
A table of contents for the *London Quarterly Review* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_london-quarterly-and-holborn-review_01.php

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THE
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OCTOBER 1916

THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

The Problem of the Commonwealth. (Macmillan & Co. 1916.)

The Commonwealth of Nations. An Inquiry into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Empire, and into the mutual relations of the Several Communities thereof. Part I. Edited by L. CURTIS. (Macmillan & Co. 1916.)

FOUR years before the Great War began groups of thinkers belonging to all political parties were formed in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa to study the Imperial problem. A little later other companies met in the United Kingdom, India, and Newfoundland with the same purpose. They were styled 'Round Table groups' from the well-known *Quarterly Review*, instituted by the members as a medium of information on Imperial affairs. Preliminary studies were distributed to the groups, and their criticisms were printed and circulated. It was intended to prepare a final report in three parts. The first and second were to show how and why the British Commonwealth came to exist, to trace the causes of its disruption in 1788, and its subsequent growth. In the third part it was proposed to examine the principles upon which, and the means whereby, the members of widely scattered communities can hope to retain their present status as British citizens in a common State. Four of the five instalments of Part I. were completed before the war, and are

now published under the title *The Commonwealth of Nations*. The war itself showed how far-seeing these students of Empire had been, and made it desirable to anticipate the completion of the main report by a brief study of that aspect of the subject which most nearly concerns the self-governing Dominions. This volume, *The Problem of the Commonwealth*, indicates how a British citizen in the Dominions can acquire the same control of foreign policy as one domiciled in the British Isles. The plain issue is faced: Are the Dominions to be more closely united as the noblest of all political achievements, or are they to become independent republics?

Every shade of opinion was represented in the groups, and it was understood that the workers were not committed to conclusions of any kind. Mr. Lionel Curtis has therefore made himself responsible for the opinions expressed, though the report is 'the product not of one writer but of many working in close collaboration. No single brain could master the facts required for an adequate survey of the complicated polity which embraces a quarter of the human race.'

The vastness of the problem may be gauged by a single fact. The Chinese Empire and the British each include about a quarter of the population of the globe, but the Chinese are one race inhabiting one country, whilst the British Empire comprises people of every grade in the human scale.

If mankind is compared to a series of graduated layers, China would be taken from the thickest of these, whilst our Empire is 'a section of humanity cut from top to bottom, and a sample of every typical layer is contained in its jurisdiction.' It is as varied in its composition as mankind itself.

The Chinese Empire is a solid wing of the human race; the British 'resembles a framework wrought from all its materials and ramifying through every part of its compli-

cated structure. The disruption of China would seriously affect the rest of the world, but the collapse of the British Empire would be followed by results incalculably greater, and it is no exaggeration to say that it would convulse the whole fabric of human society.'

As compared with Eastern nations, modern Europe lays special emphasis on the duty of men to themselves and to each other. The Oriental looks on man as designed to fit in a divinely ordained framework of law. The European regards law as made for man, a framework which must not be allowed to cramp social methods and habits, but must be modified to meet varying circumstances. Behind law is public opinion, and this must be formulated by all citizens who have the necessary qualifications. 'This briefly is the principle of the Commonwealth, and its fundamental notion is that society is at its best when able and free to adapt its own structure to conditions as they change, in accordance with its own experience of those conditions. Freedom is the power of society to control circumstance, and that is why freedom and the institution of the Commonwealth are linked inseparably, and together constitute the distinctive ideal of Western civilization.'

In Europe the principle of the Commonwealth has gradually prevailed over that of Theocracy, and the contest seems likely to spread to Asia itself. No view of politics indeed can be final which does not include the whole of mankind. 'The human race is spread over five continents, each of which has its own history and level of development; and how to adjust their relations to each other is the ultimate problem of politics.' The ancient despotisms of the East corrode when brought into contact with Western commerce and finance. The British Empire is face to face with these conditions. It is made up of fifty separate States, which cover one-fifth of the globe and represent all the races and gradations of human society. Our king is the hereditary president of a commonwealth in which the governing power

is practically restricted to citizens of European origin. The premature extension of representative institutions throughout the Empire would be the shortest road to anarchy. 'In order to alter the system of government familiar to the East the ideas and customs out of which that system has grown must be altered first, and it is safe to assume that the masses of India will not have so changed their habits of life as to enable them within the period of the present generation to assume a complete responsibility for their own domestic affairs. But this obviously they must do before attempting to assume the still higher and more difficult responsibility for the affairs of the Empire as a whole.' The exclusion of citizens of the Empire in the Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland from a share in many stupendous responsibilities is 'the importunate question whose settlement must precede all others.' They have no voice in the government of the Empire, and are not obliged to contribute to its necessities. That is an anomaly fraught with peril, though the splendid loyalty of our overseas peoples has made them rise superior to this limitation. The commonwealth cannot, however, continue to exclude 'from a share in its government an increasing proportion of citizens in no way less qualified for the task than those whom it admits to it. It is a State, yet not a State; a commonwealth, yet one which fails to realize an essential condition of the principle which inspires it. Can it continue in this condition, and if not, is it to develop the structure of a State and to fulfil the conditions of a commonwealth, or is it to be broken up into a number of States? And if so broken up, can the parent State continue single-handed to maintain a stable equilibrium between these multitudinous races and civilizations, and to adjust their relations with the other three-quarters of the human race?' That is a problem on which the peace and prosperity of the world itself may be said to hinge. To solve it requires a clear under-

standing of the history of Europe, more especially in its earlier relations to Asia, and to that study we must now turn.

European history begins with that of Greece. The frontispiece of its literature is Odysseus, a man living by his wits, keenly concerned to shape the things of this world according to his own purpose. The dominating factor in the political life of the Greek was 'not religion but enthusiasm for his city, which to his eye was made, not of walls, but of his fellow citizens.' One of their enemies said the Athenians 'spend their bodies as mere external tools in the city's service, and count their minds as most truly their own when employed on her behalf.' Pericles, in his great funeral oration, spoke of those 'who gave their bodies to the commonwealth and received, each for his own memory, praise that will never die, and with it the grandest of all sepulchres, not that in which their mortal bodies are laid, but a home in the minds of men, where their glory remains fresh to stir to speech or action as the occasion comes by.'

Here is devotion as lofty as that which the Asiatic paid to a monarch whom he regarded as the delegate of God, but it is rendered by the citizen to the will of his fellows. The Greek commonwealth was built on a sense of the duty which the citizens owed to each other. It involved absolute obedience to public opinion as expressed in the laws. The citizens alone were competent to modify the law in accordance with their experience, or the needs of the time. But though the Greeks discovered that public opinion might be focussed so as to direct the life of the State, they did not dream that a State might be larger than a community assembled in a market-place to listen to an orator. The enthusiasm for Hellas, which at one epoch inspired them, 'might have made them one Hellenic commonwealth if they had understood how the public opinion of a people, too numerous and scattered to meet in one place, can be collected, formulated, and made to shape the law.' Each town was perfectly independent, and endless disputes arose

between them. The struggle with Persia united them for a time under the lead of Athens, but she failed to grasp the idea of a wider Imperial Commonwealth, and her despotism became almost as intolerable to the other Hellenic States as that of Persia.

Rome was a city republic that concentrated her energies on war, and thus became mistress of the world. The comparatively settled conditions which followed her rule reconciled men to it. Caesar extended the citizenship to Gaul. The world was no longer to be exploited for the benefit of the Romans. 'In one century Rome schooled the inhabitants of Southern Europe to the conditions of a State far in advance of any that Asia had produced. And before she fell she had made statehood a social habit of the whole continent.'

The Holy Roman Empire failed to organize the Germans into a State. Had Charlemagne and his successors set themselves to accomplish this task, and united Germany as the Norman and Plantagenet kings united England, the Germans would have been the first people to realize nationality in the modern sense. 'As it was, they were the last, and the penalty they paid for this failure was a thousand years of fratricidal strife in which Europe at large was repeatedly involved.' Had a different course been taken, most of the wars which have since distracted not only Germany but Europe itself might never have been fought. Voltaire fitly described the mighty sham as neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire. 'It is the greatest example which history offers of the mischief done by false coin, of the frightful power of vain deceits to lead men to their own undoing. Civilization was only saved for the world by the gradual development, in spite of it, of a system of society less ambitious, but more firmly founded than the original Empire itself.'

The Germans only gained national unity in 1870. England had already enjoyed it for eight centuries. Secluded

from the Continent as by a moat, the people developed 'a social will which they could use as the actuating principle of their government.' William the Conqueror laid the foundations of statehood by making all the landholders his men. He thus claimed the obedience of every Englishman. Henry I. adopted the English legal system; Henry II. established a system of Royal justice which taught all his subjects to look to himself, and not to some local princeling, as the sovereign authority, to whom he owed allegiance. In the course of time the right of altering the law passed from the Crown to the representatives of the people. The sovereign gradually became the hereditary president of a republic. He held the power of attorney for the commonwealth so that when emergencies arose the nation itself might declare whether a Parliament or Government were rightly interpreting its will.

A mighty change came over the European scene with the opening of the high seas. Henry the Navigator, son of John I., King of Portugal, and of Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, transformed the navigation of the time. His commanders pushed down the coast of Africa and reached India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Columbus married the daughter of one of his commanders, and thus got access to his father-in-law's nautical journals, maps, and instruments. In 1492 he sailed across the Atlantic, and in a later voyage reached South America. He 'always believed himself to have discovered the west coast of Asia, and died without knowing that in searching for an old continent he had brought to light a new one.' Spain claimed a monopoly of the New World, but England was determined to have her share. She abandoned her ambitions on the Continent of Europe and adopted a policy of colonial enterprise. The question of the freedom of the New World was really at stake. Spanish rule meant autocracy and subjection to Rome. Elizabeth disputed the Pope's award of the new lands to Spain and Portugal. 'Prescription without posses-

sion availeth nothing,' was her watchword. She maintained that 'the use of the sea and the air is common to all . . . as neither nature nor public use and custom permitteth any possession thereof.' The Pope forbade the ships of any nation, save Spain and Portugal, to visit countries, whether known or unknown, across the seas opened by Henry the Navigator. The English, who were already the best sailors in Europe, could not brook this claim to close the high seas against them. Henry the Eighth had made his navy the most powerful of the age, and 'the struggle for world power was to be fought on an element where the wealth and daring of an island race, inspired by the enterprise and patriotism which free institutions beget, outbalanced the advantage which their vastly superior numbers gave to the continental kingdoms.' The destruction of the Armada made England mistress of the seas and secured her right of way to the vast sphere of influence which was opening before her in the Old World and the New. She became the strongest power in India at the very moment when native rule was breaking down. The East India Company found itself compelled to establish some kind of order. It therefore gradually formed a government which by and by passed to England. The British Commonwealth thus assumed responsibility for the well-being of more than 300 million natives of India. The same process was repeated elsewhere. England 'had by reason of its insular position secured the mastery of the ocean routes in defiance of continental Europe, and as her trade with the other continents was greater than that of all Europe, so there fell to her a lion's share of the dominion to which trade inevitably led. The secret of superior sea-power sufficiently explains why it was that England and not Spain, France, or Holland prevailed in Asia.'

These vast populations have submitted to our rule because the British Commonwealth rests on a realization of the civic duty of man to man. That sense of mutual

duty has made Britain the mightiest power in the Eastern world. 'How far a commonwealth is capable of extension will depend upon the answer which its citizens give to the eternal question "Who is my neighbour?" By the Greek it was limited to those who lived in or near the same city as himself; by the European, till close upon modern times, to those of his own race; by the American of to-day, to those of his own level of civilization. But in so far as men rise to the conception that the weak who stand in need of their protection are their neighbours by reason of that need, so far will commonwealths transcend the boundaries of locality, race, and civilization which men in the hardness of their hearts and the blindness of their eyes have sought to impose on their continuous exertion. Such a conception, faintly dawning in the hearts of a dominant race, has rendered possible this stupendous Commonwealth, embracing one quarter of mankind and including every degree of civilization and barbarism.'

Nature has made the British Isles 'the best place in the world for working and combining materials collected from all the continents into goods for redistribution to all their inhabitants.' The opening of the seas extended British dominion over vast communities incapable of sharing in their own government, and spread its rule over vast regions as yet comparatively empty, which were to inherit the principle of the Commonwealth. The question arose: How far were these gradually to assume their share in the gigantic burdens laid upon the Commonwealth? Were the inhabitants of the British Isles 'to remain for ever responsible for the equilibrium of mankind?'

