, approximately, 13,375,000, while the population of Egypt is about 11,000,000. Hyderabad is not so rich in resources as is Egypt. The annual revenue derived by His Highness the Nizam amounts to £3,000,000, or about one-sixth of that of Egypt, which approximates to £18,000,000.

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[1] The text of this proclamation was reproduced by me in the course of my article, 'India's Part in the War,' printed in the January, 1915, issue of this *Review*. See pages 111–112.

The only Indian Muslim Ruler who has travelled in Turkey, and made a personal study of its institutions, is Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.I., the only woman in the entire Muslim world who rules in her own right and name. Quaint humour attaches to the fact that practically the only comment that she has published in regard to her impressions of Turkey is a criticism of the movement for the emancipation of Turkish women. Her Highness, addressing a party of ladies at the capital of her State immediately upon her return from the European trip, in the course of which she visited Turkey, said :

> '. . . I do not much care for the liberty that oversteps the limit of propriety. I am sure that our *purdanashin* (those who sit behind the curtain, that is, veiled) ladies . . . have no idea of the extent of the liberty of the women of Europe. . . .
>
> 'I have no hesitation in saying that that liberty is utterly unsuited to the conditions of this country, and particularly in the case of Mohammedens. . . . We must act on the precious saying of our Prophet, '. . . Take only that which is clean.' Mohammeden women should never think of overstepping the limits placed on their liberty.
>
> 'The Turkish ladies . . . seem to be just a little inclined towards adopting the ways of European liberty, and this gives rise to a fear in my heart that these ways may prove full of . . . dangers to them.' [1]

I do not quote this extract from Her Highness's speech with a view to supporting her in the attitude she has assumed. Practically, the only point upon which progressive people can compliment the 'Young Turks' is the action they have taken in promoting the emancipation of the women of their

[1] From an address delivered on January 29, 1912, by Her Highness, at the Bhopal Ladies' Club. The Translation from Urdu into English was made at the request of the Begum. The version quoted has been slightly edited by me.

land. One of the newest additions to English literature on the subject, *An Englishwoman in a Turkish Harem*, by Miss Grace Ellison, eloquently pays a tribute to the 'Young Turks' for their exertions in this respect.

The staunch loyalty that the Rulers of Muslim States in India, the Malay Peninsula, and Africa have exhibited at this juncture, are certain to be rewarded by the Allies, and, therefore, no one who surveys the present conditions can entertain any apprehension in regard to the destiny of those parts of the Islamic world. But what the future holds in store for Persia is not clear. I had the opportunity of examining the state of affairs existing in the land ruled by the Shah in a recent number of this REVIEW.[1] Therefore, it is not necessary for me to go over the same ground in this article. However, it is not easy to repress the question that rises in my mind as to what effect the victorious emergence of Russia from the present struggle is liable to exert upon Iran. Is it not likely that Slav aggression in Persia, which has been constantly growing greater and greater, will increase still further?

Persia's only hope lies in Britain. Nothing but a definite understanding between Britain and Russia to respect the separate existence of Persia can save the country from being politically submerged. Such an action on the part of Great Britain is demanded by ethics, and it is necessary in the interests of the security of India. A policy of non-intervention in Persian affairs is likely to endear both Russia and Britain to the whole Muslim world.

SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

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[1] 'Persia's Political Peril,' July, 1914, pp. 124–129.

MODERNISM AND THE CHURCH OF ROME

Histoire du Modernisme Catholique. By ALBERT HOUTIN. (Paris: EMILE NOURRY.) 1911.

Studies in Modernism. By Rev. ALFRED FAWKES. (London: Smith, Elder & Co.) 1913.

Der Katholizismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert. By Dr. ALBERT EHRHARD. (Stuttgart und Wien: Roth'sche Verlagsbuchh.) 1902.

Der Modernismus. By KARL HOLL. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.) 1908.

THE movement of thought usually designated Modernism is by all odds the most critical and important fact in the history of the Roman Catholic Church since the Reformation. It is so because it involves not this or that point of doctrine merely, however vital, such as justification by faith; not merely some principle of ecclesiastical government, however central; but the entire Roman view of Christianity as a religion. No one can deny that Romanism would have to be remodelled from end to end if Modernists had their way. On this account we shall do well to confine our thoughts now to Modernism within the Papacy, neglecting that vaguer use of the word in which it has often been employed to indicate the presence anywhere of a liberal and progressive spirit in theology. Our interest is naturally evoked by the spread of less traditional opinions, say, in the Church of England; but for the moment we must put this tempting subject on one side.

It will be of considerable service if at the very outset we try to fix clearly two or three points regarding Modernism as a whole. First, it must be defined. Modernism is the view of theory which recognizes the right of modern thought in the field of theology, and recognizes it on principle. According to Father Tyrrell, it is best conceived in

practice as the exact opposite of Mediaevalism; and Mediaevalism, in its turn, is the view that a vital and indissoluble union subsists between the Christian faith and the scholastic thought of the Middle Ages. It assumes, to put it roughly but in no sense unfairly, that the theological system of Thomas Aquinas, dating from the thirteenth century, is but the technical expansion of the apostolic gospel, and represents a final theological expression of religious truth. Mediaevalism, that is, as the official theory of Rome, stands for a theology that can never change, but abides more changeless even than the eternal hills. To this Modernism makes the rejoinder that theology, which is a human construction, must vary with the times, and as a result of the growth of knowledge. It stands for life and movement in contrast to stagnating death.

Next after definition comes the field of operations. Where did Modernism break out, and what special problems were first raised? The answer to this question is very clear. The modernist point of departure is not found, as might have been supposed, in the realm of theology proper, but in that of history and Biblical Criticism. For several years, ten or fifteen at least, Roman Catholic scholars have been writing good history, of a kind that gained the cordial admiration of their Protestant brethren. Duchesne, for instance, has probably no living rival. But it could not be that able and sincere men should engage in free research without discovering that some at all events of the results prescribed for them by tradition must be given up. Through this breach in the sea-dyke it was that the flood of modern thought poured in, to submerge ancient landmarks. But if the mischief started here, the fundamental problems did not and could not lie in the sphere of history. These belong really to the field of doctrine; in particular they centre in the question of the infallibility of the Church as the basis of Roman unity.

It is interesting to note the proof which Modernism

supplies that the sense of truth, or reality, is like an atmosphere, spreading everywhere, and entering at the most tightly closed windows. It means that even Rome has felt the influence of Protestant ideas. One German Catholic has traced the rise of Modernism in his own country to the effects of Ritschlianism, with what amount of truth it is not so easy to determine. At all events, no one can doubt that in Europe and America there is gradually being formed a common fund of ascertained knowledge in Church history, and that unless Rome is resolved to break off diplomatic relations with the world of thought—a policy she has never yet pursued beyond the point of self-recovery—it must prove more and more difficult for her to avoid the contagion of frank inquiry. One thing besides Modernism has proved. It has proved how inexorably real is the problem of relating Christian faith to the investigations of history. In circles with which we here are more familiar people may now and then be heard to speak of this problem as a quite minor one, of no urgency, but kept alive artificially by needless and provocative discussion. Occasionally you may gather from their language how they envy the Pope his short and easy way with heretics. But we may be quite sure an unreal issue would never have set Romanism on fire. Nor in that case would Modernism have burst out simultaneously, and without collusion, in various European lands. It began in France shortly after 1890, when Loisy's writings on the Old and New Testaments were condemned. It began in Germany about 1895, with the public letters of Kraus. It began very little later in Italy, though at first the movement there was slow. And as for England, by 1897 the mind of Tyrrell had begun to work upon questions which occupied him continuously till his lamented death in 1910. We ought not to miss the spontaneity with which the varied movement took its rise as the result of forces which could no longer be thrust back. These forces, be it remembered, are not those of negation or scepticism merely; they

are due rather to the impact of truth ignored or denied by Romanism hitherto; they are due to the strength of facts; and all facts, when they are once seen, are, in Dr. Rainy's phrase, 'God's facts.' Even Protestantism has often found it hard to admit the significance of new discoveries and fresh points of view, and the task is not likely to be simpler for the more rigid and less spiritual system of Rome.

Historians of an older generation, like Döllinger and Hefele, must be given the credit of wakening a more liberal spirit in Catholic scholarship some sixty years ago. Everything, as we have seen, depends on whether Roman doctrine is bound up indissociably and for ever with the thought-forms of the Middle Ages; and as early as 1863, addressing a Congress of Romanist scholars, Döllinger admitted frankly that mediaeval thinking is one-sided. As he put it, Scholasticism has but one eye; for history, for the process, that is, of becoming and development, it has no eye at all. He also pleaded, though in guarded fashion, for a more hospitable attitude towards modern philosophy.

Every one knows that it has been keenly debated whether Newman is rightly to be counted among the spiritual fathers of Modernism. Like many other questions, this one does not allow of being answered by a simple Yes or No. On the one hand, it is undeniable that the effect of his work was to change in some important respects the line of defence in Roman apologetic. The old theory of an unvarying tradition of doctrine reaching back to the Apostles went by the board when Newman brought forward his theory of organic development. Newman felt, before secession, that certain distinctive Roman doctrines were unknown to the early Church, and after submission it became necessary for him to supply a better vindication of Rome's present doctrine than that offered by rigid traditionalism. Hence in his celebrated *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* he put forth a view amounting to this in substance,

that Christ 'had but committed to His Church certain seeds and germs of truth, destined afterwards to expand to definite forms; consequently, that our Lord did not intend that the teaching of His Church should always be the same; but ordained that it should go on continually improving under the guidance of His Holy Spirit.'[1] Now it has been pointed out that when we think of Tractarianism, as led by Newman, we think at once of the Romeward trend revealed by it in the Church of England; we easily overlook the Protestant leaven introduced by it in the Church of Rome. Such a result was of course certain: men cannot in an hour cast off the influences of youth and upbringing. And so Newman's general attitude to New Testament religion differs in subtle but quite discernible ways from that of most Romanists; it is more intimate, more unqualified, more spiritual. Again, his emphasis on personal experience, on the witness of conscience as the main proof of the gospel is in no sense characteristically Roman; and at one point he has gone so far as to claim for the individual conscience, in special circumstances, the right to disregard a Papal command. Hence I think there is a real sense in which Newman's thought, and especially his conception of doctrinal evolution, may be said to have furnished the seed-plot of English Modernism. He roused and stimulated men who later assumed the leadership of the movement. It was Tyrrell's view that the late Pope, in his Encyclical of 1907, had actually condemned Newman and his ideas, whether voluntarily or not. Be this as it may, and however clear it does seem that Newman stirred some Roman minds out of their dogmatic slumber, it is vain to make him the *conscious* leader of a new school. Nothing can be surer than that he would have disavowed, *ex animo*, the consequences which not a few Modernists, with apparent logic, have drawn from his principles or his works. As an acute writer remarks, he can only be called

[1] Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*, 31.

the spiritual father of Modernism if it is quite understood that children are often very unlike their parents, and that parents cannot be held responsible for everything done by their children.

Recent biographies show that for any Romanist mind in the faintest degree sympathetic to modern thought, the Vatican Council of 1870 was a heavy blow. Two things done there were irreconcilably hostile to the free use of ideas. The principles newly affirmed by the Council pointed to Scholasticism as the classic form of Roman theology for all time. In itself that was painful, but a still deeper melancholy was produced by the dogma of Papal Infallibility. It seemed to make an end once for all of Roman scholarship. What hopes and fears clustered round this subject may be seen from the published letters of Manning on one side and on the other of Newman. None the less it is strange how little either hope or fear has been justified. A few people, like W. G. Ward, would have liked an infallible Papal pronouncement on some topic of faith or morals to arrive each day with the morning newspaper. Others were as obviously in dread lest Rome should cover herself with discredit by a wild manufacture of new dogmas. Nothing of either kind took place. Perhaps the strangest thing about Papal Infallibility is that it has never been used explicitly. Since 1870 no new dogma has been promulgated. The claimed power of pronouncing infallibly on matters of dispute has been held in reserve but at no time put in force.

Not only so, but when liberal Romanists inspected the dogma of Infallibility more closely, it somehow appeared less terrible than had been feared. Thus, it is laid down that the Pope cannot err when he speaks *ex cathedra* on subjects of faith and morals; but then, when *does* he speak *ex cathedra*? Not necessarily, we are told, in the decisions of the Roman congregations, nor even in the most solemn Allocutions or Decrees, issued as they may be with every

circumstance of impressiveness. Attempts have been made to define an infallible utterance—as that it must include a positive doctrine and anathematize the opposite error; but without success. Hence it soon occurred to some of those interested that the obscurity surrounding the use of infallible insight was actually an advantage. It enables the Church to keep clear of embarrassing commitments; since, if a Decree contained anything erroneous, it could later be denied that it had fulfilled the conditions essential to Infallibility. The freer spirits, precursors of Modernism, began to plead that it really suited their policy. For, said they, nothing but what is decided *ex cathedra* is of faith, and to be received implicitly. Anything else will of course deserve respect, and will be submitted to as a disciplinary act, but it will change none of our convictions. Much indeed may be said for the position that the Pope is infallible *only* when he speaks *ex cathedra*, and no one knows when that is. So they went on quietly with their work of reconciling Rome and the modern mind, and at the close of the century the spread of Modernist opinions was fairly rapid.

I have no intention of giving even the briefest historical sketch of Modernism. It is too long a story. But the search for truth, once begun, cannot be kept in leading strings; extravagances will be committed; and not all searchers will come out of the thicket at the same place. Gradually it became clear that Modernism is a name covering the most multifarious opinions. People often differ as to whether a given book is Modernist or no. At one extreme stand men like Ehrhard, the historian, declaring that 'we are all modern men to-day'[1] but offering only the most cautious criticisms on the Scholastic system. At the other extreme are thinkers who drive the symbolic view of truth so hard that even the personality of God dissolves in a fog of metaphor. You have Romanist scholars who write

[1] *Der Katholizismus und das zwanzigste Jahrhundert*, 18.

about the Gospels much as a conservative Protestant might do, and then at a long interval the work of Loisy, which they disown, and whose Gospel criticism outgoes all but the most radical of non-Roman writers. Nor ought we to forget that several fields are being worked. History, theology, philosophy, social science—all have been laboured in. But in spite of excesses, the labourers have everywhere been united by one deep feeling—the wish to get down to the bedrock of personal conviction. Weary of being bidden to accept everything on the sole authority of the Church, men have resolved to look at facts with their own eyes; and what a man has once seen he cannot ever again be quite blind to. They have made up their minds—and no one has written more arrestingly of this than Tyrrell—that religion is the great thing, whereas dogmas and institutions are but the transient media of religious life. Hence if modern men are to be held to Rome, the ways of Rome must be changed, and many traditional forms dating from the immemorial past must be made elastic in a living correlation to experience.

But, it may be said, If this be so, are not Modernists really Protestants under another name? One part of the answer is that they do not so regard themselves. They have been charged with Protestantism by the orthodox, but the innuendo has always been repelled with obvious sincerity. Nothing was less congenial to Father Tyrrell, for instance, than the liberal Protestantism which has recently been so active on the Continent. He very naturally felt it to be a system of religious morality rather than a religion. However harshly he might speak of Rome, to the very end his mentality was Catholic through and through. With all his deep veneration for the truths championed by Protestantism, he professed himself chilled by its lack of tenderness, its hard severity, its implacable rationalism. It might suffice, he said, for one half of the soul—perhaps the best half; but the other half it starves.

A religion for all men must be a religion of the whole man —catholic in depth as well as extension.

Modernists have also been repelled by what they feel to be the excessive individualism of Protestant religious life. With you, they say, it is a case of each man for himself, the infinite supporting power of the whole body of Christ being virtually ignored: the passion for independence makes, or tends to make, of the Protestant an isolated unit, who may believe in corporate Christian life with his intellect but not with his heart. His home is more to him than his Church. I feel it will not do to give this a point-blank denial. No doubt, to select one example, the history of Scotland proves that the Church can evoke sacrifice and devotion of the sublimest type; still, if we take Protestantism as a whole, the partial truth of the charge must be acknowledged. Wherever rationalism prevails, or a form of piety more mystical than Christian, the drift of feeling becomes increasingly apathetic towards the communion of saints, and men tend to live out their religion by themselves, careless of active participation in the collective life and of responsibility for its wellbeing. We have made a fetish of the idea that the true Church is invisible, and known to God only; we have too much failed to mark that the Church of God *ought* to be visible, that men who seek it may know where it is to be found and be drawn into its saving fellowship. These thoughts of Tyrrell may well admonish us to think more highly of Christian solidarity.

Still a third reason why Modernists repudiate the form of religion known as Protestant is its alleged deficiency in sacramental life. To this it may be rejoined at once that in the specifically Roman sense of sacraments we have no sacraments at all. We have no ceremonies, that is, through which redeeming grace is communicated as it were automatically, merely on condition that the rite is correctly performed and that the receiver puts no definite obstacle in the way. To us that seems an unchristian idea,

and I need not pause upon it. But with the Church of the New Testament, we hold and we administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in which the Lord Jesus Christ is present: present in Baptism to cleanse and quicken; present in the Supper to give Himself to believing men as the meat and drink of their souls. No ceremony in the world could offer more than this. Further, it is fair comment that the view of sacraments held by writers like Tyrrell is not the genuinely Roman view in the least. In his hands they become great symbolical appeals to emotion; often, it would seem, with little relation or none at all to the historic Saviour.

It was to be expected that the official Roman Church would take extremely practical measures to deal with the operations of Modernism. The acts of Leo XIII—who, for all his diplomatic caution, was scarcely less hostile to liberalism than his successor—were comparatively mild. But after four years of observation, Pius X took up the work energetically, and events followed each other in a rapid series. In the summer of 1907 appeared two great manifestoes—the Syllabus of July 3 and the Encyclical of September 8. Of these the second is much the more important, as bringing out very clearly the main principles in debate.

The Encyclical derives Modernism as a whole from a quite definite philosophy, to which the Pope gives the name of Agnosticism or Vital Immanence. The agnostic philosophy views religion as a merely human phenomenon, no more objectively true than art, and it sets Christianity on the same level with all other faiths. Tracing religion as they do to a mere impulse of felt need, Modernists are wholly averse to dogma. This makes an end of revelation; it wipes out for good and all the distinction of natural and supernatural; and in particular it undermines the whole conception of Church authority as the final source of truth. We can see for ourselves what the Pope was sure to say on such additional matters as the Modernist theory

of Scripture, of Tradition, of the institution of sacraments by Christ, of the Church. Nothing so offends Rome as the Modernist idea of ecclesiastical authority. They do make a place for authority, since the Church must be kept together; yet authority must be so exerted as to allow for freedom, for intellectual conscience, for doctrinal progress. And in official eyes it is a specially bad feature that the leaders of progress are in part laymen, which is to abolish utterly the essential Roman distinction of laity and priesthood. The Modernist view of history, and of the function of historic criticism, it is held, are based on similar agnostic principles, the whole theory being dominated by the idea of natural evolution. In a word, Modernism is a collection of all the heresies, and no measures must be spared in its destruction. Certain of these methods, delation and espionage, for example, at once became the object of merited indignation and amazement.

At the same time, it must be conceded that Modernist efforts to convict the Pope of injustice in his general sketch of their position have had no success. Of course what the Encyclical has depicted is a type, and no portrait of a type will exactly suit any specific individual. Nor is it surprising that the Pope will make no terms with the theory of natural evolution as a key to the nature and history of the Christian Church. We are also obliged to recognize that if the Pope held this view of what Modernism is, he was not only entitled but bound in duty to adopt the severest measures of repression. The evil thing must at all costs be expelled from the spiritual body into which it had infused its poison. But most people will feel that the anti-Modernist oath, imposed on all clergy in 1910, has laid a nearly insupportable load on the truth-loving Roman scholar. Part of the formula to be sworn to is as follows:—

'I adhere with my whole soul to all the condemnations, declarations and prescriptions contained in the Encyclical *Pascendi* and in the Decree *Lamentabili*, particularly with

respect to what is called the history of dogmas.' It seems the death-warrant of the independent search for truth.

We now turn to the question, no longer to be avoided, whether Modernism is compatible with the existence of the Roman Church. Can the two live together in a single organism? It is significant that men like Tyrrell and Loisy plainly avow the aim of inducing the Papacy to break with its past; Tyrrell indeed has given expression to the view that Romanism, like Judaism, may be obliged to pass through death that it may live again in a greater and more sublime form. As things are, it has reached the intrinsic limits of development and must decrease. He even goes so far as to acknowledge that the Church in its present character, and as it has existed from the second century, had no choice but to reject Modernism. But this is to admit that the principles of Modernism, far from being a prolongation of past tendencies, involve a breach with the centuries. Rome could not possibly assent to a reading of primitive Christian facts that finds in them no more than an impulse or germinal idea, awaiting the evolution of history. For then something far more definite stands at the beginning, something fixed and in itself complete—namely, a divine commission to Peter and his successors in office as the vicegerents of Christ. To say that dogma or hierarchy arose simply in the course of natural evolution, under the influence of ideas working freely and in obedience to laws of their own, is to say that they now present themselves with no more than human authority, and that as evolution moves on their use and value may cease. In the realm of creed and constitution, therefore, Rome can tolerate no open questions. She cannot even permit the right of historical criticism to be discussed, or the claims of lay religion, or the place of separate nationalities within the Church. To her there is one legitimate view, and only one, of religious and theological authority. Either the Pope is infallible or he is fallible; there is no middle way.

A spiritual authority which should rest on the fact of redemption as an experience and attest itself freely and spontaneously to the Christian mind, is for her no authority at all: men are only free to bow under the absolute and unconditioned power of Rome. Compromise is out of question.

The punitive methods of the Pope were of course met, on the Modernist side, by the devices of evasion. These men were unable to change scholarly habits of mind at a moment's notice, and it became necessary to scrutinize the Encyclical with the utmost care with a view to the discovery and enlargement of loopholes. I have already said that some found comfort in the fact that the document deals with a certain type of thought which, as set forth, probably fits no one.

Hence an opening for acute distinctions, which was quickly seized. It could be argued by any given Modernist that the Papal condemnation left *him* untouched, and that a document of whose general tenor he could thus approve still gave him liberty to pursue his scientific work. Others took the line, for which precedents were supplied by the conduct of well-known Romanists subsequently to the Vatican Council of 1870, of making their submission, but in what may be called a Pickwickian sense. 'The priest,' it has been contended, 'submitting himself to a decision of this kind acts simply as an officer does who subordinates his private judgement to that of his general in the field.' The Pope, however, had prepared for this. What he aimed at was a change in opinion, a definite withdrawal of conviction. Manifestly, little of either authority or infallibility would be left if at will the answer could be returned that his pronouncements held good only in the field of external discipline. Accordingly, after a delay of three years, Pius X struck a shattering blow, as we have seen, by ordering the administration of the anti-Modernist Oath to all priests, confessors, preachers, and professors. The Catholic

press strove to soften the blow by urging that the pontifical formula taught no new doctrine, but merely repeated the declarations of the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican, which all priests had before accepted in the seminary. In France, in England, in Italy the oath was taken quietly and all but universally, though with many anonymous protests against a fresh act of violence. Even modernist leaders counselled submission, the only alternative being to secede. And secession was not to be thought of. 'Too many,' said one writer, 'have already left. Scientific liberty has gained nothing and religious liberty has suffered gravely. Though Liberalism and Modernism have the look of being vanquished, they will re-form ere long.'

It would be imprudent to indulge in prophecy as to the future of Modernism. At present, beyond all doubt, the Pope seems to have triumphed, not in the sense that he has convinced his opponents, but in the sense that he has driven them underground. But some general observations may be made.

To begin, we must wish well to a movement inspired by the love of truth. It is a gain to the Christian cause that intellectual candour should flourish and increase; and Protestantism, it is certain, will not grow by the mere weakness and decay of Rome. The Roman Church ministers to so large a portion of the human race that no friend of piety can fail to wish for her a large and growing number of truth-loving minds. Hence it is with pathetic interest rather than applause that we note the Modernist efforts to find chinks and crannies in each new Papal document, through which the claim to free inquiry may creep. It is a short step from this to the position that Rome alone makes true progress possible by stamping out error with infallible authority.

Again, it is well known that some of the best Modernists have set their hopes on the advent of a new Pope. Well, a new Pope has come, and we have still to learn whether

his attitude to liberal thought is more kindly than that of his predecessors. No authoritative statement on the point has so far been made. But it is more important to ask whether any Pope could be a match for the Papal system. The powers of any single occupant of Peter's chair are strictly limited. He has to work under conditions of which the Vatican Decrees, and what is usually called Curialism, form an essential part. If then it might seem as if great things may be looked for from a liberal Pope who should swing the Church on to freer lines in virtue of his personal infallibility, it has also to be remembered that a liberal Pope would not have the faintest chance of election, and that extremely narrow scope is left for his private judgement. He is there to hand on traditions, to prolong the lines of history; and this means a constantly narrowing initiative. To Papalism the whole Modernist effort is absolutely opposed. In Tyrrell's idea, the Pope is but the supreme mouthpiece of truth reached by the universal Christian mind, not a dictator; and each member of the Church, lay or clerical, has a part to do in ascertaining and clarifying the truth to be set forth. But every Pope must condemn this, and it makes not the slightest difference whether he be Leo XIII or Pius X or Benedict XV. To criticize the actual path of development taken by the Church, with Papal Infallibility as its latest outcome, is to exercise private judgement; and *that* means 'accepting the Church's teaching just so long as it agrees with what you on other grounds persuade yourselves to be true.' Modernists use their own minds, and by that act they cease to be Romanists of the pure breed.

Other difficulties, plain enough to the bystander, have been shortly summarized as follows: 'The Modernists have no consistent programme; what they share in common is more negative than positive. Different interests are emphasized, by one party that of science, by another that of piety. Also they underestimate the enormous power of

resistance and the means of compulsion at the disposal of the official Church. Their ideal, too, is self-contradictory, for a Catholic Church, reformed in their sense, would no longer be the body we have hitherto known by that name. And finally, even in their greatest leaders we miss that last and deepest note of personal religion—the thought of justification by faith.'[1] It is impossible not to agree. It will always be easy for the Roman authorities to discredit popularly a band of thinkers who in great part write anonymously, and who have found no agreement as to the positive truth they wish to teach.

Nevertheless, we cannot withhold admiration from great souls like Tyrrell, who have bravely paid the extreme price of sincerity. All honour to men, not unworthy to be named along with him, who to threats and denunciations made reply that they must abide by the truth which they had seen. At least they have left to Rome a legacy of problems. They have bequeathed, too, a disposition and a method which no external force can ever crush. It is not impossible—more we cannot say—that one day their spirit may prevail. They may be weak; but if the world is built on truth and for truth it is certain, in the words of Bacon that 'a lame man on the right road will come to his journey's end sooner than the fleetest runner on a wrong one.'

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

[1] Holl, *Der Modernismus*, 47–8.

THE IMPERIALISM OF NAPOLEON I

THIS paper was arranged for in the spring of last year in view of the approaching centenary of Waterloo, and the disappearance from the stage of European politics of the mighty War-Lord, whose shadow for a decade and a half had rested darkly upon the nations. Nine months ago it appeared to the writer that it would fall to his lot to depict a state of universal war and international upheaval which we in these more peaceful times could hardly realize. But not so was it written in the book of destiny, and in this epoch-making year 1915 we are face to face with an Armageddon more tremendous, and one whose issues will, so far as one may venture to prophesy, be further reaching in their effects, than any of the historic conflicts of the past. In the midst of a great war, insistent as it necessarily must be in its claims upon our attention, it is perhaps a little difficult to place ourselves in a position of mental detachment, whence we may contemplate what may not unnaturally appear to us to be the smaller upheavals of an age gone by.

Yet, even so, the effort is worth while. For the year 1815 witnessed the close of a memorable epoch—an epoch dominated and to a great extent shaped by the over-mastering personality of one supremely great man who, independent of any advantages of birth or wealth or family connexions, by sheer strength of his own genius forced his way to the very summit of human greatness. That the peculiar circumstances of the time contributed to make possible the rise to more than royalty of a cadet of a very provincial nobility may be allowed; but that does not really detract from the greatness of Napoleon, not the least manifestation of whose genius is to be seen in his ability to turn circumstances to his own advantage.

Man of action as he certainly was, Napoleon must none the less be ranked among the world's great dreamers. Waterloo, the centenary of which we commemorate this year, determined that his dream, for all its audacity and glitter, was to remain unrealized, the baseless fabric of a vision. What that dream was it is the purpose of the present paper to discuss, and this discussion should be not entirely irrelevant as an aid to the formation of a critical judgement upon the situation with which we and our Allies are confronted to-day.

The scope of our inquiry will not permit even so much as an outline of Napoleon's amazing career. It is, however, well known that in September, 1793, at that time a mere Captain of Artillery, the young Bonaparte joined the French forces defending Toulon, and immediately gave such proof of what manner of man he was that in less than six months the Captain had become a General, thus setting his foot upon the first rung of the ladder of fame. From this starting-point his upward progress was rapid; with such success did he avail himself of the opportunities of self-advancement afforded by the ineptitude of a series of rulers who vainly attempted to deal with the very difficult situation left by the French Revolution, that in 1799, under the title of First Consul, the Great Adventurer was virtually 'Tyrant' of France, the history of which country, and indeed of Europe also in the main, for a decade and a half is the history of Napoleon. In that history, though not by any means the only, war is the dominating factor. In this connexion it may be of interest to point out that four battles form landmarks in the career of Napoleon: Marengo (1800), which established his unquestioned authority in France; Austerlitz (1805), which gave him undoubted predominance in Europe; Leipsic (1813) and Waterloo, which respectively destroyed the latter and the former. This has been very effectively demonstrated by Prof. Fournier, perhaps the ablest of all the biographers of Napoleon.

During the period 1805-9 Napoleon regularly took the field, and built up the fabric of his empire by force of arms. In his first campaign (Austerlitz) he broke up the old Germanic imperial system, attached the minor States to himself, and established the confederation of the Rhine, which included Bavaria, Würtemburg, and Baden, the rulers of the two former States receiving at the same time the royal title; while Francis of Austria, on the other hand, renounced his own time-honoured title of Holy Roman Emperor Elect.

In his second campaign (Jena, 1806) Napoleon humbled Prussia to the very dust, and by the issue of his Berlin Decrees inaugurated that Continental policy, the main object of which was the conquest of our own country by the strangling of her trade. What this policy in practice really meant was that the economic life of Western Christendom was to continue to exist on sufferance only, and under such restrictions as the would-be Dictator of Europe saw fit to impose. Henceforth economic law was to be displaced, in favour of the political interests of an Autocrat, as the ruling factor of the commercial life of the whole of Europe. This scheme was, of course, but imperfectly workable. It produced a state of unstable social equilibrium wherever the Napoleonic edict was attempted to be put into force, and ultimately contributed not a little to the downfall of its projector.

By the campaign of Friedland (1807) Napoleon forced Russia into his alliance. His power was now at its zenith. The immediate result of Napoleon's victory was the famous Treaty of Tilsit, based upon the resolve of the conqueror to marshal Europe against England. In the following year Napoleon intervened in Spain, where a door had been opened to him by the domestic infelicities of the royal household, at first with so much success that his brother Joseph was enthroned in Madrid. But in its ultimate result the Spanish enterprise wrought disastrously upon the fortunes of Napoleon; it opened a wound which persistently refused to heal, and was a continual drain, alike financial and mili-

tary, upon French imperial resources. In this same year took place the ostentatious meeting at Erfurt, where the Corsican *parvenu* held his court as a sort of Lord Paramount of Europe amid a brilliant circle of attendant kings and sovereign dukes and princes. This glittering *durbar* was the culminating point of Napoleon's all-dominating imperialism so far as externals were concerned; yet signs were not wanting that the Emperor was not quite what he had been at Tilsit the year before. In his dealings with the Czar, for instance, it may be observed that the latter was able to enforce a larger measure of his will than it had been within his power to do at the earlier meeting. The former relations of Cæsar and Czar had been those of conqueror and conquered; their relations at Erfurt can hardly be so described. Napoleon's star had, in fact, already passed its zenith; and its descent had really, albeit imperceptibly, begun. In the following year signs of revolt against the Napoleonic tyranny had become manifest in Spain, henceforth to be a constant element of weakness and anxiety, and in Austria, where revolt for the moment was nipped in the bud by Napoleon's victory at Wagram. But, disguised or undisguised, the liberation movement against the new imperialism was, from this time forward, an operative factor in European politics.

Interesting as it would be to consider more fully some of the points touched upon in the preceding paragraph it would be somewhat foreign to our present purpose to do so. We shall rather attempt to gain a glimpse of that glittering vision which lured the Great Captain on from campaign to campaign, to the very summit of human fame and to the lowest deep of human impotence, and ultimately flung him bound and helpless upon a lonely rock in the South Atlantic.

We can perhaps hardly do better than take as a starting-point the style adopted by Napoleon, when, already absolute sovereign of France, he exchanged the republican title of Consul for one more in keeping with those borne by neighbouring

royalties, into whose charmed circle he now claimed the right to enter. It might have seemed that the historic style of King of France was great enough to have satisfied the loftiest ambition of the Corsican cadet who rejected it in favour of the new and less distinctly territorial title of Emperor of the French. In his choice it is almost certain that Napoleon was influenced by a combination of motives. It would appear that, like Caesar and Cromwell, considerations of prudence made him hesitate to adopt the kingly title. The army, with whose whole-hearted support he could by no means dispense, was republican in sentiment; the miseries endured by generations of Frenchmen since the time of that brilliant monarch Louis XIV, and the degradation of the monarchy under his successors, had at last rendered the very name of king hateful to France. The children of the Revolution might very well have been roused to revolt by the adoption of the unpopular title on the part of a ruler recently risen from the ranks, and whom in consequence they regarded as one of themselves and as the mouthpiece and representative of the new ideals. Under these circumstances the counsels of prudence were distinctly against the reintroduction of the kingly title so soon after its abolition in France.

There is so much in a name by reason of its associated ideas that as between the alternative designations of emperor or king, under the circumstances then prevailing in France, the former was certainly the more prudent choice. The title was moreover, on other grounds, peculiarly fitting. The word *emperor* is, of course, simply the Latin *imperator*, a title military in its origin, and of which perhaps the nearest English equivalent is *general*. Napoleon was essentially a military sovereign, his court was predominantly military in character, and his power rested upon a basis of military success. It was, therefore, not altogether inappropriate that, when it came to the choosing of a title, under which should be known in future the new military ruler of France, a title originating in the camp should be that finally selected.

That the foregoing considerations were not without weight in determining Napoleon's choice of title is hardly to be doubted; but still less is it open to question that other and graver considerations lay behind, for the better appreciation of which it is necessary that we should consider a little more fully the deeper significance of the imperial title. It is at the present day perhaps a little difficult to realize the almost supra-human import which the word *Emperor* once possessed as a title different in kind from all other regal titles, and as indicating that its possessor occupied a position apart from and wholly above all other kings, enjoying a dignity unapproached by that of any other man on earth, save one alone. The title of *Emperor* has become vulgarized to-day; it is borne, not without dignity, by divers great European monarchs, including our own; but it is also applied to sundry dusky potentates of little weight among the nations, such, for instance, as the Lords of Abyssinia and Morocco; it is also borne by the Mikado of Japan, and until recently by that mere shadow of a king, the so-called Emperor of China. Hence it comes to pass that the imperial title stands for very little at the present day, except that it suggests, though not invariably, that its bearer occupies a place among the higher rank of kings.