The colonization of America fills an important stage in the development of the British Commonwealth. Louis XIV refused to allow the Huguenots to emigrate to the valley of the Ohio. He declared that he had not chased the heretics from France in order to found a republic for them in America. 'Ten thousand sturdy Huguenot settlers sent

up the Mississippi at this moment might have changed the history of the world.' England opened her colonies to religious refugees from other nations and had her reward in the success of her settlements. Our colonial policy was also more flexible than that of our rivals, and was able to adapt itself more readily to the necessities of the situation. Free scope was left for private adventures, and the State was not identified with their success or failure. Settlers were at liberty to choose their own locality, and a happy selection gave room for indefinite growth. The centralized system natural to the French autocracy was emphasized in Canada, where it caused stagnation. Our colonies, on the other hand, were at liberty to modify the law to meet the change of time and place. They were faithful to the institution of the Commonwealth, and the power of adaptation led to vigorous growth. They were able to learn and to turn their experience to account. That was essential to success. 'True freedom means that men, by reaping what they sow, shall learn with what seeds and how best to sow again and again.'

The colonial policy of British statesmen was based on the commercial system. The colonists were free to concentrate attention on their own local affairs. Britain bound them to herself by undertaking to defend them against foreign aggression, and by offering a preference to their raw products. This habit of regarding trade as the end and object of national life, however, proved mischievous. English statesmen of the seventeenth century were not interested in colonies as outlets for surplus population, or as homes of freedom. A century later commercial interests obscured all others. The defect of the system was that each party thought only of its own interest, and there was no common control which might have led all to think of the good of the Commonwealth as a whole. One of the 'incurable blunders of history' was the introduction of negroes into the Southern colonies of America in order to

cultivate their tropical products. 'The immediate profits of slavery were plain and easy to reckon, the future results to American society distant and incalculable. Hence the practical conclusion deduced by Burke that Guadeloupe, with its slave population, was more to be valued than half the continent of North America.'

Colonial representation, if it could have been achieved, would have opened the only way to a peaceful solution of the problems of the latter half of the eighteenth century. The two peoples would have gained insight into the vital necessities of each other's life. British statesmen were not anxious to tax the Americans, and only a small, though very active, minority in America desired to sever their connexion with Britain. 'The vast majority had been bred under a system which offered the privileges of life in a commonwealth without calling upon them to bear a due proportion of the burden involved in sustaining the system. Theirs was a spurious freedom, one which could not touch the real cost which had to be paid by some one for the benefits it brought them. Willingness to pay their own footing is the final test of a people's capacity to govern themselves. But the system must be such as to enable them to realize what costs are properly chargeable to their own account. The moral conception of the colonists had, indeed, been blunted by exclusion from all but the narrower responsibilities of national life.' During the War of Independence, they resisted any proposals for taxation advanced by Congress. That showed how their political morale had suffered under the commercial system. When, however, they were separated from Britain and had no one but themselves to meet the cost of American administration, they proved their fitness for self-government by accepting in 1789 an American government with effective powers of taxation. The only way to a solution of the problem at once final and peaceful would have been to persuade Parliament to open its doors to the colonists before it attempted

to assert its legal powers of taxation. To effect that revolution would have required the genius of a Pitt, and though, after his fall, Grenville advocated the principle of his financial measures, together with such reform as would make Parliament at once representative of Britain and the colonies, the project was never attempted.

The story of Ireland is told at length in the larger volume under review. It is 'the only spot in the British Commonwealth where anarchy has continuously flourished; but the poison from the abscess has affected every part of it.' It fatally complicated the trouble in America; and the Mutiny at the Nore, which laid our coasts at the mercy of France, was largely due to the fact that our fleets were saturated with United Irishmen deported under martial law. The mutual alienation due to the ages in which the Irish were looked on as aliens and used not as citizens but dependants, is not to be effaced even in a century. 'There are signs, however, that this ruinous heritage of an ancient wrong is working itself out, for in Ireland of late years has arisen a school which pleads for a patriotism founded in love rather than hate.'

The contrast between the conditions under which Washington and Lincoln were called to serve their country is strikingly brought out in a chapter on The American Commonwealth. Washington had been left to recruit his ranks from men not bred in America and to depend on revenues which had not been earned there. He wrote in 1775: 'Such a dearth of public spirit, and such want of virtue, such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another in this great change of military arrangement, I never saw before, and pray God's mercy that I never may be witness to again.' The war with England was largely financed by France. A transformation came with the discipline of independence, and when Washington's work was threatened, the Americans were ready to pour out blood and treasure to preserve it.

Abraham Lincoln proved an ideal leader, and a commonwealth, such as the Greeks never dreamed of, was cemented by the blood of its citizens.

In the struggle with Napoleon the issue hung for twenty years on the margin of superior power which the British fleets were able to maintain on the sea. The Americans ranged their sea-power on Napoleon's side. Yet 'in spite of its mutilation the British Commonwealth survived, and in saving freedom for itself saved it for Europe as well as for America. That phase of the struggle was closed, not merely by the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo, but still more by the subsequent development in France itself of the habits essential to free institutions.'

Autocracy was reborn in Germany. In 1870 a Government which could claim to be that of the German people, acquired a voice in the councils of modern Europe. Energies that had been absorbed in war were set free to develop the natural resources of the country. Wealth increased by leaps and bounds. 'The prestige of autocracy was immensely enhanced by the achievement, and behind the transparent screen of an assembly elected by universal suffrage, German statehood was established on the power of a monarchy backed by the strongest army which the world has seen.' The best educated people in Europe were content to allow Government to mould public opinion. Dr. Walther Rathenau told a French interviewer in 1913 that with Germans public opinion does not count for anything. The docility of the German people has thus led to the production of the most powerful autocracy ever seen in the modern world, and the key to this submission is found in the fact that centuries of disunion were suddenly ended by the master-strokes of the Prussian dynasty.

Between such a system and that in which public opinion is the guiding and actuating force there is bound to be a spiritual conflict. The progress made by the latter ideal is 'mainly due to the infectious example of the British and

American Commonwealths. They have acted as "seminaries to seditious parliaments," inspiring the French Revolution, which in turn excited a demand for constitutions in Germany itself, and obliged Government to devise expedients for keeping public opinion in control.' It is painful in view of such issues to read Bishop Oldham's address before the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Saratoga Springs: 'In that great unevangelized heathen world lying beyond the borders of Christendom there have hitherto been three great gospel burden-bearers —the German, the Briton, and the American. Of these three, alas, two are locked in fratricidal strife. God forgive them both. One great gospel burden-bearer remains untouched. Tell me, why, do you think, this America of ours is untouched? It is the restraining purpose of the living God. God has kept one great reservoir for the refreshment of humanity, for the re-inspiring of hope, for the re-enforcement of courage, and for the possibilities of still carrying on a great world-programme for Christ.' This is a singular misreading of the part Britain has had to play in a war which is doing so much to save not merely civilization but religion itself. There is no need to ask God's forgiveness for Britain's part in a war which was forced upon her by the most unscrupulous power that the modern world has seen. 'Might is also the supreme right' was Germany's maxim, and it was prepared to use its might to impose its Kultur on the rest of the world. Our own Empire has had a far different history. It has grown upon us, and we have learned to regard the backward races incorporated in it as members of the same Commonwealth to be qualified for full privileges and responsibilities.

How to extend responsibility for the general peace of the Commonwealth from the British Isles to all the self-governing Dominions is a stupendous problem. They have shared with us the burdens of the present war, and have sent their bravest and best to stand by the Commonwealth

in the deadliest peril which has ever threatened its existence. They might have declared their neutrality or have confined themselves to the defence of their own territories, but instead of taking that course they have thrown their whole strength into a struggle where they saw that liberty and self-government were at stake. Mr. Hughes, the Premier of Australia, has been among us, inspiring us with his enthusiasm for the common cause, and helping us to consider far-reaching measures for the closer union of the dominions to the mother country. There is no idea of imposing British nationalism on the Empire. 'The world is richer for the variety of types,' and it will grow still richer as Canadians, Australians, South Africans, and others develop on their own lines.

The war has put an end to the notion that 'the Dominions belong to a younger and more virtuous world, redeemed from the insensate conflicts of Europe, and dedicated to the task of developing natural resources, to the struggle of man with nature, and not to the struggle of man with men.' That view involved their neutrality in time of war, but they were themselves the first to repudiate it. The Empire must have one Government, which can commit every part of the Commonwealth to war. The Dominions would not let themselves stand inactive, though they were committed to war by a Government responsible only to the people of the British Isles. That defect cannot be remedied whilst war is raging, but Mr. Curtis maintains that the time must come when the Dominions will have to assume the burden of the whole of their affairs. There must be a British executive responsible to the Parliament and people of the United Kingdom for their own domestic affairs, and an imperial executive responsible to the Parliament and people of all the Dominions, including the British Isles. The latter would have to include the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, an Imperial Minister of Finance, the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, the Secretaries for India and the Colonies. Such a Cabinet would have a control of imperial forces at least as great as that of our present Cabinet. The Dominion Parliaments have made voluntary contributions to the defence of the Empire, and British taxpayers have had to provide the balance necessary for safety. Citizens in the Dominions could only secure control of foreign affairs by rendering themselves liable to distraint by ministers in charge of imperial affairs for moneys voted by the Imperial Parliament. The question 'goes to the root of popular institutions and raises the whole principle of government by public opinion.' The British Parliament would have to act in concert with those of the Dominions if the change is to be brought about. The oversea citizens of the Empire would have a share not only in the life of their own community but in the wider interests of the Imperial Commonwealth. Much has already been accomplished. The Empire has stood the most terrible of tests in this world war. The flower of our youth in the Dominions and our brave Indian fellow subjects have offered themselves freely for the common cause. New ideals of citizenship have been born and consecrated by the sacrifice of multitudes of precious lives. The Empire is bound to be a loftier and broader thing in the future than it has ever been in the past, and no one doubts that new bonds have been knit between all the scattered members of the imperial household. We have no monopoly of these visions of brighter days. The same hopes burnt like a beacon in the breast of the young Huguenot soldier of France, Alfred Eugène Casalis, who fell in action on May 9, 1915. He believed that 'France victorious will have a mission to fulfil in elevating and educating mankind for brotherhood. I believe this because I have myself accepted this vocation, and because I know many others who have made it theirs.' 'More and more,' he says, 'looking at those who have fought and died, and in presence of the

immense effort that has been made, I think of the France that is to be, of the *divine* France that *ought* to be. I could not fight if I did not hope confidently for the rebirth of *that* France for whom it will have been worth while to kill and to be killed.' He tells the boy scouts whom he had organized at Montauban that their fathers, brothers, friends were 'fighting to protect the soil of France, and above all to win victory for the spirit of France, which loves uprightness, justice, and liberty. They will make it triumph eternally; it is for you to make it the spirit of the whole country, so that every Frenchman has but one ideal: to bring about the Reign of Righteousness.' Thirteen days before his death he writes: 'I dream incessantly about the France of to-morrow, that young France which is awaiting its hour. It must, it must be a consecrated France, wherein each person has only one thing to live for—*Devoir*. . . . It is for us believers to reveal that new life to the world.'

Abraham Lincoln's famous address when he dedicated the ground at Gettysburg, hallowed by the graves of fifty thousand brave soldiers, paid a noble tribute to those who poured out their lives that the nation might live. He struck the true note when he showed that such sacrifice called for national consecration: 'It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'

The Round Table, in its most important September issue, points out that the British Empire obviates the danger of war between a quarter of the human race. 'Defective as

its machinery still is, it binds them all together under the rule of one constitutional law, and it possesses a Legislature and a Cabinet which can, in the last resort, with the assistance of the Imperial Conference, review disputes from the point of view of the welfare of all, and settle them by means of a law which all are in duty bound to obey. That is a tremendous contribution to the peace of the world.' To impair the unity of the Commonwealth would overthrow 'the surest signpost that the world has seen that it will eventually be possible to unite all races and all nations under the rule of law.'

A supreme responsibility rests upon us for the knitting together of our far-flung Dominions into a British commonwealth that shall take a noble part in the uplifting of the world. The future of freedom in the Eastern world rests upon that union. 'This, at any rate, can be prophesied with absolute certainty, that the British Empire, as at present established, cannot endure, unless it can realize its character as a commonwealth in time, by extending the burden and control of its supreme functions to every community which it recognizes as fit for responsible government. Unless that is done the self-governing Dominions must inevitably follow to the bitter end the path trodden by the first American colonies. The project of a commonwealth, through which an ever-increasing circle of civilized men can discharge their duty, not merely to each other, but also to races weaker and more backward than themselves, will fail, and in that failure freedom will suffer more than it suffered by the schism of the eighteenth century.'

Nor is it only our own safety and progress that are at stake. The closer union will be no small guarantee for the peace of the world. Germany made a fatal miscalculation of the forces that would be arrayed against her when she supposed that India and our Dominions would hold aloof from the present war as one that but remotely concerned themselves. Had she realized how eagerly they would rally

to the help of Britain she would have been more ready to listen to counsels of peace.

All this suggests how much a British commonwealth may do to promote the highest interests of humanity. As Mrs. Green says in the Epilogue to her husband's *History*: 'The duty of Great Britain and her fate are linked with the world universal.' But a larger vision of The Commonwealth of Nations is already unfolding itself before our eyes. The Hebrew prophets dreamed of it; our Lord laid its foundations by taking upon Him human nature and dowering it with all the graces of His Spirit. St. Paul discussed it with his audience in Athens. The vision has grown clearer amid the smoke of battle. It has become manifest that nothing short of its realization can save mankind from another holocaust like that over which the whole earth is mourning. The brotherhood of man must become a reality, a great working principle for all nations. The gifts of each race, the resources of every country, must be used to increase the general store of well-being. The war has done more than we are yet aware of to weld together that vaster Commonwealth. Frenchmen never understood us better and never felt themselves so bound to us heart and soul as in the struggles of this war. Italy also has been knit by fresh sympathies to the land which she has always loved. The heroic Belgians and Serbians are our honoured friends and allies. Roumania has now also cast in her lot with us. Suspicions of Russia have melted away, and a new era is opening in our friendship with an Empire that is destined to fill a rôle of growing importance in the progress of the world. She has much to teach and much to learn, and we are now her close friends whom she trusts and honours. Japan is already united closely to us and she will come closer still. These vast Empires have been linked together by unparalleled sorrows. Their future union is a strong assurance of the peace of the world. Had she known what awaited her, Germany would not have ventured to assail such a combina-

tion of forces. We can well understand her feeling toward our own country when we see how its loyalty to its pledges and its allies has spoiled her plans of conquest. The doctor to whom we owe that vivid little volume *Red Cross and Iron Cross* tells the mayor of the village that he has lived in Germany amongst righteous men and kind-hearted women, but he adds, 'I have done with the Germany of to-day, but not with the Germany of the past, nor, I hope, with the Germany of the future, which will rise one day purified and softened from its Götterdämmerung. . . . You call them Huns and barbarians, but I call them cool-headed, scientific criminals, guilty of horrors which have not as yet got a name in the language.' There is no need to multiply witnesses, nor can anything bring Germany to a better mind save overwhelming defeat.

Such a disaster alone will open German eyes to the falsity of their long cherished ideals. The defeat of their vaunted army and the failure of Absolutism, to which they have sold themselves, will, as Baron von Hügel reminds us in *The German Soul*, prove a starting-point for change. What the Poet Laureate calls 'the apostasy of a great people' has suddenly arrested 'the progress of mankind on the path of liberty and humanity.' Prussia has shown that she will shrink from no crime that may further the execution of her purposes. Germany has done her utmost to wreck the brotherhood of nations, and she must of necessity be kept aloof till she recovers her soul and ceases to be the monster that has desolated the world. No peace is to be dreamed of till it is made impossible for her to repeat the horrors of the last two years. Some Shakespeare of the future may have to tell how—

> Consideration like an angel came
> And whipp'd the offending Adam out of her.

There may then be hope that she will find a place of repentance, but she must seek it carefully with tears.

JOHN TELFORD.

PASCAL AND THE PRESENT AGE

THERE comes to my mind, at this moment, a phrase I heard some time ago in Scotland: the best things have to die and be reborn. Life implies youth, expansion, and growth, and death is the condition under which whatsoever is old becomes young again.

Assuredly there has never been a time when we have not read and appreciated Pascal. And yet, it seems to me that hitherto we have been taught to look upon him more particularly as a remarkable man of letters whose style is an odd mixture of passion and geometry. He was admired as though he were aloof from mundane affairs, and regret was expressed that he did not devote to a serious purpose his brilliant qualities as a scholar, a thinker, and an artist.

The years have passed, and now the general feeling is quite different. What we read in Pascal appears as though it had been written for ourselves. We do not simply appreciate him in dilettante fashion: he is our brother; we think and feel as he does. He affects and moves us, his influence is felt both on our will and in our hearts; something of him has become a part of our very consciousness. And we find in other countries the same thing that strikes the observer here; Pascal is everywhere being studied and meditated upon with a new sympathy and understanding. He appears, throughout the immensity of space, as a link between the minds of men.

Is this no more than a fashion, an application of that law of rhythm and succession which controls the various manifestations of life; or does there exist a profound and real harmony between the feelings and thoughts of Pascal and the moral needs of the present time?

I

In one important respect the mental attitude of this period seems quite different from that which prevailed in the nineteenth century. The question of the relations between science and religion, which then seemed to have been answered once for all, is again coming more and more to the front.

Formerly we were content to bring science within the compass of the intellect and religion within that of the heart and then to set up a sort of bulkhead or watertight compartment between these two powers of the mind. Fact and demonstration held sway in the domain of the intellect; the things of the heart depended on liberty and divine grace. There was no common measure between the two. Reason, on the other hand, mistress in her own domain, had no right to ask of faith its claims to acceptance, to bring faith within her own jurisdiction. The present generation is breaking down the bulkhead.

And yet, it will be asked, may it not be the very principle of mutual independence that is seen nowadays in the separation of Church and State? Indeed, whilst politically Church and State are considered not to recognize each other, the natural consciousness and the religious consciousness bring more and more in contrast with each other their own respective principles. For a time, no doubt, many individuals will be able to keep science and faith side by side in their mind without comparing them. As a result of the unheard-of progress of science, however, as well as of that essential need of unity and harmony which characterizes human consciousness, the inevitable march of reflection will sooner or later cause men to choose between science and faith unless they positively trace between the two some intelligible relation of solidarity. No longer do we consider it sufficient that the heart, any more than the reason, should speak with a loud, clear voice; it must show that it too, in its own way, partakes of truth, which alone holds sovereign sway.

I find a very felicitous expression of this present-day need in the following unpublished lines of an eminent American diplomatist, who was a philosopher and historian before he became an ambassador. The poem of which I am thinking is entitled *A Challenge*. It begins as follows:

> Why trust the brain and not the heart?
> I fling this challenge to your face:
> Is reason's range so wide and sure,
> And instinct nothing to our race?

Closely examine, is the substance of what our poet says, the claims of the heart as well as those of the reason; practise sacrifice yourself and save some of life's shipwrecked ones,

> Then may you spin philosophies,
> And tell what science yet may do
> To frame the inner truth of things,
> And how the heart may still be true!

It is remarkable that the author does not conclude: you will learn that the heart, as well as the reason, is an irresistible force. It is on the ground of truth, i.e. so to speak, of reason, that reconciliation must come about, if it is to be real and permanently efficacious.

Can we say that Pascal has an answer to this demand of present-day thought? There is a wide-spread opinion that Pascal endeavoured to set up an impassable barrier between reason and faith, and that he was a firm adherent of the well-known motto: *Credo quia absurdum*. Still, how are we to reconcile such an attitude with those definite passages in which he claims that thought constitutes man's whole dignity, sets forth the command of reason as being more imperious than that of a master, and himself tries to make us see that true religion is not only essentially supernatural but also fundamentally reasonable? 'The true nature of man,' he says, 'and true religion are things that cannot be known apart from each other.' Again: 'If we outrage the principles of reason, our religion will be both absurd and ridiculous.' Either Pascal grossly contradicted

himself, or his point of view is not what it is generally supposed to be.

The truth is that Pascal did not content himself with that outer reconciliation of reason and religion which, even in his age, seemed to satisfy the most intelligent of men, and to which Bossuet gave expression when he said that both ends of the chain must be firmly held although we do not see the sequence along which the link continues. After his final conversion, Pascal ceased to divide the human soul into separate compartments. In the soul of man, thought, like life, must be a unity. Thus he can only retain both science and faith by regarding these two aspects of the soul as parts of one and the same whole. Will he succeed in doing this?

Let us first consider his method, that of the heart, as we are told. What is the meaning of this expression? 'The heart,' says Pascal, 'has its own reasons, of which reason knows nothing.' Does this mean that the reasons of the heart are not reasons, are opposed to reason? Pascal writes: 'The heart has its own order, as also the mind. . . . Jesus Christ, Saint Paul, have the order of love, not of the mind.'

If we compare these passages, as Pascal himself invites us to do, with the famous theory of the difference between the mathematical and the intuitive mind, we shall have no difficulty in interpreting them rightly. The intuitive mind is by no means opposed to reason, though it makes a different use of it, or rather it appeals to a reason other than a purely mathematical one. In what exactly is the difference? I think we may state it as follows: the mathematical mind starts with a small number of abstract and perfectly clear definitions and principles, the consequences of which it develops *ad infinitum*, without ever succeeding in attaining to the given fact, to concrete reality. The intuitive mind, on the other hand, starts with the concrete and given reality and tries to discover its principles, which are difficult to

apprehend and infinite in number. The former starts from the finite and tends indefinitely towards the infinite; the latter starts from the infinite and tends indefinitely towards order and unity. The famous aphorism on the reasons of the heart therefore means: the heart has its reasons of which mathematical reason knows nothing, though in a certain measure they make themselves known to the living reason, the intuitive mind. It is the function of this higher reason, not of the mathematical mind, to discover if science and faith can be reconciled with each other.

No less interesting are the lines followed by Pascal in applying this method. We have three stages, which I purpose to designate as scientific induction, religious experience, and living experimentation. The starting-point, in the case of Pascal the physicist, is a given fact, the fact of human nature as at present existing. This fact appears as containing within itself logically contradictory elements. Speaking generally, man, from whatsoever point of view he may be regarded, is to all appearance a monstrous blend of greatness and meanness.

Now, contradiction is the spur or stimulus, as well as the *raison d'être* of science. Torricelli's column of mercury shows us that nature at the same time abhors and does not abhor a vacuum. This contradiction ceases to exist if we admit that the suspension of the column is due to the existence and influence of an external force, of finite dimension, such as atmospheric gravity. Similarly, there disappears the contradiction offered by human nature, if we recognise that this latter, to all appearance a unity, is in reality dual; that it shares both in the nature of Adam the sinner and in that of Jesus Christ the redeemer.

Still, the explanation of the suspension of the column of mercury as set forth by Torricelli remains a simple hypothesis, so long as there has been no decisive experiment showing that this explanation is not only adequate but also necessary. The Puy-de-Dôme experiment is made, con-

verting the hypothesis into a law. In like manner, the data of religious history set up as real facts the notions of Adam and Jesus Christ, which, if we confine ourselves to logic, supply only adequate explanations of the phenomena of human nature.

All the same, it is noteworthy that there is a great difference between the result to which scientific induction leads, in the physical order of things, and that to which we are led by our efforts to explain human nature. In physics, it is by a natural fact that natural facts are explained. In the subject we are now discussing, on the other hand, it happens that nature is explained by supernatural principles. Adam's transgression is the violation of a divine command, and the grace bestowed upon man through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ is, as it were, a share of the divine power itself. Man, as we are led to conceive of him, infinitely transcends man. A strange doctrine, which cannot be wholly justified by processes analogous to those of the sciences of nature.

In what sense are Adam and Jesus Christ realities? Here, historical existence in the past is insufficient. For what these two names signify is a certain conflict, a certain decline as well as a possibility of regeneration at the present time inherent in every human soul. Is this really the condition in which we find ourselves?

This question is answered, according to Pascal, by what may be called religious experience. Remove from your heart those finite objects that encumber it, and you will find God. This God is not a mathematical sign, a proposition, the abstract God of the philosophers, but rather the living God of Abraham and Jacob. I was apart from Him; He drew me back to Himself. Righteous Father, the world did not know Thee, but I knew Thee. Be comforted, said Jesus, thou wouldst not seek Me, hadst thou not found Me. My thoughts were of thee in My agony; those drops of blood I shed for thee. Thy conversion is My affair and

I am thy ever-present Friend, Jesus Christ! May I never be separated from Him! Certitude! Joy! Peace!