This, however, has not always been the case. In the Middle Ages it appeared to be in the natural and necessary order of things that at the head of Christendom should sit two great chiefs, the representatives upon earth, in things spiritual and temporal respectively, of the King of kings. These were the Holy Roman Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. These, as the Vicegerents of the Eternal, were the two swords of which our Lord Himself said, 'It is enough.' They two, so men thought, sufficed, under God, for the supreme governance of the Christian world. The Pope is with us still, even yet in theory what he was a thousand years ago; the Holy Roman Emperor has passed away for ever. The point, however, which we should clearly bear

in mind is that the mediaeval Emperor was not merely one of a group of greater sovereigns, but a man apart, a unique personage, who by reason of the almost supra-human dignity with which he had been invested, was seated far above all other lay authority and every other earthly throne. The kingly office was national and local, the imperial was non-local and supra-national in character. So august indeed was the imperial office that in relation thereto mere earthly distinctions, as of race and birth, were held of none account; and, in theory, unrestricted by those limitations which might be in keeping when succession to a local and national throne was in question, the greatest position upon earth to which a layman might aspire was open to any Christian man of free birth. A like theory, more fully realized in practice, it may be remarked in passing, obtained in respect of candidates for the throne of St. Peter.

This is not the place in which to tell how, on Christmas Day, 800, the Holy Roman Empire came into being. The new Lord of the World was Charles, or Karl the Great, King of the Franks. Now it is undoubtedly true that from the Franks modern France has derived her name, whence it used to be not infrequently inferred that Charles was a Frenchman. He even acquired a French appellation, Charlemagne, now happily almost gone out of fashion, under which he masqueraded too long. That the Lord of Aachen and Rome was no Frenchman, but a German, it was part of the late Edward Freeman's mission in life to protest again and again. But though the first Emperor was a German king, and the Empire itself became still more definitely German in character under Otto I, it was never conceived of as a German, but always as the Holy Roman Empire, the head of which was regarded as being the heir, not of Hermann, but of Caesar Augustus. Of this fact the very word *Kaiser* itself affords a continual reminder.

But 'the French delusion,' as Freeman was wont to call it, persisted long and died hard; and it was, and may

be still in certain quarters, an article of faith to a patriotic Frenchman that at some time or other, date probably unspecified, the King of Paris ruled as Emperor and Lord of the World. That this way of looking at things—whether he really knew better it were bootless to discuss and impossible to determine—was not without influence upon Napoleon's choice of title may be taken for granted; it would also appear to have contributed not a little to his dream of world-power as an appanage of his imperial state. In other words the Corsican *parvenu* aspired to be, in the nineteenth century, what Charles the Great had been a thousand years before, no mere king among other kings, but a man apart, exalted far above common royalty and local kingship.

How far this mediaeval idea of empire had developed in his mind when Napoleon assumed the imperial title it is not altogether easy to say, though his words and actions alike inform us that almost from the first it was at least beginning to take shape. So early as 1804, the year in which he placed the imperial crown upon his own head, the self-made Emperor remarked, 'There will be no peace in Europe till it is under the command of a single leader, under one Emperor with kings for his officers, who will distribute kingdoms to his generals'—or words to that effect. These words alone would afford a sufficient indication that the speaker would never be satisfied with the rôle of a national French monarch, content if France did but lead the Powers of Europe, and to find his own greatness in the greatness of the State over which he ruled. Napoleon's ambition, even at this early date, manifestly overleaped all merely national boundaries. By national feeling, patriotism as that term is usually understood, the Corsican seems to have been utterly untouched. For him the greatness and the welfare of his adopted country was not an end in itself, but merely a stepping-stone to greater things beyond—as he conceived greatness, be it understood.

Equally with his words do Napoleon's actions afford somewhat more than a hint as to his own conception of his destined place among rulers. He was proclaimed Emperor of the French in May, 1804; in the September following, four months before his coronation, he paid a state visit to Aachen, and held his Court in the historic palace of that city. In the ancient imperial abode of Charles the Great he lorded it as Emperor among his German subjects, and received their homage. With proud self-conscious, if in somewhat doubtful taste, he signalized his residence in the old home of the Carlings by demanding from Francis of Hapsburg, rightful wearer of the Carling crown, recognition of the rival empire which he had just called into being. For the sake of peace his demand was complied with, and in due course the ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor Elect put in an appearance at Aachen to swell the state of the mighty upstart who aspired to wear the imperial mantle of Charles the Great.

That Napoleon's dream of empire was already shaping itself along some such lines as those indicated, and that he contemplated raising himself to a unique position among crowned heads, a position broadly similar to that enjoyed in a ruder and more credulous age by Charles the Great and his successors, is apparent enough from what has already been said. Some further evidence lends support to the view herein adopted. This carries us back to a still earlier period. For in 1802, when the establishment of the Empire was as yet undreamed of, except perhaps by himself, First Consul Bonaparte had instructed Otto, the French Ambassador in London, to warn the British Government of the possible consequences of a breach of the Peace of Amiens, in the following terms—'The First Consul is only thirty-three, as yet he has only destroyed States of the second rank. Who knows in how short a time, if he were forced to it, he might not change the face of Europe and re-establish the Empire of the West?' An intimation this of the very thing that he subsequently essayed to do. Some years later, when

Napoleon, now firmly seated on his imperial throne, sought to add to the splendour of his Court by peopling it with a titled and hereditary aristocracy, for the more part created by himself, it is well known that the more illustrious of the titles which he conferred were not French but foreign, such, for instance, as the principates of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, and the dukedoms of Dalmatia, Bassano, and Otranto. The fact that Italy, and a little later Poland and Germany, were called upon to furnish titles and revenues to subjects of the French imperial crown, is suggestive enough as an indication of the internationalism of Napoleon's system as conceived by himself; for him at any rate his Empire extended far beyond the frontiers of France, and in so doing reverted to the mediaeval type of imperialism.

The spirit in which Napoleon distributed these foreign dignities to his followers expresses itself in the most unequivocal fashion when, after the expulsion of the Bourbons from Naples, Italy, with the exception of the Papal States, lay at his mercy. In making over principalities and dukedoms to their new French lords Papal suzerainty was set at naught by the man who made and unmade dynasties with a breath, the Pope's appeals being countered with the declaration, as explicit as it was threatening, 'All Italy will be subject to my law. I shall not interfere with the independence of the Holy See, but only on condition that your Holiness shows me the same consideration in things temporal that I show in things spiritual. Your Holiness is certainly Sovereign of Rome, but I am its Emperor' (February 18, 1806). Thus, though in practice it would hardly have occurred to him to do so, a Carling or a Hohenstauffen might have written, but hardly a modern Hapsburg, even though Elect to the Holy Roman Imperial Crown. In this same letter, Napoleon described himself as Emperor of Rome, Emperor of the West, and Charlemagne, who, like the writer, had wielded the sceptre over Franks, Italians, and Germans. Some years later, flushed with victory, Napoleon issued a

decree from Vienna in May, 1809, depriving the Pope (Pius VII) of his temporal power, at the same time annexing to the French Empire such portions of the Patrimony as he had not appropriated in the preceding year. This decree is couched in terms which need no comment, even upon their historical falsity. 'Charlemagne, my august predecessor, Emperor of the French, in conceding certain domains to the Bishops of Rome, assigned them as fiefs only, and Rome did not cease to form part of the Empire.' When at last he became the proud father of a son and heir, Napoleon, a few days after his birth, created the little prince King of Rome, thus closely conforming to the mediaeval usage whereby the heir of the Empire was known as King of the Romans. Thus, in almost every point, Napoleon was at pains to contrast his position with that of the former Kings of France; nor did he spare an explicit declaration to this effect in the remark, 'I am not the successor of the French kings but of Charlemagne, and my kingdom is the restoration of the Empire of the Franks.'

It would be easy to quote further, but enough has been said to afford adequate data for an estimate of Napoleon's own interpretation of his imperial title, and to form a sufficiently clear idea of the dream which the Corsican dreamed, and the ideal of paramount sovereignty which he sought to realize in his own person. The name of Charlemagne was continually upon his lips, and alike the name itself and the connexions in which it was used set it beyond question that he aspired to sit not as *primus inter pares* among the monarchs of Europe, but alone, exalted above all other earthly rule, authority, and power, even as the mediaeval Emperor sate in theory, though oftentimes it was in theory only. He looked to be, moreover, not merely superman, but sole superman; even the supra-humanity of the Pope he could by no means tolerate as in any real sense rivalling his own. In other words, Napoleon planned to be not merely Emperor of France, a territorial sovereign, however great,

or even, though he adopted it as his highest title, Emperor of the French, but an international sovereign, Lord Paramount of Europe and the East, and ruler of kings. This, or something like it, was the destiny which Napoleon sought to realise, but universal sovereignty was in fact unattainable by any single individual, however great; and in his quest thereof the bold seeker lost the crown that he might have worn with honour, and found in exile an untimely grave.

It is impossible here to recount in detail the story of the fall of Napoleon, how, by aspiring higher than it is given to any man to climb, he fell from the dizzy height of human grandeur to which he actually had attained. For the yoke of his despotism pressed so hardly upon the nations that at last they laid aside their mutual jealousies, for the time being welded together by a common hatred and a common fear. Thus, the liberation movement against the Napoleonic tyranny acquired a new character; ceasing to be local or national it became European. The Continental system, running counter, as it did, to those silent economic forces which, even after the rude awakening of August last, we may still believe to be a potent though often an unobtrusive factor in determining international relations, at length produced its inevitable reaction. One immediate consequence of the changed political situation which ensued was the memorable Russian campaign of 1812, the ghastly failure of which was the beginning of the end. The protracted struggle in Spain had meanwhile begun to bear in rank luxuriance its Dead Sea fruit, and to exert an almost intolerable strain upon Napoleon's resources when he had pressing need of all his remaining strength. Emboldened by the disastrous issue of his Russian and Spanish enterprises, Europe at last uprose against her tormentor. The latter, encompassed by a Continent in arms, was beaten to the ground at Leipsic in 1813, and was reduced to impotence by the campaign of France in the following year. Elba was the sequel of this last campaign, a campaign

fought in the Valley of Marne, a district which, after the lapse of a hundred years, has again re-echoed with a more appalling battle-thunder, and has again been darkened by a heavier pall of battle-smoke. The sequel of Elba was the Hundred Days, and the issue of the Hundred Days was Waterloo, where the golden dream of the would-be Lord of the World was for ever dispelled by his stern awakening to the inexorable logic of facts.

The campaign of 1814 is worthy of much detailed study as an object-lesson in the art of war as practised by the most consummate master of that art that the world has ever seen. The Elba episode too is not without an interest of its own—an interest far exceeded by that of the Hundred Days, whose crowded life and manifold activities afford material for a story which as yet, perhaps, has not been adequately told. The creation of an army, the re-organization of a State, a vain attempt to evolve a new government by a fusion of incompatibles, constitutionalism and Napoleonic absolutism—there is material enough here, to say nothing of what has been left out, to provide a subject worthy of the most eloquent pen. Last but not least, the Waterloo campaign is at once a military epic, interesting for its own sake, and a turning-point in World History. For one of the most amazing movements that the annals of mankind can show, a movement all the more amazing by reason of the fact that, in its later phase, it was for the more part the expression of a single will, had come to an end. The long series of what may be called the Wars of the French Revolution, which for more than half a generation had desolated Europe, had at last been brought to a close; a long era of peace had been ushered in, a period destined to witness a measure of material progress and economic development, to which past ages could afford no parallel. It is indeed no small centenary that we celebrate this year.

Of the making of books about Napoleon there is literally no end; and the vast and ever-growing library does but

serve to reveal the perennial interest which his wonderful yet tragic history never fails to inspire. One cannot read the story of his life without being impressed by the fact that he is one of the most conspicuous 'might-have-beens' of history. If, for instance, after Leipsic he had been prepared to come to terms with the enemy in the gate, if even in 1814 he had been more ready to recognize that, for the moment, he could do no more, if the French staff-work in the Waterloo campaign had been more efficiently done, it is impossible to tell how different might have been the history of Europe and of the world. Without plunging into a sea of conjecture which, interesting as the plunge might be in itself, would of necessity lead to nothing, it may be pointed out that one of the causes, which most contributed to make his achievements but the stepping-stone to disaster, is to be found in Napoleon's inability to appraise his own limitations and to estimate the influence of circumstance in shaping the destinies of men. It sounds well, no doubt, to hear a man described as being ignorant of the very word *impossible*; but for all that impossibilities exist, and a prudent man will take that fact into his reckoning. There is, no doubt, an element of the heroic in a man's refusal to admit that his scheme of life is in any way dependent upon circumstance, but the fact remains that circumstance, in one form or other, will contribute not a little to his success or failure in carrying it out. Napoleon set himself a task which it was beyond the power of any man to perform with success, and he lost his all in the attempt. If, even so late as 1814, he had frankly recognized that there were certain bounds within which it was necessary that his ambition should confine itself, had he been content to rest his power upon a national as distinct from an international basis, there need have been no Elba, no Waterloo, no St. Helena; and there would have been a wide-frontiered France. He, however, adopted an uncompromising 'all or nothing' policy, and got the latter for his pains.

Napoleon's career may be briefly characterized as an attempt to revive and make actual in the modern world a theory of empire which belonged to an age that was gone, and which even in the age whence it sprang had been but partially realized in practice. Refusing, in fact if not in form, to be a Frenchman, he flung away the opportunity of winning a place in history not merely as the greatest of a long line of rulers of France, but as perhaps the greatest ruler that the world had ever known. Aspiring to sit above kings as a Lord of the World, he did at the last but goad the world into revolt against himself and his works, and by sheer weight of the opposing mass was slowly pressed to political death. Grasping the shadow of world-power, he lost the substance of undisputed lordship of what was in his day the first of Great Powers. His crass selfishness was perhaps the first cause of his failure. Had the interests of the country over which he ruled been the first object of his care, had it been more to him than personal ambition, he might have served his adopted fatherland as it has been rarely given to an individual to serve a nation, and might have written his name in large letters in the Golden Book of history. But of patriotism, of national feeling, Napoleon seems to have been utterly destitute. Apart from this quality, all other gifts must fail to raise a statesman or ruler to the highest rank of political greatness. In this case the lack thereof made ready the lonely death-bed on the rock of St. Helena, whence, six years after Waterloo, amid the wild tumult of nature, and wilder tumult of soul, the mighty but misguided spirit which had aspired to dominate the world winged its last eagle-flight beyond the sunset into the unknown.

World-power or Downfall might have been the chosen motto of Napoleon; this much, at any rate is certain, he sought the one and found the other. One hundred years have passed away since the curtain fell upon the drama of his life—a tragedy. But history sometimes repeats itself,

and what was in fact, if not in verbal form, the watchword of Napoleon, is to-day the battle-cry of a nation in arms. Yet once more Europe trembles beneath the tramp of armed legions, and a pall of battle-smoke darkens the outlook of every nation under heaven.

Anything like a discussion of the causes or the prospects of the world-war now in progress would, of course, be quite foreign to the purpose of the present paper. It may, however, be not entirely irrelevant to point out that, after the lapse of a century, the world is face to face with Napoleonism, new risen from the dead—though happily, so far as one is able to judge, a Napoleon is lacking to act as its exponent. Among the greater nations of to-day Germany is beyond comparison the most deeply infected with Napoleonism. In politics, commerce, and 'culture' she undisguisedly seeks to dominate the rest of mankind. This aggressive movement has its starting-point and draws its main support from Berlin; for of modern Germanism Prussia is the driving force, dominant alike in politics and war. Her king wears the imperial German crown, and his position does in some sense recall that occupied by Otto I, the true founder of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. The German War-Lord stands to-day for an ideal of world-dominion not unlike that which perished on the field of Waterloo a century ago; but unhappily he does so as the mouthpiece of a people's will in a sense that Napoleon certainly was not. *Weltmacht oder Niedergang* is the watchword of modern Prussia and of greater Germany, even as it was of Napoleon. It may seem for the moment, to quote the phrase of a well-known writer, that Corsica has conquered Galilee. But it is for a moment only; such Victory lacks the elements of permanence and carries within itself the seeds of its own ruin. So the world learned a hundred years ago; so perchance Germany must learn again to-day. As Napoleon at the last found himself face to face with a world in arms, beneath whose relentless pressure he eventually succumbed, so the

revived Napoleonism, with which the world is now at grips, has aroused a spirit of resistance which we believe and hope that it will be unable to lay. The nations, driven to arms in spite of their fervent desire for peace, indignantly refused to be Prussianized, serenely confident that by such refusal they are serving the best interests of civilization, of free institutions, international good faith, and human progress. As it was a century ago, so again we and our Allies are in the field, all unwilling it is true, yet with a clear conscience and high purpose, resolved to fight if need be to the death for interests which are dearer to us than life itself. In our tremendous conflict we are heartened by memories out of the past; for, as we recall how a mightier Master of War than any now in the enemy ranks did but find his doom in the quest after world-power, we grow strong in the thought that they who have sat at his feet, drunk in of his spirit, and would fain wear his mantle, shall find as he found that the path of wanton agression is beset with difficulty and fraught with manifold peril, that, like a will o' the wisp, World-Power ever eludes them, and that Downfall draws near.

W. Ernest Bell.

THE MOSAIC AUTHENTICITY OF THE PENTATEUCHAL LEGISLATION

PROFESSOR LOFTHOUSE'S questions to me in the January number compel an answer. At the same time they give the first opportunity of putting some of the points that are fatal to the Wellhausen case in any English paper read by higher critics, for the critical control of the technical press is so complete that nothing that is really damaging to the German criticism is ever allowed to appear. For this reason I must make the most I can of the space at my disposal, putting my points as briefly as may be, and asking my readers to do me the justice to examine carefully the fuller discussions to which I refer.[1]

I. Professor Lofthouse speaks of 'the text of the Jewish and Christian O.T., the basis of our English translation.' It will be well to clear the ground by dealing with what is here implied. 'The Received, or, as it is commonly called, the Massoretic Text of the Old Testament Scriptures,' say the Revisers, 'has come down to us in manuscripts which are of no very great antiquity, and which all belong to the same family or recension. That other recensions were at one time in existence is probable from the variations in the Ancient Versions, the oldest of which, namely the Greek or Septuagint, was made, at least in part, some two centuries before the Christian era. But as the state of knowledge on the subject is not at present such as to justify any attempt at an entire reconstruction of the text on the authority of the Versions, the Revisers have thought it most prudent to adopt the Massoretic Text as the basis of their work.' They

[1] To economize space I use the following abbreviations :—BS = Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, Ohio, European agents Chas. Higham & Son, 27a Farringdon Street, E.C. ; EPC = Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism ; OP = The Origin of the Pentateuch ; PS = Pentateuchal Studies (all London, Elliot Stock). SBL = Studies in Biblical Law, London, David Nutt.

therefore regard the English translation as merely provisional. And well they might, for the Massoretic is not the only Jewish, still less the only Christian O.T. The Septuagint was the Bible of parts of the N.T., and is to-day the Bible of large numbers of Christians. The Vulgate is a rendering made by the Christian Jerome direct from a Hebrew MS. of his day in the light of Jewish scholarship, though also of other influences. Hence we are not entitled to neglect their testimony if we desire to ascertain what the Jewish and Christian O.T. is, even where our Hebrew presents no difficulties. It is no answer to say that we do not yet possess an authoritative text of the LXX, because in innumerable instances we know or can very easily ascertain the text from the materials at our disposal. Nor is it fair to cite Cheyne's practice. It is of the essence of his method that he alters the text in accordance with a preconceived theory and without regard to the evidence. It is of the essence of scientific textual criticism that it examines all the evidence without any preconception or prejudice and seeks to recover the original text and explain all the available phenomena in the light of the known facts of human nature, scribal habits, and all other material considerations.[1]

II. Turning now to the dispute about the Divine Appellations I find that Professor Lofthouse persists in the statement 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' (p. 182). What are the facts? In Gen. xl.-l (i.e. about a quarter of those parts of the book that mention God at all) Elohim is consistently used by the Hebrew except only in xlix. 18. This will not suit the critics who assign large sections to J, and so they here abandon the Massoretic Text. If therefore the analysis be right, it is not correct that 'the transition from one to the other regularly corresponds to a transition

[1] See OP 17-25, PS 13-18, 128-137; BS, Oct. 1914, Jan. 1915.

from one set of characteristics, stylistic and religious, to another.' The only resource of the critics is to abandon the Massoretic text and alter it in the interests of the theory. True, versional and other authorities insert the Tetragrammaton several times in these chapters, but generally not in J but in E, a supposititious document that does not use the Tetragrammaton. Therefore the critics alter arbitrarily. As to the alleged 'sets of characteristics, stylistic and religious,' it is right to say that these are either imaginary or erroneous, and to refer in support to the works of Dahse, Orr, and the present writer.[1] In these chapters, therefore, the whole case breaks down.

In the other three quarters of the book the critics have to make six textual alterations quite arbitrarily to get rid of the Tetragrammaton in the two Elohistic documents (P. xvii. 1, xxi. 1b; E. xv. 1, 2; xxii. 11; xxvii. 7b), and J uses Elohim at least twelve times and in addition puts it into the mouth of Eve before on his own showing it was known. These facts are habitually ignored or suppressed by the critics.[2] Further, impossible divisions have to be made. Thus xx. 18, which is essential to the comprehension of the preceding verse, is wrenched away because of the Divine name. In xxviii. 21 the whole point of the narrative has to be sacrificed to cut out the words 'and the LORD will be my God' from E. In xxxi. verse 3 has to go for a similar reason, though verse 5 requires its presence, and in xxxii. verse 32 is rendered unintelligible by cutting out verse 31 which is inseparable from it.

Other divisions not based on the Name but necessitated by the theory are equally impossible, e.g. Gen. xxxiv. 25, J writes 'two of' and 'Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren,' while P contributes the other portions of the verse. Then there are clear signs of passages being centuries earlier than the critics suppose. Thus Gen. x. 19, 'as thou goest towards

[1] Especially OP, PS, BS, Jan. 1915. [2] On Skinner's attempts at explanation see PS 58-60.

Sodom, &c.,' can only have been composed when the places named still existed, i.e. at least a thousand years before the earliest critical date for the passage. The legal evidence is similar. The law of Genesis (P, &c.) is earlier than that of Exodus (JE, &c.) on purely legal grounds.[1] Again Skinner claims that the original name of Reuben was Reubel (as in Josephus and the Syriac), that the only plausible explanation of it is 'seen of Baal,' and that the Tetragrammaton is a substitution for Baal in Gen. xxix. 32. As there was no objection to this word till after Hosea's time—i.e. long after J—the view, if sound, destroys the documentary theory, for you cannot say that we are dealing with an author who used the Tetragrammaton, if in truth and in fact he wrote Baal and the Tetragrammaton was inserted long after his death. Finally our textual materials present at least 189 variants from the Hebrew in the Divine Appellations. In a number of places —varying with different writers—Massoretic readings have been admitted by the critics to be inferior. Their position is therefore riddled with self-contradictions and impossibilities. First they abandon a quarter of the text altogether, then they make numerous alterations in the remainder and fail to explain what they leave, then they make impossible divisions, fail to arrive within a thousand years of the truth, throw over their whole theory in favour of an alteration from Baal, and lastly make admissions of the superiority of versional readings. Having done all this they wax virtuously indignant over any suggestion that 'the text of the Jewish and Christian O.T., the basis of our English translation' could possibly be inferior in the Divine Names to any other extant text. It is not too much to say that their theory could not be maintained for a month but for their control of the technical press. Note too that Professor Lofthouse has ignored my invitation on p. 180 to deal with the specific passages in which the theory has been attacked.[2]

[1] See EPC chapter i, SBL. OP *passim*, Murray's *Illustrated Bible Dictionary* articles 'Law in O.T.' 'Crimes,' 'Family.'

[2] See further EPC, OP, PS, SBL *passim* and BS, Oct. 1914, Jan. 1915.

At the same time the Massoretic text cannot stand, for Ex. vi. 2 *f.* is contradicted by Genesis. Dahse's theory is also untenable. Fortunately, however, recent work has suggested a view that explains all the phenomena alike of the Massoretic text and Versions and also many other features in Genesis and other books in a thoroughly satisfactory manner. This will be found stated in BS January and April, 1915.

III. Having torn the Pentateuch to pieces in the method described, the Wellhausen critics proceed to reconstruct the history on the basis of a most extraordinary confusion. In Hebrew antiquity, probably all joint worship was sacrificial. A custom existed by which any layman could and did offer sacrifice, using an altar that consisted of a cairn of earth or stones or a single large stone (e.g. Judg. xiii. 19, 1 Sam. xiv. 35, &c.). Moses by his legislation recognized and regulated this custom. He provided that such altars must be made of earth or unhewn stone. They were not houses, nor will they become so on being called sanctuaries by the German critics. Side by side with them exists a House of God (Ex. xxiii. 19; xxxiv. 26, &c.). The altar at such a House was a totally different kind of structure: it had horns, and these could not be fashioned of earth or unhewn stone. This is but one of many differences (detailed in EPC 181 f.), but it is sufficient for the present purpose. Anybody who has ever seen a picture of the great altar of burnt-offering on the one hand and a cairn altar or indeed a mere stone or mound on the other, will realize how impossible it was for a contemporary to confuse the two. To take a parallel: an undergraduate may speak of and wear cap and blazer, cap and ulster, cap and gown within a very few hours, and no contemporary could confuse the three different kinds of headgear designated by the word 'cap.' But if some three thousand years hence foreign professors of an entirely different civilization should attempt to recover a picture of our life and customs by piecing together occasional allusions

it is extremely likely that they would confuse them. And so it has been with altars. No contemporary could confound Naaman's earth or Manoah's rock with the great altar of burnt-offering, or think it necessary in speaking of the one to qualify his language by reference to the other; but when modern professors say in effect 'an altar is a sanctuary, and a sanctuary is a House of God, therefore every altar is or implies a house,' the direst confusion ensues. Naaman's earth, for example, was not a sanctuary nor did it imply a House. Now let us illustrate this. Ex. xx. 24–26 recognizes a plurality of lay or cairn altars. The critics call these sanctuaries, and draw such inferences as those contained in the following extracts from Carpenter and Harford-Battersby's Hexateuch (I, p. 55 f.). 'The Judgement Book, Exodus xxi. 6, ordains that the master shall bring his slave "to God"; there at the door of the sanctuary, the centre of the administration of justice, the master shall bore his ear through with an awl, affixing it momentarily to the doorpost, so that under the authority of religion he becomes a slave "for ever." The corresponding law in Deuteronomy, xv. 12–18, introduces some interesting modifications. . . . But it omits all reference to "God." The doorpost to which the slave is attached is that of the householder's own dwelling. The public and official ceremony is converted into a private and domestic incident. The meaning of the change is not obscure. The law of Exodus belongs to a code which admits a plurality of sanctuaries: the Deuteronomic principles recognize but one.' Note this: the cairns have been called sanctuaries, thereupon the critics mistake them for houses and proceed to pin the ears of slaves to their doors or doorposts, and then they construct a theory of development on the basis of their own confusion. So far back as 1904, I pointed out that altars would not become houses and develop doors or doorposts on being called sanctuaries (SBL 25 ff.), but the critics have never admitted

their error, for it is too humiliating.[1] On this basis they reconstruct the whole history of Israel, for it is this which is the foundation of what Wellhausen has called his 'whole position.' This is traced in detail in the sixth chapter of EPC, and here I need only answer points which Professor Lofthouse could never have made if he had studied that chapter carefully. Once he has grasped this he will not complain that no distinction is made in Dt. xii. or elsewhere between different kinds of altars.

Ex. xx. 24 is expressly limited to '*all the* place where I shall cause my name to be remembered.' That this is legally the only possible construction of our Hebrew is shown in EPC 184 ff[a]. Consequently it only authorizes sacrifice in the desert and the land of Israel. Thus David is driven out of the inheritance of the Lord with the words, 'Go, serve other gods' (1 Sam. xxvi. 19), and when Naaman wishes to serve Him abroad he has to obtain Canaanitish earth which would possess exterritoriality, and there are other passages (EPC 220–226). The Exile consequently put an end once for all to such lay sacrifice, and accordingly post-exilic authorities attempting to interpret the law and the narratives not historically but in the light of the knowledge and circumstances of their own day were extremely puzzled. This explains the views of the Chronicler and many other phenomena.

Then Professor Lofthouse charges me with propounding two hypotheses: (1) that there was only a single lawful House, and (2) that P deals with procedure at that House. The two hypotheses are only two parts of the truth. If e.g. JE enacts that 'thou shalt bring the first of the first ripe fruits to the House,' P treats of what is to be done with them when they are brought there. Of course P says nothing about procedure at the lay altars which was known to all laymen and regulated by custom. Its basis in these matters is to be found in such phrases as '*if* a man bring

[1] See BS., Oct. 1912, 642 ff. [2] Cp. BS., Oct. 1907, 634 f.

near a sacrifice,' leaving aside the question of when he would do so. It is quite untrue to say that 'P speaks of all sacrifices as being brought to the House.' It is equally untrue to say that there is a provision in Dt. (xviii. 6) 'for the "disestablished" Levites from the local sanctuaries.' There is no suggestion whatever in the passage either of 'disestablishment' or of 'local sanctuaries.'

I am also charged with not having really attacked afresh the whole problem of the development, &c., in my writings. Yet I specifically referred on this point to PS. 280–289. I can only regret that one who objects to accusations of ineptitude and exhaustive ignorance should think it wise or scholarly to follow the usual higher critical practice of never reading the writings on which he passes judgement.

IV. Coming to the question of 'P,' we have first to note that the 'document' was disentangled by the methods described in II. and was dated by those explained in III. Let us look at some of the results.

Assuming 'P' to be an exilic or post-exilic document, the critics proceed to lay down that it is really legislation intended for that age served up in Mosaic dress, and that the Tabernacle is really a projection of the second Temple. All the references to the wilderness, &c., are merely so much make-up. In reality we are to think of the times of Ezra as the historical background of the Priestly Code which is to be regarded as midway between Ezekiel and the Chronicler.

In reply to this I refer to pp. 292–326 of Orr's *Problem of the Old Testament*, which the critics have never dared to answer in detail, and in addition I summarize some of the points in my own writings to which a similar remark applies.

The priesthood is conceived as so simple that it is vested in a family consisting of one man and his sons. At the same time a whole tribe is set aside for duties of porterage and little else. They are to carry about the tent of meeting, i.e. the projection of the second Temple! What earthly

bearing could such regulations have on the post-exilic age? Is it really credible that anybody expected the Temple to be taken to pieces, carried about, and set up again, at odd times without rhyme or reason? Or does Professor Lofthouse imagine that if a post-exilic Levite read regulations to that effect applying ostensibly only to the Tent of Meeting during the period of the wanderings, he would understand thereby that he was to perform in the second Temple many centuries thereafter duties which, according to 'P,' would incur death for him? For that is what it comes to. In their haste to establish their theory the critics have overlooked the fact that the Chronicler is *not* in accord with P as to the duties of the Levites, and assigns to them tasks that would have been visited with death by P.[1]

Or take the case of the leprosy regulations. At a time when the great majority of the Jews were living in Babylonia or Egypt what could be the meaning of such laws as those of Lev. xiii. f.? 'How could such regulations conceivably occur to the mind of any sane man during or after the Exile, when the bulk of the Israelites were in Babylonia and there were important Jewish colonies in Egypt and elsewhere? And if the theory is absurd when it is applied to men, what are we to say when we read of leprous garments (Lev. xiii. 47 ff.)? Was a man to make the pilgrimage from Babylonia to Jerusalem to consult a priest about a doubtful garment? And what about the leper's offerings in chapter xiv.? Could they conceivably have been meant to apply to such circumstances?' (OP 76). Again, 'the Israelites are represented as being so closely concentrated that they will always be able to keep the three pilgrimage festivals. One exception only is contemplated, and that is singularly instructive: 'If any man of you or of your generations shall be unclean by reason of a dead body, or be on a journey afar off, yet he shall keep the passover unto the Lord: in the second month on the fourteenth day at

[1] PS *loc. cit.*

even they shall keep it' (Num. ix. 10 f.). That is the one and only passage in which attention is given to the possibility that the Israelite may be unable to present himself at the religious centre on one of the three pilgrimage festivals. Now consider what the circumstances of P's age were. The great bulk of the Jewish people were in Babylonia, but there were also numerous colonies in other countries, notably Egypt. A relatively small proportion of the Jews were to be found in Palestine. For by far the greater number, attendance at the Temple on any occasion whatever was entirely out of the question. The suggestion that this law belongs to that age is therefore grotesque. But let nobody conclude hastily that this is a remark applicable merely to this passage—which the critics with unconscious humour assign to a *late stratum of* P! Except in this one instance, *the entire priestly code from first to last assumes that the whole people are always quartered within easy reach of the religious centre.* Let him who can, fit this into the circumstances of the Exile!' (OP, p. 119). 'It has been shown that the duties of the Levites in P are such as would be impossible in any age other than the Mosaic, seeing that nobody could expect a temple to be taken down, carried about, and set up at sundry times: we have also seen that P, if construed in the fashion of the critics, visits with death the performance of functions assigned to them in the second temple. We must add that the Ark had ceased to exist, so that the arrangements for its construction and transport are a little belated. But it is not only in these points, important as they are, that P betrays its true historical setting. Read the account of the war with the Midianites (Num. xxxi.) and the elaborate provisions as to the booty. Can any reasonable being suppose that such commands could have had any meaning at all in the days of the Exile or of Ezra and Nehemiah? When and where were the Jews to win victories and acquire booty? And how about the unions with Midianitish virgins authorized by verse 18?

Was there any danger of the post-exilic age which appeared more menacing to the religious leaders or called forth more energetic opposition from them than these foreign unions? Or, again, pass to the last chapter of Numbers and consider the historical setting. What is the complaint urged by the deputation that waits upon Moses? It is this. If heiresses "be married to any of the sons of the tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their inheritance be taken away from the inheritance of our fathers, and shall be added to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they shall belong." What a pressing grievance for a legislator to consider and redress when tribes and tribal lots had long since ceased to exist for ever!

'It is no better if we turn to the hierarchical organization proposed. Urim and Thummim were not used after the Exile. In lieu of the simple conditions—a small number of full priests and a body of Levites—we find a developed hierarchy, priests, Levites, singers, porters, Nethinim, sons of Solomon's servants. The code that *ex hypothesi* was forged to deal with this state of affairs has no acquaintance with them. The musical services of the Temple are as much beyond its line of vision as the worship of the synagogue. Even such an organization as that betrayed by the reference in 1 Sam. ii. 36 to the appointment by the high-priest to positions carrying pecuniary emoluments is far beyond the primitive simplicity of P. And if we turn to the individual sacrifices it contemplates, we find only fresh evidence of early conditions. If a man bring a burnt-offering, he is to kill and flay it himself! There are similar rules in the case of other sacrifices. Now test this by reference to such sacrifices as those of Solomon (1 Kings viii. 63). Is it conceivable that, as luxury and refinement increased and as the number of victims offered were multiplied, the well-to-do classes would themselves kill and flay the animals? Can we believe that they would have either the inclination to act thus or the power of killing a large number of victims

single-handed in any reasonable space of time? The more this is pondered the easier it is to see how it came about that heathens performed services of this kind in the temple of Solomon, and the more intelligible do the changes of Ezekiel and the representations of the Chronicler become. In truth here, as elsewhere, P shows us the conditions of the earliest age: and subsequent changes were due to the impossibility of applying such regulations without modification to the circumstances of more advanced periods.

'One other piece of historical evidence must be mentioned before we pass to the next division of the conservative case. If this law was really forged about the time of Ezra, how came it that the latter so fundamentally mistook its object? The statements of P constantly show that its provisions were meant only to reach the people through the teaching of the priests (Lev. x. 11, &c.; cp. Deut. xxiv. 8; xxxiii. 10, &c.). How then are we to explain Ezra's conduct in reading the whole law to the people?' (OP 121–123.)

Professor Lofthouse asks whether Ezekiel knew P. 'Now there is an important passage in which the prophet comes as near to a direct statement that he knew P as it was possible for any author to come who lived before the critical theory had been invented. In xxii. 26 we read: "Her priests have done violence to my law, and have profaned my holy things: they have put no difference between the holy and the common, neither have they caused men to discern between the unclean and the clean," &c. I turn to P and I read, "And ye shall put difference between the holy and the common, and between the unclean and the clean; and ye shall teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses" (Lev. x. 10 f.; cf. the following chapters). What can Ezekiel possibly have meant, save that there was to his knowledge a law in existence which dealt with the topics of P, and used the language of P, and like P was to be taught to the people by the priests? Other phrases might refer

to H: but here we have the clearest possible indication of the existence of P. If words have any meaning at all, Ezekiel knew of a law of unquestionable authority which had been violated by the priests' (OP 180 f.).

I therefore answer Professor Lofthouse's questions as follows:—Subject only to textual criticism,[1] the legislation of P is Mosaic, i.e. contains laws written or dictated by the man Moses in the language he used. But much of it was intended to reach the people only through priestly teaching, and therefore while it was undoubtedly known to a priest like Ezekiel it ought not on its own showing to have been directly known to most people in post-Mosaic times. Ezekiel held it to be of divine origin while recognizing that circumstances had changed and new conditions arisen, and his schemes were directly inspired by it.[2] Van Hoonacker has shown that he took his idea of the arrangement of the land of Israel from that of the desert camp. I have pointed out that he derived his idea of a distinction between the sons of Zadok and the other priests from the old desert distinction between the Aaronic priests and the Levites, and have shown the probability of his having taken the idea of a prince from the earlier text of Deut. xvii. (preserved in Septuagintal authorities), which knows nothing of a kingdom.[3] The corpus of Pentateuchal (not Jewish) law was never enlarged between Moses and Ezra or at any time after Moses save by glosses which found their way into the text through the methods familiar to textual critics. Many of these can be removed by the aid of the versions which, in some cases, appear to be derived from better texts than the ancestor of our Massoretic Hebrew. In particular the Egyptian

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[1] See PS BS, Oct. 1914, Jan. 1915, *The Pentateuchal Text* (London, Elliot Stock).

[2] On Hosea, see OP 131 f.

[3] It is imperative that Professor Lofthouse should at last read PS and OP before writing further. He will there find answers to the questions which will arise on these statements but must for reasons of space be left untouched here.

Hebrew from which our LXX is ultimately derived probably branched off in the days of Jeremiah. Jewish law, on the other hand, must have grown and changed with circumstances, and we have seen some instances of this.

HAROLD M. WIENER.

REPLY BY PROFESSOR LOFTHOUSE

IT is impossible to refer to the numerous points raised in the foregoing paper in a note, and the editor informs me that in this number of the *London Quarterly Review* the subject must be regarded as laid to rest. I must therefore content myself with the briefest of remarks. Mr. Wiener accuses me of not reading what he has written. I am almost tempted to have recourse to the audacious suggestion that he has not read what has been written by myself in the January *London Quarterly Review*, nor the writings of the acknowledged protagonists among those whom he indites, nor the Bible itself. For in the first place his references to the M.T. and to the 'lay altars' will be found to have been answered in my note (if I may express myself with some decision) in January. Secondly, the complaint about the neglect of the distinction between the divine names in Genesis, chaps. xl. to l., will be seen to be left without any basis by any one who consults Skinner's Commentary on Genesis, page xlix., with reference to xli. 32b and 38; xlii. 28; xliii. 28, 29; xliv. 16, the only cases in question! The same must be said about the other passages to which reference is made, e.g. iii. 1 ff. and iv. 25: *cf.* Skinner, p. 100; Gunkel on Genesis, pp. 16, 26.[1] So far from 'abandoning the theory for a quarter of the text together' or 'failing to arrive within a thousand years of the truth,' Skinner and his fellow workers show that the few cases of exception which occur are quite insignificant and often susceptible of explanation (see also Driver's Commentary on Gen. on xv. 1, 2. And the writers of the same school have made it quite clear, first, that to them P. is as little a 'forgery about the time of Ezra' as to their critics, and secondly that the laws it contains are of varying ages, some of them very ancient, Ezra being the collector and promulgator and not the writer. It is clear too that the codifiers of P. had a comparatively small community around Jerusalem in mind; on the traditional view, the difficulty about going to the priest would force us to conclude that the laws in question were never obeyed at all after Israel had crossed the Jordan. But if they were intended simply for the desert community, why is the 'house' mentioned in Lev. xiv. 34 ff. (See PS, 247.)? And whatever else may be said of P, he can hardly be said to show primitive sim-

[1] Cf. also Kittel ap. Skinner, 'Divine Names in Genesis,' p. 268.

plicity (in spite of PS, 248), as compared, for example, with Exodus xxi.–xxiii. (the 'Book of the Covenant').

Lastly, if 'Moses wrote or dictated the laws in P' (a statement for which no proof is given in the preceding article or indeed elsewhere), what is to be made of the Prophets? How could Ezekiel have ignored so much of what in the traditional view he knew to be written or dictated by Moses (PS, pp. 277 ff., does not really answer this difficulty)? How could the Prophets have attacked ritual as they did, without a single recognizable reference to the ritual laid down so carefully in P? And how could Jeremiah imply that no precepts about ritual had ever been given by Moses at all (vii. 22 f.)? Either the priests must have kept P to themselves only too well, or the Prophets must have been extremely ignorant or extremely disingenuous. It is as hard to believe this as it is to believe that one and the same writer could have informed his readers that Abraham induced his own wife to play a rather unworthy trick on Pharaoh, that later on she became a mother at an exceptionally late age, and then that still later Abraham himself employed the same ruse with Abimelech (Gen. xii. 10 ff.; xvii. 17; xviii. 11; xx. 2)!

But I must say no more. The scope of the discussion has considerably widened since the original paper on the specific work of Dahse. But I must still claim that nothing has been said, in these pages or elsewhere, to lead us to abandon the MT., as our most trustworthy guide to the original text, for any of the types of the LXX, or to surrender the view of Israel's history which claims that, in Prophets and Law alike, Jehovah was patiently leading the Israelites by a progressive revelation, 'line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little,' to the fulfilment of both in Christ.

W. F. Lofthouse.

ST. PATRICK, APOSTLE OF IRELAND

ALTHOUGH Patricius Magonus Sucatus became the patron Saint of Ireland, he was not an Irishman. There was not a drop of Celtic blood in his veins. He was not even born in Ireland. In 389 he saw the light in Bannaventa. Whether this Roman settlement was on the banks of the Clyde or the Severn or located in Gaul is a matter on which historians still hold different opinions. But whatever uncertainty may surround the place on which St. Patrick's cradle rested, he assuredly lived and laboured for the Irish folk and he died and was buried in Ireland. The name Patricius implies high rank or nobility. His father, Calpurnius, was a deacon in the British Christian church, a member of the nearest municipal council and a landowner. His mother's name was Conscssa. Seeing that he was the son of the manse, and started life with some mental and moral advantages, it is surprising to read in his own Confession that his education was very imperfect, and that his youth was marred by folly and warped by some sin, the sting of which continued to trouble him.

One day, in his sixteenth year, he saw the waters which stretched before his native village black with the hide-covered coracles of Irish marauders. They had come as was their custom to plunder their British neighbours and to carry their sons and daughters away into slavery. Patricius was captured and sold to a King of Connaught, who took him, to use his own description, to 'one of the ultimate places of the earth.'

It was while in that far country feeding his master's swine that, like another prodigal, he came to himself. Alone amongst the hills, his heart grew soft with the thought of his home and yearned for its familiar faces. But as there

was no hope that he would ever see the face of his earthly father again, he turned in his solitude to seek the face of his father's God. Before the heather was coloured by the dawn, he was kneeling down upon it to pray. He would offer as many as a hundred prayers within the day—he tells us—in the sunshine or in the storm. At least three of them were answered. His sins were pardoned; after six years of slavery, he escaped to freedom and he saw his British home once more.

Between this British youth and the Hebrew Joseph there were several points of similarity. Both were dreamers; Both were slaves in a foreign land; and both became the benefactors of the land of their bondage. In every crisis of his career the will of God was revealed to Patrick in some vision of the day or dream of the night. When watching over his herds in the wilds of Connaught, he heard a mysterious voice announcing: 'Behold, thy ship is ready,' and after a perilous journey of one hundred and eighty miles to the Wicklow coast he found the vessel of his dream awaiting him. At first the captain refused to allow him to go aboard —he had no money. He was only a runaway slave. But eventually, under some compelling influence, the master permitted him to have a place on the deck amongst a pack of wolf-hounds. He was to have them in charge and so work out his passage to Gaul. How far inland he travelled with the dogs, or indeed what was the length of time that he remained altogether on the Continent, it is impossible to determine with certainty. He probably went to Italy. He had a severe struggle for a livelihood. His piety was tested by contact with heathen tribes, and before he left the shores of Gaul he was received within the Monastery of Lerinus—a seat of learning, a house of prayer, and a school of discipline.

At last the day came when he was free to revisit his home. His joy was shadowed. His parents were dead, and the friends of his youth were scattered. When in Connaught and Gaul he had a premonition that some special vocation

was in store for him. While surrounded by the scenes of his boyhood he heard the Great Call. In a vision Victoricus, 'a man of Dalriada,' stood by him with a bundle of letters in his hand. 'He gave me one of these,' says Patrick, as he reviews the scene in his Confession, 'and I read in the beginning of the letter: "The Voice of the Irish—we pray thee, holy youth, to come and again walk among us as before."' The appeal pierced him to the heart. He could not refuse to respond to it, and yet diffidence held him back as he remembered his lack of culture and his flight from the service of his master.

From this memorable day he knew his destiny. Shortly after this vision, he returned to Gaul and became an inmate of the religious house at Auxerre, where, under the influence of Amator, the Bishop of Northern Gaul, and Germanus, his successor, he was made ready for his appointed task. For some reason his mission was deferred. When one favourable opportunity occurred, Palladius was selected by Pope Celestine to minister to the Scots, and it was not until his death that Patrick was consecrated and sent forth as the Bishop of Ireland.

At the time Victoricus appealed to Ireland's greatest evangelist, the Christian religion had already reached its shores.

It may not always be possible to tell how the seed of the gospel is borne to distant lands, but we know there are many currents to carry it, and that it may be transported to far-off shores—as the Mediterranean heath which has crossed the Bay of Biscay is now found in the wilds of Connemara.

As early as the fourth century, Irish vessels traded with Britain, Spain, and Gaul, and thieving Irish pirates brought back Christians amongst their captives. There were probably Christian Hibernians enrolled in the Roman legions. Tradition asserts that one of the soldiers who stood gazing upon the Crucifixion was a native of Ireland.

Pagan Ireland was troubled with a presentiment of St. Patrick's coming. A Druid priest had predicted it in a realistic picture of his person and practice. 'Adze-head will come with crook-head staff in a hole-head robe. He will chant impiety from his table, and the household will respond "So be it! So be it."' A description so accurate that one cannot help imagining that the Druidical seer must some day have seen a tonsured bishop with his pastoral staff and pontifical robe intoning his prayers at the altar as his congregation loudly responded. It was probably in the year 432 that the Apostle of the Irish commenced his missionary labours. Then as now—wooed by the winds and waters of the Atlantic—Ireland was clothed in perennial green. Its inhabitants were hospitable even then, but the wild boar lurked in the forests and the wolf roamed over the hills. Here and there were clusters of rude dwellings where the chief ruled the clan that rendered him homage. But no sacred tower rose above the woodland or broke the monotonous line of the horizon. The bogs were impassable; the rivers without bridges; and only wavering footpaths linked the widely distant townships together.

The country was peopled by a Celtic race—the Scots of those early centuries. They were divided into tribes, each of which had its king. They were either quarrelling amongst themselves or making raids upon their neighbours. Above all the tribal divisions there was one High King or Over-Lord. There were also six other kings inferior to him but superior to the tribal chieftains. They lived on the land and by it. Cattle grazed on the plains. Herds of swine swarmed in the marshes, and the elk lifted his lofty horns above the scrub of the woodland.

From time immemorial, the Irish have been a religious race. The popular religion in the fifth century was Druidical. It had a powerful priesthood second in authority only to the great High-King. They were his political and spiritual councillors and the national minstrels, poets, and teachers. They

had the keys of this life and the next in their hands. They professed to reveal the future, to command the wind, the snow, and the fire. They taught the immortality of the soul and assumed the power of determining the destiny of their votaries. The chief was buried fully armed and standing ready for the reward of past bravery and for the *reveille* which would summon his willing soul to fresh battle-fields and plunder. The Paradise of the common folk was primitive if satisfying. The pig, which to this day is free to go in and out of the Irishman's cabin with a lordly air, was a prominent feature in his Elysium. The reward awaiting the virtuous—that is, the victorious warrior—was one porker already cooked beneath fruit-bearing trees and another in reserve, together with a flagon of ale.

The Druidical religion ruled its followers by fear. It spoke of some beneficent elves or fairies who befriended the virtuous, but the evil powers it revealed were more numerous and more mighty. The people were led to believe that malignant spirits, under the Prince of Darkness, haunted the forest and crouched in the mountain gorge, while every spring and river and lake had its presiding demon. The traces of this once terrifying creed still linger in such names as the Devil's Glen and the mountain range of the Devil's Bit, but the modern Irishman never shudders as he passes by them, as did his ancestors.

The ancient Druids were in a sense idolators. The sun was the chief object of Druidical worship. He was to the scantily-clad barbarians not only the bringer of light and heat, 'the God at whose light all the stars hid their diminished heads,' but he was the great deliverer at whose rising the demons of darkness departed. The divinities which their stone pillars represented were, at critical times, propitiated by human sacrifices. In the centre of the country, in the High-King's domain, there was one such pillar which had cast its terrifying shadow over all the island. It was plated with silver and gold, and stood within a circle of

lesser stones that were coated with brass. When St. Patrick came to hear of it he seems to have regarded it as the very heart of heathendom. It could not withstand his presence, and as he lifted his staff it fell down like another Dagon.

From this Irish apostle's missionary labours, we can only select a few notable incidents. When St. Patrick and his comrades rowed into Strangford Lough in Co. Down, he entered on his first campaign. It was a promising beginning. Although a swineherd catching sight of the strange visitors had fled and sounded an alarm, Dichu, the king, went forth bravely to meet them. He expected to see formidable invaders, but as he looked into the face of the missionary all his fears were forgotten. He became St. Patrick's first convert and steadfast friend, and it was on his land that the earliest Christian church was eventually erected in Ulster.

Notwithstanding Dichu's reception, St. Patrick was impatient to visit his former chief. King Miliucc lived on the opposite side of the island in the wilds of Connaught. But the once runaway slave endured the perils of the terrible journey, impelled by the desire to offer his lord and master *a double ransom*, money to recoup him for the loss of his swine-herd and the message of the gospel to save his soul. The climax of the narrative is pathetic. After surviving dangers and privations, when often—to quote an ancient hymn 'He slept on a bare stone and a wet robe about him'—he arrived within sight of the king's residence. He saw it ablaze. Although Miliucc was a confirmed pagan, he was afraid that if he met his former slave his magic would compel him to surrender his faith. Rather than this he shut himself up within his wooden palace and set it on fire.

But this scene was in no way typical of the reluctance of the West to receive the new religion. It is said that 12,000 Connaught men were converted by St. Patrick, while there as everywhere it was the hearts of the women that first were opened.

The story of the winning of the princesses, Ethne the

White and Fedelm the Red, to the Christian faith reads like a fairy idyll. It occurred at the fountain near Rathcrochan, where they were being educated by eminent Druids. They were the daughters of the High-King, and their home was in Tara. Coming down to the fountain one morning at day-break they beheld Patrick and his companions in their white robes glistening in the sunrise. In answer to their inquiries who they were and from whence and what their mission, the Saint discoursed to them of the Being of God, and declared that it was his heart's desire to unite them to the Heavenly King as they were already the daughters of an earthly king. Let them only believe. They were willing—they were eager—'Tell us,' they cried, 'how we may believe in the Heavenly King that we may see Him face to face.' Even when St. Patrick told them that until death came they could not see the face of the Bridegroom they were not daunted. Belief in Him was followed by an irresistible longing, and while the sun was going down they fell asleep in death. They were laid in one bed and their friends mourned over them.

This episode leads us to the royal city of the High-King, where Patrick overcame the Druidical priests in their ancient stronghold. On the eve of the Pagan Spring Festival, which was also Easter Eve—before King Logaire could kindle the sacred fire without which signal no other fire could be lit in his realm, one of his retinue announced that flames were rising from the distant hill of Slane. When the King in his consternation appealed to his priests to explain the marvel, one of them arose and declared that unless the fires on the hill were that night extinguished, He who had kindled them would by his wizardry bring them all under subjection. The King and Queen with some of his priests immediately drove forth in nine chariots as near as they dare approach the blazing hill, and summoned Patrick to account for himself and his doings. The Saint came with eight followers chanting, 'Some in chariots and some on horses but we in the name of the Lord.' In the conference

which followed, Logaire lost control of himself, and in his wrath commanded his priests to lay hands on the Christians. They had no weapons of war to ward off the attack, but as St. Patrick prayed, 'Arise, O Lord, and let Thine enemies be scattered,' a great darkness hid the stars and fell upon the plain; the heathen began to destroy one another and the horses fled away.

The conclusive triumph of the gospel took place in Tara on the following day. The Christian missionary and his eight companions, one of whom was the boy Benignus, marched calmly to the palace of the King. It was probably then that St. Patrick and those that were with him sang his wonderful hymn: one of its stanzas must have been singularly appropriate. 'I bind myself to-day to God's virtue to pilot me, God's might to uphold me, God's wisdom to guide me, God's word to speak for me, God's hand to guard me, God's way to lie before me, God's shield to protect me, God's host to secure me against snares of demons, against every one who wishes ill to me . . . against black laws of heathenry, against craft of idolatry, against spells of women and Smiths and Druids, against every knowledge that defiles men's souls.'

In the contest which followed, one woman at least, the Queen, was won over to the faith, but the King remained obdurate. His priests tried all their enchantments, but were defeated, humbled, and silenced. Underneath the legendary wrappings of the narrative, the fact remains that the Druidical idolatrous religion received a blow at that time from which it never recovered, and before the Easter sun had set the Sun of Righteousness had arisen upon the land with healing in His wings to pierce the gloom of heathen darkness.

The missionary policy of St. Patrick was bold, simple, and effective. When he visited a tribe he first endeavoured to win over its king. He never anticipated a rough reception, but relied upon the native hospitality of the chief. His

manner was genial, and he always had generous gifts to bestow. The truths he preached were the elementary and vital doctrines of the gospel, unwarped by ecclesiastical invention or superstition. Although he had to teach unlettered men he invariably took, as one of his themes, The Mysterious Dogma of the Trinity. To him, however, it was no mystery. The little emerald three-leafed plant, the shamrock, unfolded it. He nourished his spiritual life by meditating upon it. His famous hymn begins :—

I bind myself to-day to a strong virtue, an invocation of the Trinity.
I believe in a Threeness, with a confession of an Oneness in the creation of the Universe.

It was never absent from his sermons—when preaching to the Princesses in Connaught he amplified his belief more fully. Our God is the God of all men. He has a Son coeternal with Himself and like unto Himself. The Son is not younger than the Father nor the Father older than the Son, and the Holy Spirit breathes in them. The Father, the Son, and the Spirit are not divided.

St. Patrick was a man of one book. Of Papal bulls, decretals, letters, he knew nothing. His Bible was in his heart and on his lips. He carried one manuscript copy of the gospels with him, and it is still visible in its box of yew encased in a gold and silver sheathing in the library of the Dublin Museum. The one argument which he ultimately fell back upon was his own personal experience. He was the forerunner of evangelists who more than a thousand years later went over the same ground proclaiming: 'What we have *felt* and *seen* with confidence we tell.'

In the course of time the memory of the greatest of Irish saints was interwoven with legend. It is not surprising. The Hero we look back upon must always wear a nimbus or a halo. Some of the Patrick traditions may be easily dismissed—how he kindled a fire from pieces of ice and then reversed the operation; how, when a man had stolen a kid and devoured it whole, and then denied it in the Saint's

presence the kid began to bleat and came out again bodily. These quaint old-world fables may pass; but mountains and streams remain to bear their testimony to the reverence and gratitude with which the recollection of this good man's life was cherished. While the stories of his magic bell which drove away demons and his pastoral staff which banished all venomous reptiles are gradually fading, so long as the conical Hill of Croagh Patrick continues to look down upon Clew Bay with its hundred purple islands, the record of the forty days he spent on the mountain in prayer will be kept in remembrance.

There are four features in St. Patrick's character that shine out prominently through the mist of fifteen centuries. He had a meek and lowly spirit. He begins his autobiographical Confession by saying: 'I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and the least of all the faithful.' Further on he attributes all that he became to the grace of God, for says he: 'I was like a stone lying in the deep mire, and He who is powerful came and in His own mercy raised me and lifted me up and placed me on the top of the wall.'

He was a man of few words, whose yea was yea. On one occasion his early friend, King Dairi, was surprised and hurt by the curtness with which the Saint acknowledged the gift of a precious cauldron. He simply said: '*Grasacham*, I thank you.' Even when on the next day he was asked to return the gift all that he replied was: '*Grasacham*, I thank you—there it is.' But that was enough. The king divined what manner of spirit he was of, and the brazen vessel was restored to him with increased esteem and affection.

No one who has given his life for the people was ever more disinterested in disposition and practice. When he protested 'I have never enriched myself by the worth of an old shoe—never even pocketed half a scriptula' (our threepenny piece), there was no one who could contradict him.

This large and tender-hearted Man of God was a lover of

children. They came to his arms like doves to their windows. It was the cry of the children of Fochlad—'children yet unborn'—which had pricked him to the heart and first called him to Ireland. And it was the magnetism of his nature which drew the boy Benignus, his pupil and successor, to leave his father's house and to clasp the feet of the missionary exclaiming, 'Let me go with Patrick, my true father.'

The Apostle of Ireland had overstepped his seventieth year before his labours were ended. The only authentic writings he has left behind were the Confession and his Epistle to Coroticus. Here and there are ancient churches and monasteries which he is said to have built, but his real monument lies in the religious sensitiveness which is inseparable from the Irish character. Although he lived so long in Ireland and loved its people he always regarded himself as a stranger. When the last great call fell on his ears he was nothing loth to leave the green fields of his adopted country for the fairer land—

> Where falls not hail or rain or any snow,
> Nor ever wind blows loudly.

It is said that angels ministered to him as he neared the end of his journey; that one directed him to the village of Saul where he was to die and be buried; that another announced that his death would erect a barrier against the approach of darkness. And so, says the chronicle, there was no night for twelve days after Patrick departed, and during the twelve months which followed, the night was almost as bright as the day. As he lay in his tomb, according to another story, fragrant odours arose from his body and were wafted on every breeze.

We can gratefully receive the truth which underlies these picturesque traditions. The influence of a good man lingers after his sun has seemed to set, and assuredly the actions of the just smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

E. J. Bradford.

CHRISTIAN ASSURANCE AND THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT

IN all ages and races, the glad tidings of salvation in Christ, announced by human lips, have been the chief means of the spread of Christianity and of its attendant blessings. This was conspicuously so in the Methodist Revival; which began when the Wesleys and their companions themselves learnt from others, strangers from a foreign land, the inner significance of the message of Christ, and went forth to proclaim it to all who would hear them. Of this Gospel, a chief element was a joyful assurance of the favour of God, in spite of their past sins, for all who put faith in Christ as their Saviour.

In the New Testament, this teaching culminates in Rom. viii., where the greatest of the Apostles completes his orderly statement of the Gospel he preached; and especially in *vv.* 15–18, where he asserts that a 'Spirit of Adoption bears witness along with our spirit that we are children of God . . . and joint heirs with Christ.' These verses are stepping-stones to the song of triumph in which Paul's exposition of the Gospel culminates. In this paper, I shall endeavour to expound them.

To this end, we must trace the foregoing line of thought. This great letter begins with homage to Christ, Paul's Master, a son of David and the Son of God; and then passes to personal details about the writer and his readers. Paul then describes in *v.* 16 the good news he wishes to preach at Rome. 'It is a power of God, for salvation, to every one who believes, Jew and Greek.' Of this statement, the whole Epistle is an exposition, defence, and application.

Verse 17 describes the first step in this salvation. We notice at once the prominent words *believe* and *faith*, cognate

in Greek, which occur four times in two verses; also the words *righteousness* and *righteous*. These are very conspicuous throughout the Epistle. But in *v.* 18 Paul turns suddenly away from them to 'the anger of God against all unrighteousness,' of Gentiles or Jews, until in ch. iii. 20 he brings 'all the world' silent and guilty before the bar of God. In *v.* 21 he takes up, with conspicuous repetition, as suddenly as he laid it down, his statement in ch. i. 17: 'But now, apart from law, a righteousness of God has been manifested . . . a righteousness of God through faith of Jesus Christ, for all who believe.'

The words *righteousness of God* are replaced in chs. iii. 24, 26, 28, 30, v. 1, 9 by the phrase *justified by faith*; in ch. iv. 3, 5, 9, 11, 22, 23, 24 by the words *faith reckoned for righteousness*; in *v.* 7 by *iniquities forgiven*; and in ch. v. 1, 10, by the words *peace with God* and *reconciled to God*. This suggests irresistibly that they denote, not God's attribute of 'righteousness,' as in ch. iii. 5, 25, 26, but, as in Ph. iii. 9, 'the righteousness which is from God by faith.' So Rom. x. 3, twice. The phrase *justified by faith* is conspicuous in Gal. ii. 16. It is not found in the New Testament outside the letters of Paul, except in Acts xii. 39, 'every one who believes is justified,' in an address of Paul. This remarkable coincidence confirms the historical correctness of this record of his words. That the word *justify* denotes, not to make actually righteous, but to reckon or treat as such, is proved by its use throughout the Bible, e.g. Ex. xxiii. 7, Dt. xxv. 1, Kgs. viii. 32, Isa. v. 23, Lk. x. 29, etc.

All this leaves no room for doubt that this great Apostle, the founder of the Churches of Europe, asserted with perfect confidence that God receives into His favour, in spite of their past sins, all who put faith in Christ. This Gospel of pardon he received from Christ: Gal. i. 12, Acts xxvi. 17, 18.

That the underlying doctrine of Salvation by Faith (cp. Eph. ii. 8) was actually taught by Christ, is confirmed

by His words recorded in Jno. iii. 15–18, 36, v. 24, vi. 35, 40, 47, also by ch. xx. 31, 1 Jno. v. 13, in documents differing widely in phrase and thought from the letters of Paul and unanimously attributed, in the second century, to an intimate friend of Christ; where we read, with conspicuous repetition, of 'eternal life' for all who believe in Him. It is further confirmed by the unique position of faith as a condition (cp. Jno. vi. 29) of blessing from God, in Mt. viii. 10, 13, ix. 2, 22, 28, 29, xv. 28, xxi. 21, 22, and their parallels in Mark and Luke. The agreement of these various witnesses is complete proof that the doctrine of pardon and salvation for all who put faith in Christ was an essential element of His message to men. It is the necessary foundation for the doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit and for any satisfactory doctrine of the Assurance of Salvation.

In Rom. iv., the same great doctrine is further confirmed by a quotation of a remarkable passage in Gen. xv. 6; and by a careful description of Abraham's faith, as an illustration of that by which they who put faith in Christ are justified.

In ch. v. 1, Paul comes to unfold the blessings involved in the great doctrine thus confirmed. It involves 'Peace with God.' For, just as all crime makes the government whose laws are broken, in a very real sense the criminal's enemy, so all sin brings us under the anger of God. In both cases, pardon is reconciliation. Thus through Christ we enter (*v.* 2) the favour of God; and under His smile 'we stand' on firm ground, and exultingly look forward to the 'glory' of heaven. This 'hope' is not dimmed (*vv.* 3, 4) by the hardships of life: for under them we hold fast our confidence: and they thus become a discipline revealing the worth of our faith; and, like a preliminary success in conflict, increasing our 'hope' of final victory.

It may be objected that hope, by its non-fulfilment, has often covered men with confusion. Such fear, Paul removes by pointing to the second element in his gospel of salvation, asserted in ch. iii. 24-26, viz., that forgiveness

comes to us through the shed 'blood' of Christ, whom he has already in ch. i. 3, 4, recognized as the Son of God. This infinite cost of our pardon reveals the earnestness of the purpose of mercy of Him who gave His Son for us, and thus guarantees the adequacy of the means used. This argument Paul works out in *vv.* 5-11, where he compares 'the love of God,' attested by the death of Christ for sinners with the utmost which a man might do for the best of his fellows. We have here a rational and decisive argument based upon historical facts, viz. the death and resurrection of Christ: ch. iv. 24, 25.

In this argument, a new element comes silently before us for a moment. For the first time in this epistle, except the indefinite mention in ch. ii. 29 of *spirit* in contrast to *letter*, we read in ch. v. 5 of the 'Holy Spirit.' The word here rendered *shed abroad* is found nine times in Rev. xvi. 1–17: '*pour out* the seven bowls of the fury of God into the earth.' In a local and visible sense, it is used in Mt. ix. 17, Jno. ii. 15. In Acts ii. 17, 18, 33, in a quotation from Joel ii. 28, 29, we find it, as in Rom. v. 5, in special connexion with the promised gift of the Spirit of God. Perhaps we may interpret this last passage under the figure of all pervading fragrance of poured-out ointment: cp. Jno. xii. 3. More fragrant and pervasive than any perfume is the knowledge of the love of God manifested in the death of Christ.

This passing mention of the Holy Spirit is an anticipation of fuller teaching in ch. viii. So closely are they connected, that Paul cannot write about 'the love of God,' thus manifested, without mention of the mysterious 'Holy Spirit,' through whom only is that love made known to, and appreciated by, us.

Notice here two intertwined elements in Christian thought, each perfect in itself, yet each needing the other. We have a rational argument, resting upon facts and appealing to our intelligence: and a superhuman light, enabling us to see and understand the facts. Just so, the optical

process of sight is conditioned by the mysterious presence of life; without which no eye can see. All this is familiar to the devout student. Without strenuous mental effort, we cannot apprehend the things of God: yet, apart from divine light, all mental effort is vain.

In ch. v. 12–21, we have the far-reaching effect of the doctrine of Justification through Faith and through Christ. In chs. vi.–viii., we find a further and final stage in Paul's exposition of the way of salvation. It is introduced by an objection in the form of a question: 'Are we to continue in sin, in order that grace may abound?' The negative reply assumes a form of teaching peculiar to Paul and worthy of careful study, viz. that the amazing events which closed the human life of Christ on earth are designed by God to have a spiritual counterpart in the present experience of His servants. His purpose of mercy is that we be crucified, dead, buried, and risen, with Christ, and living a new life of unreserved devotion to God like the life of Christ. This death and life we are bidden to 'reckon' to be already ours in Christ. This implies that, contrary to all our experience in the past, God will make good in us by inward contact with Christ the reckoning He commands. For otherwise our reckoning would be error. This reckoning is evidently the process of sanctifying faith. For it is an intelligent assurance leading to (ch. vi. 19, 22) 'sanctification,' and resting upon 'the surpassing greatness of God's power towards us who believe:' Eph. i. 19.

Further exposition of this second exercise of faith is made needless by the full description, in Rom. iv. 18-21, of Abraham's faith, as analogous (*vv.* 23–25) to our faith in Him Who raised Christ. In ch. vi. 11, we have a compact and complete description of the (*v.* 4) 'newness of life' in which God would have us walk, negative and positive, viz. 'dead to sin, but living for God, in Christ Jesus.'

This new life is further described, in *vv.* 12–23, as a consecration of our bodily powers to God, to be His instruments

and servants, a service fruitful in blessing and leading up to eternal life, in contrast to our former fruitless bondage to sin, leading to death. This wonderful change, Paul compares, in ch. vii. 1–6, to the changed position of a woman liberated by death from one husband, and thus admitted to a happier union with another. In *v.* 6, the two conditions stand related as 'newness of Spirit' in contrast to 'oldness of letter': cp. ch. ii. 29. This contrast seems to cast discredit on the Law; and needs the correction given in *vv.* 7–25. The Law is good; although its immediate result is an agonizing cry for deliverance: for this cry is followed by joyful thanks for deliverance.

The way is now open for a full description of the new life in the Spirit, mentioned for a moment in ch. vii. 6. 'There is now no condemnation for those in Christ': for a new law has made them free from the law which condemned. This new law is the Holy Spirit marking out a path in which God would have us walk, and giving us inclination and power to walk therein. Thus the decree of the ancient law is obeyed, and its purpose is accomplished in us whose steps are guided, not by the appetites of the body, but by the Spirit of God. Thus is accomplished the purpose for which God sent His Son in human form. Consequently the Spirit, and no longer the peculiar material of our bodies, with its animal appetites, is the real environment in which we are and move: 'not in flesh but in Spirit.' We thus carry about with us an abiding and absolute contrast, between a body doomed to decay and a Spirit which is itself a pledge that even our mortal bodies will be rescued from the hand of death.

This contrast lays upon us a moral obligation, a 'debt' due, not to our bodily appetites—for, if we make them the norm of life, we 'shall die'—but to the Spirit of God: for if, led by the Spirit, we 'put to death the actions of the body,' we 'shall live.' To prove this last assertion, Paul introduces for the first time in this epistle the great doctrine

that the pardoned ones 'are sons of God.' This he proves by an appeal to an inward experience of his readers: 'we cry Abba, Father.' The word *Abba* is an emphatic form of the word *Father* in the Aramaic vernacular of Palestine. Its use here and in Gal. iv. 6, Mk. xiv. 36 suggests that it had passed into the habitual speech of the early Christians who spoke Greek, who added its meaning in Greek, as if we said, Amen, so be it. This inward 'cry' is an expression of a consciousness that we have a Father in heaven. And indisputably this was a conspicuous element in the teaching of Christ: so Mt. v. 9, 16, 45, 48, vi. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 18, 26, 32, etc.

An important element in the argument of Rom. viii. 15, is the assertion that the cry 'Abba, Father' is prompted by a 'Spirit of Adoption, in whom we cry,' etc. This can be no other than the 'Spirit of God' so prominent in *vv.* 2–14. The word *adoption* is a Greek equivalent for the Latin word *Adoptio*, which denoted a Roman legal process by which one man took another's son to be his own son. The adopted son took the name and rank of the adopting father, and with certain limitations stood in the same relation to him as a born son. That the Spirit given to the justified moves them to call God their Father, proves that, as in the Roman process of adoption, 'so many as are led by the Spirit of God' are received by Him into His family to be henceforth His 'sons.'

Verse 16, added without any specification of its relation to the foregoing, is virtually an emphatic re-statement of the argument therein contained. *The Spirit itself*: i.e. the very presence of the Spirit in our hearts moving us to call God our Father, is a voice testifying or bearing 'witness that we are children of God.' The word rendered (A.V.) *itself*, or (R.V.) *himself* is neuter, in grammatical accord with the neuter noun rendered *Spirit*. This is not inconsistent with the distinct personality of the Holy Spirit: for neuters are sometimes used, leaving personality out

of sight for the moment, for persons, e.g. τὸ παιδίον in Mk. vi. 28, for the daughter of Herodias, and πολλά in 1 Jno. ii. 13, 18, iii. 7, for some of the readers of the Epistle. Just so, we frequently speak of a child as *it*, leaving personality out of sight. From Rom. viii. 27, 1 Cor. xii. 4–6, 2 Cor. xiii. 13, Jno. xvi. 13, Mt. xxviii. 19, supported by other reasons, we infer with certainty that the Holy Spirit is a Person distinct from the Father and the Son. This being so, the R.V. renders, 'The Spirit *himself*.' This is not translation, but, as it seems to me, correct exposition. But this detail does not bear directly on the matter before us.