An absolute and resolute certitude, indeed, when the transport of rapture takes place. But will this certitude suffice when rapture is absent? *Non obliviscar sermones tuos* were Pascal's last words in converse with God. Reduced to this dead memory, can I still, he wonders, be certain that supernatural union is real, that its manifestations can be born again and endure? Can I convince other men of the reality of the mystery of Jesus?

Descartes built up his metaphysics in order to apply certitude, which is immediately connected with intuition alone, to deduction, which is conditioned by memory. Likewise Pascal seeks after a demonstration capable of ensuring the stability and universal truth of this relation between man and God, of which he had direct intuition at certain privileged moments. This proof he finds in a kind of impersonal experimentation, of which human life is the subject.

In his natural state, man is incapable of creating, within himself, certitude, joy, and peace. He is a blend of doubt and weakness, of internal warfare and irremediable distress. Suppose, however, that Christian faith becomes rooted in his heart. He thereby learns that the cause of his suffering lies in the fact that the relation of subordination held by the powers which compose his nature has been inverted.

Man is body, mind, and heart. In the present state of things the body and the mind dominate the heart, the result being that this latter has, at its disposal, none but perishable goods, incapable of supplying its own infinite capacity. Now, the Christian teaching is that body, mind, and heart really constitute three orders of dimensions, though only on condition the body be made subordinate to the mind, and the latter to the heart, which itself is obedient unto God.

And so, whereas such philosophic systems as Stoicism and Pyrrhonism can exalt one faculty only to the detriment of the rest, the Christian doctrine supplies the means, not only of keeping intact all the powers of the human soul, but also of giving to each of them its richest and fullest development. This is a matter of experience. 'You can easily test,' said Pascal, 'whether what I say is true or not.' Human life, a profound abyss of misery and wretchedness when governed only by natural forces, becomes ordered and harmonious, great and powerful, when subject to the influence of divine grace.

Such are the fruitful suggestions we find in Pascal regarding the demand for a reconciliation between science and faith. Similarly, he would seem to teach us important lessons as to another need, in these times felt with special intensity: the need of interior development. Those who are concerned with the future of religion think that henceforth religion will retain its sway over cultured minds only if it appears as an irreplaceable power of renewal, of moral ennoblement. On the other hand, whoever ponders on the social and political conditions of modern life, is led to reflect that, all transcendental authority having disappeared to make room for a radical autonomy of individuals, groups and masses, the positive laws will henceforth be only the emanation of the wills and tendencies of these masses. But if men are wicked, how can their work be good? It is a commonplace to say that democracy takes for granted the preponderance of the love of justice and virtue over selfishness and the promptings of instinct. Everywhere, then, one feels the necessity of working to ameliorate not only the external conditions of human life, but man himself, who, after all, rather utilizes these conditions than is their product.

Now, the teaching and example of Pascal still seem to respond well to this second need of our times. The reforma-

tion of the interior man was the precise object that Pascal had in view. He attached slight importance to isolated acts, which, however sublime they may be considered, do but apparently transcend the ordinary powers of nature; since, in the natural man, they must be compensated for, as it were, by corresponding periods of backsliding and relapse. 'A man's virtue should not be measured by his efforts but by his ordinary life.' Only an essential exaltation of heart and will, the primary source of our actions, can make our conduct truly, constantly, and definitely progressive.

It is possible to conceive in two ways the determination of the law which should govern our conduct. With the Pelagians, we can regulate our duty according to the idea we form of our power. This is the doctrine expressed in the popular formula: *nemo ultra posse tenetur*. In this case, the perfection of the human will consists in a perfect abdication and adaptation of this will as regards things.

The opposite maxim, however, may also be maintained, that man's destiny—starting from the idea of duty, however sublime it may be—is to raise his power to the height of this duty. Man, indeed, bears witness that his duty is infinitely in excess of his power. Without sacrificing anything of the former, how can we make the latter equal to it? The solution of this problem is found in religion, the participation of man in divine power.

Grace, according to the religious doctrine, can come only from above; but it is given only to those who seek it with all their might. In the 'Discourse of the Reformation of the Interior Man' of Jansenius, we read that whilst it is true that God forms within us both the will to act and the performance of the action, it is no less certain that we must not 'cease to act with all our might, calling upon our utmost possible efforts.' Pascal stoutly maintained the same doctrine.

The methods he recommends for modifying one's initial

inclinations, the very essence of the soul, are three in number. The first is that indicated in the well-known passage: 'Do everything as though you believed, take holy water, &c. 'Naturally even that will make you believe and will stultify you.' This is an expression frequently misunderstood. A few lines above he wrote: 'Learn at least how powerless you are to believe, since reason inclines you in this direction and yet you cannot do it.' Here we are not dealing with the question of stultifying the reason, as people say, since reason, according to Pascal, inclines us to believe. It is rather our business to tame the passions—the real obstacles, upon which reason of itself has no hold—to restore to the mind, infatuated with false science under the influence of arrogant pride, that simple, child-like confidence which has been promised the Father's gifts. Pascal, as we know, says we are wrong to call good things great or sublime; he would have them called common and ordinary. Now, practice renders the machine supple and sets free the soul from its sway. It can thus help to destroy the passions. To modify the human heart, there are a number of external and physical means, which have a certain efficacy when judiciously used.

The second method concerns the intellect. The principle which this latter must recognize if it is to exercise a healthy influence upon the heart, is the disproportion that exists between its ability to know and the amplitude of the being it purposes to comprehend. However it may expand, being transcends it. This is why the intellect cannot content itself with the principles it is able to set up with its restricted reasonings. To attain to the first causes of things themselves, it must have endless demonstrations, which it is incapable of imagining. The intellect, recognizing both its scope and its limits, must base its deductions on immediate intuitions, as it were, of which itself is not capable, but which the heart offers to it.

After this, there remains a third method, without which

the first two would be uncertain and ineffective: that which concerns the direct modification of the heart itself. The heart is made to become united with God, i.e. with truth and goodness. Its natural tendency, however, is to regard itself as an end. How will it triumph over the enemy within itself? By renunciation. 'By humiliation to offer itself to inspiration, which alone can bring about a true and salutary effect,' such is the secret. He who robs ambition of self-sufficiency and humbly makes himself a co-worker with God, receives help from God along with some portion of His power. Then indeed is the soul transformed, since it is within itself, where it holds to the root of being, that the modification has come about.

Thus, on the question of interior perfectionment, as well as on that of the reconciliation between science and faith, we find Pascal anticipating our present needs and helping us to satisfy them. And if we were to consider them in detail, what teachings and thoughts we should come across that we might well dwell upon and meditate on our own account! We will proceed no further in this direction, though we cannot help wondering if Pascal's teachings wholly respond to our own mental state, or if, along certain lines, they do not seem to call for important reservations.

As regards the reconciliation between science and religion, manifestly Pascal's ideas cannot be propounded, just as they are, for the acceptance of contemporary thought. Indeed, the conditions of the problem have become modified, gravely modified, it may be. On the one hand, the sciences, more particularly biology, appear under what many regard as a radically new aspect. All that is, the interior as well as the exterior world, is henceforth amenable to scientific or to mechanical explanation. Moreover, the biological sciences more particularly have found, in what is called evolution, a remarkably fertile principle for explaining not only the relation between phenomena that to all appearance are infinitely changing, and certain permanent natures, but also

the genesis of these natures. On the other hand, in historical knowledge, the interval that separates, from the testimony handed down to us, the real fact which is the object of that testimony, appears to us more and more difficult to fill up. Historical criticism, less and less trustworthy, daily brings into question facts that seem to be most firmly established.

Following the example of Pascal himself, who certainly had no wish to shut his eyes to the difficulties resulting from history or from the physical sciences but rather to advance in the light of these very sciences, we must start with the present state of knowledge and see if science really is compatible with religion. Now, apparently, it is a tenable proposition that the great principles which govern Pascal's theories have still a value of their own. These principles may be reduced to two: First, science is not really a whole, it is a part. Science explains things by grounding itself on principles which it borrows from what may be called the heart, or intuition, and which are, as it were, the symbols of a superior order.

Secondly, man infinitely transcends man. It would appear as though present-day thought could still quite legitimately and effectively make use of these two guiding ideas.

On the second point: the way in which Pascal teaches us to perfect the very groundwork of our being, an often formulated criticism may be recalled. Pascal has frequently been reproached for extolling asceticism, and this is looked upon as a grave defect in his teaching. Perhaps his critics have been too eager to confound use with abuse. Assuredly there is an asceticism deserving of being criticized: to destroy in oneself the conditions of life cannot be a wise *modus vivendi*. All the same, the principle itself that governs asceticism both can and should be upheld.

Asceticism consists in trying to find, by repression of the lower functions, the means of setting free and rendering

capable of fuller development the higher functions of the soul. This method is a most judicious reconciliation of the conditions of human activity with the pursuit of ideal ends. We have but a finite amount of energy at our disposal. If we devote this wholly to our physical life, we starve our moral life. On the other hand, limit to any appreciable extent the intensity of physical life, and you will liberate a certain amount of energy which you may apply to the interior life. And if it happens that, in contradistinction to so many human beings who forget their spiritual in favour of their corporeal life, the ascetic subordinates, somewhat exaggeratedly perhaps, the latter for the former, in what way is his conduct necessarily culpable? Are not men admired who sacrifice their comfort, even their life, for a great cause?

But, it will be said, how can a healthy mind exist in a diseased body? As a matter of fact, the strict connexion people claim to set up between the health of the body and that of the mind is a prejudice. When Juvenal wrote: If it please thee to address offerings and prayers to the Gods, ask them for a healthy mind in a healthy body, *Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*, he actually meant that the one does not involve the other. Besides, in the case of genius or moral greatness, we must confess that bodily health is insufficient. Everything great that takes place in man, a mediocre and ordinary being, presupposes, as Pascal clearly saw, a breach of equilibrium.

In Pascal's method, we cannot criticize that recourse to asceticism whereby man comes to transcend man. Still, it really seems as though Pascal, in several respects, was led away from the path befitting a human being, by that desire to excel in everything which his sister denounced as an essential characteristic of his. He saw nothing but the absolute as worthy of his attention: he was impatient to grasp and hold it. And in his fear of taking a wrong step along a perilous path, he sought, above all else, how to

avoid the danger. Observing, as the Stoics had formerly done, that in some things abstention is easier and safer than moderate use, he decided in favour of abstention.

Now this, manifestly, is not man's true destiny. Indeed, there is for him but one means of doing away with all risk, the renunciation of activity altogether. As Pascal himself said: We work for that which is uncertain, life itself is a wager. If we would do the whole of our duty, we must take the risk of being mistaken, even of failure. There is greater joy in heaven over the repentant sinner than over the righteous man who was not put to the test. If we would act well, it is not enough to take the safest side; we must afford room for the probable, when the risk to be run is, in itself, a fine and glorious one. We must be able to meet responsibility and live dangerously.

A second defect, to our mind, in Pascal's teaching, lies in his excessive depreciation of the creature. Pascal is so anxious not to love the creature in and for itself, instead of only in and for God, that he almost reduces the world, and even man, to the rôle of instruments of temptation, from which the best thing we can do is to free ourselves. What, then, becomes of those duties towards our fellow beings, individually and collectively, which conscience sets before us ever more clearly as noble and imperative?

Undoubtedly, what is called altruism, i.e. a relation between person and person which is governed by no principle higher than man, cannot prove sufficient to man, whose very essence it is to transcend himself. In the creature, however, something more can be seen than an inert product of the infinite power of the Creator. He who causes it to be is not wholly absent from it: it receives from Him, if it has not of itself, a certain dignity and worth. It was God's will, said Pascal, to give man the dignity of causality. And so one may speak of one's duty towards men, society, family, without thereby diminishing one's duty towards God. In a spiritual sense which no doubt transcends human

logic, duties towards creatures may be only another name for duty towards God Himself. This doctrine was professed by Spinoza; it was also the teaching of Christ. There are two great commandments, said Jesus. 'Thou shalt love God with all thy heart' is the first, and the second is like unto it: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' As regards the peculiar value, even from the religious point of view, of human societies, we read in the first epistle of Saint John: 'No one hath seen God at any time, but if we love one another, God dwelleth in us and His love is fulfilled in us.'

In certain respects, then, Pascal was carried to extremes, not in conformity with human nature, through his desire to possess absolute perfection and sanctity in this life. To avoid such excesses, we have but to remember the conclusions he himself so strongly drew: 'To leave the middle course is to leave humanity altogether. Nobility of soul consists in being able to remain therein. Far from greatness consisting in leaving the middle course, it consists in never swerving from it.' And after all, the scope of this middle course is immense, for the sublimity of a Pascal can find room in it.