The word rendered *bears witness* is frequent in Greek for whatever affords proof. So Jno. v. 36, 'the works themselves which I do, *bear witness* about Me that the Father has sent me': so *vv.* 37-39, also ch. x. 25. Similarly Acts xiv. 3: 'the Lord *bearing witness* to the word of His grace, giving signs and wonders to be done by their hands.' Another silent witness is found in *v.* 17, where we read that God 'left not Himself without *witness*, doing good, giving from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness.' Other examples are found in classical Greek, e.g. Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics*, bk. ii. 1^{5}, 'Also that which takes place in the cities bears *witness*,' with proof following; also bks. i. 10^{20}, iii. 5^{7}.

The same word is frequently used in connexion with the Holy Spirit. So Acts xv. 8: 'God bore *witness* to them, giving the Holy Spirit, even as to us.' So in Heb. ii. 4, the miraculous powers of the Apostles are spoken of as 'God bearing *witness* . . . by gifts of the Holy Spirit.' In ch. x. 15–17, the great prophecy in Jer. xxxi. 31ff. is spoken of as a *witness* of the Holy Spirit. And justly so. For this marvellous anticipation, amid the ruins of Jerusalem, of 'the New Covenant' long afterwards (1 Cor. xi. 25) given to men in Christ, can be accounted for only by a special illumination of the Spirit of God.

This word *witness* is specially appropriate in Rom. viii.

16: for the proof here given that Paul's readers are children of God is a divinely given influence moving them to call Him their Father.

Verse 17 continues the argument begun in *v.* 13. If, as has just been proved, we are 'children of God,' then, as such, we are 'joint-heirs with Christ.' This wonderful inheritance involves partnership in His sufferings and His glory. And this last involves a blessed *life* beyond the grave, a fulfilment of the promise in *v.* 13, 'Ye shall *live*.' This expectation of suffering to be followed by incomparable glory dominates the rest of ch. viii., which from this point becomes a song of triumph, culminating in a confident assertion that not even death itself can separate us from the love of God revealed in Christ.

An essential link in this chain of argument is the assertion, in *v.* 15, that our filial confidence, which finds expression in the cry Abba, Father, is prompted by the Spirit of God. We ask at once, How may we distinguish this confidence from the religious delusions which have warped the judgement of so many? It seems to me that an answer is to be found in the law written in the hearts of all men, the inborn moral sense which compels us sometimes to condemn ourselves or others, and at other times to approve certain courses of action or thought as good and binding upon us. The religious literature of the ancient world, confirmed by the testimony of modern missionaries, reveals, in spite of differences in detail, the same broad moral principles in all ages and races. This universality proves, as asserted by Paul in Rom. ii. 14, that this moral standard was implanted by the Creator in the hearts of all men. To this standard the Spirit of God ever appeals. And this appeal is accepted as authoritative by whatever in us is noblest and best, nearest to God and most like God. To us, the voice of conscience is the voice of God.

A wide experience, embodied in religious literature and finding expression in Christian intercourse, attests that

it is when the voice of conscience speaks most clearly in our hearts and is most gratefully accepted that our filial confidence in God as our Father is also most clear. This coincidence identifies irresistibly these voices as from the same divine Source.

Notice in Rom. viii. 16 two witnesses bearing the same testimony: συμμαρτυρεῖ. The coincidence just mentioned proves that the former of these is the Spirit of God and of Christ in *vv.* 9–11, 14, the Paraclete promised by Christ in Jno. xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26, xvi. 13, 14. The other witness is the believer's own *spirit*; as in Rom. i. 9, viii. 10, 1 Cor. xiv. 14, 1 Th. v. 23. An analogy between these two witnesses is asserted in 1 Cor. ii. 11: 'Who, of men, knows the things of the man except the spirit of the man which is in him? In this way also, the things of God, no one knows except the Spirit of God.' The simplest exposition of Rom. viii. 16 is that the witness of the man's own spirit is his own cry Abba, Father, in *v.* 15. Just so, a child who calls a man father, bears witness that he believes himself to be that man's son. That the 'cry Abba, Father,' is here called a witness of our spirit, implies that it comes not from the lower, but from the highest, element of our nature. And this is irresistibly confirmed by a profound experience.

Moreover, an equally irresistible experience assures us that while uttering this cry, we are moved so to do by something higher than ourselves, by a divine Voice within us, of which our own cry is an echo. Consequently our cry to God, calling Him our Father, is God's voice to us bearing witness that we are His children. An important confirmation of this exposition is found in an Epistle very closely related to that to the Romans, in Gal. iv. 6: 'Because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father.' Consequently there are two voices speaking the same words; the voice of whatever in us is nearest to God, and most like God, and the prompting voice of the Spirit of God. Similarly the great prophecy in Jer. xxxi. 31–

24 is the prophet's own testimony: and in Heb. x. 15 it is spoken of as a witness borne by the Holy Spirit.

In Gal. v. 16-26 we have the two antagonistic influences in human life, the Spirit and the Flesh, each aiming to direct man's steps. Their distinguishing characteristics are set forth in conspicuous contrast as 'the works of the flesh' and 'the fruit of the Spirit'; the one leading (ch. vi. 8) to 'corruption,' and the other to a harvest in 'life eternal.' This enables us to identify the 'cry, Abba, Father,' as the voice of the Spirit of God. For a wide experience attests that, in proportion as the fruit of the Spirit is found in us, do we rest and rejoice in God as our Father in heaven.

In all this, we notice a direct appeal to the personal religious experience of each individual. A man may justly say that he has no such experience. So a blind man may truthfully say that he does not see either stars, moon, or the sun shining in its brightness. But he may reasonably accept the testimony of others, especially of such as guide him safely in the way he wishes to go. So in this case the testimony of many good people is sufficient to stimulate inquiry and hope.

Notice that in Rom. viii. 14, 16, 21, ix. 8, Gal. iii. 26, iv. 6, 7, Ph. ii. 15 the terms *children* and *sons of God* are used for those in Christ in contrast to others. So Jno. i. 12, xi. 52, and 1 Jno. iii. 1, 2, 10, 'In this are manifest the children of God and the children of the Devil'; also Mt. v. 9, 45, 'That ye may become sons of your Father in Heaven.' Yet God looks down on all men with a father's love. This love is depicted in the parable of the Prodigal Son. It was God's love to 'the world' that prompted the supreme gift of Christ to die for all men. A Gentile writer acknowledges that 'We are his offspring' (Acts xvii. 28). The full recognition of this great truth is a valuable product of modern Christian thought. That it has so small a place in the New Testament, reminds us that by sin we have lost the rights of sons, and can regain them only by an act of

grace analogous to that by which sometimes a Roman took another's son into his family to be his son.

Roman adoption was only a legal fiction. Evangelical adoption is a wonderful restoration; attested by the inbreathing, into the adopted one, of the very life and nature of the eternal Son.

We conclude then that the witness of our own spirit is the filial cry of redeemed humanity, recognising its divine origin, and claiming the rights of sonship; and that the witness of the Spirit of God is an influence from Him moving us to claim these rights, and thus attesting that we are children of God.

Another important witness is that of the Conscience, the inner faculty by which we distinguish right from wrong, sometimes with unerring certainty, and sometimes with self-condemnation. To this, Paul appeals in Rom. ii. 15, in proof that even the Gentiles have a 'law written in their hearts.' So also in ch. ix. 1, in proof of Paul's sorrow for unbelieving Israel. Here again this witness of Paul's own 'conscience' is said to be 'in the Holy Spirit'; another co-operation of the divine and human. In 2 Cor. i. 12, the same witness reveals to Paul, in his own past life and his intercourse with his readers, the 'grace of God.' It thus confirms, from another point of view, the witness recorded in Rom. viii. 16.

The word rendered *witness* or *testimony* and its cognates are very common throughout the New Testament, appearing some 175 times. They are specially frequent in the writings attributed to John. A close parallel with the teaching of Paul is found in 1 Jno. v. 7–11. 'It is the Spirit who bears *witness*: because the Spirit is the Truth. Because there are three who bear *witness*, the Spirit and the water, and the blood: and the three agree in one. If we receive the *witness* of men, the *witness* of God is greater; because this is the *witness* of God, that He has borne *witness* about His Son. He who believes in the Son of God has the *witness* in him.

He who does not believe God has made Him a liar, because he has not believed in the *witness* which God has *witnessed* about His Son. And this is the *witness*, that God has given to us eternal life; and this life is in His Son.'

The witness of 'the water' is probably the testimony given to Christ at His baptism, as recorded in Jno. i. 32–34, Mt. iii. 17. The witness of 'the blood' refers evidently to the shed blood of Christ; and recalls Jno. xix. 34, 35. The teaching quoted above is another of the many links connecting the teaching of Paul with that of John.

A clear consciousness of the favour of God finds expression in 1 Jno. ii. 12, 'I write to you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you'; and in ch. iii. 14, 'We know that we are passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren.' In close agreement with Rom. viii. 15, Gal. iv. 6, this assurance is in 1 Jno. iii. 24, and again in ch. iv. 13, traced to 'the Spirit given to us.' In another form, it finds expression in 1 Pet. i. 8, 9: 'Whom, not having seen, ye love; in whom, not now seeing, yet believing, ye greatly rejoice, with joy unspeakable and glorious, receiving the goal of faith, even salvation of souls.' Indisputably, a confident assurance of the present favour of God and a joyful expectation of eternal blessedness were a marked feature of the thoughts and life of the earliest followers of Christ, as these find expression in the New Testament.

In the light of the above teaching, we will now review the rational grounds of personal assurance that we walk, under the smile of God, in a path leading to eternal life in His nearer presence. In this foundation of faith, we note three stages.

(1) All around us in the material world, in our own inner life, in the social life of others, and in literature, we find decisive indications that the material universe and ourselves sprang from a supreme and all wise intelligence, the Friend and Helper of all who seek Him, and the enemy of all sin. This evidence becomes to us more convincing

year by year. We notice the marvellous adaptation of the inanimate forces operating in the material world to the existence and well-being, intellectual and moral, of man; and, amid infinite variety and much conflict, a wonderful unity in the whole universe as known to us. This knowledge of God, i.e. of an all-controlling, all-wise, and righteous Intelligence underlies the best thoughts of the best of men.

(2) The next factor is the personality and teaching of Christ. Abundant evidence, documentary and other, leaves no room for doubt that nearly nineteen centuries ago He exerted an influence which has changed for good the whole course of human thought and life. Whatever was known before about God, He took up and supplemented, by His teaching about a loving Father in heaven. His moral teaching appeals to us with absolute authority as the supreme law of our life: and, in His own example, we see a perfect embodiment of that teaching. He also taught conspicuously, as we learn from various reliable witnesses, a retribution beyond death for everything done or left undone in the present life. All this compels our assent. But it cannot save. It rather evokes fear of punishment, and a sense of moral helplessness.

Abundant documentary evidence proves that Christ said more than this, that He announced pardon of sins for all who put faith in Him; and pointed to His own approaching death as the mysterious means of this salvation. The same evidence proves that He also promised to them the Holy Spirit of God, to be in them the breath of a new and immortal life, like His own life of devotion to God, and to the well-being of men. This Gospel of salvation supplies our deepest needs, moral and spiritual. And, coming as it does along with moral teaching which commends itself with absolute authority to whatever in us is best, it claims our confident and grateful acceptance. Our faith rests securely on documentary evidence confirmed by an irresistible appeal to our inborn moral sense, our observation of human

life around us, and our reading of ancient and modern literature.

(3) This faith is further confirmed by all important phenomena which we observe in the inner life of ourselves and others. For it is followed by the dawning light, on our mental horizon, of a new day; a light increasing day by day. In this light we gradually become conscious of the pulsation of a new life, a new outlook, and new moral strength; new and nobler principles of action, and new aims; all this springing from a new conception of God as our loving Father in heaven. In this new life, intelligence, and power, we recognize an influence moving us from within and from above, which can be no other than the Spirit of the Truth and of God, promised by Christ to His earliest disciples. It is a divine seal (Eph. i. 13), in the heart of each individual, attesting the initial fulfilment in him of the promise of Christ which in his sin and helplessness he ventured to believe.

Thus the Christian assurance of salvation rests on various and decisive objective evidence, documentary and other; confirmed by subjective evidence in our own inner experiences. The earlier evidence is sufficient for initial faith in the promises of Christ. It is confirmed, in proportion to our faith, ever increasing in confidence and compass, by ever-increasing subjective evidence.

Thus each of the divine Three, in a manner suited to the nature of each, bears witness that all who put faith in Christ are sons and daughters of a Father in heaven. Like all testimony, this witness must be appropriated by human intelligence and correct reasoning. The faith which approves and accepts it then becomes an apprehension of eternal realities; and brings us into intimate personal fellowship with the Father and the Son and the Spirit.

No element in the Methodist Revival is more conspicuous than a joyful experience of the favour of God, as the privilege of all who put faith in Christ. In the New Testament,

and especially in Paul's orderly exposition of the Gospel in his letter to the Romans, this confidence culminates in ch. viii. 15, 16, and the song of triumph to which these verses are stepping-stones. They are expounded in two sermons (Nos. x and xi) by John Wesley, written, one in 1767, and the other twenty years earlier. These recall a passage in his *Journal*, under 7 Feb., 1736, as to Mr. Spangenberg, 'one of the Pastors of the Germans. I soon found what spirit he was of; and asked his advice with regard to my own conduct. He said, "My brother, I must first ask you one or two questions. Does the Spirit of God bear witness with your spirit that you are a child of God?" I was surprised, and knew not what to answer.' After various attempts to reply Wesley concludes, 'I fear they were vain words.'

Two years later Wesley met in London Peter Böhler, another scholarly German Lutheran, who, like Spangenberg, had left brilliant prospects at home to help Moravian exiles to find a home in America. Through his teaching, three months later, while 'one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans,' Wesley records that 'I felt my heart strangely warmed'; and from that day he was endued with a power unknown to him before. To Spangenberg's question, the two sermons mentioned above are Wesley's deliberate answer.

In all main points, these sermons anticipate this article. In Sermon x we read, 'The testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given Himself for me; and that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God.' I notice with pleasure how carefully John Wesley teaches us to identify this inward impression as a voice of the Spirit of God; viz., by detecting in ourselves the various fruit of the Spirit. He also correctly and emphatically calls it a *direct* witness, as distinguished from a logical inference. Such inference we have in *v.* 14, 'So many as are

led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God.' But, in our own 'cry, Abba, Father,' we are directly conscious, apart from any argument, of being moved by the Spirit of God. This cry is therefore His voice attesting 'that we are children of God.' By calling conspicuous attention to these verses, Wesley has rendered immense service to the Church of Christ.

But I venture to suggest that he has not sufficiently emphasized the close relation of Rom. viii. 16 to the foregoing verse; viz., that our own 'cry, Abba Father,' in the 'Spirit of Adoption,' is itself a witness of the Spirit of God that we are His children; in harmony with Gal. iv. 6, where we find Him 'sent into our hearts' and 'crying Abba, Father.' Nor has he noticed the light shed on Rom. viii. 16 by the use of the word *witness* in Jno. v. 36, x. 25, Acts xiv. 3, 17, and elsewhere, for anything which affords proof. Moreover, in Sermon x he says that the witness of our spirit in Rom. viii. 16 is 'the testimony of our own conscience, that God has given us to be holy of heart, and holy in outward conversation.' As expounded above, the witness of our own spirit is the 'cry, Abba, Father,' an immediate outflow, in us, of the Spirit of Adoption. It is worthy of note that in his sermon on 'The Witness of our own Spirit,' Wesley says nothing about Rom. viii. 16, but takes for his text 2 Cor. 1. 12, which he correctly and forcefully expounds.

There is no greater need in the pulpit of our day than a clear and rational statement of the grounds of our personal assurance of the favour of God. These are (1) abundant and decisive documentary evidence about the actual teaching of Christ and His Apostles, (2) illumined and made effective by the Spirit of God promised and given to those who, in felt guilt and moral helplessness, accept by faith the promise of pardon and salvation. To announce and prove these important elements of the teaching of Christ seems to me to be the chief task committed by God to the Methodist Churches throughout the world.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

AMERICA IN 1915

FIFTEEN years ago, in the autumn of 1899, the writer visited America as a guest, seeing the ordinary sights in New York, Boston, Niagara, and similar places of inspection. He has just returned from three months spent on the same ground in public engagements and private interviews. The impression left by the visit of 1899 was that America was the country of the future, but that the future was still a long way off. It seemed then that it would be at least fifty years before it would be an attractive country except for people in business, to whom America has always been the land of promise. That fifty years has been shortened. Developments have taken place in these fifteen years which indicate that America is much nearer maturity than then seemed possible. Some of these developments attract attention at once. In New York the street traffic used to be so rapid and disorderly that it was an adventure to cross the streets. Policemen were powerless, and pedestrians crossed at the peril of their lives. This abuse has vanished. The opening of the subways—our tubes—with their four parallel tracks, has relieved the congestion of traffic and foot-passengers. The police have regained control of the streets. It is now easier to get about New York than to move about London. The development of hotel living has made life in moderate-sized towns much more livable. Quite ordinary hotels in places like Worcester and Northfield provide a separate bathroom with every bedroom, and this is the invariable rule in the larger towns. The standard of comfort has been raised both in the homes of the people and the hotels. The service is punctual, polite, and generally efficient. Food is varied and wholesome, and the American people are more awake than they once seemed to be to the

existence of other interests in life than the almighty dollar. Taste in buildings, pictures, and music has improved almost beyond belief. At Northfield, Mass., two churches are in daily use, one by the young men's college, Mount Hermon, and one by the women's. The first was presented to Mr. D. L. Moody by his English admirers. It is an oblong nineteenth-century English chapel with a gallery, iron pillars, and a sloping floor —as unpretentious and unattractive a building as could easily be designed. The other is a gift of Mrs. Russel Sage, and is as recent as 1911 or 1912. It is a delight to the eye—finished in unpolished oak, a beautiful illustration of the best modern Gothic. Everywhere one sees fine specimens of Georgian buildings, which America calls 'Old Colonial.' President Lowell's new house at Harvard is a good illustration of this —a porticoed door with white pillars, green sun-shutters fastened back on either side of the windows, overhanging eaves, and excellent red brick. There is a good dormitory building at Northfield of the same type, one of the best the writer saw.

In New England builders are reproducing some of the old gambrel-roofed houses, which the early settlers borrowed from Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. One of these in Salem the writer photographed as a fine specimen of a seventeenth-century house, and only afterwards discovered that it was a recent erection. There are some good buildings of the Georgian type at Princeton, rather strangely mixed with marble Athenian temples and other Renaissance reproductions. Several of the club houses—which President Wilson attacked so severely—are fine specimens of old colonial brick. The new buildings at Yale—the gift of the Vanderbilt family—are college Gothic, and though good in themselves, do not harmonize either with the older Yale buildings or with the rest of the buildings in the town. Harvard has been most successful with its additions. The two large freshman's buildings, as they are called, looking on to the river, are excellent specimens of Georgian work.

There are still buildings—particularly hotels—being erected in the style best described as 'Early Pullman' or late 'Astor Hotel,' flamboyant, over-ornamented, and extravagant outside and laden with plush and gilt decoration inside. But the best taste in America is evidently re-acting from this, and has decided in favour of the clean, solid, and purer styles which America chose for itself in its days of plain living and high thinking.

Colleges and Universities in America have a place in social life which makes it very difficult to compare them with British institutions. The right to a University education is part of the heritage of the American born. But it does not imply the same differentiation of function which accompanies it in England. The sons of families of good social station in New England will take any job that offers during a summer vacation. They will conduct a trolley car, or work on a farm, serve in a store, or make a voyage on a ship. An American student who loafs through a long vacation is looked down upon as a man of no grit. This is the one natural corrective which remains to check the American passion for specialization. The craving for efficiency which America has borrowed from Germany appears everywhere in the Universities, even in athletics. The football teams, the college boat, the base-ball team, are trained with a severity of which we know nothing. The Harvard boat which beat the Leander crew at Henley last year was really the second University crew. But it was trained for a short course while the first crew was trained for a long one. If the Henley course had been as long as that at Putney the first crew would have come. The crew which came was chosen and trained for the Henley course. When the great football match between Harvard and Yale took place in the Yale Bowl before 70,000 spectators the writer was in Boston. A crowd of several thousand people met on the Common, and listened to a minute description of the game delivered from a speaking trumpet. The speaker stood on a balcony

outside one of the newspaper offices and the progress of the game was telegraphed from Yale point by point.

American universities have stood for a good deal in the religious life of the nation. In the Princeton Campus there is a vigorous and well-conceived statue of a young Christian athlete erected to commemorate the first meeting of the Student Volunteer movement. Dr. Grenfell has been able to draw largely on the universities both for men and funds for the support of his great mission. The Appleton Chapel at Harvard has a daily morning service, which includes an address. It is entirely voluntary, and is well attended by college men. This must be almost unique in university life. At Princeton the morning service is a compulsory chapel, and is more like an ordinary chapel service at Oxford or Cambridge. Bryn Mawr has a daily service, and has adopted a daily service book prepared by the Christian Association of the College, with the help of Dr. George Barton—himself a member of the Society of Friends. Elsewhere there are daily morning services, but they are generally found on foundations which are specifically religious. At one time it was not unusual for professors or lecturers to exercise a pastoral office among the men of their university, but it is said that this is getting less common. Teachers are inclined to take a more professional view of their functions. One effect of the Carnegie endowment for providing pensions for teachers is to increase this professionalism. In order to qualify for a pension every teacher has to comply with certain standards devised to keep him abreast of his professional duties. This means that he must work at his own subject all his life, and consequently has less time to give away.

The general character of the public services in American churches tends to become more ordered and reverent. There is liberal use of the accepted forms of Christian worship—the Apostles' Creed, the great hymns of the Church, and the responsive recitation of the psalms. The churches are

magnificently organized, and ministers share the advantage of the methods of American democracy. Once elected they are trusted. Their congregations give them freedom to adopt the methods that suit them best, and only call them to account when things go seriously wrong. Except within a fifteen-mile radius of Boston the general type of religious teaching is Evangelical, Scriptural, and loyal to the great Christian tradition as it is understood in America.

The restless American intellect is constantly employed in questioning the axioms and postulates of American national life. At the moment one of the axioms which is being torn to shreds is the Monroe Doctrine. At debating societies, political dinners, and economic clubs a score of questions are being raised as to the meaning of that famous pronouncement. If no European Government is to be allowed a foothold on the American continent, what would happen if the three hundred thousand German colonists in Southern Brazil were created into a German principality? If Germany attacks Canada, does the Monroe Doctrine mean that America would help Canada—or that it would stand by and see the Canadian frontier become a German one? What would be the proper attitude of America if Germany purchased an island in the Caribbean Sea and threatened the Panama Canal? If America is to avoid all European complications, what is the use of American representatives attending Hague Conventions? The Hague treaties are not worth the paper on which they are written if there is no sanction behind them except sweet words of entreaty or stern words of rebuke. The beautiful simplicity of the Monroe Doctrine has been sadly tarnished in these days of the War. An American Professor who described it in Berlin as an out-of-date obsession of the American mind, was hailed by the Kaiser as a benefactor of the race. Clearly the doctrine requires elucidation. Perhaps President Wilson may be able to devote some of his post-presidential leisure to an elucidation which will secure America without unduly provoking Germany.

The American attitude to immigration has completely changed in these fifteen years. For a century America has been the refuge of the oppressed, the land of promise to every hard-pressed population labouring in the Egyptian bondage of European feudalism. It was the pride of America that it conferred citizenship on all who came—black, white, and all shades between. That sentiment is gone with the snows of yester-year. The modern American has become alarmed about his heritage. His vote is swamped by thousands of Irish, Germans, Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, Hungarians, and Jews who care nothing for American traditions, but have a keen eye for the dollar value of a vote. The new America will be as hard to enter as the Carlton Club. In December of last year the Senate gravely discussed whether 'psychopathic inferiority' was a proper ground for excluding an immigrant, and they decided that it was. A century ago America imported negroes by the thousand, and seemed to think that it could never have enough. The last Immigration Bill, called Burnett's Bill, included a provision for preventing negroes from migrating to America even if they wish to come, which, however, has now been dropped out of the Bill. Although there are no more public lands to give away there are whole counties which are absurdly under-populated. The problem is not to keep people out of America, but to get those who come on to the land, where they are wanted. The State might regulate immigration in the interests of the whole country. The new-comers ought never to see New York, with its lurid and meretricious attractions. They might be carried right to the spot where they are to settle. Their early efforts might be assisted with State capital, and the capital might be secured on the earnings of the whole community. This would earn the double blessing which rests on both giver and receiver.

America is the great laboratory of democratic experiment, and for this reason, if for no other, American politics are always interesting when they can be understood. The

political development of the country has entered on a new phase since 1912. Up to that time the group of political and economic traditions which came to a head during the Civil War continued to prevail. The Republican party had a long period of power hardly broken by the short democratic administration of Mr. Grover Cleveland. As late as 1904 a Republican leader described his own party as the 'Stand-patters'—and the designation was accepted as a description of the conservative character of their policy. Now the acid of progressivism has disintegrated American political traditions. The Progressives draw support from both Republican and Democratic parties, and the standing of a politician is determined by his relation to the progressive movement. Both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wilson are Progressives. Mr. Roosevelt's progressivism is committed to a drastic reorganization of the American political and economic system, and the adoption of a frank social policy instead of the individualism of the past. President Wilson's progressivism is more vague and flexible, but it is clearly a product of the same strong social impulse. One result of the new impulse is the re-discovery of the meaning of American freedom. The American habit has been to rely on the written Constitution interpreted by the Courts, especially the Supreme Court, for social stability. The law appeared to be something impersonal, authoritative, supreme, which might be trusted to check the ephemeral emotions of the people, or the more systematic efforts of the politician. The Supreme Court has acted with great dignity and impartiality. Its traditions in that respect are probably the finest in the world. But the new progressivism takes it as an axiom that a growing nation cannot live under a rigid constitution. 'We are naturally,' says President Lowell (*Essays in Government*, p. 126), 'in the habit of ascribing to the Courts a sort of supernatural power to regulate the affairs of men and to restrain the excesses and curb the passions of the people. We forget that no such power can really exist,

and that no Court can hinder a people that is determined to have its own way: in short, that nothing can control the popular will except the sober good sense of the people themselves."

Mr. Herbert Croly, to whose book on *Progressive Democracy* the writer is largely indebted for an admirable analysis of recent American politics, elaborates this point with great force. His conclusion is that you cannot obtain a reasonable human government by enclosing reason within a rule. Policy cannot be derived from knowledge alone. All government requires and rests on will—in a democratic government the will must be exercised in faith. Faith is indispensable to social progress.

One of the new issues is the choice between direct democratic government and representative government. In Kansas and Oregon experiments of a very interesting character are being made which have for their object to increase the authority of the Executive, while putting it more directly under popular control. This is the American substitute for our English method of government by Committees. Every one knows how unsatisfactory that method is. How a committee may be reduced to impotence by one or two timid or refractory members. How the mere statement of one view in committee invites its opposite. How questions are referred to committees which never can be answered except by individuals, and how they are referred because they never can be answered. How a committee reduces the value of experience and enhances the value of bluff. How committees will jib and shy merely because their chairman seems to be getting on too well. America has discovered that it can get its government done neither fast enough nor well enough unless more authority and freedom are given to the Executive. In its practical commonsense way America has arrived at the method of giving more responsibility to its Presidents, and at the same time increasing their direct responsibility to the societies or organizations

they control. The methods of this new democratic policy are the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. The initiative gives to the people the power of demanding legislation or administrative action on any subject. The referendum gives them the power of pronouncing on any proposed legislation, and the recall gives them the power of getting rid of any official who has rendered himself obnoxious by any unpopular act.

The importance of the new spirit in American politics is that there is now a constitutional path opened as an outlet for that tremendous social impulse which America feels as strongly as any European country. In England European affairs have for the moment diverted attention from the question which threatened to overshadow all others—the future of the yeasty Socialism which had been fermenting in the body politic. In America that social impulse is no longer necessarily antagonistic to the country's government. 'If Progressive Democracy can arrange for a socially educative distribution of work, the socially desirable distribution of wealth will take care of itself.' Democracy is safe as a political system only when it offers an opportunity of participating in the social and industrial system to every one, and places them on their best behaviour. To quote Mr. Croly: 'Admitting that human nature is in some measure socially rebellious, admitting that the ambitions of different classes and communities are dangerously conflicting, admitting and proclaiming the inability of society to attain cohesion by obedience to any natural law or moral and social code, democracy has still no reason for discouragement. What the situation calls for is faith. A Democracy is saved by faith. Only by faith can be established the invincible interdependence between individual and social fulfilment, upon the increasing realization of which the future of Democracy depends.'

The present relations of England and America as represented in Washington are cordial and friendly. The fly in

the ointment is the compact, capable German minority—very loyal to Germany and very hostile to England. The Germans have succeeded in forming a political alliance with the Irish—the one thing in common between them being dislike of England. The German-Irish alliance was called into existence to counterwork a league for celebrating the hundred years of peace between England and America. Both parties were afraid that closer and more friendly relations between these two might leave them out in the cold. They are now threatening to unite their forces and coerce the President by votes which can control a Presidential Election.

In spite of the machinations of these Machiavellis there is an overwhelming weight of sympathy with England. It is sincere, well grounded—and well expressed. Its extent is variously estimated at from 80 per cent. to 90 per cent. of the population. And this may be relied on as a basis for American co-operation if one or two things are borne in mind. The Democratic party is now in power, and the record of that party towards England is not entirely good. The only severe strain in Anglo-American relations came during the last short period when the Democratic party under Mr. Grover Cleveland was in power. The reason for this is obvious. The Democrats depend largely for their voting strength on the Irish, who in America, as elsewhere, are politicians to a man. The rule has been hitherto that when the Irish are in power England may look for trouble. This may be changed when Home Rule becomes effective, but it is too soon yet to feel the benefit of that relief. On certain subjects America is very sensitive, and it is well to avoid treading on any unnecessary toes. It is sensitive on the question of interference with shipping. It has not forgotten that it once had a far larger share of the world's carrying trade than it has now, and that some of its once thriving ports are derelict. It will resent anything in the nature of compulsion—coercion—or supervision on

the part of English maritime authorities, though it might be quite willing to yield to any statement of superior reasons or accepted laws. Above all America values the good opinion of England. The harsh truculent criticism of American productions and institutions which have come from some eminent writers who showed their wit at other people's expense have stung and wounded like an adder. They are bitter memories, poisoning the friendship of these countries to-day. They ought to be publicly disowned, and no one should be allowed to speak or write about America who is not reasonably pleasant in his human attitude. The future of the world requires a much closer alliance between these two peoples, who both inherit the traditions of English freedom, and who share together the promise of the days to come.

DUGALD MACFADYEN.

Notes and Discussions

ARE CHRISTIANS CHRISTIAN?

MUCH has been said of late concerning the failure, the 'bankruptcy' of Christianity. The fact that the foremost Christian nations of Europe are engaged in a life-and-death struggle of unparalleled magnitude, bringing incalculable misery into thousands of homes and destroying the flower of European manhood, is held to be sufficient proof of this. It is said to imply the essential hollowness of the Christian religion, while it is certain to arrest the course of Christian civilization. Many, however, go much further. They allege that long before the outbreak of this war Christendom neither was Christlike, nor was making any serious effort to imitate Christ and follow His teaching in its purity and power. Minor inconsistencies of character are to be expected; no man lives fully up to his own ideal. But we are told that in the conditions of modern life Christianity is not a practicable faith, that its ideals not only never have been, but never can be, realized. It is said that in business, in society, in family and public life alike, Christians do not even aim at fulfilling the simple, uncompromising teaching of their Master. If they did, they could not long survive. Christendom, we are told, may not be exactly an organized hypocrisy, but it holds together in a world like ours, largely because it is un-Christian and is content to be so. Taunts like these, while felt to be unjust, have still troubled many minds. They may contain a measure of truth, but they imply such serious confusion of thought, that the subject may claim a Note, while it demands a volume.

To begin with, the term Christian must be defined. Who are 'Christians'? Amongst those who 'profess and call themselves' such, how many deserve the name? Then, what is it to be 'Christian'? Is it true that the whole-hearted following of Christ and obedience to the great Teacher implies such opposition to the course of this world that efficiency and success in it are impossible? When Eucken published his volume asking 'Can we still be Christians?' he had in view only the intellectual tenability of certain Christian doctrines, and he decided that for himself and his followers the name and profession were still to be retained, though only a fraction of current Christian doctrine could be intelligently retained. A Christianity such as Eucken means, without the doctrines of Incarnation and Atonement, and with vague views as to the personality of God, would be 'reduced' indeed. But when an accomplished

Oxford philosopher like Mr. F. H. Bradley says: 'None of us are Christians, and we all know, whatever we may say, that we ought not to be,' he is referring, not to doctrine, but to ethics and practice. For, he adds, we are 'the professors of a creed which no one can consistently practise, and which, if practised, would be as immoral as unreal.' The two questions are quite distinct. Do the people—clergy included—who repeat the Nicene Creed in church believe the doctrines therein recited? Do those who revere the preacher of the Sermon on the Mount earnestly endeavour, though with many stumbles and falls, to obey the lofty teaching it contains, or is it true that 'official Christians are not real Christians,' and that, whatever they may say, they know it?

These are vital questions, and there are signs that they will have to be more effectively faced and answered than ever before. Some of them are discussed in a very interesting volume, lately published by Messrs. Macmillan, entitled *Christian Life in the Modern World*, by Dr. F. G. Peabody, Emeritus Professor of Harvard University. Dr. Peabody's writings are well known and highly esteemed on both sides of the Atlantic. His *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, though published fifteen years ago, remains one of the very best discussions of a difficult subject. His *Jesus Christ and the Christian Character* exhibits, as do all the writer's works, a sane and sound appreciation of the actual facts of life, combined with a high ethical standard and a deeply religious spirit. We say this the more freely, because the author's theological opinions are not ours, and because we think that his exposition of 'the teaching of Jesus' would gain if he accepted the *whole* teaching of the New Testament concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. But this latest volume of an esteemed writer will be found very helpful just now amidst the searchings of heart through which many are passing. It does not deal with the questions raised by the present war, having been practically finished before its outbreak. Only in one note, written in September last, is there any reference to the subject. But Dr. Peabody's discussion of living Christianity in its relation to the modern family, the business world of to-day, current modes of making and using money, the modern State, and the Church as it is and as it might be, is exactly what the present generation greatly needs. A little volume entitled *The Practice of Christianity*, also published by Macmillan's and written by the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, may be mentioned as skilfully probing wounds of the modern body politic and saying 'Thou ailest here—and here.'

Leaving the literature of the subject on one side, however, the existing unrest concerning Christianity as it is, contrasted with Christianity as it ought to be, is wholesome. Frank inquiry into its causes may carry us far. The gap—it may be, the yawning chasm—between theory and practice is alas! nothing new. But for Christians to acquiesce in the existence of such a chasm as unbridgeable would be fatal. In a brief Note like the present it is only possible to indicate a few considerations which must be borne

in mind concerning the lamentable gulf between ideal and actual which faces us to-day.

1. The teaching of Christ must be rightly understood. Tolstoi was a veritable prophet of the nineteenth century, but his interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount was not sound exegesis. The high motives and noble Christian character of the Society of Friends do not justify their extreme literalism in the application of Christ's words. Our Lord's purposely paradoxical mode of speech and His diverse utterances on the same subject must be taken into account if we would know His real mind. On the other hand, His precepts are not to be explained away, their strength watered down to suit human infirmities. If it be said that such a process of carefully weighing Christ's words, comparing and discriminating, is difficult; that it needlessly complicates what ought to be a disciple's prompt obedience to plain directions, the answer is that this same difficult process is part of the disciple's education. He is not to be borne on crutches, but to walk by the aid of a staff. He is not to be a bond-slave, but a son.

2. The principles that Christ has laid down for His followers are not static, but dynamic. They are progressive, both in their meaning and their application. And their full meaning can only be understood in and through their widening application to changing circumstances and experiences. Life moves, codes are fixed. Christ's words do not form a code, but as He Himself said, they are spirit and life. Their bearing is only gradually discerned. Almsgiving, slavery, woman, war—here are four subjects that cannot be dealt with by positive enactments, and the true meaning of Christ's teaching concerning them can only be unfolded a step at a time, as the progress of history raises new problems, and the solutions of them are found in principles laid down long ago. 'I write no new commandment unto you, but an old commandment which ye had from the beginning.' Yet the old commandment is new, because the darkness is passing away and the true light now shineth. Inflexible injunctions, laws of Medes and Persians, are not characteristic of Christianity. But elasticity does not imply laxity. Christian liberty does not mean licence. It is a fair answer, however, to a man who says 'These Christians are not Christian,' to reply 'No, but they are learning what it means to be a Christian, and that is what their Master desires.'

3. The distinction must not be lost sight of between the personal religion of the individual on the one hand and the corporate action of a community on the other. Take the phrase 'Christian countries,' for example. Strictly speaking, there is no Christian state in existence. However many Christians may be numbered amongst its citizens, the action of a state is not on that account guided by Christian principles, nor—as events are proving—even by moral principles, or those of elementary humanity. The whole difficult business of ethicizing international relations has yet to be accomplished. A beginning was made at the Hague Conference, and good

results were expected, but the whole process will have to begin over again when the present war is over. Whether much or little is then done, will depend on who is victorious and how complete is the victory gained. But the outbreak of this horrible, shattering war, so far from proving the collapse of Christianity, itself furnishes consummate proof of the kind of results that must be expected from the violation of Christian principles in times of peace. If in their diplomacy, in their piling up of armaments, and in all their international relations, great states, whether called Christian or not, persist in courses such as the nations of Europe have been pursuing, the end can only be—such catastrophes as those which are now making the world to shudder. When the laws which govern states in their mutual relations have been Christianized, it will be time enough to inquire whether in this respect Christianity has failed, or not.

4. It is a new and almost ridiculous doctrine that ideals are to be relinquished because they are not immediately, or easily, attainable. Ideals rule us and render life illustrious, just because they are ideals. 'We live by admiration, hope, and love,' says Wordsworth. 'A man's reach should exceed his grasp, else what's a heaven for?' asks Browning. The two say the same thing. If the ideals are false, let them be shown to be so. If the Christian virtues—splendid because they are so lowly—of sympathy, forgiveness, pity and forbearance—the standard implied in the words 'If I your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet'—are really detrimental to society, as the modern worshippers of Odin declare, let it be proved. The events of the last six months go to show once again that crimes are blunders, and that no greater harm can be done to its own side by any belligerent than is done by the brutal disregard of moral and humanitarian considerations, the defiance of elementary principles of righteousness, mercy and truth. 'The stars in their courses fought against Sisera,' though he had nine hundred chariots of iron and swept all before him 'from the river Kishon to Harosheth of the Gentiles.'

5. But there is another side to these truisms—as till recently they have been considered. High ideals can only operate, and elevate, when they are faithfully and tenaciously held. The Christian is not to be refused his right to the name because he has not yet attained. He who is a Christian is not a Christian. That is, he who claims to have reached the goal before he has run the race, does not understand either race or goal. But the sacred name can only be legitimately claimed in proportion as he who runs is 'following after,' 'stretching forward to the things that are before, pressing toward the mark for the prize.' And the reason why it is now so vehemently urged that Christians are not Christian is not because they are imperfect, but because so many are not trying to be anything else.

Religion in Christian lands has not been for long enough the mighty force it ought to be. By a large portion of what is called

Christian society, religion has been honoured—and neglected. Now in a few weeks war has done what philanthropy and church organisation have striven in vain to secure. Social dissensions, political animosity, ecclesiastical distinctions have been largely swept aside. A welding together at white heat has been accomplished of iron masses that could never have been united while cold. War itself of course has not accomplished this: by itself war can do nothing but wrench apart and torture and destroy. But the spirit of devotion to a great cause, evoked by war, has wrought wonders. We do not say that this spirit is non-religious, for its operation has been largely due to a deep religious sense of duty. But why has pure religion failed, where a passion of devotion to King and Country has succeeded, sweeping through the land like a purifying flame? When the churches of Christ are mightily moved by the Spirit of Christ to do and dare great things after this fashion, there need be little fear of the complaint being made that Christians are not Christian.

6. It remains to be seen whether at this moment the Christian churches of Europe can learn their lesson and use their opportunity. God has many ways of teaching dull scholars. He answers most of our prayers in unexpected ways; sometimes, 'by terrible things in righteousness.' We are constantly reminded that everything will be changed after the war. But war itself will not purify, any more than any other devastating scourge. Its tremendous shocks may (perhaps) serve to break down some barriers of prejudice and break up some ruts and grooves of ecclesiastical routine. Things that have been made—not of God—may be shaken and removed, so that the things which cannot be shaken may remain. But it can only be so if in the church of Christ and in the hearts of individual Christians first things are put first and kept first, while things of twentieth rank are kept in the twentieth place. For 'man is not Man as yet.' The kingdom is coming, not come; the church is making, not made. Luther said that sanctification was 'the Christianizing of a Christian.' If so, it is clear that the work of sanctification is not finished yet. But it is advancing. And the belief that it will be further advanced by the 'earthquakes, dearths, and desolations' of our troubled and anxious times is the one thing that makes it possible to toil and to suffer, to pray and to wait.

W. T. Davison.

DR. T. K. CHEYNE

The death of Dr. Cheyne marks the close of a life of untiring industry and fearless search after knowledge. It is almost with a shock of surprise that one reads that he was only seventy-three years old. The list of his works is so lengthy, and his place amongst the foremost scholars of the day has been so long assured, that one such life-time seems all too short to compass such a mass of learning. The wonder grows when we remember that he suffered during most of his life

from a very real 'thorn in the flesh,' since, as he once wrote, his hours of work were 'limited by an infirmity of sight during the darker months.'

Dr. Cheyne adds one more name to the brilliant list of Hebraists whose early education was received at the Merchant Taylors' School. Passing thence to Oxford, he became a Fellow of Balliol in 1869. Save for a few years of parish work as rector of Tendring in Essex, his whole working life was passed in Oxford, where he returned in 1885 as Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture.

His first book was published forty-six years ago, *Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah*, 1869. It was the precursor of a number of works on the same prophetic book; *Isaiah Chronologically Arranged*, 1870; *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 1880–81; and (much later) *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895. During this period came also many contributions to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; *Job and Solomon*; the *Bampton Lectures on the Psalms*, and many smaller works. It is probably true that Dr. Cheyne's best work lies within these years. It contained exegetical work of the highest order, which showed a fine literary instinct, and deep sympathy with spiritual truth. The autobiographical prefaces and notes which are to be found in so many of his books insist again and again on the need of a real personal experience to qualify a man to expound the Scriptures. Even those whose standpoint differed most widely from his could not help recognising in him a devout worshipper at the inner shrine.

One may draw a clear division between the works that preceded and followed Dr. Cheyne's acceptance of the *North Arabian Theory*. He had long been convinced that a more searching textual criticism of the traditional Hebrew text was necessary before exegesis could make much further progress. Winckler had discovered the existence of a region in North Arabia called *Musri*, a name closely resembling *Misraim*, the Hebrew name for Egypt. He had suggested that this name lay beneath the present text of certain Old Testament passages. Dr. Cheyne grasped this clue, and pursued it until he was led into a strange land of conjecture and hypothesis in which he wandered almost entirely alone. He became convinced that it was not Egypt but Musri that was the oppressor of early Israel, and even that it was not to Babylonia but to North Arabia that we must look for the chief lands of the captivity. In that barren region we were bidden to see a great kingdom, that of the Jerahmeelites, all but unknown until the new textual criticism disclosed references to it on almost every page of the Hebrew Bible. From this unexplored kingdom came most of the traditions and beliefs of early Israel. This astonishing thesis was commended in thousands of pages of the author's later works, and pressed upon gatherings of the clergy. Time may discover more wheat amongst the chaff, but as a whole one may safely affirm that the theory was still-born.

In the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, further proof was given of Dr. Cheyne's extraordinary versatility and range of knowledge. The number of articles from his own pen is very large, whilst he annotated

and expanded many by other contributors. Serious Bible students know that within these pages there is much of permanent value, but the worth of the work as a whole is gravely diminished, firstly by the all-pervading North Arabian theory, and secondly by the extremes to which the avowed purpose of making the *Encyclopaedia* representative of 'advanced' criticism was carried. When one reads, for example, that Solomon's Egyptian wife was not an Egyptian at all but an Arabian, that Jezebel was a princess, not of Tyre but of Musri, and that textual criticism can discover in eleven names connected with the family of Saul traces of Jerahmeel or of Ishmael, the tool of the critic appears to be not, like Marcion's, a penknife, but rather a pen capable of rewriting the whole text. Similarly the choice that committed so many of the articles on Paul to von Manen perpetuated the results of a purely ephemeral school of criticism, if indeed it ever had a day at all. Moreover, those who knew and prized the work of Robertson Smith were not content to believe that his mind must have advanced along the lines marked out by Dr. Cheyne's completion of his earlier articles. Perhaps some day a revision of the *Encyclopaedia*, carried out by a scholar less prone to seek after novelties, may win for it the place to which so large a part of it is entitled.

Of Dr. Cheyne's later views of Christianity it is not easy to speak. A few years ago he wrote that—'the centre of theology can never be shifted from the person of Christ. The Jesus whom we call Master is at once the historical Jesus of Nazareth, and that ideal form which becomes more and more glorious as man's moral capacity increases—the Jesus whom we can imagine moving about our streets, comforting those who mourn, healing the morally sick, stirring the consciences of the sluggish, and giving to all who see and hear fresh disclosures of truth, fresh glimpses of the ideal.' In his posthumously published book—*The Reconciliations of Races and Religions*—written under the stimulus of the study of Bahaism, he shows himself willing to yield what to us is the foundation of all our hope and faith—the uniqueness of our Lord. We would fain think that such words reflect rather the chivalrous desire to do justice to teachers of another creed than the deepest conviction of the writer. To us the sentence he rejects—'If in that historical figure I cannot see God, then I am without God in the world'—seems unchallengeably true. Yet as we say farewell to such a scholar, in whose life there seems to have been no taint of ignoble ambition or self-seeking, we feel that he has merited an epitaph such as he craved for when he desired that some day it might be said of him—'We looked not backward but forward, not inward but upward . . . enlarged the mental horizon, careless of a reputation for consistency, but careful of the smallest grain of God's truth.'

WILFRID J. MOULTON.

THE GROWTH OF MOHAMMEDAN DOCTRINE

THE subject of Dr. Margoliouth's new Hibbert lecture—'The Early Development of Mohammedanism'—is timely and is ably handled. The author is an expositor, not a controversialist, although of course an expositor cannot avoid expressing a judgement. If we were limited to the Koran for our knowledge of Mohammedanism, we should fare poorly. The utterances of the Prophet, which are recorded in the Koran without order or system, are severely occasional, spoken to meet the necessity of the moment. The unity and purpose entered with subsequent developments of thought. The Koran is an object of intense reverence to all Mohammedans; warring sects appeal to it; it is the one bond of union in the Mohammedan world. No 'infidel' must possess or read it. But the immense and complex mass of beliefs and rites, which make up the system, was the growth of the centuries which followed immediately on the Prophet's days. Not that the appeal could elicit any direct decision. The questions discussed afterwards do not emerge in the Prophet's utterances. The decision turns on intimations and assumptions which the appellants find, or think they find, in the utterances. The claims made for the Koran by believers and by itself are lofty enough. The book is declared to be a miracle; no other attestation is necessary. According to one passage in the work itself it is 'a detailed account of everything,' and another says, 'We have neglected nothing in the book,'—a view scarcely supported by the vast Mohammedan literature which has sprung up since. The original copy is said to be in the hands of the divine Author, who sometimes changed His mind as He spoke to the Prophet, which change is said to explain the divergent views expressed on the same subjects in many passages. It is scarcely too much to say that the Koran has but one dogma, 'There is only one God, and Mohammed is His Prophet.' This is the Mohammedan creed in a sentence.

In illustrating the subsequent early development Dr. Margoliouth works out no fewer than six supplements—in jurisprudence, ethics, attitude to other religions, mysticism, philosophy, and history. On all these subjects an extensive Mohammedan literature exists. The Preface mentions seven voluminous authors from whom illustrations are drawn. Readers will scarcely fail to be impressed by the prominent place which ritual fills in the picture. Ablutions, set forms of devotion, pilgrimages, manipulations abound. Of course spiritual and ethical elements are not wanting, e.g., the five daily devotions, the honour done to temperance. But minute, complex ritual bulks large. Still fuller proof of this is given in works like *The Faith of Islam*, by Mr. Sell, a Madras missionary.

The monotheism which is the one strong point of the system is enforced by the precept that no one and nothing is to be 'associated' with the Divine Being. To those who deny that Jesus is divine Christianity violates this precept. But the precept has better

applications. One who would be perfect must desire and even love nothing but God, or love everything else in God; the temporal and earthly must be put second; indeed in the last result the believer's separate existence must be lost in God. Monotheism ends in pantheism.

Predestination has been the subject of great controversy among Mohammedans. There can be no question that Fatalism is all but the universal belief. Several shades of opinion exist, and some writers profess to believe both in predestination and freewill. Both sides appeal to the Koran and quote passages which are indefinite at the best. The Mutazil sect, which holds to freewill, is not strong in numbers. Its members use the familiar arguments to the effect that the opposite doctrine makes God responsible for sin and overrides man's own consciousness. The Mutazil belief has been put down by the sword, a favourite argument in Mohammedan history. A believer in freewill in a conference before the Caliph asks, Does God will that He should be disobeyed? An 'orthodox theologian' replies, Is God disobeyed against His will? When the Mutazilite gives no reply, the Caliph orders his hands and feet to be cut off. Fatalist faith is in the Arab blood, and is largely the secret of the reckless courage which carried the Islamic flag victoriously through Syria, Persia, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, planted it in Constantinople and threatened Vienna in Reformation times.

It may seem strange at first sight that religious Mysticism should flourish on Moslem soil. The divine transcendence lies at the heart of the Moslem faith. The emphasis is thrown on the difference between the divine and the human. The idea of incarnation is far away. In this respect Mohammedanism is not Eastern and is in antithesis to India. Yet the spirit of the East asserts itself in all its children. Indeed we may say that human nature is everywhere true to itself; everywhere it thirsts for union with the living God—nowhere more manifestly than in conditions which offer resistance to its claims. Many forms of mystic speculation and aspiration are rampant under the auspices of Islam. Perhaps it is tolerated perforce, but it is tolerated. As long ago as 1825 Prof. Tholuck published a striking book, *A Cluster of Flowers from Oriental Mysticism*, which, after characterising the nature of mysticism in general, gave long extracts from mystic poets of Islam. Dr. Margoliouth has a long chapter on 'Asceticism leading to Pantheism.' The widespread movement goes by the name of Sûfism, a term of Persian origin. 'The main proposition is that there is no distinction between subject and object, and that God, nature, and man are identical.' Hallâj, the author of numerous works, died as a martyr of mysticism in 922 A.D. Sâdi, one of the writers quoted by Tholuck says, "Art thou a friend of God? Speak not of self, for to speak of God and of self is infidelity.' The theory does not shrink from the extreme conclusion—the extinction of individual existence, the term for this final stage being Fana= extinction. We need scarcely say that Pantheism leads by another path to antinomianism. Tholuck quotes some sayings of the Pro-

phet which are in the mystic strain. 'The believer is nearest God when he prays.' '"If I love a servant," God says, "I will be his eye, ear and mouth, so that he will hear, see, and speak through me."' 'God is seated on the heart of believers as on His throne.' 'The heart of believers lies between the finger-tips of God, so that he turns it as He will.' '"Earth and heaven," God says, "contain me not, but the heart of my faithful one contains me."' A Sûfi writer says: 'One knocked at the door of the beloved, and a voice within asked, "Who is there?" He answered, "It is I." The voice replied, "This house will not hold me and Thee." After another year of solitude and prayer the lover knocked again. "Who is there?" "It is thou." The door opened.' Here is a parable. In the East as in the West mysticism lands in Quietism, in abstinence from prayer and worship, which imply that God and the soul are different. It ought not to be difficult for us to remember the difference between union and identity. The truth which mysticism enshrines and exaggerates is direct fellowship between the believing soul and God, face to face communion with the Eternal. The Old Testament, with its fidelity to the truth of transcendence, is in no danger on this side.

Dr. Margoliouth gives long quotations from a remarkable mystical writer, Niffari. The first sentence quoted sounds a warning-signal: 'The more the sight of God is extended, the narrower becomes the sphere of worship.' Much that follows needs an interpreter. Hallâj, who was mentioned before, identified himself with God: 'I am the Truth. I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me, thou seest Him; and when thou seest Him, thou seest me.' Tholuck tells us how Rabia, a famous woman-saint, performed the pilgrimage to Mecca; but when she came in sight of the Kaaba—the sacred building in Mecca round which the pilgrim must walk seven times—she exclaimed, 'I need the Lord of the Kaaba. What use is the Kaaba to me? I am so near to God, that His saying: "Whoever comes a span-length nearer to me, I come an ell nearer to him," applies to me. What then is the Kaaba to me?' Once when Rabia lay sick, three famous theologians paid her a visit. One said, 'He is not sincere in his prayer who does not endure the chastening of his Lord.' Another said, 'He is not sincere in his prayer who does not rejoice in the chastening of his Lord.' But Rabia, who caught the tone of the self in the words, said, 'He is not sincere in his prayer, who, when he discerns his Lord, does not forget that he is chastened.' There is a difference of motive between the Indian and the Moslem mysticism. The aim of the former is to escape from the weary round of transmigration; the aim of the latter is to obey the precept to 'associate' nothing with God, and this aim is only realized when the possibility of distinguishing between the self and God is done away by absorption in the divine.

JOHN S. BANKS.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by Dr. James Hastings, with the assistance of Dr. John A. Selbie and Dr. Louis H. Gray. Volume VII. Hymns—Liberty. (T. & T. Clark. Cloth, 28*s.* net.)

With the issue of each new volume of this great work its permanent value becomes increasingly evident. To the article on *Hymns*, fourteen scholars contribute, Dr. T. G. Pinches writing on 'Babylonian Hymns,' Dr. Rhys Davids on 'Buddhist Hymns.' to mention only the first two sections. 'Christian Hymns' are subdivided into Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, Latin, Irish and Modern. 'Modern Christian Hymns' has nine headings, and its author, Rev. T. G. Crippen, editorial secretary to the Congregational Historical Society, proves to be a competent guide over a far-stretching area. Charles Wesley, 'the poet of the Methodist revival,' is described as 'the greatest of all English hymn-writers,' and a large proportion of his hymns are 'equally valued in other communions.' The reason why few of his Methodist contemporaries left anything of value, is, in Mr. Crippen's opinion, that 'the unapproachable greatness of Charles Wesley seems to have had a repressive influence on hymn-writing in Methodist circles.'

Dr. Hastings has gone to America for the article on the greatest of all themes, *Jesus Christ*, and the President of Hartford Seminary, Dr. W. D. Mackenzie, brings to his task wide reading, reverent scholarship, and sound judgement. The scope of his article may be inferred from its main divisions, which are: The personal founders of religion, the consciousness of Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ as Creator of the Church, Jesus Christ and the moral regeneration of man, Apostolic Christology, Christology in the early Church, Christology in the modern Church. In his closing 'positive statement,' Dr. Mackenzie says: 'It is the infinite difference of Christ from us that has made an infinite difference for us. It is what is more than human in Him, even in His sympathy, that has transformed the meaning of life from despair to a glorious hope in God. But the "more than human" is human. And this must be possible if God and man are spiritual conscious beings.'

Amongst the more important articles to which several scholars have contributed, the following may be mentioned: *Images and Idols*, *Incarnation*, *Inheritance*, *Inspiration*, *King*, and *Law*. German scholarship is represented by Professor von Dobschütz (Interpreta-

tion), Dr. Eucken (Individuality), Dr. Grützmacher (Jerome), Professor Jacobi (Jainism), Dr. Loofs (Kenosis), Dr. Niese (Josephus), &c. Professor R. H. Kennett rightly says that 'an adequate treatment of the questions suggested by the name *Israel* would require an encyclopaedia to itself,' but within the limits of eighteen pages he compresses the results of careful historical research. Of special interest to many will be the late Rev. C. Silvester Horne's account of the *Institutional Church*—'a clumsy title used to describe a modern development of Church life necessitated by new social conditions.' The highest success is reached 'where the worship and teaching of the Church have been effectually central to all the manifold operations of the institutional work.'

In this volume, Wesleyan Methodism is represented by Dr. Geden, who writes on subjects connected with Buddhism and Hinduism; Professor Lofthouse, whose thoughtful exposition of *Indifferentism* leads up to the conclusion that to the Christian 'nothing can be indifferent; . . . there is nothing to which his attitude is not of supreme importance'; Dr. J. H. Moulton, who, as an expert, tells us what is known of the *Iranians*; Rev. R. M. Pope, M.A., who contributes helpful studies of *Kindness* and *Liberty* (*Christian*); Dr. Tasker, who treats suggestively a subject of special interest to-day, namely *Intercession*, dealing with Intercessory Prayer, the Intercession of Christ, and the Intercession of the Holy Spirit.

The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri and other non-literary Sources. By James Hope Moulton, D.D., and George Milligan, D.D. Part I. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.* net.)

This part of Profs. Moulton and Milligan's work, containing 100 double column pages, only covers the first letter of the Greek alphabet, but it is intended to complete the work in six ordinary parts. A concluding part will present the addenda which new publications and continued reading will make necessary and will give some systematic survey of results. The record of New Testament words in the non-literary papyri is given with some fullness, but very common words are not exhaustively treated where practical purposes are not served. The inscriptions could not be dealt with fully, but some easily accessible collections have been used as carefully as possible and the net has been cast 'fairly wide for illustration.' The list of abbreviations shows, however, that a wide range of papyri and inscriptions has been brought into requisition. Specialists in later Greek epigraphy will be able to supplement the work on this side. A few Septuagint words are included, and an occasional word which has importance for Gospel criticism. Very often words are included for which our non-literary sources provide no illustration, in order to discuss from literary evidence, or from its absence, the position such words took in the popular Greek. The work assumes throughout the use of Thayer's edition of Grimm. The articles throw light on

many New Testament passages and give living interest to its familiar words and phrases.

The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament. By Sir W. M. Ramsay. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s*.)

Sir W. Ramsay seeks to show by detailed examination of some much criticised passages that 'the New Testament is unique in the compactness, the lucidity, the pregnancy and the vivid truthfulness of its expression.' He holds that the prevailing tendency of German criticism of the New Testament is 'wrong because it is narrow, and because it judges from erroneous and unjustifiable principles.' Sir William gives an interesting account of the way in which he was led to his explorations in Asia Minor. The statement in Acts xiv. 5, first led him to revise his judgement as to the trustworthiness of St. Luke's record, and in 1910 the work of years was completed by the discovery of an epitaph which proved that Iconium was a Phrygian, not a Lycaonian city. Sir William has repeatedly found that statements made by German authorities are more readily accepted than those of capable English scholars. He gradually reached the conclusion that the narrative of St. Paul's travels rested on first-class authority. 'When the Acts is read from this point of view, as the real travels of real men along roads or over seas, it becomes vivid in the highest degree.' Sir William says 'you may press the words of Luke in a degree far beyond any other historian's, and they stand the keenest scrutiny and the hardest treatment, provided always that the critic knows the subject and does not go beyond the limits of science and of justice.' This position is effectively illustrated from the trial scenes, the references to magicians, and other subjects in the Acts and in the third Gospel. The concluding chapter on 'The Pauline Churches in the Third Century' is of special value, and the whole book is a strong witness to the entire reliability of St. Luke as a historian.

Christian Psychology. By the Rev. James Stalker, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5*s*.)

'It was a saying of Vinet, that the soul of man and the gospel of Christ answer to each other like lock and key; and this maxim might almost be taken as the keynote of all that follows in this book.' This is Dr. Stalker's own account of the contents of a deeply interesting work, which consists of lectures delivered at Richmond and Auburn Seminaries in the United States of America. It is an advantage that the audience consisted 'only half of students'; therefore, in the interests of the general public, a popular style was adopted. The result is that a subject of the utmost importance is treated with fullness of scientific knowledge indeed, but practically rather than technically. Dr. Stalker points out that the Psychology of Religion is 'at present restricted to the phenomena of conversion,' whereas

'the experiences of the religious life following conversion' might with great advantage be treated in the same way. 'The science which reveals what are the different parts and functions of the soul, and especially the development of which each is capable, may, it is evident, be a handmaid of Christianity.' None will doubt this who reads Dr. Stalker's lucid lectures on 'Body, Soul, and Spirit,' 'The Five Senses,' 'Habit,' 'The Heart,' 'The Conscience,' &c. Many will gladly confirm the author's testimony: 'Amidst the perplexities and uncertainties incidental to the study of theology, I have always felt it tranquillizing to return to the kingdom that is within.'

Bishop Ryle began to edit *Genesis* (4*s.* 6*d.* net) in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* ten years ago, but his heavy duties as Bishop of Winchester gave scanty leisure for such work. He has at last been able to finish it. His Introduction extends to sixty pages. *Genesis*, he says, 'is not a history of the world; but it is an introduction to the History of the Chosen People. In consequence, as each stage of the Primæval and Patriarchal History is reached, the collateral material is disposed of, before the main thread is resumed.' Important sections deal with Composition, the Documents (J, E, P), Literary Materials, Historical Value, Religious Teaching, Moral Difficulties and the Names of God. The notes are specially full and helpful, and the appendices are full of valuable matter as to the Babylonian Myths of Creation, the Tel-el-Amarna Tablets, and kindred subjects. It is a splendid piece of work from the moderate Higher Critical position.

Three volumes have been added to the Cambridge Greek Testament. *St. Mark* (4*s.* 6*d.* net) is edited by Dr. Plummer. He holds that 'Mark is too original to be a mere recorder of what Peter used to say, or a mere supplier of what Q had omitted to say.' His Gospel is an early attempt 'to aid the living voice in making the good tidings known to the world. Mark had had years of experience with Saul of Tarsus, with Barnabas, and with Peter, in preaching the gospel, and he knew well incidents and sayings which again and again went home to the hearts of men.' The last twelve verses quite clearly belong to another document. The notes are excellent. —*The Epistle to the Ephesians* (3*s.* 6*d.* net), edited by Dr. Murray, the Master of Selwyn College, strongly maintains the genuineness of the Epistle. Dr. Murray's study has led to 'a deepening conviction of the dependence of St. Paul, both in thought and language, on some form of Gospel tradition of the words of the Lord, and at times specifically on the form of it now preserved for us by St. John.' Valuable studies of the Theology of St. Paul are given in the Introduction and in Additional Notes.—*The First Epistle General of Peter* (3*s.* 6*d.* net), is edited by the Rev. G. W. Blenkin, Vicar of Hitchin, who deals suggestively in his Introduction with the life and character of Peter, the relations between the Epistle and other

N.T. books, the readers of the Epistle, and kindred subjects. The notes will be greatly appreciated by students. The difficult passage (iii. 19) is treated with considerable fullness.

The Relations Between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples. By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Litt.D. (Oxford University Press. 8*s.* net.)

The Master of St. Catherine's has chosen a subject of great biblical interest for his Schweich Lectures. He lectured on the Code of Hammurabi on the appearance of the first edition and has given continuous attention to it. In the present volume, Dr. Johns sets out some of the most striking features of the Babylonian Code. It is not a code in the modern sense, for it does not aim at legislating for everything that could occur. It deals with matters which primarily concerned the state of society in Babylonia in Hammurabi's day. The features of the laws of Israel are brought out in the second lecture, whilst the third discusses various theories which have been propounded to account for the similarities between the two codes. Dr. Johns thinks that the evidence 'points on the whole to the Israelite contribution being more primitive in type, and in some degree a return to early conditions which held before the time of Hammurabi in Babylonia.' 'Some of the features which Hammurabi's code has in common with the early Hebrew legislation are only slightly modified from the still earlier codes which date from the time of earlier Sumerian supremacy in Babylonia.' This difficult part of the subject is handled with due reserve in a sagacious and really useful way. A valuable appendix gives a survey of the bibliography of the literature relating to the Code of Hammurabi.

The Rule of Work and Worship. An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. By R. L. Ottley, D.D. (Robert Scott. 5*s.* net.)

This is a very complete and helpful study of the Lord's Prayer. Dr. Ottley's first chapters on The Author of the Lord's Prayer, Prayer and its place in Religion, and the Use of the Lord's Prayer in Christian worship cover all the introductory matter, then each part of the prayer is expounded with care and insight, and an Appendix gives the various forms which the prayer has assumed in Greek, Latin, and English versions of the Bible. A quaint exposition from the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, probably by Wyclif himself, is a specially interesting feature of this appendix. Dr. Ottley says the earliest evidence we possess as to the use of the prayer in worship is in the *Didaché*, where it is quoted with the injunction: 'Thrice in the day thus pray ye.' It would seem that Christians observed the Jewish custom of private prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, and that the introduction of the Lord's Prayer into the stated daily services of the Church belongs to a somewhat later period. It was called *Oratio fidelium*, and was only imparted to candidates for baptism, with the Creed, eight days before the administration of the rite. The book will be of conspicuous service to all devout readers.

The Growth of the Gospels, as shewn by Structural Criticism. By W. M. Flinders Petrie. (John Murray. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

An essay on this perennially absorbing subject by a scholar of such peculiar distinction has a promise of interest which more elaborate works by lesser men would not raise. One must fear, however, that the little book before us is too slight to win attention from experts, in spite of the eminence of its author. To reverse the most assured results of synoptic criticism demands a long and searching examination of conclusions on which investigators of all schools are agreed. The priority of Mark's Gospel cannot be upset by the three pages of details in which Dr. Petrie thinks Matthew more original, for in a large proportion of them careful readers will take an opposite view. That Dr. Petrie has presumably read very little of the immense literature of the subject is wholly natural when we remember the distance and the extensiveness of his own peculiar field; but not even the acutest of amateurs can hope to contribute anything permanent without a study for which this great archaeologist could find no time.

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 in this interesting work on the parables is not that it arranges them systematically, but that it places them in chronological order, or, in other words, in 'natural groups' in which it is claimed that a 'development and synthesis of doctrine' is revealed. In the first two Gospels, 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.' This sequence is helpful and suggestive, though the parallel traced between these five triads and similar groups in Luke's Gospel is not always convincing. But Mr. Lithgow has broken new ground and supplied students of the Gospels with valuable material. His treatment of 'The Symbolism of the Parables' and of 'The Parabolic Aspect of the Fourth Gospel' is especially instructive.

The Offerings made like unto the Son of God. By Walter Stephen Moule, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co. 6*s.* net.)

Archdeacon Moule is Principal of the C.M.S. Training College, Ningpo, China, and in this work he presents the results of 'an independent inquiry into the typical character of the history and of the Mosaic ritual.' Critical theories of the Old Testament are not taken into account, and to many readers this will be a recommendation. Others who cannot ignore them may, nevertheless, read this reverent study to their profit, though they will not agree with all its interpretations. Its main thesis is that 'the Mosaic Law of offerings has a permanent value in the Christian Church, because from it we may

learn a divine philosophy of the work of Christ, that central fact of the world's history.'

Nazareth and the Beginning of Christianity. A New View based upon philological evidence. By Champlin Burrage, B.Litt. (Oxford University Press. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Burrage claims to have discovered the source of the prophecy that the Messiah 'should be called a Nazarene.' The passage to which reference is made is, in his view Judges xiii. 2–24, describing the birth of Samson. His essay appeals to experts, and is furnished 'with critical appendices, including unnoticed precanonical readings; a discussion of the birthplace of Jesus; and the text of what is believed to be the hitherto undiscovered source of the prophecy.'

Science and Religion: The Rational and the Super-rational. By Cassius J. Keyser, Ph.D., LL.D. (Milford. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Professor of Mathematics in Columbia University delivered this address before the Phi Beta Kappa Alumni in New York. It seeks to show that 'the function of idealization indicates the reality and in part, the nature of a domain beyond, a realm superrational, and that this realm is the ultimate and permanent ground and source of the religious emotions.' It is a subtle handling of the argument for religion. 'The supreme ideals and supreme perfections of rational experience and thought, are all of them forms of Being absolute, constituting an Over-world, a realm Superrational.' The realm sheds its light on human lives. Our very aspirations are evidence of its existence. 'Reason's unattainable ideals are the light-giving Aether of Life. Therein is the precious and abiding reality of the Overworld.' Prof. Keyser's argument needs close attention, but it repays it abundantly.

Discovery and Revelation. A Study in Comparative Religion. By the Rev. H. F. Hamilton, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Hamilton argues that the belief in One Almighty God has had only two sources—the philosophy of the Greeks and the religion of the Hebrews. 'Before those two monotheisms arose, the civilized world lay in the grip of polytheism.' The Hebrew monotheism was entirely different from that of the Greek philosophers and preceded it by several hundred years. Christ fulfilled the Messianic hope of the Old Testament, and if we accept the experiences of its prophets as instances of communion with God, we must accept the religious fellowship and system of Israel; 'and this carries with it the Messiahship of Jesus, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic Church.' The argument is distinctly helpful, and the writer feels no fear of modernism. 'God will not

lead us astray; and it seems as though He intended that our apprehension of the faith should grow as the light of new intellectual forces and fresh ideas is brought to bear upon it.'

Practical Mysticism: A Little Book for Normal People. By Evelyn Underhill. (J. M. Dent & Sons. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This little book is intended for homely readers who wish to know what Mysticism really means. It does not set forth the views of any one school, but puts the view of the Universe, and of man's place in it, which is common to all mystics, and suggests how ordinary persons may participate in their experience. Mysticism is defined as 'the Art of Union with Reality.' That world exists for all, and they may participate in it, unite with it, according to their measure and the strength and purity of their desire. The education of the mystical sense begins in self-simplification—'the gathering of the scattered bits of personality into the *one* which is really you.' Then the mystic travels along the road where he is successively united with the Natural, the Spiritual, and the Divine. Some suggestive things are said in the chapter on Self-Adjustment, and the three forms of contemplation are very attractively described, especially the first, which the old mystics sometimes called the 'discovery of God in His creatures.' Miss Underhill writes with her usual charm and insight, but one feels the lack of evangelical definiteness. Every enlightened Christian is really treading this road of communion with God and Nature, and for him also the way grows brighter as he journeys on.

The Spiritual Maxims of Angelus Silesius. Translated, with an Introduction by Henry Bett. (Kelly. 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Bett's translation will be most welcome to all lovers of the Mystics. He points out, in his brilliant introduction, that 'Angelus Silesius is one of the most interesting of the mystics of Germany,' and laments that 'in this country his most characteristic work seems to be scarcely known at all.' He refers to the fact that 'in our days English writers on Mysticism apparently do not know of the existence of Angelus Silesius and Dr. Inge's *Christian Mysticism* does not mention him. Nor does Miss Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism*, though it professes to include a historical sketch of European mysticism from the beginning of the Christian Era to the death of Blake.' Angelus Silesius, whose proper name is Scheffler, is best known to English readers through John Wesley's great translations of four of this mystic's hymns. Every line of Mr. Bett's introduction shows signs of careful investigation, and of a sound judgement which is the result of a wide knowledge. The translation reads well, and as we peruse the maxims we learn that Scheffler has the authentic note of mysticism. He dwells apart in the Eternities, and reveals the things of God. Some of his sayings are startling in their vividness, and palpi-

tate with intensity. We note the one under the heading, 'God is Glorious everywhere.'