EMILE BOUTROUX,
Membre de l'Académie.

(*Authorized translation by* FRED ROTHWELL.)

THE CHRIST QUEST

THE supreme category, into which all categories great and small eventually resolve themselves, will be found always to emerge finally as the Christ category. Consciously or unconsciously, we are for ever seeking something like this, to give unity, strength, stability, life, to all we think and feel and will or say and do. *Omnia exeunt in Christum, sicut omnia incipiunt a Christo.* Though we may give the conciliating or comprehending or reconciling principle other names, nevertheless these realize and fulfil and complete or effectuate their nature in Him alone.

Virgil wrote long ago—

Ab Jove principium est, Musae, Jovis omnia plena.

But he would probably write now—

Principium a Christo est, Musae, Christi omnia plena.

Though surely Virgil had some inspired and inspiring vision of a Divine Deliverer to come greater than Marcellus, and he might have sung—

Et tu Christus eris.

Whether the poet, seer, philosopher, or prophet, set the Great Liberator in the past or in the future, all were certain that there had been or would be a Redeemer of the human race, the Desire of all nations, *deliciae humani generis* or *amor mundi*, as Titus was during his brief imperial rule. To the agnostic or the blatant infidel, as well as to the believer, reference is for ever made, through illicit and unperceived ways, to Christ, the Universal Standard of Truth and Beauty and Goodness. The moral, the immoral, the amoral man alike drive their spades or picks into this foundation, and feel there can be no appeal from this, though they would rather die than acknowledge the fact, and indeed may be utterly

and forever unaware of their indebtedness. Under the transparent disguises of the Useful, the Ideal, the Real, or something indefinite that they call It or That, meaning perfection, they virtually confess Christ. The religious and irreligious equally, whether blindly or with eyes wide open, make precisely the same assumption or condition of thought. *Extra Christum nulla via vivendi.* Men of science, though often with their lips and in their books they repudiate the Christ as an unnecessary postulate, yet in their lives presume and subsume all the many good things stolen from Him under the one inevitable *petitio principii*, namely the Christ category. Dr. Kennedy speaks of an 'Apostolic Consciousness' which we do not know. But every one may feel the 'Christ consciousness.' *Testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae.* Turn where we will, open any door we choose, start any inquiry into ultimates, travel along any road we like, probe any mystery that meets us, the end, the final truth, the one supreme solution, the secret of all, confronts us in the Cross. Without this, God would not and could not be divine, for it symbolizes and summarizes the content of the Godhead. He might not keep His Divinity all to Himself, and so He created the Cross, or we might almost say that created Him, in making Him more intelligible and human, and consequently more divine. The ultimate truth of everything is sacrifice, is Christ. Beyond this we cannot go. And this at any rate is everything, is peace and happiness, is the reading of the riddle of life and the world. We do know enough so far, along this line. To deny the power of the reason to answer certain questions is really to rest on the reason, which alone enables us to deny it. John Caird said well, 'The sceptic practically assumes the competence of human intelligence in the act of denying it.' And if we claim the authority to deny, we possess an equal right and solemn responsibility to affirm. *Omnis negatio est affirmatio.* When we deny one thing, we naturally and necessarily affirm something

else, its opposite and supplement. The positive and negative run together, work together, pull together, in one and the same harness, as one and the same movement of the mind. Christ is the Everlasting Yea. But we dare not hurry, we must make sure of our ground, every step and every stage, and go for ever slowly *pedetentim*. Better far be a day behind in the Quest of Christ than a day ahead. But at whatever pace we journey, we shall always find *Him* a day ahead, making the footsteps we must follow, in which we must tread. And we shall find in Him and in His infinite possibilities, that we are greater than we know, when we have once yielded to the Christ yoke.

> We builded better than we knew,
> The conscious stone to beauty grew.

Christ is never out of place or out of season, in the sweet dynamic dithyrambs of love, the creative activities of faith, or the delicious devilries of the highest art. Heraclitus, whom Dr. Sanday heedlessly and needlessly disparages, has asserted that we cannot enter the same river twice, but in Christ we can and do every day. Babylonians and Hebrews both held that the blood and the breath were the life, but we believe the spirit (the same and yet ever changing) to be the life, we recognize in the fleeting the fixed, and in (not beyond or behind) the veil the reality, the Christ form, the Christ idea. And we eternalize ourselves in all the extensions of the ego, in each new improvement or invention, in each new discovery, in each new principle, when we recognize in these the Christ category which gives to all its shape and meaning and true cosmic curve. Thus we perceive and prove our immortality, in the changing as in the unchanging. Khammu-rabi's Code in some points anticipated the Gospel and showed itself larger and loftier than the Mosaic Law. For instance, it forbade the vendetta or blood revenge, which the Pentateuch permitted and even consecrated. And in the Babylonian version of the Deluge, Professor Sayce, writing to the *Expository Times*,

has recently told us that there it is recorded, the individual sinner alone shall suffer for his sin, thus anticipating by millennia and exploding the fallacy of the corporate conception of the guilty community. It is the old story of *Utu-napistim*, and related in the advice given by *Ea* to *Ellil*. 'Lay on the sinner his sin; lay on the transgressor his transgressions, be merciful, that he may not be cut off; be long-suffering, that he may not be destroyed.' Aristotle, who foreshadowed evolution, and in his theory of continuity gave a better key to Nature and Life than Darwin's, in his order of a gradual ascension and the progressive *anakephalaiosis* of the successive stages in each higher development, left an opening at last for the historical Christ. People in these scientific days doubt the existence and use of Angels, and mercilessly question stories about them, in defiance of the plainest evidence. But in Aristotle's system of a graduated ascension there was a place and a part ready. For we cannot leap off straight from man, however divine, to God; we must logically and philosophically postulate intermediate invisible beings with functions and services corresponding, greater and greater still, tending onward and upward to the Greatest of all. If our Lord's Incarnation taught us nothing less than this, it certainly taught this and left us an invaluable legacy.

We shall find on inquiry, at the last analysis, that Christ is (1) the Truth of History, (2) the Truth of Nature, and (3) the Truth of Reality, and consequently the Truth of all.

(1) The more we discover of ancient documents, whether written on clay tablets or ostraca or skin or stone or metal or papyrus, the more we learn of the rites of sacrifices, the forms and ceremonies, the sacraments and symbolisms, the myths and legends and folklore, of the oldest races with their respective traditions, coming down to the present day, the more we find the truth of the text in Hebrews and the record of Moses, 'esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt.' The sacrifice,

as a rule, was a dinner party, in which the participants met their friends and their god, whom thus they ignorantly worshipped. There was a sense of communion and a sense of a vicarious offering, in which sins were transferred to the god and atonement made thereby through the death of the victim. Oral accounts and documents, however rude, seem to have one pervasive feature, one dominating fact, the idea of a Deliverer who had come or who was yet to come. He is the common Denominator, so to speak, of all alike. That men lie in bondage under the tyranny of evil powers, and therefore invite the assistance of some superhuman Enfranchiser, though it can only be by His martyrdom and death, is a familiar landmark in history, or legend and folk-lore. Solar myths may and do explain something of this and account for particular cases, and solar myths have a distinct Christological note, but even their broad backs will not support half of the burdens laid upon them. The alignment ascribed to them is often purely imaginary, and the facts overlap the theory. It amounts almost to a scientific burglary, when we see grave professors and solemn doctors of divinity going about with their skeleton keys, and announcing with a flourish of trumpets that these will pick any locks. We might as reasonably expect the *solar plexus* to elucidate the whole of physiology, or the *pineal gland* or the *os coccyx* to solve our entire anatomy. We shall find, on the contrary, whenever we proceed to use it, that the Christ category offers a clue to very much more than the solar myth. The worship of ancestors, still so flourishing in China, prepares the way even to the least curious reader or thinker for the Incarnation. Everywhere we discover we cannot escape the *reductio ad Christum* This never arrives as a mere *deus ex machina*, or a machine-made way of solution or dissolution, but as a probable (the most probable) unriddling of many a religious puzzle or problem. Christ, the Guardian of the good and true and beautiful, the inspiration of every noble deed, if under

different names pagan or heathen, Christ the example and pattern, the revelation of light in the midst of darkness, so frequently arises out of the mass of mummeries, superstitions, and idolatrous practices, even the bloodiest and cruelest offerings, in suggestion or idea or as a shining shadow. The thought and will and feeling, as they survive in the earliest hymns or stories, are all tinged and occasionally soaked with the passion of a desired Atonement. We perceive the slow leavening of the Cross conception, as πάθος, at first pain and drudgery, becomes work and worship, and the old dim γνῶσις or *scientia* broadens into the richer and more fruitful ἐπίγνωσις or *superscientia* till the Cross of the criminal is the throne of God. Religion darkly and distantly but surely grows to its highest form in reason.

All's then God!
The sacrifice is Brahm, the ghee and grain
Are Brahm, the fire is Brahm, the flesh it eats
Is Brahm, and unto Brahm attaineth he
Who, in such office, meditates on Brahm.
For all the shrines flame unto Me.

The extravagances of savages nevertheless yield a golden residuum, a precious deposit and minimum, of the most exalted truths. Behind the gory vestibules of slaughtered innocent victims lurks the inextinguishable idea of the saving, delivering, dying, rising, atoning Christ Incarnate, with the final reunion and communion of God and Man at whatever cost effected. If we proceed to any depth in our examination of any profound subject or mystery, if we reach a metaphysical conundrum or a practical precept embodying as all proverbs do the wisdom of ages and the experience of the human race, a vital fact or fancy or a comprehensive theory, a principle or law, we invariably discover that the meaning (the uttermost meaning) of each and all is Christ, in one of His many forms of manifestation. *In omnibus partibus relucet Totum—in omnibus rebus relucet Christus.* There lies the pervasive and transforming Logos. So everywhere in the pages or footnotes of history, the cruder

materials of myth or legend, written or unwritten, in tortuous and undecipherable script or in the memories of men, we have His forerunners, we see the antecedent types, personages, patriots, heroes, teachers and preachers, leaders and guides, legislators, path-finders, empire-builders, cosmic cartographers, breakers and makers, of each time and clime in universal thoughts and words, unconscious themselves of their divine mission—

The larger utterance of the early Gods—

shedding on the circumjacent shadows rays of the sacred light, that burns for ever patent or latent in the hearts and minds of men. They were, they are all, Christodidacts and Christophoroi. It was the message of the Cross, which they hardly understood themselves, that weighed and inspired their burden, and gave the one positive relation they both proclaimed and lived, and strengthened the tenacious grip they held on their respective periods. The ancient belief or fallacy that revelation was confined to the Jews has been long exploded. Every old religion was a prophecy, a prelusive anticipation of Christ. 'In religion it is not to the beginning but to the end that we must look for the true origin and explanation of its history,' just as Aristotle teaches. What is it that renders Mohammedanism such a living fact and force still? Not the Koran certainly, with all its beauty and excellence in splendid and memorable passages? But the legendry, the halo round its prophet, as a deliverer or redeemer of his country, as an echo and imitator of Christ. For throughout the records of history, with its broken philosophy embodied in the sayings and doings of many lands and aeons, and the theologumena for ever cropping out like sudden veins of gold in geological strata, there is one and only one predominant and super-eminent truth, and that is the Coming of Christ. He unites and organizes the whole. For what is history but a Christology?