'Be the dust n'er so vile, be the motes n'er so small,
The wise man sees God, great and glorious in them all.'

We quote also this beautiful passage, entitled 'Roses'—

'Roses I love, for they are white and red,
And set with cruel thorns, like Jesu's head.'

But we must resist the temptation to quote more. Our readers must buy this book. It will become a constant friend; it will soothe the heart in days of sorrow; it will teach the soul that its only true home is in God. It is a small book—but a great one. Treasures are to be found on every page—which are more precious than rubies. We heartily thank Mr. Bett for his splendid piece of work, which is, indeed, a great contribution to the study of Mysticism. We are greedy, and we ask for more.

Faith's Certainties. By J. Brierley, B.A. (Clarke & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is Mr. Brierley's latest work. For many years he had given his best strength to the far-famed essays in the *Christian World*, but there is no sign in this volume of diminished powers. The thread of life was very near breaking-point, yet his range of thought and interest is as wide, his felicity and force of expression as great as ever. He knew how to choose a title that arrested attention, and to carry his readers with him step by step till he reached his conclusion, and had left behind some lesson that was not soon forgotten. What a light falls on duty as we study the first essay on 'Life's Marching Orders,' with its lovely picture of St. Paul: 'He was a soldier on the march, God's soldier, with God's orders in his mind, and God's comfort in his soul.' Every page tempts comment. The view of life is so sane and the insight so unerring that one feels braced by an hour spent in such company.

The Golden Milestone and other Bric-à-Brac. By F. W. Boreham. (Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Boreham's two earlier books have won him a happy reputation, and his new volume will increase it. He is in love with life, and feels that he will be repaid if something he has 'said makes somebody somewhere more glad to be alive.' There are twenty-four studies here, and every one of them is stimulating. Mr. Boreham allows us to look into his library and brings out its treasures, but he does not forget to carry us out of doors. We see 'The Modesty of the Bush, The Reflections in the River, The Call of the Deep.' We even interview the 'Angel of the Kitchen' and get a delightful homily on Longfellow's line. 'Each man's chimney is his golden milestone.' There is variety in this book, and it is always charming.—*Men in the Making.* By A. J. Costain, M.A. (Kelly. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) These are just

the talks that boys appreciate. They deal with character and conduct in a straight and manly fashion, they fall into no ruts, they go straight to the mark. They have insight and sympathy. It is a book from which others will get many a useful hint.—*Brought to the Bishop.* By the Rev. J. H. Swinstead, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1*s.* net.) The first five lessons in this Manual deal with the Church Catechism, the last five with Confirmation. Happy use is made of diagrams, and the arrangement of the lessons is excellent. The book ought to be of great service to Church of England workers, and others can learn much from it.—*Is Methodism Marking Time?* by Simpson Johnson (Kelly, 3*d.* net), is a strong and timely appeal for 'a campaigning, conquering Church.' The opportunity for Foreign Missions, Home Evangelism, work among children and young people, is shown in a way that will rouse many to new effort. Mr. Johnson holds that Methodism 'wants to get back the spirit of attack.' It is a timely and heart-searching message.

The Emotions of Jesus. By Prof. Robert Law, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2*s.* net.) This is the latest issue of the 'Short Course Series.' Dr. Law discusses in turn six of the emotions of Jesus—His joy, geniality, anger, wonder, steadfastness under strain, and compassion for the suffering and sinful. All the addresses are fresh, effective, and full of appeal. An adequate treatment of the emotional life of Jesus would be a valuable and attractive book; and it is pleasant to find that Dr. Law has something of the kind in view.—*St. Paul's Comforters,* By the Rev. Evan Thomas, (Allenson. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) Seven suggestive sermons followed by short prayers. The Comforters are Ananias, Barnabas, Epaphras, St. Paul's Doctor, John Mark, St. Paul's Benjamin. The first sermon, based on Col. iv. 11, gives the title to the book. 'St. Paul will not allow his comforters to be anonymous. They must have a niche somewhere amid the shadowy figures that live in the 'Comforters' Corner' in the Abbey of Memory.'—In *A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on Assent to the Creeds* (J. & J. Bennett. 6*d.*), Dr. I. Gregory Smith urges devout believers in Christ who find a difficulty in accepting one or another clause in the Creeds to turn from things that seem to them obscure and perplexing to other aspects of the revelation in Christ. 'The craving to know everything is natural, but it has to be restrained,' and 'if we really lived our Creeds instead of arguing about them—the cuckoo cry of self-assertion—"I am right, you are wrong," would be hushed in the land.' This will be a word in season to many.—*Plain and Practical Lessons for Confirmation Candidates and Others.* By G. A. Tindall, B.A. (Stock. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) These lessons are based on the Church Catechism, and are arranged under three heads which describe the beginning, the strengthening, and the continuance of the Christian life. They are full of suggestion for those who conduct such classes, and Nonconformists may learn not a little from them. The spirit of the book is shown in the statement that while there are Sacraments and other ordinances, 'the

inward Life is the main thing. The Christian Life is not merely to be received, but to be lived.'—*The Harps of God and the Chords they Play.* By George MacAdam. (Abingdon Press. 50cc. net.) There is a revival of interest to-day in the harp and its music, and Mr. MacAdam uses this to show that a human life is the harp of God which must be in accord with the eternal harmonies. Then it produces matchless melodies. The subject is worked out in an arresting way and some beautiful illustrations are interspersed. It makes a charming book.—*Short Studies in Bible Subjects.* By William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S. (Stock. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. Dale has chosen his subjects well and treats them in a bright and instructive fashion. There is much to be learnt from his studies.—*Ten Minutes with the Bible.* (Stock. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) The *Revelation* is here arranged for daily reading, with brief notes which avoid subtleties of interpretation but bring out well the practical teaching of the book.—*Strongholds of Truth.* By W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. 6*d.* net.) These addresses deal with the Bible as a revelation, an authority, a message and a power in the clearest and most helpful way. The booklet will be of great service.—*A Child's Book of Prayer.* By Rev. J. E. Ward, B.A. (Stock. 6*d.* net.) These prayers are brief and clear; the subjects are well chosen, and there is a happy note in them which will appeal to boys and girls.—In *The Holy Gospels Opened* (Morgan & Scott. 2*s.* 6*d.* net), the Rev. J. Stuart Holden fixes on a leading thought in each chapter and writes two pages of practical comment upon it. It is a good idea, and it is excellently worked out.—*The Saviour of the World.* (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*) Professor Warfield, of Princeton Theological Seminary, gives us nine sermons, every one of which is a noble treatment of a great theme. He does not peddle with little matters, but everywhere abides near to the heart of the Christian gospel, and interprets its great things with sobriety, largeness of outlook and power. There is nothing commonplace or conventional, but everywhere a wise man contemplating and weighing great matters, and declaring them with the certainty of a great assurance. This is a noble volume, the fine fruit of a wise and gentle mind.—*The Gospel of the Sovereignty.* (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*) Dr. Jones is one of the foremost preachers in the Congregational Church, and this volume of sermons is a good specimen of his regular preaching. It is everywhere marked by sincerity, alertness, thoughtfulness, and by a certain persuasiveness which is very impressive. It is evident that the preacher lives in the modern world; he sees its greatness and its glory, he feels also its ache and its disenchantment. He knows the things that trouble men, that stir great anxieties; he sees their wistfulness and care. And he has a sure belief that it is in Christ that the world's need is to be met, and that men are to find satisfaction. His faith is radiant; his hold of the Christian certainties sure. And these he preaches. If need be, he can argue, but primarily he is a preacher. He heralds a message; he declares a will; he sets out a way. And all this he does with a winsomeness and charm which gain a sympathy with his message.

BIOGRAPHY, HISTORY, TRAVEL

The Life of Andrew Martin Fairbairn, D.D. By W. B. Selbie. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s.* net.)

Dr. Selbie undertook this biography of his eminent predecessor at Mansfield under a deep sense of loyalty and has found it a labour of love. He had to deal with the development of a notable man, who sprang from humble stock and enjoyed comparatively few early advantages, yet worked his way upward till he was recognised as 'the first theological thinker of his generation.' His ancestors on his mother's side were Covenanters and afterwards became Seceders of the Anti-Burgher type. His parents belonged to the United Secession Church, though the father's traditions were with the Evangelical section of the Establishment. It was from his mother that Dr. Fairbairn inherited his shrewdness, self-confidence, and independence of spirit. Fairbairn's eldest brother joined an Evangelical Union Church in Dundee, and this led Andrew to join that communion in Leith. In 1841 Dr. Morison had been suspended as a young minister of the United Secession Church because he believed that the Atonement was of universal efficacy, and two years later he founded the Evangelical Union Church. Fairbairn studied under him for the ministry, and became a powerful evangelist, 'consumed with the one passion of winning souls to Christ and the Christian life.' His first charge was at Bathgate, where he laboured with great acceptance from 1860 to 1872. There he made himself a theologian. His note-books show how thorough and systematic was his work. A period of doubt, when he felt that he had not an inch of ground beneath his feet, led him to go to Berlin for a year's study under Dorner and Hengstenberg. There his doubts were laid to rest. His theology was re-born, and with it came a new and higher faith. His preaching had 'won the ear of the whole town,' and when he moved to Aberdeen in 1872, students and professors flocked to his Sunday evening lectures on Christian apologetics. After five years of growing influence he became Principal of Airedale College, Bradford, and in 1886 removed to Oxford for the great task of his life—the founding of Mansfield College. Dr. Selbie gives us a living picture of the man and his methods. He worked out his philosophy through history; his criticism always had a constructive purpose, and he never suffered himself to move too far away from religious experience. In college affairs he was masterful and had 'a sense of power which led him to take sole responsibility where others thought it might have been shared.' In his sermon class at Mansfield he was both 'severe and sympathetic. To flippancy and laziness he was merciless, and more than once men were known to break down utterly under the weight of his wrath.' Dr. Selbie

thinks that 'perhaps no man did more than Fairbairn to rescue Nonconformity from the political reproach that had so long attached to it. He turned it back on its spiritual and theological beginnings, and bade it find in the fulfilment of these its true bent, and the best policy for its present needs.' Mr. Matheson, of New College, gives a beautiful account of his twenty years' friendship with Fairbairn, whose character and presence gave a fresh force to religious thought in Oxford. Dr. Selbie gives full details of his work at Mansfield, of his visits to the United States and to India, of his influence in shaping Congregational thought and policy, of his recreations and his omnivorous reading. The biography does not ignore certain blemishes, but leaves a deep impression of the intellectual force and whole-hearted devotion of a truly regal thinker and teacher, to whom all churches owe an abiding debt 'as an exponent of historical and constructive theology.'

John Brown Paton. A Biography. By his son, John Lewis Paton. (Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s*.)

This is a biography that warms one's heart. Mr. J. L. Paton says it has been difficult to prevent the story from degenerating into a patchwork of philanthropies, but he has not allowed the multiplicity of activities to hide the man of whom the Bishop of Hereford said: 'There is no living man to whom I owe so much.' He sprang from a sturdy Ayrshire stock. His father had been a weaver and then took charge of the first co-operative store in Newmilns. He was a man of keen scientific and mechanical interests, a great reader, a devoted church worker. His son left school at the age of ten, and for a time served under Mr. Alexander Russel, later famous as Editor of the *Scotsman*, on the *Kilmarnock Herald*. An uncle was pastor of a Congregational church at Cheltenham, and through his influence J. B. Paton became a student at Springfield College before he was sixteen. There he studied for seven years in company with R. W. Dale and others. He gained the gold medal for Philosophy at London University, and in the same year was third in the list for the M.A. in Classics. After his college course, Mr. Paton accepted an invitation to Sheffield, where he spent nine years as pastor of a new mission church at the Wicker. All felt that they were listening to one who had entered into the real life of the people as he had entered into the real presence of his God. He was even more happy in his pastoral work. He used to say he had seen incomparably the greatest happiness on the death-bed. In 1863 he became Principal of the Congregational Institute at Nottingham, where he laboured for thirty-five years in training men for the ministry. The denominational colleges were then supplying barely half the number of ministers required year by year, and these were attracted to the towns so that the country churches were left very much to untrained men. The Institute began with thirty-two students, and its prosperity did not injure the older colleges. Several of the younger men who came to Nottingham were, after a year of preparation, drafted to

them. In the first twenty-one years the Institute received over 450 students, of whom more than a hundred men were sent to the older colleges. Dr. Paton's Sermon Class was a notable success, and some lively details are given as to its methods. He himself was a constant inspiration to the students. Every year seemed to enlarge the range of his activities. He saw the necessity of providing for the leisure hours of the working classes, and did much to foster Recreative Evening Schools and Social Institutes. He laboured on behalf of co-operative holidays, and formed the Union for National Home Reading. He grappled with the land problem by the Colony of Mercy at Lingfield, where men were trained for farm work. His interest in boys and girls was shown in the Boys' and Girls' Life Brigade. In 1896 he retired from the Principalship, but had thirteen more years of service. He died in his garden on January 26, 1911. 'He was spared all pain, all struggle, all sadness of farewell. There was a great calm and fullness of joy.' His work was familiar to readers of this Review more than forty years ago, and his son gives various extracts from his father's articles in this instructive and inspiring biography.

Life of Adam Rolland Rainy, M.P. By his wife. With Portraits. (Maclehose & Sons. 6*s*. net.)

Mrs. Rainy has done service not only to her husband's memory but to every cause which lay near his heart by the preparation of this unaffected and high-toned biography. The opening chapters, which describe Dr. Rainy's boyhood and youth, are very beautiful. He was brought up in the most delightful family circle. Mrs. Rainy says: 'I do not think laughter can be properly appreciated by any one who has not seen and heard Rolland laughter, so ludicrous, so infectious, so gay, so irresponsible. To see them almost double up with merriment, emitting the while the most amazing sounds and hurling the joke like a football from one to another, always with some irresistibly absurd addition, brought tears to the eyes of the spectators.' The relations between Principal Rainy and his son were singularly close and confidential, but Principal Rainy would take no part in his son's electioneering. He was deeply interested in politics, but 'was careful, in order not to prejudice his influence in other directions, to be in no way publicly identified with any party.' Rolland took his degree as a doctor and studied some time in Vienna, but his failure of health spoiled his prospects as an oculist in London. He found his true sphere in Parliament, where he was building up a solid reputation when he died in 1911. His death matched his life. His wife says: 'He had no suffering and no farewells, but we saw the surprised joy on his face when the other country was so suddenly opened to him, and how eagerly he seemed to peer into that wondrous city, his real home.'

King Albert's Book. (Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* net.)

Such a tribute as this has never been paid to any king and country. Here are two hundred and forty witnesses of thirteen different nationalities, who pay homage to deeds of chivalrous courage which the world can never forget. Belgium has sacrificed more than tongue can tell in the cause of Europe and of civilization, and her sacrifice has not been in vain. The world has gained a noble illustration of the heroic force that is born of true patriotism. The Belgian king and his people have become brothers in the fullest sense to us all. Mr. Hall Caine has gathered a wonderful company to do honour to King Albert, and every tribute has a ring of deep sincerity and affection. The full-page illustrations are most effective, and so is everything else in a book which shows that our own age can challenge comparison with the brightest days of chivalry and that heroism and hero-worship are still alive among us.

A Mender of Hearts. The Story of Henry T. Meakin. By Frederick & Leslie F. Church. (Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

There are many who remember the thrill with which it was learned in Methodism twenty-five years ago, that a man who was said to be well on the way to a high and lucrative position in the Midland Railway Company had turned his back on all his prospects, and become 'a lay agent' in the London Mission. That man was Henry T. Meakin. A few years later he entered the ministry, though that made no difference to his spirit. This little book, the joint work of a father and son, is less the 'story' than a series of impressions of the work of a remarkable man. The intimate friends of Mr. Meakin know that after some years in Southwark slums he quite definitely took up the position that the only thing really worth doing was to save the children. He wished very much to start out on fresh lines and give himself wholly to this work. If it had been possible to curtail this attractive story in other parts and to make a really careful and scientific study of Meakin's ideas about slum-children, we might have had an almost unique contribution to the literature of social betterment. But, as it is, the chapter called 'The Children's Prophet' is full of food for thought. The book has a style of its own, and is the work of careful writers, well-read and of a literary turn of mind. It will be a very pleasant reminder to the friends of one of the most knightly of men, and all engaged in similar work will find it deeply suggestive.

St. Augustine: Aspects of his Life and Thought. By W. Montgomery. (Hodder & Stoughton. 5*s.* net.)

Most readers know Augustine only through his *Confessions*, and have no opportunity of pursuing the story of his personality and thought in his other writings, of the variety and number of which they have probably but a vague conception. Hence the value of such a series of lectures as are given to the public in this volume. It provides

the student with material for inquiry into the several aspects of Augustine's thought, psychology, philosophy of history, politics, social ethics and the like. Moreover, the reader is enabled to form certain clear impressions of the man, his character, temperament, spiritual history, interests, friendships and literary style. When it is added that the author, by his close acquaintance with Augustine's point of view, his keenness of insight, and his competent scholarship, is well equipped as a guide, it will be realised that we have in this study a really useful piece of work. The quotations are invariably apposite and well-chosen, and even apart from the author's exposition and analysis are in themselves a valuable feature in stimulating interest in the opinions and teaching of one who holds a secure position among the greatest Christian thinkers of all ages. We may note the author's exposition of the principles of the *De Civitate Dei* as indicating Augustine's philosophy of history—a department of his thought not less interesting in this crisis of the nations than in his own times, when the fall of Rome was used as an argument for the failure of Christianity. For Augustine's views on war and other ethical problems, the reader is referred to this study, which overlooks none of the vital points of his thinking, whether ethical, psychological, or theological.

Madame de Sévigné. Textes choisis et commentés. Par Madame Duclaux. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1*fr.* 50.)

Madame Duclaux has skilfully arranged these famous letters in a framework of biography. Each section of the Life is followed by a selection from the letters of the period, which are thus seen in something like their true environment. That method is a somewhat severe test for Madame Duclaux, but her ample knowledge and her grace of style bring her successfully through the ordeal. It is really a delightful view of French family life in the seventeenth century. Mademoiselle de Rabutin-Chantal was the grand-daughter of a saint who, in co-operation with François de Sales, founded the Order of the Visitation. The girl's father was killed at la Rochelle in 1627, where his body was pierced with twenty-seven lance thrusts. Her mother died about four years later, and the child of six was left to the care of kinsfolk. In 1644, at the age of eighteen, she made an unhappy marriage with the Marquis of Sévigné, who was killed in a duel in 1651, when only twenty-seven. Her son, and especially her daughter, were henceforth Madame de Sévigné's charge, and her letters to them are full of tenderness. She hoped that some place would be found at Court for her daughter, Madame de Grignan, or for her son, but these hopes were disappointed. She and her children were destined to grow old in the country, but the loss of contemporary honour has been more than compensated by the fame Madame de Sévigné has won by her letters. They seem to be as fresh and as full of interest as when they were first written; there is a quiet ease and

dignity about them which never palls. We owe much to Madame Duclaux for the skill with which she has arranged the letters and told the story of their gifted writer.

Friedrich Nietzsche: His Life and Work. By M. A. Mügge. (T. F. Unwin. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Mügge's book was first published in 1906, and has now reached its fourth edition. It gives a brief life of Nietzsche, a careful account of each of his books divided into four periods, a critique and an appreciation of him as philosopher, poet, and prophet. There is also a bibliography and iconography, and a full index. Dr. Mügge's object is to gain for Nietzsche 'some appreciation and justice in the English-speaking world, where he is so little known, and, when not unknown, so often misunderstood.' He admits that 'Nietzsche's works are full of faults and phantoms. His limitations, contradictions, and follies, his absolute lack of sound sociological ideas, of common sense, and last, but not least, of humour, make many of his books wearisome.' He 'prophesied the future victory of evolutional ethics, and that they would replace the present Christian, democratic, and humane ethics.' But the present war has broken the spell that the prophet of the Superman has thrown around many minds, and Nietzsche's day is passing.

Flaxman, Blake, Coleridge, and other Men of Genius influenced by Swedenborg. By H. N. Morris. (New Church Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Morris wrote these chapters for the New Church *Young People's Magazine*, and they were well worth reprinting. They are full of biographical details, and are beautifully illustrated. The set of sketches from Flaxman's *Knight of the Blazing Cross* have never been published before, and they are wonderful things, both for the fancy in them, and for their execution. The attempt to trace the influence of Swedenborg appears to us strained in several cases, but that does not detract from our delight in the book and its illustrations.

Lord Roberts. By Violet Brooke-Hunt. (Nisbet & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This bright biography was published in Lord Roberts' life-time, and gave a most interesting account of his work in India, and his memorable service during the Boer War. A concluding chapter has now been added to complete the story. It begins with the veteran's visit to Canada in 1908 in connexion with the Wolfe celebration, and describes the heroic effort which he made in seeking to stir up the country to the vital importance of defending her shores. Then the touching story of his death is told in a simple, unaffected way. It is a book that every one ought to read, and the portraits of Earl Roberts and his son add much to its interest.

My Jubilee as a Church Musician (Amateur and Professional), 1862-1912. In Ten Lustrums. By a Lay Curate. (Stock. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The writer began his work as an amateur bass in his northern parish in 1862 when he was twenty-one. In 1870 business losses led him to take up music as a profession, and in 1885 the health of his children caused him to move to the south, where he found his present appointment. He thinks that in most cases the church organ is too large, and feels that the first duty of an organist is to efface himself, and to keep on doing it all the time. Congregational singing is his ideal. He would like those who can sing to attend a joint practice of choir and congregation on one evening in the week. His voluntary choirmen have been chiefly working men, and his connexion with them in the Services of the Church is one of his pleasantest recollections. The choir-boy he thinks has degenerated, and of late years has had little reverence for God or His House. The book is a simple record of devoted service.

A Century in the Pacific. Edited by James Colwell, F.R.Hist.S. (Kelly. 21*s.* net.)

This is a book which will naturally have a much greater vogue on the other side of the world than here, inasmuch as it is an elaborate —one might almost say exhaustive—account of the rise and development of the countries of the Southern Pacific—religious, social, historical, and scientific. But that is not to say that it makes no appeal to readers in this country; on the contrary, it is of great interest to all who study the progress of the race, and especially to those who watch the advance of the kingdom of Christ among men.

It is not a very easy thing to edit a book, the chapters of which issue from so many different pens; there are all sorts of pitfalls which may easily lead to glaring defects. But Mr. Colwell has true editorial genius, and has evidently chosen his writers so judiciously that throughout there is the minimum of overlapping, while the whole work proceeds smoothly, as if the production of a single author. A Preface by the Editor is brief and to the point, and the book opens with a delightful Introduction by Dr. Fitchett, a prose poem full of grace and charm. If, as the Doctor says, 'the Story of the Pacific is a sort of sea Iliad,' certainly his own contribution to it is a veritable idyll. Beginning with the Discovery and Settlement of the new lands, the book proceeds to discuss their Geology, Biology, and Languages, the last-named subject being dealt with by Dr. George Brown of honoured fame, here as well as in his own sphere. The second section of special interest to students of world-problems deals with the New Zealand Maori, the Australian Aborigine, the Indian in Fiji, and the Asiatic in Australia, the two last chapters being an intelligent and useful contribution to modern sociological study. Then we have a Third Section entitled Historical, each colony having a chapter to itself.

In all of these Sections, which together occupy about half of the book, it is made abundantly clear that the Christian missionary has done more to lift up the island races of the Pacific to high levels of civilisation and morality than the statesman, the explorer, or the trader. This half of the book is rich in information.

But the most fascinating part of the volume is that headed 'Missionary.' Here we are face to face with the toils and the triumphs, the perplexities, the disappointments, the heroism of the early Christian workers in a most unpromising field, and of their equally devoted successors. We travel through all the changeful story, from the dark days when despair wellnigh led to the abandonment of the work, up to the present times of radiant success. It is perhaps invidious to distinguish where all is so good, but really, in this section, the account of missionary work in the Solomon Islands seems to us the most remarkable and thrilling. Speaking of Fiji, Dr. Fitchett says, 'That a hundred and twenty years after Wesley died, in a single island unknown to him, there should be more of his followers than he had gathered as the result of his life's work, is a picturesque proof of the sustained vitality of the Methodist Church.' The last section of the book deals with general topics, such as Commerce, Education, and Literature; and in its chapters the interest is well sustained. A remarkable Bibliography and a valuable Index complete the work, which was well worth writing, and is equally well worth reading.

India's Fighters: Their Mettle, History, and Services to Britain. By Saint Nihal Singh. (Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

India has bound itself more closely to Great Britain than ever by its service in the great war. Mr. Singh helps us to understand what we have gained by the presence of these splendid fighting men in our ranks. One of his chapters is full of their 'deeds of dash and daring' and a thrilling chapter it is; another gives striking testimonies from British authorities as to Indian gallantry. The characteristics of the various races are clearly sketched, and details are given as to their pay and equipment which seem to bring us very close to these brave soldiers. Mr. Singh says that certain qualities are common to them all. 'They will fight to the finish and die rather than turn their backs on an unbeaten foe. They will be docile and affectionate to those who are placed in authority over them and who, by bravery, kindness, consideration, and justice have won their regard. They will never shirk the call of duty.' The Ghurkas, famed for night raids and daring deeds, are largely of Mongolian origin. They love flowers, and many of them spend their leisure in crocheting and knitting. The Sikh, easily distinguished by his voluminous turban, is usually a tall, broad-shouldered man who takes gigantic strides when he walks. Lord Kitchener carried out various reforms in the standing army of India which made it capable

of almost instantaneous mobilisation and put it into prime fighting condition. The book is full of information which can be found nowhere else in such compact form, and it is intensely interesting from first to last.

Through the Brazilian Wilderness. By Theodore Roosevelt. (John Murray. 18*s*.)

In the spring of 1913, Mr. Roosevelt accepted invitations to address certain learned bodies in Brazil and Argentina. He decided to return north through the middle of the Continent into the valley of the Amazon, and got two naturalists from the American Museum of Natural History to accompany him. His son, Kermit, who had shared his African tour, was able to join him, and the Brazilian Government arranged that Colonel Rondon, who had been for a quarter of a century the foremost explorer of the Brazilian hinterland, should accompany him. The Brazilian Government offered special help if Mr. Roosevelt would undertake the leadership of a serious expedition into the unexplored portion of western Matto Grasso and would attempt the descent of a river unknown to geographers. This offer was eagerly accepted, and after six weeks spent in fulfilling his engagements as lecturer, Mr. Roosevelt steamed up the Paraguay from Asuncion on December 9, 1913, in the gunboat yacht which the Paraguayan Government had placed at his disposal. The worst foes were insects. The naturalists of the expedition found mosquitoes and other insect pests swarming over the Chaco. They had never been so tortured as there. Sand-flies crawled through the meshes of the mosquito nets, and if a sleeper's knee touched the net, mosquitoes fell on it till it looked as if riddled by bird-shot. Great care had to be taken in bathing, as the piranha swarm in all the waters. They attain a length of eighteen inches or over, and are the most ferocious fish in the world. They will snap a finger off a hand incautiously trailed in the water. They mutilate swimmers and devour alive any wounded man or beast. Blood in the water excites them to madness. Mr. Roosevelt gives most interesting and valuable information as to the birds, the snakes, and the wild beasts of the region. In some parts of Brazil, mules, cattle, and even chickens, have to be housed behind bat-proof protection at night lest they should fall victims to the vampires. At Belén, the capital of the State of Para, lights are kept burning all night in the cavalry stables to protect the horses from the vampire bats. One morning at Tapirapoan, a calf turned up weak from loss of blood which was still trickling from a wound made by a bat in front of the shoulder. Even the big fruit-eating bats will lap the flowing blood and enlarge the wound made by the vampire. The exploration of the river proved a difficult task. A series of rapids compelled them to take their heavy dugouts out of the water and move them over the rough ground. One man lost his life in the racing torrent, and Kermit Roosevelt had a very narrow escape. Their boats were broken and new ones had to be made. The wearing work under very unhealthy conditions told on

every one. Half of the camaradas were down with fever, but the exploration was triumphantly accomplished. They spent two months in their canoes, putting on the map a river some 1,500 kilometres or nearly 1,000 miles in length, of which the upper course was not merely unknown to, but unguessed at by anybody. The lower course was known to a few rubber-men but utterly unknown to cartographers. They collected over 2,500 birds, about 500 mammals, and a few reptiles, batrachians, and fishes. Many of these were new to science. The photographs by Mr. Kermit Roosevelt and other members of the expedition add greatly to the charm of a fascinating book.

A Pilgrim's Scrip. By R. Campbell Thompson. (John Lane. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Thompson has not an easy style, but he has a good story to tell of his excavations at Nineveh and Carchemish and of his travels in the Sudan and the Sinaitic peninsula. The official account of the discoveries made in these regions has been published by the British Museum. Mr. Thompson supplies the personal details of his journeys and helps us to understand the kind of men he met and worked with. In 1904 he went to Mosul from Aleppo to take charge of the excavations at Nineveh. Two Turkish soldiers mounted on mules formed an escort. After a week on the road they saw the minarets of Dêr-ez-zôr, and put up at the dirtiest khan because there was bad blood between Mr. Thompson's servant and the host of the newer inn. They were kept a week waiting for more soldiers, till the place stank in the explorer's nostrils. Then the guard arrived and they set off for Mosul. They found that town the meeting-place of Arabs, Jews, and Christians, where 'a myriad Babel-tongues of strange road-fellows from divers tribes' might be heard. The love of gipsy wandering is in the Arab blood, and the pilgrimage to Mecca is a delight to them. Mosul is 'a city of goodly houses, built with ashlared marble in overhanging eaves; of narrow cobbled streets, adown which in winter the rains rush violently, cleansing the Augean filth.' Pendant oil lamps barely illumine the darkness, so that passengers have to be lighted along by lanterns. 'The streets are rich with the heavy scent of spices, with the goodly sight of dyed garments, hosen, mantles, and red shoes.' Mr. Thompson gives interesting accounts of his journeys from Mosul to Behistun and to Damascus, where the great Bazaar, in a street arched with a roof of wood some forty feet high, was frequented by visitors from the four quarters of the earth. An earlier expedition took Mr. Thompson to Sinai, but he did not visit the monastery. Four years later he was in Khartoum, which seemed 'as ugly almost as Aldershot, with its serried lines of umber buildings and little huts.' The book is full of vivid impressions of Eastern life, it has illustrations of great interest and a good map.

Modern Russia. By Gregor Alexinsky. (T. F. Unwin. 5*s.* net.)

The writer of this book is an Ex-deputy of the Duma. His aim has been to give a compact encyclopaedia of Russian life in all its manifestations, and those who read his crowded pages will see how well he has succeeded. The historical development of Russia is first sketched. Its great plain covers two million square miles, ten times the area of France. The basin of the Volga alone occupies a surface of about 800,000 square miles. The people may be classed as Great Russians, Little Russians, White Russians. Contact with the Finns has made the Great Russians the least pure of all the Slavs. The Little Russians are the most primitive and pronounced Slav type. The White Russians have mixed with Lithuanian stock. The effect of serfdom was appalling. 'Sometimes a landowner would exchange a family or even a small village of serfs for a fine *borzoi*.' The chapter on 'The Family and the Position of Women' contains some painful facts as to child prostitution. 'The Russian peasants are too wretched and ignorant to be the guardians of a high morality.' The religious question is carefully treated, and a good section is devoted to literature and poetry. Russian life is a curious compound of violently contrasted elements. Modern capitalism develops itself with American celerity whilst the villages are in an almost mediaeval condition. The translator has done his work well, and the book is full of information about our great ally. M. Alexinsky feels that the new life which is working in Russia is bound to triumph, however hard the fate of her people may be to-day.

Connaught to Chicago. By Geo. A. Birmingham. (Nisbet & Co. 5*s.* net.)

Canon Hannay enjoyed his first visit to the United States and all his readers will share his pleasure. He has nothing but good to say of America and the Americans. 'God counts for a good deal in the life of New York and of America generally.' Religion is as yet a confused force, but 'the desire to do justly, to love mercy, though scarcely to walk humbly, is present, and is coming to be mightier than the dollar.' A striking picture is drawn of Atlantic City, with the glorified perambulator which visitors to that watering-place love. Chicago impressed him with its sublime self-confidence. The negro problem is discussed, and there is a chapter on American women. Canon Hannay found them all 'charming.' The Canon's breezy humour makes his book very attractive, and English readers will learn much from it about Ireland as well as about the United States.

Travel Notes of an Octogenarian. By W. Spooner Smith. (Boston: The Gorham Press. $1.50 net.)

Mr. Smith is a Congregational minister in Massachusetts who started on a voyage round the world in his eighty-seventh year. He was alone, and bears witness that the tour caused him to feel for the first

time the real joy of living. He was born in America, but describes himself as a 'pure blooded Yankee Englishman' who was 'as glad as a boy to get home again.' Everywhere the old traveller entered into the spirit of the scenes he visited. In Norway, each day was a succession of wonders. London completely overpowered him by its vastness. He took steamer from Liverpool for Alexandria, saw Egypt, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, then moved on to Ceylon, India, Burma, China, and Japan. He made his way home through the Pacific to his own New England—'the most beautiful and heavenly little province in all the world!' It is a record of real interest, abounding in good will and genial appreciation.—*With the Bible in Brazil.* By F. C. Glass. (Morgan & Scott. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. Glass went out to Brazil in 1892, and some years later became a missionary of the Evangelical Union of South America. His travels among the savage Caraja Indians and his experiences as a *colporteur* make a stirring story.

Twice-Born Men in America. By Harriet E. Monroe. (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. 75 cents.)

Mrs. Monroe has been working since 1906 in the Gospel Mission at Washington, and has a set of glorious stories of conversion to tell. When she joined the Mission it was in a deplorable state, but she soon transformed the premises, and in 1911 the Mission moved into a commodious building not far from the foot of Capitol Hill, where all kinds of rescue work, including a penny lunch and a free dispensary, are carried on. But the real appeal of the book is in its record of conversions. Mrs. Monroe had seen some notable spiritual successes in connexion with the Sunday Breakfast Association in Philadelphia, and at Washington the same kind of work has gone on. 'It is only because we see souls converted almost every night that makes it possible for us to bear the sight and the foul smell of unclean bodies, of dead whisky and tobacco, and the revolting drunkenness.' Mrs. Monroe has known men rush through the door, and without taking a seat come right to the front to seek God's forgiveness. She feels that no parent should be discouraged concerning a wandering child. The Mission is carried on with great sagacity. It is no use to talk about salvation to a hungry man. The Mission usually takes care of him for several days before the tendencies of his life are shown him. He sees drunkards, thieves, and gamblers clothed and in their right minds, he hears their testimony, 'and lo! he prays. God's Holy Spirit acts as a searchlight, and he sees his abhorrent self as God sees him, and he cries for mercy.' This is an inspiring record which bears a witness in every page to the transforming power of the gospel.

Napoleon in Exile: St. Helena. By Norwood Young. 2 volumes. (Stanley Paul & Co. 32*s.* net.)

These handsome volumes in large demy octavo, with more than a hundred illustrations, maps, and plans, will be eagerly sought after

in this centenary of Waterloo. They form companion volumes to that on Elba published a year ago. Mr. Young has based his work on a hundred and twenty volumes of manuscripts in the British Museum and the Public Record Office. This toil has occupied him for a number of years. In addition to this he spent five weeks in Bertrand's House at St. Helena, a walk of two or three minutes from the stoop of Longwood House, where Napoleon used to sit sometimes in the cool of the evening. Mr. Graham Balfour, who accompanied Mr. Young, has taken a set of excellent photographs; the collections of Mr. A.M. Broadley, the great authority on Napoleonic iconography, and of Dr. Silk have been drawn upon; and Dr. Arnold Chaplin's *St. Helena Who's Who* has furnished a number of portraits. The story begins with the return from Elba, and soon brings us to the overwhelming defeat at Waterloo, when Napoleon found that France no longer wanted him either as civilian or soldier. He was no longer able to protect the country from invasion, and was forced to abdicate on June 22, 1815, a week after Waterloo. Napoleon was under no illusion as to the dangers which surrounded him, and felt that only England could protect him. He just managed to escape arrest from the Prussians and the French, and took refuge on the *Bellerophon*, which brought him to Torbay on July 24. On August 7 he went on board the *Northumberland*, which took him to St. Helena. Mr. Young gives full information as to the island and as to Longwood. 'The ever-forgiving, duty-bent' Sir Hudson Lowe was such a contrast to the exile of whom he had charge that his very virtues were against him. 'The mere fact that Lowe did not lose his self-control drove Napoleon to lose his.' The British phlegm led the deposed Emperor on to outbursts of passion. The whole story of the exile is told with a wealth of interesting detail. Special chapters record the last illness, death, and funeral of the Emperor, and some pages are given to 'Legends and Apotheosis.' It is a story that never ceases to fascinate the world, and it has never been told so graphically and with such abundant detail as in these splendid volumes.

Memoirs of the Duke de Saint-Simon. An Abridged Translation with Notes. By Francis Arkwright. With four illustrations in photogravure. Vols. I. and II. (Stanley Paul & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net per volume.)

This is a new translation with careful editorial notes, and is to be completed in six volumes. The memoirs of the great French noble, who was distinguished as soldier, statesman, and courtier, have long been famous as the very best of French memoirs. There are arid patches in them, and these Mr. Arkwright has omitted in his translation. He has also toned down some expressions which would be offensive to modern readers, and has made the difficult passages read more easily. The memoirs open with the writer's birth in 1675, and describe the siege of Namur in 1692, where the young soldier received

favourable notice from Louis XIV. That proud monarch's glory was somewhat on the wane, so that the memoirs only describe his silver age, but they are our best guide as to the last twenty-four years of that reign. The two volumes bring the record down to the year 1707. The life of court and camp is described in the most illuminating way, and we get much insight into the intrigues of the time. The well-printed edition will appeal to a very wide circle, and the translation is bright and pleasant to read. It is a work that claims a place in every public library.

Caroline Meta Wiseman. By Lena Tyack. (Kelly. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mrs. Wiseman held a unique position in the Missionary world. She was the Secretary of the Methodist Women's Auxiliary, and so much was she wrapped up in its concerns that when she was in Medak Mr. Posnett had 'only to mention the name of a convert and she immediately began to tell the history—and she never made a mistake.' Her routine work was faithfully done, but beyond that she cared with the love of a mother for living women and children far away, who were as real and almost as dear to her as her own relatives and friends. She was born in Bath, where her father and his four brothers from Nieder Stettin in Germany had settled. Her first task was to carry on a school for poor children, which her two elder sisters had begun. In 1871 she was elected to the Bath School Board, and three years later removed to London on her marriage to the Rev. Luke H. Wiseman, one of the Wesleyan Missionary Secretaries. He died nine months later. She became foreign secretary of the Women's Auxiliary in 1877. Miss Tyack says: 'She laid before us the needs of the foreign field with an intimate knowledge that made schools, converts, children, everything and everybody that was mentioned, not names on paper, not cases very vague and far away, but real, living, breathing women and children, and actual buildings which we almost saw, and certainly knew.' In 1888–9 Mrs. Wiseman visited the mission stations in India and Ceylon, getting to know the actual life of each station. On her return she was engrossed with deputation work, which added much to the popularity and the income of the Auxiliary. In 1902 she paid a visit to India, Ceylon, and China, of which Miss Tyack gives an interesting account. The Jubilee of the Auxiliary in 1906 was the crowning event of Mrs. Wiseman's busy life. £36,177 was raised for the work, and at the request of her friends her portrait was painted by Mr. Nowell. She died in 1912. She was a woman of extraordinary force of character and will-power, who has left her mark broad and deep on work for women and children in the East, and this pleasant and sympathetic biography will be warmly welcomed at home and abroad.

BOOKS ON THE WAR

Nelson's History of the War. By John Buchan. Volume I. (Nelson & Sons. 1*s.* net.)

Lord Rosebery says in his preface to this history: 'Europe quakes to the tramp of armed races, compared to which the hosts of the past sink into insignificance. There must be nearer thirty millions than twenty of armed men in Europe clutching each other's throats this year.' The war has 'revealed to the world the enthusiastic and weatherproof unity of the British Empire; or, rather, the loyalty of the three connected Empires to the Mother country,' and Lord Rosebery hopes that we may live to see 'a world-wide British influence which shall be a guarantee of liberty and peace, and which, hand in hand with our Allies in Europe, and with our kindred in the United States, should go far to make another war such as this impossible.' In this first volume of his history Mr. Buchan describes the conflict from the beginning of hostilities to the fall of Namur. The record opens with the tragedy of Serajevo and the progress of Germany since 1870. The Kaiser's 'passion for the top-note in all things, his garish rhetorical personality, his splendid vitality, his amazing speeches, were exactly fitted to the grandiose temper of modern Germany.' The efforts of German diplomacy to assert the empire's international position are concisely and clearly sketched, with the events which led to the declaration of war last August. In his second chapter Mr. Buchan presents an estimate of the strength of the combatants, their relative preparedness for war, and the circumstances which determined their strategical plans. We have seen no account so complete and illuminating as this. 'The First Shots,' from August 4 to 10, form the subject of the next chapter. Then we have 'The Muster of the British Empire.' The description of the transport of our troops to France is the best we have seen. There was no covering fleet. On a single journey one Atlantic liner took 8,000 men across packed like Bank Holiday excursionists. The London and South-Western Railway was ordered to dispatch 850 trains of 30 cars each to Southampton in sixty hours, and did it in forty-five. The noble support of the Dominions and Colonies, and of India, is described in an impressive way. Then we watch 'The beginning of the war at sea,' and form an estimate of the relative strength of the navies engaged. When hostilities began our own Navy 'had reached a point of efficiency both in quality and quantity, which was unprecedented in its history.' The German Navy was the second in the world, and its officers were professional enthusiasts almost to a man. No time was lost. 'In a week German sea-borne commerce had virtually ceased to exist.' The Stand of Belgium, the Eastern Theatre of War, and The First

Clash of the great Armies form the subjects of the three closing chapters. The fall of Namur is the most dramatic event of these pages. Namur was 'one gigantic mistake. A campaign was hinged on its invincibility without any attempt to make that invincibility certain. The lesson of Liége was completely neglected.' The enemy was allowed to get within range, no provision was made for retreat, and vast quantities of guns and stores were left undestroyed to fall into German hands. The loss of that pivot 'brought a million men to the verge of disaster.' Three appendixes give Sir Edward Grey's famous speech of August 3, an account of German Military Policy, and a Short Military Glossary, which will be of much service. Mr. Buchan has given a bird's-eye view of the first stages of the war, which will be read with profound interest. It clears up many points, it is written in a graphic style, and the lavish supply of twenty-five maps and plans adds greatly to its interest and value.

With the Allies. By Richard Harding Davis. (Duckworth & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Davis has been war correspondent in Belgium of the Wheeler Syndicate of Newspapers and of the *Daily Chronicle*, and says that if President Wilson had seen 'my war he would not have written his letter' calling on the American people to preserve the 'mental attitude of neutrals.' If it were a fair fight that position might be justified, but 'it is not a fair fight. To devastate a country you have sworn to protect, to drop bombs upon unfortified cities, to levy blackmail by threatening hostages with death, to destroy cathedrals is not to fight fair.' Mr. Davis was in Brussels when the German army passed through. The sight fascinated him. 'No longer was it regiments of men marching, but something uncanny, inhuman, a force of nature like a landslide, a tidal wave, or lava sweeping down a mountain.' He had a narrow escape of being shot as a spy; he saw Louvain after the Germans had wrecked it; he watched peasants and well-to-do Belgians flying for life, and realized all the horrible waste of war. His experiences at the battle of Soissons and the bombardment of Rheims make grim stories. In Rheims Cathedral shells had torn out some of the windows, and on the floor lay broken carvings, pieces of stone from flying buttresses, tangled masses of leaden window sashes, like twisted coils of barbed wire, and great brass chandeliers. A notable chapter on 'The Spirit of the English' pays high tribute to the courage and resolution with which the crisis is being met. Mr. Davis feels that our youth will come out of this war better men because they have offered life and sacrificed pleasures for a great ideal. When peace returns the country will be richer and more powerful. The illustrations of the book are very dramatic, and its fascination never fails. Every Englishman will read it with a thrill of worthy pride.

Field Notes from the Russian Front. By Stanley Washburn. (Andrew Melrose. 6s. net.)

These notes created great interest when they appeared in *The Times*. They were written in railway trains or late at night between operations, and strung together in their present form during a few days in Petrograd, between Mr. Washburn's visits to various parts of the field. But whatever they may lack in polish they gain in force and vividness, and the book owes much to the splendid series of photographs taken by Mr. Mewes, of the *Daily Mirror*, who accompanied Mr. Washburn on his journeys. With the Kaiser's declaration of war a new era dawned for Russia. She stood revealed to the world as 'a country alert and ready to take its place among the progressive nations of the world.' Ten years ago, during the Japanese war, peasants were driven almost at the point of the bayonet into box cars for shipment to Manchuria. Now they have hurried eagerly to the colours without murmur or protest. The day after the declaration of war every vodka shop was closed by Imperial decree. From Siberia to the Baltic there is not a public-house open. The army and the people are serious and sober. Rioting and dissipation in the army and the capital are things of the past. When Mr. Washburn had been moving about for nearly three weeks he had not seen a drunken or disorderly officer or soldier. Nothing that Mr. Washburn saw at Port Arthur or in Manchuria would compare in pathos and appeal to human sympathy with the sights in the immense outer chamber of the General Staff at Petrograd, where the casualty lists are hung up. Women turn over the huge sheets with trembling hands, 'Some who fail to read the name of husband, son, or sweetheart, turn away with sighs of relief; but hardly a minute passes that some poor soul does not receive the wound that spells a life of loneliness, or an old age bereft of a son.' The account of the army hospitals is painfully interesting. The doctor in charge of one reported that out of 2,600 patients received there had been only forty-two deaths. Another hospital had received 800 wounded, and only 18 had died. One man had been shot through the head, but in two weeks was nearly well; another had a bayonet wound in his right lung, into which a hand could be inserted, yet he was on his way to complete recovery. One of the Czar's sisters was in charge of the Red Cross hospital at Rovno. She dresses exactly like the other sisters, and waits on the wounded day by day. At Lemberg, when a nurse went round the wards, she paused at each bed 'for a moment to pass a smooth, white hand, soft as silk, across the forehead of some huge, suffering peasant. Again and again the big men would seize her hand and kiss it gently, and as she passed down the line of beds every eye followed her with loving devotion, such as one sees in the eyes of a dog.' Those who travel over the field of operations in Galicia will not think that the Austrian troops were deficient in courage, though they were overborne by 'the remarkable impetuosity and courage of the Russian troops, who, against enormous obstacles, tore their way through

a clever and ferocious resistance.' In Warsaw sentiment was ferocious against the Germans. Mr. Washburn found more enthusiasm for war manifest in the streets than in any part of the war zone that he had visited. 'Each regiment that passes through on its way to the front receives a perfect ovation from the people.' The correspondent was present at an impressive service on a battlefield in Western Poland. 'Seventeen hundred war-worn veterans, covered with mud and dirt of the trenches, massed in a half-square in all the atmosphere of battle. But the hard glint of cruel war was gone from their eyes, and in its place there shone that peculiar exaltation of the religious man in the presence of the chosen representative of his creed.' In the centre of the square with the officers grouped bareheaded behind him 'stood the most magnificent priest that I have ever seen. With golden hair hanging down his shoulders, and a head transfigured with the light of one lifted above earthly matters, he stood in all his gorgeous robes before six stacked rifles, the bayonets of which served to support the Holy Bible and the Golden Cross that symbolizes the Christian faith.' Every page of this book has its own fascination, and provides evidence that Russia has risen to the greatness of her task in a way that is really astonishing. Mr. Washburn thinks that 'with the German failure on Warsaw the scales over here have definitely turned, and that though we may yet have many battles and much carnage, the end is now assured.'

The New Army in Training. By Rudyard Kipling. (Macmillan & Co. 6d. net.)

Only Mr. Kipling could have painted these vivid pictures of the New Army now in training. He has visited the battalions in the North and in the West, has talked with the men and found such a temper among them as makes one proud of the Empire. A few phrases set the whole scene before us. Mr. Kipling's car 'worked her way through miles of men—men route marching, going to dig or build bridges, or wrestle with stores and transport—four or five miles of men, and every man with eager eyes.' Officers and men were everywhere grappling with difficulties, 'handicapped in every direction, and overcoming every handicap by simple goodwill, humour, self-sacrifice, common sense, and such trumpery virtues.' Mr. Kipling soon discerned that these recruits had joined for good reason and endured all manner of hardships without complaining. There is a gulf already opening between those who have joined and those who have not, and Mr. Kipling says: 'The wise youth is he who jumps it now and lands in safety among the trained and armed men.' The description of Canadians in camp, and of Indian troops, is inspiring, but so is every sentence in this magnetic little book.

Fighting in Flanders. By E. Alexander Powell. (Heineman. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is certainly the most vivid and terrific picture of the war in Belgium that we have seen. As an American pressman, Mr. Powell gained entrance everywhere. He even went to dine with General von Boehn, who was eager to have his explanation of German atrocities laid before the American public. But Mr. Powell had seen too much with his own eyes to be misled by the courteous soldier, and the way in which the American told what he had witnessed took von Boehn quite aback. The Belgians put a motor-car at Mr. Powell's service and in it he was able to get close to the fighting line and to visit Aerschot and Louvain. In all his experience the war correspondent had never seen anything 'so ghastly, so horrifying as Aerschot. Quite two-thirds of the houses had been burned and showed unmistakable signs of having been sacked by a maddened soldiery before they were burned.' Nearly half of Louvain was in ashes. 'In comparison to its size, the Germans had wrought more widespread desolation in Louvain than did the earthquake and fire combined in San Francisco.' Mr. Powell feels that if Belgium wishes to keep alive the memory of German military barbarism she should preserve the ruins of Aerschot and Louvain as the ruins of Pompeii are preserved. He gives a thrilling description of the visit of the first Zeppelin to Antwerp and the havoc wrought by its bombs. The victims were all innocent non-combatants. The preparations for the defence of Antwerp, the siege and final flight of the inhabitants, followed by the entry of the German army, are described in the most realistic way, and the illustrations by Mr. Donald Thompson are of extraordinary interest. Regiments of German soldiers stood still whilst the little photographer from Kansas used his camera, and a field gun was fired to show him what the gunners could do.

Stories of the Kaiser and his Ancestors. By Clare Jerrold. (Stanley Paul & Co. 2*s.* net.)

This is a book which every one will want to read. Its introductory pages show how the Brandenburgers, who settled round Königsberg, had to fight a sterile soil under an inclement sky. 'They became hardened in heart and will, and their religion grew into one of endurance and vengeance, the old pagan religion of the sword.' Prussia is distinct from her many allies in Germany, but the 'genuine Germany has accepted Prussia as her overlord, and has to a great extent adopted the barbarous nature and uncivilised instincts of those whom she has placed above her.' There is no doubt that the 'Hohenzollern insanity' is strongly marked. The father of Frederick the Great made life a terror for his children and three times at least tried to murder his son. Frederick's nephew and successor was a man of weak intellect. Mrs. Jerrold says: 'There is little doubt

that Kaiser William's mind is unbalanced, and in this respect he is wofully like some of his forbears.' Some painful details are given of the Kaiser's conduct to his father and mother. He acted under the influence of Bismarck, but that was no excuse for his heartless behaviour. Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, felt this so keenly that he refused to meet the Kaiser at Vienna.

German Spies in England. An Exposure. By William Le Queux. (Stanley Paul & Co. 1*s.* net.)

In 1905 Mr. le Queux published his much discussed volume on *The Invasion of England.* It found little favour in ministerial circles, but Lord Roberts, speaking in Parliament, recommended it 'to the perusal of every one who has the welfare of the British Empire at heart.' In 1912 Lord Haldane described the Kaiser as 'one whom we admire in this country and regard as one of ourselves,' but Mr. le Queux quotes a speech which William II delivered in a Secret Council at Potsdam in June, 1908, in which he said: 'I have given orders for the hurried construction of more airships of the improved Zeppelin type, and when these are ready we shall destroy England's North Sea, Channel, and Atlantic fleets, after which nothing on earth can prevent the landing of our army on British soil, and its triumphant march to London.' Mr. le Queux brought this speech before the British Government but he complains sorely of the slackness of their handling of the subject, though he pays a warm tribute to the Confidential Department which was organised to deal with German spies in England, whose amazing activities are described in this powerful and patriotic book.

Kultur Cartoons. By Will Dyson. (Stanley Paul & Co. 2*s.* net.)

Mr. H. G. Wells points out in his Foreword that Mr. Dyson responds to all the pressure of this fearful war in cartoons. 'He perceives in militaristic monarchy and national pride a threat to the world, to civilization, and to all that he holds dear, and straightway he sets about to slay it with his pencil, as I, if I could, would kill it with my pen. He turns his passionate gift against Berlin.' A figure based on that of the Kaiser appears throughout the cartoons, which begin with 'German Icarus, or Place in the Sun' and end with Frederick the Great informing the Crown Prince, 'My child, I still rule Prussia.' Each of the twenty cartoons has its own bite. 'Modern Science and Prehistoric Savagery' linked together make fearful colleagues, but Bismarck and Moltke watch terror spread 'in the wrong direction'—to Berlin. As a pictorial unfolding of the deeper causes that underlie the war, these cartoons have real power and significance. They are worked out with great skill, and each is mounted on brown paper in a very effective way.

The Oxford *Papers for War Time* (Milford, 2d.). *The Real War*, by W. E. Orchard, D.D., shows how Germany has bartered away her Empire of thought and idealism for an absolute delusion. Our business is to promote the world-wide Empire of Christian faith and brotherhood. Dr. D. S. Cairns writes *An Answer to Bernhardi*. The German general's statement that there can be no moral obligation save to those within the State shows that he has forgotten God. The Church can only give a complete answer to militarism when it finds a 'moral equivalent for war.'—*Spending in War Time*, by E. J. Urwick, throws light on some problems of the hour. The writer thinks that we are bound to go on spending very much as we have been accustomed to do for the sake of those who depend upon such spending. Do the women of the upper classes realize that there are some fifty thousand of embroiderers, milliners, and others whom they have employed, on the verge of starvation?—*Patriotism* is very suggestively treated by Dr. Percy Dearmer.—*Christianity and Force*, by A. G. Hogg, argues that 'while labouring to render as effectual as may be the clumsy kind of blow against evil which the nation is delivering,' the individual Christian is 'under obligation to use every means in his power to prevent Britain from being ever again spiritually unfit to fight evil in the higher Christian way.' That leans perilously to non-resistance.—*Germany and Germans*, by Eleanor McDougall, M.D., is an attempt to understand the German position in this war and a plea for the avoidance of harsh judgments.—*Pharisaism and War*, by Frank Lenwood, B.A., advises us to 'say in sincerity and sympathy, as we look upon Germany in her wrong and isolation: "There, but for the grace of God, goes England."'—*The Cure for War*, by A. Clutton-Brock, holds that all the nations have their own excellences peculiar to them, and if we could love them for these then the very thought of war would be abhorrent to us.—*Our Need of a Catholic Church*, by W. Temple, M.A., pleads for a Church based on 'individual conversion, not ecclesiastical statesmanship.' The Reformation was an uprising of the nations 'against the cosmopolitan rule of Rome.' The Catholic Church of the future must be a society of nations each acting like leaven in its own sphere.—*War, this War and the Sermon on the Mount*, by B. H. Streater, M.A., is another suggestive paper. To resist the subjugation of Belgium or the crushing of France was 'essentially a Christian act, and if effective resistance is only possible through war, war, with all its horrors and iniquities, becomes a Christian duty.'—Every Englishman ought also to read Mr. Lloyd George's powerful *Appeal to Nonconformists* (Hodder & Stoughton. 1d.).

Plain Truths versus German Lies. By Frank Ballard, D.D. (Kelly. 1s. net.)

Dr. Ballard's first book on the war has been eagerly read and has helped many to see 'the war from the Christian standpoint.' He has followed it up by a scathing exposure of the policy of falsehood

through which Germany has sought to impose on her own people and on neutral powers. He says justly that there has never been such a campaign of lies in the world's history. The second part of the book on 'the actuality of German lies' shows how the German Press Bureau, the Universities, professors, and theologians have departed from the truth. It is a terrible illustration of the perverted moral sense of the nation. In his closing pages, Dr. Ballard brings out with great force the lessons of this campaign of lies. The book ought to be in the hands of every Englishman.

Why we are at War: Great Britain's Case. By members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History. (Clarendon Press. 2*s.* net.)

This is one of the most valuable among the war publications. It opens with a chapter on the Neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, which shows that the surprise expressed by the Germans at our action is 'little less than comedy, and can only have been expressed in order to throw the blame of German aggression on to the shoulders of Great Britain.' 'The growth of alliances and the race of armaments since 1871' makes it clear that on sea as on land Germany has set the pace. The chronological sketch of the crisis and the chapter on 'The Negotiators and Negotiations' will be of real service, and the 'Appendix of Original Documents' includes some that are difficult of access. The subject is treated historically by men who are experts in the handling of such questions.

The Christian's War Book, edited and arranged by Marr Murray. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* net.) The compiler of this book has skilfully drawn out the Christian view of the war and its allied questions as expressed by leading representatives of all Churches. He has made a thoroughly interesting book full of incidents as to the war. The minister at the front, with the fleet, the war and temperance, Kitchener's army, religious revival in France, are chapters which every one will want to read.

The First Three Months of the War. By Dr. W. H. Fitchett. (1*s.*)

Dr. Fitchett asks first 'Why the Nine Nations are fighting.' He finds the explanation of German hatred for England in the fact that we are the 'one Power which broke with Germany on a moral question. It was simply unintelligible that a nation should fight in order to keep its word.' In his second part, Dr. Fitchett shows 'the German war-machine at work.' It is 'war in new terms and under new conditions.' Dr. Fitchett holds that von Klück believed that after the retreat from Mons the British Army had become a negligible quantity, but as a matter of fact it proved to be in first-class fighting condition and temper, and soon the German retreat to the Aisne began. To have arrested the German columns—a human Niagara, with edge and front of fire—was a great feat; but

to thrust it back without giving it a moment's rest and with cruel loss day after day, was a greater feat still.' Part III., 'How the great struggle goes' is a luminous survey of gains and losses, and Part IV. deals with 'The literature of the war—and some caricatures.'

The World in Alliance, by Frank N. Keen (Southwood & Co. 1*s.* net), is a plan for preventing future wars by means of an international council in which each State would be represented according to its population. Each State would keep up a certain naval and military force, and this would be used by the international staff to give effect to the decisions of the Council. Mr. Keen's plan will set others thinking out a great problem.—*God and the War*. By Archdeacon Paterson-Smyth. (Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) The 'lessons of the present crisis' are well brought out in these strong and wise sermons. They were delivered to Canadian audiences, and give some vivid details which show how the Dominion is with us in our struggle for the right.—*The German War. Some Sidelights and Reflections*. By Arthur Conan Doyle. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1*s.* net.) Sir Arthur Doyle's essays, which originally appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Daily Chronicle*, are lucid and pungent vindications of British policy. The causes of the war are very effectively brought out. Every Englishman will be intensely interested in this masterly set of essays.—*The World Problem and the Divine Solution*. By Charles S. Eby, B.A., D.D. (Toronto: W. Briggs. 1$.) Dr. Eby has been a missionary in Japan and has put the thought and experience of many years into this volume. The world is dissatisfied. The nations 'pour out the wealth of peace and impoverish themselves to prepare for possible war.' The masses and the classes are opposed. Even the Churches are 'divided on lines within themselves that do not touch the world-problem of politics or society.' That is Dr. Eby's view of the situation. The significance of the present war is clearly pointed out in the epilogue of this thoughtful and suggestive book.—*The Great Adventure; The Way to Peace*, by A. Maude Royden (Headley Bros. 2*d.*), is a plea for non-resistance. The writer actually thinks that if we had disarmed last August there would have been no war. It is very pacific but sadly unconvincing.—*On Service*. By Edward S. Woods, M.A. (Headley Brothers. 3*d.*) Three studies called forth by the war. The highest quality of character is not to be attained unless the personality is touched by the Spirit of Jesus Christ. 'One of the biggest facts of life' is that He believes in us and admits us to 'a transforming intimacy.' The pamphlet will repay careful reading.—*Germany's War Inspirers*. by Canon E. McClure, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 4*d.* net), gives compact biographies of Nietzsche and Treitschke, with their portraits and a critical study of their teaching and its influence 'on German ideals and on that war-policy which has made Europe an Armageddon.' Canon McClure supplies just the information that every one wants, and his little work deserves a very wide circulation.

GENERAL

Familiar Quotations: A Collection of Passages, Phrases, and Proverbs traced to their Sources in Ancient and Modern Literature. By John Bartlett. Tenth edition. Revised and enlarged by Nathan Haskell Dole. (Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr Bartlett died in 1905 at the age of eighty-five. He had lived to see this work run through nine editions, and attain a sale of three hundred thousand copies. The ninth edition appeared in 1891. It has been unrevised for twenty-three years and 'a considerable body of apothegms have been knocking for admittance to its classic hall of fame.' Mr. Dole has had to interview these claimants and admit those that seemed to have earned a right to general recognition as familiar friends. The selections from Poe, Whittier, Longfellow, and Lowell have been considerably increased. What were judged to be ephemeral quotations have been rejected. Mr. Dole has tried to work on lines that Mr. Bartlett himself would have followed. It is now a book that has earned a right to be in every household library. It is full of delights for a lover of famous sayings. It is very cheap, for it has 1,474 pages, including a double-columned index of about 400 pages. The quotations from each author are grouped together, and the authors appear in order of birth. Shakespeare has 122 pages, Milton and Pope 88, Wordsworth and Byron 22, Tennyson 21, Dr. Johnson 12, Browning 11, Lowell 10, Emerson 8, Dickens 1½. We think Sir Philip Sidney's word, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine' might have been included. John Wesley is represented by three sayings, to which might be added, 'I look upon all the world as my parish,' 'The best of all is, God is with us.' From Charles Wesley's hymns two quotations are given, but they do not include 'My company before is gone,' and the great prose word 'God buries His workmen, but carries on His work,' might plead for admission. Seventy lines from Gray's 'Elegy' have gained a place in the collection. The quotations from the Old Testament and from the New are very full and happily chosen, and the Book of Common Prayer claims a page and a half. Plutarch is allowed 20 pages, Marcus Aurelius and Cervantes have 8 pages, Epictetus 4½, but Dante has only five lines.

Germany in the Nineteenth Century. Second Series. (Longmans & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume gives the three closing lectures of a course delivered in Manchester University, largely through the initiative of Professor Hereford. It was thought that appreciation by British scholars of the part played by Germany in the development of modern civilization might serve to promote more friendly feeling between the two

nations. The first five lectures, delivered in 1911, were well received in Germany, and in the early part of 1914 three supplementary ones were delivered. Prof. Peake dealt with the history of theology, Dr. Bosanquet with philosophy, and Mr. Bonavia with music. Beethoven's nine symphonies placed Germany 'highest among all the musical nations—a position she has maintained ever since. They fixed for all time the importance of the symphony, and opened the way for future progress not only in the classical but in musical drama.' Wagner is the only nineteenth-century musician whose reforms can be compared with Beethoven's. Mr. Bonavia regards the history of the musical development of the nineteenth century as in the main the history of German music. Dr. Bosanquet confines his survey of philosophy to its rhythm and main direction. He begins with the post-Kantian movement, which, 'besides its basis in Kant, owed much to Rousseau, much to the reviving interest in Greek art, politics, and culture, very much to the joint inspiration of Schiller and Goethe traceable to Winckelmann.' It was strong in the sciences of humanity, in the theory of history and religion, but weak in its philosophy of nature. Between 1880 and 1848 the post-Kantian idealism was superseded by materialism and materialistic social economics. Prof. Peake's survey of theology begins with Schleiermacher's *Speeches on Religion*, which 'beyond any book since published, has moulded and stimulated men's thoughts on religion.' He found the essence of religion in feeling. 'The three main types of theology which lay between him and Ritschl all bore the marks of his influence; and Ritschl himself, in spite of his cool and critical attitude, owed much to him.' An informing account is given of the teaching of Strauss and of Baur, who fitted the development of Primitive Christianity into the Hegelian scheme of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The Tübingen School enjoyed a period of astonishing success, but was finally discredited. Ritschl deserves special credit for recalling New Testament scholars to sounder positions. In Old Testament study Dr. Peake holds that 'the contribution of Germany has been very great, but some of the most important pioneering work has come from other lands.' Of this branch of biblical study a clear sketch is given. Ritschl affirms the practical worth of Jesus, as history and experience disclose it. He is also a great system-builder. Everything in the nature of Mysticism was abhorrent to him. He regarded Pietism as an attenuated form of Catholicism masquerading as Protestantism. This part of the study is of special interest, though the clearing of vision due to the war has brought with it a wholesome revulsion from certain aspects of German theology which have tended to undermine the foundations of the Christian faith.

Human Derelicts. Medico-sociological Studies for Teachers of Religion and Social Workers. Edited by T. N. Kelynack, M.D. (Kelly. 5*s.* net.)

The distinguished physician who has edited this book has thereby earned the thanks of the community. It is more through lack of know-

ledge than of zeal that so much of what is done for redressing the evils of society is comparatively unfruitful. Directly one begins to deal practically with the social problems of our time the complexity of the subject reveals itself, and in proportion to the intelligence of the worker is the eagerness of the desire for information. Until recently it has been impossible, without consulting many books, some of which are not readily accessible to the ordinary reader, to obtain even a rudimentary knowledge of the significance of the various evils with which the social reformer is called to deal. In this book an endeavour has been made, and not without success, to bring the scattered items of information together, and present a comprehensive view of the whole subject in one medium-sized volume. No attempt is made to treat exhaustively any of the social questions discussed. The case of almost every common type of mental and moral derelict is considered, with the pathological and psychological aspects of each, and for anything like a full treatment an encyclopaedia would be required. What is presented to us here is a serviceable outline view of the whole case in the light of the best modern thought. Without such knowledge no preacher or teacher or guardian of the poor or borough or county councillor should consider himself fully equipped for his duties. The editor has been fortunate in securing for the writing of the various chapters men and women who are recognized authorities, and so the reader may receive with perfect confidence the information given. Though not intended for experts, those who may wish to specialize on any of the subjects will find valuable directions for further study in the bibliography at the end of each chapter. The book is well written throughout, and the information, though quite up to date, is presented in a clear and interesting way, and as far as possible in untechnical language.

How France is Governed. By Raymond Poincaré. Translated by Bernard Miall. (T. F. Unwin. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

President Poincaré's book has reached a fourth impression, and every Englishman ought to read it. It gives an insight into the government of France such as one can gain nowhere else; it shows the historical development of French institutions, and allows us to see President, ministers, deputies and courts of justice at work. The chapter on military service, with its closing reference to the 'cruel events of 1870,' is of special interest. 'May we never know such a time! But if we have one day to fight for our country, let us show ourselves worthy of her, and ensure, by our patriotism and our courage, the victory of the right!'

The Work of a Great Parish. By Nine Portsea Men. Edited by the Rev. C. F. Garbett. (Longmans & Co. 5*s.* net.)

The Archbishop of York says, in a brief Introduction, that in the course of manifold experiences of great parishes he has never seen

anything quite like Portsea, with its comradeship of seventeen clergy living together, its throng of confirmation candidates and communicants, and its Sunday evening congregation, numbering two thousand. Mr. W. H. Smith gave £38,000 out of £47,000 needed for the erection of the new church, and the work of the present bishop of St. Albans and his successor, Dr. Lang, laid firm foundations for later growth and development. The history of the ancient and modern parish is outlined in the first two chapters, then follows a most interesting account of the life of the clergy house. The work in Sunday schools, and among lads and young men, men, women and girls, confirmation and communicant classes is described in a way that will stimulate and guide other workers. A most interesting account is given of the Parochial Mission, when more than 1,000 resolution cards were signed. The whole record shows what zeal and devotion are put into the work of this vast parish, and what notable fruit it is bearing. Some good illustrations add much to the interest of the volume.

Collected Hymns, Sequences, and Carols of John Mason Neale. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.* net.)

This is a piece of work that has long needed doing, and we are grateful to Dr. Neale's daughter—Mrs. Lawson—and her co-editor, one of the St. Margaret's sisterhood, for the way in which they have done it. It deals solely with the hymns, but a companion volume containing the poems is in preparation. Some hymns hitherto unpublished are included. A list is given of the books from which the translations have been collected, and Dr. Neale's own notes have been included so far as was 'compatible with the limits of our volume and of general interest.' As a translator he always kept in view the words and the music of a hymn, and never divorced the one from the other. We feel the force of the verdict that Neale 'always needed some previous fire at which to kindle his torch. When that could be found his success was indeed great.' The whole Church is his debtor for his versions from the Greek and the Latin. His hymns for children were written 'to free our poor children from the yoke of Watts,' but they were not his happiest efforts. In later years he described them as 'intolerably prosaic; yet I think they taught something.' His carols are very happy and some are still prime favourites. Altogether this is a volume that will make an irresistible appeal to every lover of Neale's work. The six omitted stanzas of 'The Foe behind' will be new to most readers. 'A Family Group at Sackville College' makes a delightful frontispiece. It is from a photograph taken in 1855.

The Orchard Pavilion. By Arthur C. Benson. (Smith, Elder & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The three Oxford undergraduates who spend their vacation together at a farm in the Cotswolds reveal their ideals of life to each other one

evening as they sit in the orchard pavilion. One is bent on the quest of beauty, another is under the spell of science, whilst the third believes in God and in conscience and in the Church which Christ founded. Thirty years later the friends meet again in the pavilion to talk over their old ideals. The man who believed in God has been a struggling clergyman, but he has come to see 'religion was just a life and a hope, and that Christ is with us still, if we can be simple enough to invite Him to enter the soul.' His talk and his sermon on the Sunday morning are most attractive, and his old friends feel that though they have won more worldly prosperity, Knollys had found the real blessing of life. Mr. Benson's book was written before the war broke out, but it could not have been more adapted to the hour. It makes a strong appeal to the refreshing sense of seriousness which is growing amongst us, and his preface is not the least impressive part of his little volume. Despite the present war he sees that if 'we can learn a mutual confidence, a wise tolerance, a more active goodwill, a deeper sense of the unity of human life and aims, then we may win our way to a peace such as the world has never before dared to dream of.'

Poems. By Robert Hugh Benson. (Burns & Oates. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is in a sense a memorial volume. Mr. Meynell's beautiful biographical sketch shows how much R. H. Benson was loved in the Church which he entered eleven years ago. A girl who heard of his death last October said: 'One feels as if one had lost a near relation.' He lived a full life, busy with his books, his sermons, and with all manner of pastoral duties, and he died in the peace of God. His verse is very intimate. He lays bare his heart 'under cover of poetical convention.' The first poem written before he became a Catholic is full of Christ:

> Ah! Sacred Heart of Jesus, Flame divine,
> Ardent with great desire,
> My hope is set upon that love of Thine,
> Deep Well of Fire.