In the next place (2) Christ is the Truth of Nature. Take out of the world the environment, τὰ ἔξω, the illustrations that abound of Vicarious Sacrifices, suffering instead of (ἀντί) others and suffering on behalf of (ὑπέρ) others or altruism, and there is little of importance left behind. In the relation of parents to their offspring, in the effacement of the individual for the benefit of the swarm of the flock or the herd, in the immolation of hecatombs of hecatombs of the lower for the sake of the higher organisms, whether animal or vegetable, in the efforts put forth to secure the survival of a type or a species at whatever cost, we are witness of the fundamental Christ principle that rules the universe. We behold the energizing of that on which all, whether God or man, depends for existence. Pythagoras, it has been said, offered up a hecatomb to the gods for the discovery of the proposition about the square of the hypotenuse. But what can pay for or indeed express our wonder and gratitude for the knowledge that God Himself submits to the law of Nature, whereby the cosmos hangs upon the Cross? The universe is a Calvary of suffering and yet of joy, through the conscious or unconscious, voluntary or involuntary perpetual offering up of every one for others for the attainment of higher and fuller life by death. This confronts us as an open mystery, that he who runs may read, and he who reads may run. We find in autumn, on the base of every horse chestnut leaf at its junction with the stem or branch, a beautiful picture of a horseshoe and the nails. But clearer far than this exquisite symbol is the sign and sacrament of the Cross, written on the framework and in the life of every plant or creature, and the organisms that partake of both existences, which ought to compel us as Moses at the Burning Bush (which we see renewed at the fall of the year), to stand at gaze, to wonder and adore. The inaccurate observation, held by ignorant people generally in Great Britain, that the viper has a warning V stamped upon its

head, perhaps to show its sporting character and give us a chance of escape, like the rattlesnake with its admonitory alarm, is refuted by the first careful investigation. But the Cross, which is graven on the forefront and at the very heart of creation, lies on a very different level. It cannot be overlooked, it cannot be explained away, by any Darwinian theory. Sacrifice for others, instead of on behalf of others, constitutes the keynote of Nature. It is the Open Sesame, that draws aside the veil—nay, it is the transparent veil itself, which cannot hide the eternal character imprinted on the lowliest insect or the tiniest leaflet. When not legible and apparent to the eye or the humblest intelligence, we have but to remove or pierce the superficial presentation, and then we quickly enter into the secret Calvary, that reveals most when it conceals most. Strip 'Majesty' of its externals and only 'a jest' remains. Strip Nature of its protecting masquerades, and the Cross starts up with striking challenge and power. Children, so to speak, devour their parents, the superfluous parts are exfoliated to save the whole, needless members drop off and die to ensure the life of the most useful and the strongest or a new birth, and passing time finds its sole true and adequate explanation in eternity. Tacitus, in his great manner, wrote, *Principes mortales rempublican aeternam.* And that is the message or meaning of Nature from its centre to its circumference. The one outstanding immortal, persistent factor, among ten thousand times ten thousand transient forms and phenomena, in the ceaseless flux, is Christ, the Christ category, speaking in all and working by all His works. He is essential and organic to creation. He and He alone solves its secrets, reads its riddles, and is at the same time the insoluble enigma. For we keep perpetually discovering fresh proofs of His presence, fresh symbols of His Power and Goodness and Wisdom, fresh footprints of the Eternal Pilgrim and the Eternal Prisoner of Love, fresh stigmata of His precious and life-giving

wounds. He is the jewel at the heart of the lotus, He is the divine continuation and supplement and interpretation of every creature and everything. And the conclusion arrives at one and the same issue—life by death, *per crucem Christi*.

Finally (3) Christ is the Truth of Reality. We cannot know completely the Absolute or the Unconditioned, simply because we have no standpoint, no vantage-ground for the purpose; and when we begin to think we begin to condition our subjects, to impose limits, to erect boundaries. And but for the Mediator who mediates everything for us, our information would be small indeed. It is Christ and Christ alone who connects each subject and each predicate, and in this way enables us to enlarge our predicates and enrich our subjects, by continual qualifications and quantifications. Thus the Unknown and the Unknowable gradually grow into living and intelligible propositions, though always necessarily to the last the profoundest of mysteries, but mysteries with the light behind that irradiates and to a certain degree interprets them. By such means the secular is made sacred, the profane holy, the heathen humane, the pagan Christian, and all divine. Time puts on at once timeless characteristics, the fluid betrays the fixed, the impermanent the permanent, and the transitory phenomena which environ us broaden and deepen out into the subsistent and consistent and persistent. The abstract becomes a concrete reality. The dewdrop and flower, the butterfly of a moment, we behold in the medium of Christ (who embodies in Himself all that is good and true and beautiful and recapitulates all the lessons of history), become by His transfiguring Presence other than and greater than we see. They confront us with a new eternal note, they are the biophors of creation. The falling star descends not only from heaven, but with heaven. Nothing, midge or mote, can divest itself of its celestial origin and celestial mandate. All things are charged with a divine meaning,

with a ray or a touch of reality, the most commonplace, the meanest, and most sordid—it is this that holds them together. So that nothing remains absolutely squalid. They run out into Infinity, the London puddle as well as the Highland loch or mountain tarn, overflows with the magic wonder. Each is a mirror of the everlasting. We recognize in all alike the attraction that repels, the opposition that unites, with the repulsion that attracts and the union that divides. There is the challenge of the Divine Resistance, which runs through history and Nature, which colours and shapes our experiences, and asks to be overcome by its sweet provocations. The coy, the elusive, the transient, the fugitive, the intangible, are the very accent and emphasis of the eternal. To mock, to illude, to deny and defy capture, to invite and recede, the revelation that dies at its birth and appears only to disappear—such is the office of the Supreme Reality. But it is this which manifests to the eye of faith the indwelling and energizing of the Christ, who for ever yields to us glimpses and gleams of the Absolute, that is too great for us to grasp and can be approached or distantly apprehended in these expressions alone. For the Universal is and must be in its particulars, and may but thereby be conveyed and shadowed forth to us as we go 'sounding on a dim and perilous way.' But were we not, so to speak, composed of the same divine stuff as that of which God Himself is made, had we not in us something of the Infinite, we could know nothing. Deep calls unto deep, immensity claims its kin. The tremendousness of the Truth can be merely communicated in broken lights and by broken pieces, and it is Truth we seek. A statesman too often is a man who perjures himself for the good (?) of his country. But the Christian has no commerce with falsehood. Man is immortal till he 'lies,' and then all that is best in him perishes and passes away. Illumination commences with insight (that is the only foresight), with the consciousness of Christ, when we feel Him and

realize Him in ourselves, and find Him in history and Nature, the media through which He creatively works. He is our Eternal Other, adversary and friend, opposite and complement. The individual only ascends to his individuality when he descends by negation, and by self-effacement socializes himself in Christ through Nature and all humanity. We cannot say, we cannot see, where the Mediator is not, for His Cross is everywhere and its two arms embrace and uphold the Universe. Even in the present world war, we shall easily discern a new Christophany, the forces of light and love arrayed against the powers of hell, the Devil and all his angels. We call it the battle between right and wrong, violence and freedom. And so assuredly it is. But it is vastly more, the never-ending conflict between Truth and Falsehood, Christ and Satan, God and Evil, Reality and Unreality. It is not, alas, the dying and wounded soldier who suffers most, but God Himself. He in Christ lies on the dreadful altar as a Divine Sacrifice, He the ever-crucified and ever-rising Redeemer. And it is impossible to fight against God and prove victorious. If falsehood, cunning, and cruelty were able to conquer, it would be the worse for them in the end than any defeat. Suicide could be the sole result. Triumphant or apparently vanquished, Christ goes on without a break. How can the Truth of Reality be overcome, or seriously deflected from the cosmic curve? We, all of us, theologians no less than amateurs or ignorant people, used to think that there was a great gulf fixed between the end of the Old Testament and the beginning of the New. But now we know better. Prophecy never ceased, miracles never failed. The Gospels prove to be but a continuation and supplement of Daniel and the Apocrypha and the Apocalyptic books, with their eschatological teaching and judgements. Christ and His contemporaries were certainly familiar with the Book of Enoch. And the relation, the great Christ tradition, is continuous now as then. The

lacunae, the interruptions in the chain, are imposed and supposed by us and not by the facts. For how can the eternal display the impotence of time, when the eternal is the truth of time? If we throw our net far and wide, to the uttermost parts of the worlds of science and art, of metaphysics and morals, of missionary adventure or the records of practical men, the martyrs of our time at hand-grips with antagonisms of brute matter in its conflict with the spirit, we shall strike gold anywhere and everywhere in some new manifestation of the Christ category. He is the soul of Beauty, the centre of Goodness, the substance of Truth. He gives to Reality its inevitable appeal, its convincing claims. He is the burden of freedom, the message of necessity, and the inspiration of both. *Extra Christum nulla veritas, nulla via, nulla vita.* We have rays of reality everywhere, in life and in death, but it is in Christ alone that Reality fully realizes itself, and is incarnate timelessness. In the *Vathek* of Beckford, the Lost Souls are represented as wandering to and fro, with their hands pressed to their hearts. But now all who have found themselves in Christ, and been found by Him, work with the Cross graven on their breasts and in their lives, in the Paradise Regained which is independent of place and time. They discover their '*raison d'être*' in every new Calvary, in every free service for others by which they are crucified to the world and the world to them, and thus complete themselves (their personalities in His Super-personality), and attain the end of their existence, the fullness of joy and perfect peace, by voluntary vicarious suffering. The miserable, the lost, the useless, the tormented, the damned, are the self-seekers, who have kept for private purposes alone their wealth, till the very so-called 'goods' of life have become 'ills' and their comforts and luxuries curses, and grown into iron whips that scourge their souls day and night. The happy people, the only happy people, are the Crossbearers, who find Reality in each new Calvary.

Thy home is with the humble, Lord,
The simple are Thy rest;
Thy lodging is in child-like hearts,
Thou makest there Thy nest.

I am the Sacrifice! I am the Prayer!
I am the funeral-cake set for the dead!
I am the healing herb! I am the ghee,
The Mantra and the flame, and that which burns!
I am of all this boundless universe
The father, mother, ancestor, and guard!
The end of learning, that which purifies—
Death am I, and immortal Life I am.

F. W. ORDE WARD.

NOTE.—In a friendly criticism of my last book, *Falling Upwards*, the *Times* reviewer complained that I had 'bespattered' my pages with quotations. At any rate, Erasmus is on my side, though I speak from memory. '*Ecclesia, nisi docta, nulla est ecclesia.*' When I read earlier writers and older divines, and notice their innumerable excerpts from other authors, I am amazed at my own moderation.

THE GENESIS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

A Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era, 1867–1912. By Walter Wallace McLaren, Ph.D. (Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1916.)

The Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi, G.C.V.O. Edited by A. M. Pooley. (Eveleigh Nash. 1915.)

Empires of the Far East. Two Vols. By Lancelot Lawton. (Grant Richards. 1912.)

I

THE great war now raging in Europe, Africa, and Asia has undoubtedly accelerated the conclusion of the treaty of Russo-Japanese Alliance, the text of which was published early in July last. It is certain, however, that such an alliance would have been made sooner or later, even if the present war had not provided Nippon with the opportunity to perform invaluable services to Russia and thereby win Russian gratitude.

For many years past, the statesmen and diplomats of either nation have realized the desirability of arriving at an understanding that would remove all danger of friction by delimitating their interests in the Far East, and enable them to present a united front against any Power that may threaten the possessions or interests of either party. One of the earliest efforts in this direction was made in 1901 by Marquis (afterwards Prince) Ito. He came to Europe expressly for that purpose. In an audience he had with the Czar, his Majesty 'spoke of the urgent necessity of Russia and Japan working harmoniously together.'[1] In the course of a conversation with Count de Witte, Ito told him 'that vague generalities (about Russia and Japan working harmoniously together) would not help matters, for the crux of the situation between the two countries lay

[1] pp. 155–6, *The Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi.*

in Korea. I (Ito) said that if both countries were going on struggling for supremacy in Korea, the inevitable result must be friction. I said to him, "If your country really wished to work harmoniously with Japan you must give us a free hand in Korea, commercially, industrially, and politically. And more than that, if civil war breaks out in Korea we must have the right to send troops over there to restore order. Without that there can be no question of Russia and Japan working in harmony." '[1]

Ito found Witte sympathetic, but Count Lamsdorff did not feel disposed to let Japan establish a protectorate over Korea, and put him off on the plea of consulting his colleagues. Before the reply came, the treaty of Anglo-Japanese alliance that was being negotiated by Baron (later Count) Tadasu Hayashi was concluded. Ito would have liked to have these negotiations delayed, or at least the publication of the agreement postponed, to give Russia time to make up her mind, but was over-ruled.

The first treaty of Anglo-Japanese alliance was signed on January 30, 1902. The Triple *Entente* did not then exist, even as a dream. Russia was, at that time, regarded by Britain as her rival, and credited with cherishing sinister designs upon India. Lord Lansdowne, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who carried on the negotiations on the British side, is reported to have endeavoured to have had a clause inserted in the agreement charging Nippon with the duty of coming to Britain's assistance in case the 'Oriental Dependency' was attacked, but the Japanese diplomat scored off, though only for a short time, for the revised treaty of August 12, 1905, contained such a provision. In such a circumstance, an alliance between Japan and Russia was out of question. Ito, however, continued to hope against hope, and persevered in his attempts to bring about harmony between Russia and his country. The time was not, how-

[1] p. 66, *ibid.*

ever, propitious. In spite of Nipponese opposition, Russia was bent upon extending her influence in Manchuria and Korea. Japanese protests were ignored, and Nipponese diplomats were treated with scant respect. Relations between the two Powers became steadily more strained until they broke in February, 1904, when the Russo-Japanese War began.