Nor does that note fail. Every piece is a revelation of a heart fixed on heavenly things. 'After a Retreat' shows that its lessons had been the simplest and greatest: God is love.

> This only have I heard, His voice within my soul.

'Savonarola Moriturus' describes the martyr's feeling at the approach of death.

> Naked I came from Him, naked return I again,
> To my God through a fiery door;
> Back, earth to earth, go I through a portal of pain,
> Can friar do more?

Another dainty volume is *The Flower of Peace*, a collection of the Devotional Poetry of Katharine Tynan. (Burns & Oates. 5*s*. net.) Its white covers are richly gilded, and its frontispiece shows St. Francis preaching to the birds. The poems are worthy of such a setting. They are arranged in eight books, the two first of which give songs of the Nativity and childhood of Jesus, very tender and human indeed. In another book birds and bees figure largely, and there is a garden book. It is all delightfully artless, and yet full of happy touches that reveal the true poet. The volume closes with 'The Epitaph':—

Lay me in the green grass, and write
Upon the daisied sod,
That still I praised with all my might
The wondrous works of God.

The Oxford University Press has just issued a Complete Copyright Edition of *The Poetical Works of H. W. Longfellow* (5*s*. net), with eight pictures in colour and four photogravures from drawings by Harold Copping. It is a handsomely bound volume of nearly 900 pages, with clear type and good paper with wide margins. The frontispiece portrait is striking, and the group of school children watching the village blacksmith makes a pleasant picture. The photogravures of Evangeline, Minnehaha, Priscilla and Elsie are specially attractive, and the other subjects are effective and well chosen, especially that of the lovers in 'The Hanging of the Crane.' This is an edition that every one will prize.

Messrs. Macmillan have added the famous prose translation of *The Iliad* by Mr. Leaf, Mr. Andrew Lang, and Mr. E. Myers to their Globe Library (8*s*. 6*d*. net.) It first appeared in 1882, and this is the seventeenth reprint. Each translator was responsible for his own portion, but the whole was revised by the three scholars, and the rendering of passages or phrases recurring in more than one portion was determined after deliberation in common. The translation was carefully revised in 1891, and this revised edition has been used in the present reprint.

Marching Songs (Stanley Paul & Co., (6*d*. net) is a wonderful handbook of National melodies for our soldiers in camp, in barracks or on the march. Original songs are here adapted to popular tunes in marching time. It gives our own National Anthem and those of France, Belgium, Russia, Japan and Serbia. Words and music are packed into 60 pages. The handbook will be hailed with delight by soldiers and their friends as well.—*The Tulip Tree and other Poems*, by Robert J. Kerr (Dublin: Combridge & Co.) has now reached a sixth edition. It is good work which deserves success, and the two new poems on the present war have a fine ring of loyalty and patriotism.

The 'Service Kipling' (Macmillan & Co. 2*s*. 6*d*. net per volume) grows more and more attractive. *From Sea to Sea* gives the bulk of the special correspondence and occasional articles written between 1887–1889, before Mr. Kipling had won recognition in England or

America. The American letters have a keen edge of sarcasm and give wonderful descriptions of natural scenery. *Soldiers Three* (2 volumes) is the unrivalled collection of stories which immortalised Mulvaney, Ortheris, and Learoyd. *Wee Willie Winkie* and other stories fill two delightful volumes. *Life's Handicap* (2 volumes) and *The Light that Failed* (2 volumes) are also included.—*Many Inventions* contains some of the raciest of the short stories, such as 'The Disturber of Traffic,' Mulvaney's adventure with 'My Lord the Elephant,' 'The Finest Story in the World.' *The Naulakha* is the joint production of Mr. Kipling and Wolcott Balestier, and the Indian chapters make the East alive. The story is somewhat unequal, but it has a thrill of its own. The 'Service Kipling' is a charming edition, handy in size, well bound, and clearly printed on rough paper with wide margins.—*Delia Blanchflower.* By Mrs. Humphry Ward. (Ward, Lock & Co. 6*s.*) Delia is a Militant Suffragist who falls under the spell of a clever teacher and almost breaks her father's heart by her wilfulness. In his will he makes Mark Winnington the girl's guardian in the hope that she may be saved from the influence of Miss Marvell. It is a difficult position for her guardian, but his tact and strong sense open Delia's eyes, though Miss Marvell manages to destroy a far-famed county mansion and loses her own life in the fire. It is a story that gets hold of the reader, and shows how militant suffragists have wrecked their own cause.—*Macbeth.* Told by a popular novelist. (Stanley Paul & Co.) 6*s.* This is one of a series of romances founded on the plays of Shakespeare. 'The Merchant of Venice' has appeared and four others are in the press. Macbeth is full of strong situations, and they have been skilfully used in this romance. It keeps closer to history at various points than Shakespeare did, but the woman heroine Bethoc is 'fictional,' though her story is based on the fact that Malcolm loved a Scottish lady before he married Princess Margaret. The interest never flags, and such characters as Macduff and his wife stand out vividly. The eight full-page illustrations in colour by Averil Burleigh have caught the spirit of the tragedy.—*The Tin Church.* By Kingston Hussard. (Potter-Sarvent Publishing Co. 1*s.* net.) A stirring record of Christianity in earnest. Hugh Lawson had a discouraging time in his slum church till he won the chief reprobate of the region and the tide turned. The Socialists led the convert astray for a time, but their Agnostic leader becomes a Christian. There is a double love story, and both men deserve their good fortune.

Dreamthorp. A Book of Essays written in the Country. By Alexander Smith. Edited, with an Introduction by Hugh Walker, M.A., LL.D., and Notes by F. A. Cavenagh, M.A. (Oxford University Press. 1*s.* net.) This attractive little volume contains twelve of Alexander Smith's delightful essays, with an appreciative sketch of his life and work and somewhat full notes which add much to the value of a workmanlike edition. Dr. Walker puts Smith as an essayist

in the group which contains Lamb, Thackeray, and R. L. Stevenson. 'Merely *qua* essayist he stands higher than men like Carlyle and Macaulay, who in other respects are much greater than he.' Such an edition is sure of a very warm welcome.

Who's Who, 1915 (A. & C. Black. 15*s.* net), becomes more valuable every year. It has 2,876 pages of biographies, 62 more pages than last year's volume, though it is a little less bulky than its predecessor. It is the best investment any one can make who wishes to know about the men and women of the day, and it is prepared with the utmost care and skill. *The Year Book*, which is only a shilling net, gives a wealth of supplementary information as to clubs, ambassadors, Government officials, and other matters which will be of constant service to busy men.

Certitude et Vérité. Par M. Émile Boutroux. (H. Milford. 1*s.* net.) This is the first annual philosophical lecture delivered before the British Academy in connexion with the Henriette Hertz Trust. The lecturer begins with a fraternal salutation from the French Academy, and the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences to the British Academy. M. Boutroux recognises that truth and certitude are less closely bound together than might at first appear. To seek certitude obstinately is not always to attain to truth. The need for certitude is impatient and tends to an absolute temper of mind, whilst truth is generally very difficult to seize. Kant's dualism, which regards certitude and truth as two things radically distinct, is examined in a luminous way, and M. Boutroux reaches the conclusion that all profound certitude is linked in some measure to the real and the true. The heart has its rôle in all moral and intellectual education, as well as the intelligence and the will, and not mere toleration but earnest collaboration is needed to realize man's highest work.

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America. Edited by Adolf C. von Noé. Vol. 8, 1914, Numbers 1–2. (Cambridge University Press.) Mr. Geddes gives a valuable biographical outline of French Canadian Literature, paying special reference to the literary output since 1890. Mr. Jenkins writes on Bibliography and its relations to social work, and Mr. Henry describes the Durrest collection in the Library of the University of Chicago. The Society is doing a work for which all students of literature will be grateful.—*The Gospel of Healing*. By Rev. A. B. Simpson, D.D. (Morgan & Scott. 2*s.* net.) Dr. Simpson says that the 'Gospel of physical redemption is beginning to be restored to its ancient place, and the Church is slowly learning to reclaim what she never should have lost.' It is 'becoming one of the touchstones of character and spiritual life in all the Churches of America, and revolutionizing in a deep, quiet, and divine movement, the whole Christian life of thousands.' This is a high claim, and Dr. Simpson has a good deal to say about the Scripture testimonies, but the peril of the doctrine comes full in view when we are told that the person who commits his body to God for healing 'will at once abandon all remedies and medical treatment.'—

The Church in Wales. Disestablishment and Disendowment under the Welsh Church Act, 1914. By S. E. Downing. (S.P.C.K. 6*d.* net.) This is an explanatory analysis of the Welsh Church Act by the Secretary to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England. The provisions are regrouped, and the means adopted for carrying the Act into effect and some of its principal consequences are shown by a skilled expert. It is a handbook that will be of very real service to all who have to work the Act, or who wish to understand its operation.—*The Modern Society Play*, by the Rev. G. S. Streatfeild, (S.P.C.K., 2*d.* net) is an appeal for 'a determined effort on the part of the whole Christian Church to purify the moral atmosphere of the theatre, and so educate the taste of the people for something higher and healthier than much in recent years they have been feeding on.' Mr. Streatfeild thinks that if the House of Commons took this matter resolutely in hand they would have behind them all the support of the democracy worth having. The appeal for a strenuous and persistent effort to raise the moral standard is timely and full of force.

The Poems of Digby M. Dolben. Edited with a memoir by Robert Bridges. (H. Milford. 2*s.*)

This cheap but chaste edition of Mr. Dolben's poems will be a boon to many. Mr. Bridges thinks that the poems he produced after he was eighteen will compare with, if they do not, as he believes, 'excel anything that was ever written by any English poet at his age; and the work is not only of rare promise, but occasionally of the rarest attainment, and its beauties are original.' Mr. Bridges watched over Dolben when they were boys together at Eton, and has written a touching and beautiful memoir of his friend, though he feels that he 'can give no picture of his charm; his perpetual humour and light merriment are what will least appear. As he went his way enthusiastically pursuing his imaginations, all intercourse with him was delightful, and all my remembrance of him is happy.' The poems are not merely perfect in phrase and music, but are full of spirituality and devotion. 'Homo factus est' is an appeal to the Babe of Bethlehem: 'Good-Night' is a dainty little evening song; 'Good Friday' has caught the intensity and tragedy of the Cross:

> Strong sorrow-wrestler of Mount Calvary,
> Speak through the blackness of Thine Agony,
> Say, have I ever known Thee? Answer me.

There is much more which bears out the poet laureate's estimate. Dolben was drowned on June 28, 1867, at the age of nineteen. He was an expert swimmer, but he fainted in the water and sank within a few yards of the bank.

The Roman Elegiac Poets. By K. P. Harrington. (American Book Company, New York.)

This contains what the preface calls 'a judicious selection' from the elegiac poetry of Rome, including Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius,

and Ovid. In the case of Catullus and Ovid, some of their best achievements are not in the elegiac form: but this is truer of Catullus, whose lyrics suffice to give him immortality, than of Ovid, who certainly qualified to become a recognized model of the elegiac metre. This edition will be found very useful by those who wish to study the classical elegiac forms; it is prepared with scholarly thoroughness, and the introductions are helpful and discriminating: as, for example, in the editor's condemnation on ethical grounds of the *Ars Amatoria*, while he carefully distinguishes Ovid's poetic gift in its clearness and refinement from its only too evident tendency to mechanical and artificial frigidity. We commend the practice followed here of placing the notes at the foot of the page instead of relegating them to the end of the book: and so far as we have tested it, the commentary is equally suited to younger and more mature students.

Home Course in Mental Science. By Helen Wilmans. (Bell & Sons. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mrs. Wilmans' twenty lessons have been printed separately, but are now first gathered together into one volume. She begins with 'Omnipresent life.' Each of us, she holds, is a manifestation of this life which 'fills all space.' There is but one Life—'the universal principle of Being that men call God. But God is a word which is not used in Mental Science, because it is unscientific and misleading.' It is a strange book indeed. Mrs. Wilman thinks that disease has increased with the progress of civilization. 'This is because man's intellect has expanded, and in this expansion he has asked more questions which he could not answer, and so has created in his mind still greater disease, or absence of Ease.'—*Drilling Made Easy.* By Fred. G. Shaw, F.G.S. (Neville Court, Abbey Road, N.W. 3*d.*) Mr. Shaw thinks that drilling may be made easy by 'thought suggestion.' If the recruit has linked together the self-suggestions necessary for a movement into a mental sequence he will perform the item of drill immediately and correctly.—*Stepping-Stones to Success.* By Bertram Jutson. (Stock. 6*d.* net.) Interest in one's daily work is the real secret of success. Mr. Jutson shows how it leads to concentration and develops memory. He says some helpful things also about prayer for guidance in every perplexity. It will do young men good to read such counsels.—*The Continuation of a Story.* By Amy Wilson-Carmichael. (Morgan & Scott. 6*d.* net.) These facts about the rescue of Indian girls from Temple Service will make a deep impression. The writer is doing a noble work for India.—*The London Diocese Book for* 1915 (S.P.C.K. 1*s.* 6*d.* net) is a mine of information as to the churches and the whole work of the diocese. Prebendary Nash has edited it with great skill and care.—*A Plea for the Thorough and Unbiassed Investigation of Christian Science.* By Charles H. Lea. (Dent & Sons, 1*s.* net.) This is a second and revised edition, with a chapter based on the report of the Clerical and Medical Committee on Spiritual Healing, and new Appendices. It puts its case forcibly, but it does not convince us.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The one outstanding article in the Quarterly Review (January–March) on topics apart from the war, is 'The Novels of Mrs. Wharton,' by Mr. Percy Lubbock, who treats the subject with great breadth and subtlety. Mrs. Wharton's books, says he, are 'more than a collection of penetrating and finely finished studies'; they are 'linked episodes in one continuous adventure, the adventure of her rare and distinguished critical intelligence.' Many of her stories are analysed and criticised—'The House of Mirth,' 'The Custom of the Country,' &c., the chief defects in them being thus deftly pointed out: 'Parts of her work show the general defect of the *tour de force*—a defect, not of sinew or bone, but of vein and marrow. Such are the penalties of a talent whose leading qualities are swiftness and acuteness.' The breadth of her work is finely indicated: 'She has waylaid all manner of dramatic moments in widely various scenes, not merely in different lands under different skies, but in a large diversity of mental and moral climates.' But, in the writer's judgement, 'the best is yet to be.' 'Her work is still in the middle of its course, and nothing can be foretold of it but that the best is yet to come.'

In the Edinburgh Review (January–March) there is a delightful criticism by Mr. Edmond Gosse of the poetry produced in England during the Napoleonic Wars. The writer deprecates the extremely low estimate of its merits now prevalent, and speaks of Campbell in particular in glowing terms. 'In Campbell we have an authentic and almost official battle-minstrel.' 'The Battle of the Baltic' and 'Ye Mariners of England,' are, says he, 'lyrics in which a fastidious taste may detect many blemishes, but which will never lose their power to stir an English pulse.' Apropos of this great battle-poet, Mr. Gosse quotes an eloquent passage from an unpublished letter of Swinburne's on Campbell's two great masterpieces. 'I know nothing like them at all in their own line. . . . Next to Campbell, of course, comes Callicles, but even the old Attic song of tyrannicide is to me not quite so triumphant a proof of the worth and weight of poetry in national matters.' Speaking of the period as a whole, however, Mr. Gosse admits the dearth of adequate poetical expression, and puts in a word in praise of Mr. Hardy's recent epic: 'Nearly a century was to pass before there should arise a poet who, on the huge canvas of "The Dynasts" for the first time would paint for us a panorama of the struggle not unworthy of its stupendous issues.' Other notable articles are the one on 'Italian Epithalamia,'

by Dr. Hagberg Wright, who discourses in an interesting fashion on the 'Noæmæ' which were an indispensable accompaniment to the marriage ceremony, and on the splendid collection of them, numbering 2,500, in the London Library; and the other an article by Professor Gilbert Murray on 'The Conception of Another Life,' who first suggests some thoughts about the history of this widespread conception, and then makes some comments on its validity. The article, however unsatisfactory its conclusions may appear, will be of exceptional interest to students of religion and of anthropology.

THE Dublin Review, January–March, is devoted almost entirely to the war. Mr. Lancelot Lawton writes on 'the Germans' Great Failure'; Mr. Wilfrid Ward, on 'The Conduct of the German Soldiery,' and on 'The Interpretation of Treitschke'; Mr. Stephen Phillips on 'Revenge for Rheims'; Mr. Belloc on 'The Economics of War'; and, most brilliantly of all, Canon Barry on 'The Lesson of Louvain.' Dr. Barry thus comments on 'the German Battle-cry of Kultur': 'Amid the clash of shields and roar of guns a battle-cry arose above the German legions, perhaps the strangest cry ever heard —the cry of Culture. From Elbe and Rhine hosts were marching to save and to spread a higher civilization. They were apostles at the sword's point of that last Gospel which Goethe named emphatically *Bildung*, a constructive philosophy renewing the worn-out life of Europe. It would leave nothing untouched, and would call up a beautiful fresh world, as in the Faust-Saga, to take the place of the Christian myths found out, of democratic anarchy, and of British degeneration now visible to all men. Culture was German from beginning to end. It claimed all the genius of the Middle Ages. It was Eastern and Western. It had a religion—Monism; a polity—the Hohenzollern. It had, like Janus, two faces; in peace it resembled Goethe; in war Odin.' In almost the only article not dealing with the war Miss Rope deals with 'The Letters of Jeanne d'Arc,' and comments on the strange paradox that 'though the Maid's is perhaps the simplest and most translucent character in history, yet men have fallen into endless confusion and contradictions, and have invented countless pseudo personalities for her.'

THE Contemporary for February has a short paper by Mr. E. D. Mead on 'Kant's Internationalism,' which will send many readers to De Quincey's translation of the great philosopher's tractate on 'Eternal Peace' in 1795. The writer, who, by the way, thinks Germany peculiarly culpable in this dreadful war, says that 'the philosophers have long been shouting "Back to Kant," and this now begins to be the cry of the politician and humanitarian.' And this, he thinks, is well, for 'It was Germany's greatest thinker who pointed out untiringly, and with consummate wisdom, more than a century ago, the one course which alone could have saved the world from this incredible calamity, and the one course which to-day has a relish of salvation. It was in many respects the most remarkable prophecy

and programme ever made of the day when the war drum shall throb no longer, and the battle flags be furled, in the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the world.'

THE Nineteenth Century for February has a remarkable article by Bishop Mercer on 'Nietzsche and Darwinism.' The writer is a convinced believer in the doctrine of Evolution, but its object is to show that Nietzsche's version of Darwinism is distorted and hopelessly unfair. 'For, if Nietzsche be right, what follows? We should have to recognize that the process of organic development on our planet is in hopeless antagonism to the promptings of our higher nature, and shatters our noblest ideals. A harrowing dualism would stand revealed, escape from which could only be found in a tragic and pessimistic scepticism, or in a transcendentalist absolutism which flings aside its problems in dubbing them illusions.' The following extract sums up a considerable part of the Bishop's contention, but the whole article will well repay perusal: 'We do despite to the universe of time and space, as revealed by science, when we regard it as wholly a scene of ruthless conflict and violent self-assertion. Sympathy, co-operation, fellowship, and love are not sad aliens in our mysterious realm of life, nor are they the springs of a "slave morality" which must be spurned and crushed because they keep the great ones from their rightful heritage. No, they are essential factors in a living whole, big with happy destiny. The Superman is fatally out of the line of evolution, the goal of which even now is discerned to be a full development of the self in and through a perfected social solidarity. For Darwin's world there is the power of an expanding hope. For Nietzsche's world there is nought but ruin and ravin. Nature with her ten thousand tongues repudiates the abortion.'

TAKING as his text Alexander Herzen's saying, 'The imperial power of the Tsar is not Russian, it is profoundly German, German Byzantianized," Dr. Rappoport discourses in the February Fortnightly on 'Russia and Liberalism.' A glance at history, he says, will show that 'all the Russian princes and rulers who had German teachers and advisers proved strangers to their people, and were mostly aristocratic, whilst real Russian, French, or English influences made the Tsars liberal and benevolent.' The writer's forecast of the result of the war, so far as Russia is concerned, is also worth recording: 'Old Russia, Russia of oppression, Russia of massacres and pogroms, will soon be a memory only, a nightmare of the past. From the mist of carnage will arise a regenerated Russia, inspired, animated by the Slavonic spirit of democracy, of toleration and freedom, a Russia that will be the true friend and ally of Constitutional England and of Republican France.'

The Poetry Review (January–February) opens with a useful and timely article by the editor, Mr. Stephen Phillips, on 'The Spirit of Elegy in English Verse.' This spirit he finds, not only in 'personal

poems,' but in passages of drama or epic 'where action has ceased to vibrate, and the mind makes some "still conclusion" after it,' as in the closing passage of 'Samson Agonistes.' Other examples are cited from *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*. The writer contends that the elegiac quality in verse should not be limited to a lamentation, but found in a 'kind of noble and wise brooding over an energy which is spent.' *Lycidas* is regarded as the supreme example of elegiac poesy, and there is an excellent criticism of *Adonais* and *In Memoriam*. 'The *Adonais*,' he says, 'has some lines, even passages, of singular beauty, but we feel all through that this is not the Shelley of "The Skylark," or of the still more beautiful verses to "Night."' 'An effort in verse of any length,' he adds, 'seems to tire Shelley; he is lacking in sheer mentality; let him throw off his burden of bubbling joy or sorrow on the air, and then cease!' We must fall back, he thinks, on Matthew Arnold's memorable description of Shelley as 'a beautiful but ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain.' But this general criticism is by the way: a proportionate part of the paper is devoted to *In Memoriam*, and many shrewd remarks are made.

Hibbert Journal (January).—The articles which deal directly with the war, are 'The Soul of Belgium,' by Abbé Noel, 'Narrative of a Professor in Louvain,' in French and English, 'The Slavophile Creed,' by Prof. Vinogradoff, 'Why we are Fighting,' by E. Millmore, 'What Next?' by the Master of Eton, and 'Thoughts on Pacificism,' by G. H. Powell. Other articles indirectly bear on the subject—'Göttingen in the 'Sixties,' by Prof. Sully, 'Meredith and his Fighting Men,' by Prof. Moffatt, and 'Germans and Tartars,' by D. A. Wilson. The remaining articles in the number, 'The Jews through Roman Spectacles,' by Prof. Strong, 'The Unity of Civilization,' by F. S. Marvin, 'The Scientific Claims of Eugenics,' by Prof. L. T. More, 'A Physiologist's View of Life and Mind,' by Prof. D. N. Paton, and 'The Religious Revival in the Labour Movement,' have each an interest of its own—the last being specially suggestive. The surveys of recent philosophical and theological literature by Professors Dawes Hicks, and Moffatt respectively, and the "Social Survey" by R. P. Fairley, are distinctly valuable features in the 'Hibbert' programme, and the reviews of books are much better worth reading than the average of such compositions. If there is no outstanding article of mark in this number, the standard of ability and varied interest in the articles is well maintained.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—The section devoted to documents contains 'An Ancient Homiliary' from Cod. Veron of the sixth century. The chief 'Notes and Studies' are 'The Song of Hannah, and other lessons for the Jewish New Year's Day,' by H. St. J. Thackeray, 'The Council of Constantinople and the Nicene Creed,' by Rev. F. J. Badcock, 'Apollos and the Twelve Disciples at Ephesus' by Rev. B. T. D. Smith, and 'The Second Oxyrhynchus

Saying' by H. G. Evelyn-White. The number also contains a chronicle of recent work in 'The History of Religions,' written by Mr. Stanley A. Cook.

Church Quarterly (January).—Baron Fr. von Hügel writes a thought-provoking essay on 'Christianity in Face of War,' and Miss Wordsworth in 'Woman and the War' shows how many openings there are for women and girls. She thinks that the number of waitresses in hotels might be largely increased. 'But perhaps there is nothing which cries out so loudly for more women-workers as the hospital.' This is a timely paper.

Constructive Quarterly (December).—Dr. Shailer Mathews, Dean of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, writes on 'Generic Christianity.' He describes the eighteenth century as the period in which the *bourgeois* mind became dominant in politics. Its influence was felt in all phases of social life and in religion. 'Wesleyanism became a training school of religious democracy, vital religious experience and aggressive, but not excessively theological orthodoxy.' Dr. Shailer Mathews contrasts its history with that of Unitarianism. 'Wesleyanism and its kindred Nonconformist groups lives on, possessed of unchecked power of spiritual parentage.' Unitarianism has never succeeded in furnishing religious satisfaction except to certain types of mind.

International Review of Missions (January).—The survey of the year fills 66 pages. The returns are too fragmentary and incomplete to permit the usual summary. In Germany gifts for missionary work almost ceased on the outbreak of war, then money began to flow in, some came even from the trenches. 'This critical time is proving that love for missions has taken deep possession of many German hearts.' The work of the Paris Society is checked at every point, and the missions of the neutral countries have suffered. Roman Catholic missions have been even more adversely affected by the war than Protestant missions.

The Review of Religions (November) describes the Turkish action in joining the great war as 'quite groundless, and its object seems to be nothing but this, that God intends to punish the Turks for their wrongs and oppressions, and to give them a severe chastisement for their negligence in securing peace and progress of the people placed under them, and their indulgence in their own comfort and luxury, and for engaging themselves in mutual quarrels and intrigues.' The *Mohammedan Journal* says 'the blame of spoiling the greatness of Islam will lie on their shoulder, for they did not know the time, and did not understand the will of God.'

International Journal of Apocrypha (January).—Dr. MacCulloch shows that a more generous treatment has been given to the Apocrypha in the New Scottish Lectionary. Portions of *Wisdom* and

Ecclesiasticus are included, and on certain Holy Days lessons from Apocrypha are appointed, or given as alternatives. Dr. Zenos writes on 'The Value of the Critical Study of the Apocalypse,' and the article by Dr. H. M. Hughes, which appeared in the *Wesleyan Magazine* for January, 1914, is quoted at considerable length.

The Holborn Review (January).—The present number gains in value by presenting fewer articles, fuller scope therefore being given to each writer. Eight topics are discussed with ability, each one of them possessing living interest. The following list speaks for itself —'The Nietzschean Reaction against Christianity,' by R. Christie, M.A., 'Spirituality outside the Churches,' by C. Crabtree, 'Michael Fairless,' by W. E. Clegg, 'The Humanizing of Theology,' by S. Harry, 'The Contradictory Phases of Personality,' by Arthur Wood, 'The Germanizing Ethnology of H. S. Chamberlain,' by G. Fawcett, and 'John Galsworthy,' by E. H. Pitwood. 'Views and Reviews in Brief' are added by the Editor and others, while Prof. Peake discusses 'Current Literature.'

The Expository Times (January and February).—The Editor's Notes deal with various subjects—Tagore, the last Baird Lecture, Maeterlinck, Science and a Future Life, Nietzsche's Service to Christianity, and many others—always interestingly. In the January number Dr. H. R. Mackintosh writes on the Name of Jesus, Sir W. Ramsay on the Old Testament in Roman Phrygia, while in February, Dr. Garvie's 'In Praise of Faith' and Dr. Agar Beet's 'Solution of Rev. xx.-xxii.' are the chief literary articles. The notices of books, and the 'Contributions and Comments,' as well as the instalments of 'The Great Text Commentary,' add to the zest of Dr. Hastings' bill of fare.

Cornhill Magazine (March).—Sir A. C. Doyle, in his 'Western Wanderings,' says there is no end to the agricultural possibilities of the West and North-West of Canada. In the Peace River district, far to the north of the present grainlands, there is an enormous area where the soil is so luxuriantly prolific that fifty bushels can be taken from the acre, and the wheat that has been sown in June can be gathered within ten weeks. There is room for a million large farms in this quarter. 'A Newspaper in Time of War' gives an editor's experiences. He says the retreat of the British Army from Mons lives in his memory alongside the Black Week in December, 1899, when telegrams of disaster in South Africa dribbled in hour after hour. 'At one time it looked as if our poor gallant Army would be wiped out, and as if it would be hardly worth while to sweep up the pieces.' Those who knew what the situation was strained their mental eyes for the sight of the dust of the coming of the Army of Versailles. At last it came, 'but, oh God, how slow it was in coming!'

AMERICAN

Harvard Theological Review.—The January number opens with two articles which describe the present missionary situation 'from the point of view of an official at home and a missionary in the field.' Dr. James L. Barton, Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and formerly an educational missionary in Turkey in Asia, writes on 'The Modern Missionary'. In summing up his conclusions, he says: 'The modern missionary recognizes the universality of Christianity and its adaptation to the whole man and his environment. He regards his mission so to present the Christ in all His vital and vitalizing power that He may dominate individuals and society, so that there shall eventuate a rounded, enlightened, prosperous, progressive Christian civilization.' 'The Protestant Missionary Propaganda in India' is the subject assigned to Dr. J. P. Jones, of Madura. He distinguishes between the missionary's attitude toward the Hindu beliefs and towards the touching though blind devotion of its disciples. Reverence for the tender faith and mystic piety of the people should be cherished, but there should also be 'unceasing antagonism to these faiths,' both because they are grossly decadent and unequal to the task of leading souls to God and to salvation, and because the supreme light and blessing of Christianity and of modern civilization has dawned upon the land. Dr. Palmieri contributes an interesting account of 'The Russian Doukhoborcs and their religious teaching.' The name signifies those who 'contend for the Spirit,' but the idea of God 'dissolves in their theology in a mystical pantheism.' The extremes, to which in their reaction against formalism they have been driven, are pointed out. 'The communion is rejected on the ground that Jesus did not demand outward signs, but the inward development of the powers of the soul.'

Bibliotheca Sacra.—'Bahaism an Antichristian System' is the title of an article by Dr. S. G. Wilson, of Tabriz, Persia (January). Having spent a generation in contact with Bahais in Persia, he affirms, without hesitation, that 'to accept Baha and Abdul Baha is to deny and forsake Christ.' To those who admire the ethics of Bahaism, Dr. Wilson pertinently says: 'These are not Bahaism any more than Romans xii.–xv. are Pauline Christianity. . . . In its moral precepts and social principles, Bahaism is a borrower from Christ's teaching, and sometimes from Mohammed.' The word 'antichristian' is justified after a careful investigation of the spirit and doctrines of Bahaism; it belittles the life and work of Jesus Christ, and it is antagonistic to Christianity both in its way of salvation and its institutions and organization. Dr. W. H. Griffith Thomas, writing on Germany and the Bible, expresses the hope that, 'as one result of the war there shall arise in Great Britain and America a true biblical criticism which will insist upon the supernatural, and refuse

to be dependent any longer on German rationalism.' Such insistence and such refusal are, we venture to say, characteristics of much sound criticism on both sides of the Atlantic. Dr. James Lindsay contributes 'A Critical Estimate of Nietzsche's Philosophy.' It is an admirable appreciation. 'His judgement of Christianity is absurdly one-sided, for he is incapable of understanding its valuation of human personality . . . He was betrayed by his anti-theistic polemic, and so drops into treating personality as an illusion.' Dr. Lindsay's faithful exposure of Nietzsche's obvious defects does not, however, exclude sympathy with his teaching in so far as it is 'a wholesome tonic to sickly sentimentality.'

American Journal of Theology (January).—The chief contents of the number are 'Religious Values,' by Prof. R. B. Perry, of Harvard, 'Religion and War in Israel,' by J. M. Powis Smith, 'The Modern Trend in Soteriology,' by Prof. Geo. Cross; 'The Gospels as Contemporary Biographies,' by C. W. Votaw, 'A Preacher's Interest in Nietzsche,' by W. C. Wallar, and 'The Religion of Lucretius' by Prof. Shirley Case. This able Review always takes care to describe 'the modern trend' of thought, and at the same time it is fairly constructive in its aims. Each of the above named articles has a value of its own, and the reviews of books—those on Batten's *Ezra-Nehemiah* and Ten Broeke's *Constructive Basis of Theology*, for example—are well worth reading.

Methodist Review (New York) (January-February).—The following are amongst the chief articles in the present number: an appreciation of Bishop Walden by Dr. H. C. Jennings, 'Some Current Discussions of the Person of Christ' by Dr. M'Connell, 'An Imaginary Sermon' by Prof. Warren, 'The New Realism' by Prof. Buck, 'Abelard and Bernard' by Edwin Lewis, and last, but certainly not least, a paper by Dr. Forsyth of Hackney (not, as printed, 'Handley') College on 'Evangelical Experience.' Under the headings 'The Arena' and 'Foreign Outlook' interesting matter will be found.

Methodist Review (Nashville) (January).—Dr. Gross Alexander, the editor, opens this number with a discussion of the war, which he considers as 'a time of reckoning and readjustment.' Professor Adams Brown's able lecture delivered in London on 'God in History, from the point of view of the Present War' follows. Bishop Hoss contributes a deservedly high appreciation of Bishop N. M'Kendree. Rev. W. Bradfield, who has recently visited the Methodist Episcopal Church South, gives an interesting account of 'Local Preachers in the British Wesleyan Church'—the term 'local preacher' having a different meaning in America. Dr. Forsyth's second paper on 'Regeneration, Creation, and Miracle,' Prof. Mullins's 'Germany of To-day,' and Dr. Mott's address on 'Consecration,' deserve special mention for different reasons. Even so, we have named only half the articles in an excellent number.

Princeton Theological Review (January).—Two articles occupy the first hundred pages—Prof. Loetscher's address on 'Church History as a Science and as a Theological Discipline,' delivered on his induction to the professorate of Church History, and an article by H. W. Rankin, on 'Charles W. Shields and the Unity of Science.' A short sermon by Augustine on 'the love of God and one's neighbour' is printed in Latin and in English. The MS. copy of this sermon, recently discovered is from Mr. Pierpont Morgan's library, and is said to be 'at least twelve hundred years old.'

Review and Expositor (Louisville).—The first article is by Dr. John Clifford on 'The European War as a Conflict of Ideas.' President Mullins discusses 'Nietzsche and his Doctrine,' and Prof. Lussi, of Florence, gives an estimate of Pope Pius X. Other articles are: 'What shall we think of Creeds?' by Prof. Pollard, 'Principles and Methods of the Master Teacher' by B. H. De Went, and 'The Anti-Alcohol Movement and the European War,' by G. B. Eager. A brief review of Rev. D. S. Sharp's *Epictetus and the New Testament*, by Prof. A. T. Robertson, appears among the notices of books. Mr. Sharp's book is pronounced to be 'of decided interest and value.'

FOREIGN

The **Revue des Deux Mondes** in its first January Number publishes an article of much permanent interest by M. Pierre Nothomb, based upon the reports laid before the Committee appointed by the Belgian Minister of Justice to investigate violation by the German troops of the Customs of War and International Law. It is a terrible indictment calmly based on sifted evidence. The article recounts the destruction of Louvain, Termonde, Dinant, and the Ardennes generally, and gives details of the atrocities committed by order of high German officers, including one of the Emperor's sons. The article concludes: 'When German criticism ceases to be blind, it will of necessity shrink with shame from the open page of this record.' The number for January 15 opens with an equally valuable article on 'Who will profit by the War?' by M. le Vicomte Georges d'Avanel, who, on the assumption that the Allies will eventually win, advocates disarmament as part of the terms of peace. In that case, the whole world will profit by the war. The writer points out that the historic mission of France has been to propagate ideas, and suggests that she has now a splendid opportunity to spread 'the great idea of universal and perpetual peace.' 'From the French Revolution sprang the idea of national freedom, and it is now her vocation to spread the wider and still more beneficent and fruitful idea of international peace and righteousness . . . It will not be for its own glory alone, or for its egoistic triumph, that the blood of its sons has been shed; but for the peace of civilised humanity, which, by it, will thus profit by the war.'