Sufficient time has now elapsed since the conclusion of that war to enable us to get its proper perspective. As the fog of partisanship has lifted, Japan's achievement shines forth brilliantly. Little Nippon dealt heavy blows to the Russian giant on land and sea The Czar's armies suffered defeat after defeat, and were hurled back beyond Mukden. Port Arthur, which Russian military engineers had raised to withstand any onslaught, was battered down. Admiral Togo engaged an armada that out-numbered and out-classed the Japanese navy and crippled it.

Russia, however, bore her reverses lightly. She was far from defeated. Her armies had not become demoralized nor broken. They could retreat for hundreds of miles before reaching Russia proper. Russian generals had not lost heart and were even confident of being able shortly to assume the offensive, claiming that they had succeeded in removing the defects that had led to disasters. But the war was waged by the Government. It did not interest Russians. The people did not know what they were fighting for. Japan had not done any damage to their hearths and homes, nor was she likely to do so. There was, therefore, clamour for peace—a clamour so insistent that the Russians in power could not ignore it.

Japan also felt the burden of the war. The struggle with Russia had more than trebled her national debt. It stood at 561,600,000 *yen*[1] on March 31, 1904, and had risen

[1] A *yen* is equal to 2*s.* 0*d.* 582 The figures for the National Debt are extracted from *The Fifth Financial and Economic Annual of Japan*, for the year 1905, published by the Department of Finance, Tokyo.

to 1,872,800,000 *yen* by March 31, 1906, the increase being due, directly and indirectly, to the war. Her capacity to borrow had been greatly taxed, though not exhausted, as some critics put it. She still could push Russia backward, but only at a sacrifice disproportionately large compared with the net gains that she may have hoped to gain. The Japanese and Russians alike, therefore, desired hostilities to cease.

It is alleged that Japan made the first move for peace. The letter that the Emperor of Japan, His Imperial Majesty Mutsu Hito, is said to have written to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States of America, has not, however, been published, even though the hand that wrote it lies in the grave. It is asserted that the Russian Government engaged in the negotiations merely to placate public opinion, and intended to break them off at the first possible opportunity by insisting on terms that Japan would feel constrained to refuse, thereby fastening upon her the blame of continuing the war.

Some critics are of the opinion that Baron (later Count) Komura, the Japanese Envoy at the Peace Conference held at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was outwitted by Count de Witte. Others consider that the former scored a diplomatic triumph, and got as much for his country as he could. The author of *Empires of the Far East* presents the first view. Dr. McLaren, who was a Professor at the Keiogijuku University of Tokyo, and had more recent data at his command, puts forward the other view.

The terms obtained did not please the people of Japan, who expected a money indemnity and were profoundly disappointed when they did not get it. Several riots took place immediately after the publication of the news. Komura's life was in jeopardy for months after he returned to his country.

II

After the smoke of battle had disappeared, both Russia and Japan saw that the situation in the Far East had changed but slightly, and that, if they were to continue the policy of suspecting and thwarting each other, neither would be able to enjoy peace, happiness, or prosperity. Fighting had served to remove the illusions that each cherished concerning the other, and had inspired mutual respect in them. The war, therefore, gave a fresh impetus to the movement for converting the two nations from rivals into allies.

Moreover, events were rapidly occurring in Europe that were destined to exert a powerful influence in promoting friendship between Russia and Japan. The British and French were beginning to understand each other. Efforts were being made to adjust differences that had divided them in the past. The dog-in-the-manger policy was being abandoned by them in respect of each other. At the same time Britain was beginning to realize that Russia was not the bogey that she had been painted to be, that she had quite enough territory of her own without India, and that she was willing to limit her sphere of influence in Persia. It is not necessary for our immediate purpose to trace the steps by which an *entente* between the three Powers was reached. Suffice it to say that the establishment of friendship between Britain and Russia removed any barriers that may have prevented Russia and Japan from becoming allies.

A convention was signed on July 30, 1907, whereby Russia and Japan recognized the independence and territorial integrity of China, and agreed to the 'open door' policy in Manchuria. Another convention followed in 1910, guaranteeing the *status quo* in Manchuria as defined in treaties that had been concluded before July 4th of that year between the two Powers, and between either of them and other Powers. The next year an agreement was made

disposing of outstanding questions that it is not necessary to detail here, but that were causing considerable irritation. A year later an understanding was arrived at between Japan and Russia delimitating their respective spheres of interest in inner Mongolia, and providing for joint defence in case of attack from a hostile Power. Thus, seven years after the cessation of hostilities between Russia and Japan, these nations had succeeded in harmonizing their interests and even undertaken to fight for each other in certain contingencies.

III

The present war has carried Russia and Japan a stage farther. In less than a month from the day the conflict began in Europe, Nippon had served an ultimatum upon Germany to evacuate Kiao Chao. Operations by water and land against the German outpost in the Far East were begun vigorously, and Tsingtao—the tower of strength the Kaiser had raised in China—fell after eleven weeks' fighting.

The Japanese navy had, in the meantime, assisted the fleets of the other Allies in clearing the Pacific Ocean and Eastern waters of German ships and protected the allied commerce. No time was lost in sending the arms, ammunition, and military equipment that the European allies indented from Japan at the commencement of hostilities, which were suddenly started by the Austro-Germans, and for which the *Entente* Powers were not prepared. Japan readily agreed not to sign a separate peace with the enemy, and also joined the economic league of the Allies.

Russia, being the least industrialized nation among the principal European Allies, stood the most in need of munitions from abroad. Japan very readily undertook to supply her military requirements, and has been most assiduous in keeping her word. The Government arsenals in Nippon have been working at high speed, and many private firms have been engaged in turning out munitions or materials for them. Large and small guns, shells and cartridges,

hand grenades and other missiles have been manufactured and dispatched in large quantities. Japan has also sent artillery officers to teach Russians how to make effective use of these munitions, and is accommodating Russia with credit, so that she may be able to pay for them later. A large number of army boots, hundreds of thousands of yards of khaki cloth and other equipment have been manufactured and sent by Japan to supply Russia's needs.

IV

These services could not but have moved Russia, and hastened the conclusion of the treaty of Russo-Japanese Alliance. The document is brief, consisting of a preamble and two articles, and reading: 'The Imperial Government of Japan and the Imperial Government of Russia resolve to continue their efforts for the maintenance of a lasting peace in the Far East, and have agreed upon the following:— "Article I.: Japan will not be a party to any political arrangement or combination contracted against Russia. Russia will not be a party to any political arrangement or combination directed against Japan. Article II.: In the event of the territorial rights or special interests in the Far East of one of the contracting parties recognized by the other contracting party being threatened, Japan and Russia will consult each other on the measures to be taken with a view to support and co-operation being given to one another for the safeguarding and defence of those rights and interests."'

The language of the treaty could not be plainer than it is. No details have been published as to what 'territorial rights' and 'special interests in the Far East' of Japan have been recognized by Russia, and *vice versa*. Both the Japanese and Russian authorities have, however, given assurance that they do not, in any way, prejudice the independence or territorial integrity of China. Marquis Okuma, the Prime Minister of Japan, has taken special

pains to assure the United States of America that the instrument does not, in the slightest degree, infringe upon or menace their interests in the extreme East, though the American press looks askance at the statement.

The conclusion of the treaty firmly established Japan as the watchdog of the Far East—a position in which she was placed by her internal development and by the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The present war tested her fidelity to Britain. She did more than she was bound by treaty to do. Russia will find her no less faithful in any future crisis that may arise. The new alliance, therefore, will mean much to Russia, for, freed from Far-Eastern worries, she can devote herself to European affairs that, for years to come, will continue to absorb her attention. A statement made by M. Sergius Sazanoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to a correspondent of the *Bourse Gazette* (Petrograd), may be quoted in confirmation of this view:

'The present war opens up a series of problems for Russia, the solution of which necessitates our confining our attention to the West for many years Relying on our solidarity with Japan as regards Far-Eastern questions, we can devote all our energies to the solution of these problems with the assurance that no Power will take unfair advantage of China to carry out its ambitious plans, as was the case with other countries bordering on Russia in the East.'[1]

The conclusion of this Alliance must be considered a great triumph scored by Japanese diplomacy. Less than sixty-five years ago Nippon was a secluded island-kingdom, disdaining intercourse with the West and East. To-day she stands predominant in the Extreme East. She is the trusted Ally of two of the greatest European Powers. She has blotted out the Eastern Empire of another Western Power. Here is a record of which she may well be proud.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

[1] *Literary Digest* (New York), July 22, 1916.

GRAY AND HIS FRIENDS

Letters of Thomas Gray, including the Correspondence of Gray and Mason. Edited by DUNCAN C. TOVEY. 3 vols. (Bohn's Standard Library.)

Gray and his Friends: Letters and Relics. Edited by DUNCAN C. TOVEY, M.A. (Cambridge University Press.)

The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton (1734–1771). Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index by Paget Toynbee, M.A., D.Litt. 2 vols. (Oxford Clarendon Press.)

Gray. By EDMUND GOSSE. (Macmillan: English Men of Letters.)

'WHEN you have seen one of my days, you have seen a whole year of my life: they go round and round like the blind horse in the mill, only he has the satisfaction of fancying he makes a progress and gets some ground; my eyes are open enough to see the same dull prospect, and to know that having made four and twenty steps more, I shall be just where I was. I may, better than most people, say my life is but a span, were I not afraid lest you should not believe that a person so short-lived could write even so long a letter as this. . . . You need not doubt of having a first row in the front box of my little heart, and I believe you are not in danger of being crowded there; it is asking you to an old play, indeed, but you will be candid enough to excuse the whole piece for the sake of a few tolerable lines.'

The date of this letter is probably the December of 1735, and the writer is Thomas Gray, a young man of nineteen years, Scholar of Peterhouse College, Cambridge: his correspondent is Richard West, of Christ Church College, Oxford, born in the same year as Gray. A few months ago they were together at Eton, and formed part of that now famous group of friends who called themselves the 'Quadruple Alliance'—(it was the age of Treaties and Alliances)—

Horace Walpole and Thomas Ashton being the other two members of the group.

On leaving Eton Gray, Walpole, and Ashton went to Cambridge; West to Oxford. The friendship and correspondence with Walpole, commenced at this time, continued unbroken, but for one brief interval, for forty-five years—that is until Gray's death in 1771. Ashton soon disappears. He seems really to have had very little in common with the other members of the Alliance. His letters lack altogether the natural charm and spontaneousness of those of Gray and Walpole, or the poetic fervour and enthusiasm of West's. Such humour as he possessed was of a ponderous, studied order. His chief distinction seems to have been in the direction of looking after his own material interests. His portrait, painted by the master hand of Sir Joshua Reynolds, is reproduced in the second volume of Dr. Toynbee's edition of the correspondence, and reveals the smug and stolid ecclesiastic, imperturbably self-possessed and pompously self-important. He appears to have played an unworthy part in the rupture between Gray and Walpole in 1741, and nine years later, Walpole writing to Mann, says:

'I believe you have often heard me mention a Mr. Ashton, a clergyman, who, in one word, has great preferments, and owes everything upon earth to me. I have long had reason to complain of his behaviour; in short, my father is dead, and I can make no bishops. He has at last quite thrown off the mask. . . . I have forbid him my house.'

Exit the Rev. Thomas Ashton from this history.

The first break in the circle came when Richard West died at the premature age of twenty-six. He was always a delicate youth, and the sense of physical frailty and limitation is ever present in his letters. On leaving Oxford he settled in the Temple, being destined for his father's profession of the Bar. But law had no attractions for West; his one absorbing passion was poetry. Presently he left the Temple and gave up the law. 'I have lived at the

Temple till I was sick of it: I have just left it, and find myself as much a lawyer as I was when I was in it.' On May 5 he writes to Gray from Popes, near Hatfield, enclosing some verses on the coming of May. In less than a month —June 1, 1742—he was dead. The end had come so suddenly at the last that both Ashton and Gray wrote to him after he had been dead some days, the latter enclosing in his letter (which was returned to him unopened) his 'Ode on the Spring.' Gray felt the loss of his friend keenly, and paid a beautiful tribute to his memory in the well-known sonnet:

> In vain to me the smiling Mornings shine,
> And reddening Phoebus lifts his golden fire.

But to return to Gray. He was born in Cornhill on December 26, 1716. His father, Philip Gray, inherited a fortune of some £10,000, but this was of little use or comfort to his family, at any rate during his lifetime. He was a man of eccentric habits and violent temper, clever and extravagant, and probably with more than a touch of insanity in his nature. The poet's mother, Dorothy Antrobus, would not appear to have had a happy married life, and after nearly thirty years of it she found it necessary to seek protection at law—protection which, unfortunately, the English law at that time was unable to afford. Twelve children were the fruit of this unhappy union. Gray was the fifth child, and the only one that survived. Even his life was only saved by the courage and resourcefulness of his mother, who, when he was an infant and suffering from an attack of convulsions, seized a pair of scissors and opened a vein, thus relieving the pressure of blood on the brain. Gray was devotedly attached to his mother, and never forgot her self-sacrificing love. When in 1758, at the age of sixty-seven, her troubled life came to an end, he laid her to rest by the side of her sister in the family grave at Stoke Poges—where he himself was laid some eighteen years later.

His father repudiated all responsibility for his education,

and it was his mother who at her own expense sent him to Eton, where he was under the protection of her brothers, Robert and William Antrobus, who were assistant masters there. It was at the home of his uncle, Robert Antrobus, at Burnham, that some of Gray's happiest early days were passed. The house in Cornhill was not an attractive place to him. Robert Antrobus taught the boy botany, and it is here that he seems to have discovered that sympathy with nature, and love for natural scenery, which never left him. For many years Gray made his observations on the coming and going of the birds, the awakening of insect life, and the opening of the flowers, anticipating in this the work of Gilbert White of Selborne.

The Eton of the early part of the eighteenth century was a somewhat rude nurse for a delicate boy of ten years such as Gray was, but the friendships formed there compensated for much that would be uncongenial. Walpole and West were also both delicate, and we are told by a contemporary that instead of joining in the rude sports of their school-fellows they wandered in the playing-fields of Eton, dreaming their dreams and being regarded as altogether too fastidious and effeminate. We can easily imagine they would not be exactly popular in the Eton of that day. From Eton Gray went to Peterhouse, Cambridge, and there he remained four years. In the March of 1739 he joined Walpole in a tour on the Continent, and they remained together for a little over two years. Then came a rift at Reggio, and they separated, Gray returning to England in the September of 1741. Later on a reconciliation was effected, Walpole generously taking the blame of the disagreement on his own shoulders; though he adds in his note of explanation to Mason: 'Forgive me, if I say that his temper was not conciliating.' This is exactly the Gray who is known to us through many witnesses—a stiff, sensitive, proud little man, not at all prepared to offer explanations or to receive them when offered either. He

returned to Peterhouse in the October of 1742, and took his degree of LL.B. two years later. Owing to the rude practical joking of his fellow collegians, playing on Gray's well-known dread of fire and terrifying him with constant alarms, he found it necessary to transfer to Pembroke in 1756. Here he was elected Fellow in 1768, and in the same year was appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, a sinecure which brought him in the comfortable sum of £400 per annum. Three years later, whilst at dinner in the College Hall at Pembroke, on the evening of July 24, 1771, Gray felt a sudden nausea, and had to retire hurriedly to his rooms. He had come up from London a couple of days before feeling very ill and with the shadow of death hanging over him. He lingered for nearly a week, conscious and calm, and ceased to breathe at about eleven o'clock on the night of July 30, 1771—in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

Gray was essentially sedentary in his habits. He well describes himself in a letter replying to an invitation from Walpole to visit him in London:

'I don't know how it is, I have a sort of reluctance to leave this place, unamiable as it may seem; 'tis true Cambridge is very ugly, she is very dirty, and very dull; but I'm like a cabbage, where I'm stuck, I love to grow; you should pull me up sooner than any one, but I shall be ne'er the better for transplanting.' He closes this letter with the whimsical observation, 'the Assizes are just over, I was there; but I a'nt to be transported.'

Yet this is the man who a little later on is doing the 'grand tour' with Walpole, and doing it with an untiring zeal and energy and a thoroughness which gets on the nerves of his easy-going and pleasure-loving companion. This is the Gray, too, who made such frequent and extensive tours in Scotland, Wales, the Lake District, Yorkshire, and many other parts of our country; seeing everything of interest, making discoveries of beauties that were unknown

to his fellow countrymen—and all the while pursuing his studies in botany, entomology, meteorology, architecture, art, music (Gray was gifted with what is rare amongst the poets—executive ability as well as critical knowledge in music—he could play on the harpsichord and sang with considerable acceptance), poetry, history, classics, &c., &c. His learning was immense—indeed he is said to have been the most learned man of his time.

His output of poetry is so small that he said himself his works might be regarded as the creation of some tiny insect. But every line was laboriously polished, and every word fitted to its place with most fastidious care. Moreover, his work was essentially original. We are not so much concerned in this article with Gray's poetry as with his personality as revealed in his friendships and correspondence; but we do not forget that his position is secure, if not in the foremost rank of our poets, then as a leader amongst those of the second line. The wide popularity of the 'Elegy' must not cause us to lose sight of his more important contributions to the development of poetry in this country; his share in its emancipation from the stilted artificialities of the early eighteenth century and the School of Pope. Already we discover in Gray's poetry the pulsing of that new life which was to burst forth a few years later in the 'Lyrical Ballads' of Wordsworth and Coleridge—the spirit of Nature expressing itself freely, liberated from the cramping limitations of conventional form. Gray was offered the Poet-Laureateship in succession to Colley Cibber, but he declined the honour.

Fastidiousness was the hall-mark of his person. To mention his name is to have presented immediately to one's imagination a picture of small, dapper neatness. It is to be seen, with a certain precocious pertness to boot, in the early portrait by Richardson—excellently reproduced in Dr. Toynbee's first volume. It is to be seen also in the beautifully neat, regularly-formed character of his handwriting,

of which Dr. Toynbee gives us some welcome facsimiles. In one of his earliest letters to Walpole, now first published by Dr. Toynbee, he describes himself as 'a little, waddling Freshman of Peterhouse'; and he speaks of his room at Cambridge as 'such a hugeous one, that little i is quite lost in it.'

He had a passion for travel; and in the journals he so carefully kept during many of these itineraries, as well as in his letters to his friends, he reveals a power of appreciation and a felicity of description rare indeed in his countrymen at that time. This is how he describes the union of the Rhone and Saône at Lyons:

'We are at the ancient and celebrated Lugdunum, a city situated upon the confluence of the Rhone and Saône, two people, who though of tempers extremely unlike, think fit to join hands here, and make a little party to travel to the Mediterranean in company: the lady comes gliding along through the fruitful plains of Burgundy . . . the gentleman runs all rough and roaring down from the mountains of Switzerland to meet her; and with all her soft airs she likes him never the worse; she goes through the middle of the city in state, and he passes incog. without the walls, but waits for her below.'

Gray was an omnivorous reader, and had an intimate knowledge not only of the Greek and Latin literature, but also of French and Italian. His comments on writers ancient and modern, poets and dramatists, scattered freely throughout his letters, are acute and discriminating. He had a special antipathy for Voltaire, 'who at last (I fear) will go to heaven,' he remarks on one occasion—the more so as he fully recognized the genius of the great French sceptic. He made his young friend Norton Nicholls solemnly promise not to visit Voltaire during his Continental tour.

If Gray is tried by the test of friendship, then surely he has few rivals in that or any century. It is a distinguished procession that passes along the fascinating pages of these

letters—including men of widely differing positions and attainments. He is equally at home amongst them all, and his friendships lasted through the long years. One thing is noteworthy: unlike Horace Walpole, Gray appears to have had no lady correspondents. The letters to his mother are the only ones, so far published, addressed to one of the opposite sex.

Gray's one shadowy, vague romance is connected with Miss Harriet Speed, niece of Lady Cobham and inheritor of her fortune, a matter of £80,000 plus house, plate, jewels, &c. For some years, ever since the little incident celebrated in the humorous poem entitled 'The Long Story,' Miss Speed had been on terms of close friendship with the poet. But it was not to be; although it is more than probable that had the poet sought the lady's hand he would have found favour. The lady married some one else; Gray never married at all. We quote the words of Mr. Gosse in this connexion:

'Gray was not destined to come within the genial glow of any woman's devotion, except his mother's. He lived a life apart from the absorbing emotions of humanity, desirous to sympathize with but not to partake in the stationary affections and household pleasures of the race. In the annals of friendship he is eminent; he did not choose to tempt fortune by becoming a husband and a father.'

Lovers of Gray are deeply indebted to the late Rev. Duncan C. Tovey for his long and devoted research into the Gray literature. Twenty-six years ago Mr. Tovey gave us a delightful little volume, *Gray and his Friends*, and he was obviously the man to give us an authoritative edition of the Gray correspondence. He was a Gray enthusiast, and possessed also a most intimate knowledge of the literature and domestic history of the eighteenth century. His richly annotated volumes are a delight to handle, and if this is not the final edition it is not at any rate likely to be superseded for a long time to come.

Dr. Paget Toynbee has given us a most welcome supplement to the Gray correspondence. His two recently published volumes are the result of a fortunate discovery made by him amongst the papers in the possession of the late Sir Francis Waller, of Woodcote, Warwick. The volumes are dedicated to the memory of Sir Francis, who was killed in action in France on St. Crispin's Day, October 25, 1914—'the 499th anniversary of the battle of Agincourt, where his ancestor, Sir Richard Waller, took prisoner Charles, Duke of Orleans.' These volumes give us no less than eighty-nine new letters of Gray, with others of Walpole, West, and Ashton. They are excellently annotated, there is a valuable Introduction, and most welcome portraits and facsimiles. The letters are mostly of an early date, and are the more valuable, as Dr. Toynbee points out, as showing 'Gray's strongly affectionate nature,' and his deep attachment to his early friends, especially Horace Walpole, the 'Dear Dimidium animae meae' of one of the letters.

R. A. Taylor.

SYNAGOGUE SERMONS IN THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES

1. THERE is a chapter in Leopold Zunz's *Gottesdienstliche Vortraege* on the method of delivering sermons in olden times, which is still the best extant on the subject,[1] setting forth the typical description of the ancient Jewish sermon. Critics too often neglect this important book, which shows in which direction the critical study of Judaism must still be pursued. Zunz suggests many themes for special studies, as we will show in dealing with the method of delivering religious discourses and sermons, the places and occasions where and when the homilies were delivered, by whom and how these were expounded, furthermore how they were received by the audience. This throws light on the way of preaching as indicated in the Gospels and Acts.

2. The preachers were called Darsan, Darsanim. As such we find Semaja and Abtaljon (b. Pes. 70b). R. Levi, himself a great preacher of the third century, called the two Simons, namely Ben-Azzai and Ben Zoma, 'the preachers' (Gen. R. 5. 2). R. Elazar b. R. Simon (ben Jochai) was praised in a sermon delivered at his funeral as 'a student of the Bible and Misna, a poet and an orator' (Lev. R. 30. 1). R. Meir and R. Joshua ben Korha were engaged in a special branch of expository preaching. They chose the names of persons in the Scripture as themes for their sermons and expositions. They were called 'interpreters of the names' (see Gen. Rabba, chap. 42, 8). This method was not altogether new in their time, as can be easily demonstrated by numerous instances from Philo, Josephus, Apocrypha,

[1] P. 339–60; see now J. Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 194–8.

Pseudoepigrapha, and from other Hellenistic writings.[1] There were further Dorshe Hamurot and Reshumot, who are generally assumed to be allegorical preachers.[2] From these terms we may reasonably infer that the sermons were delivered by professional preachers and recognized teachers only; moreover, we are taught that the Sabbath was called after the one who preached the sermon, thus the Patriarch Rabban Gamaliel ii. and R. Eliezer ben Azarja divided among themselves alternately the Sabbaths (see b. Hag. 3a, b. Ber. 28a). In what sense is it to be understood that Jesus or Paul was asked to preach in the synagogues (Ev. Matth. 4. 23, ix. 35; Ev. Marc. i. 39)? At Nazareth Jesus stood up to read Isa. lxi. 1–2, adding an explanation from Isa. lviii. 6. At Damascus (Acts ix. 19 ff.) and in Antioch in Pisidia (*ibid.* xiii. 15), after the reading of the Law and the Prophets the rulers of the synagogue sent to Paul to say any word of παρακλήσεως, which does not mean 'exhortation,' but any word of consolation (see Elbogen, l. c.p. 196). Now the question is: Was anybody permitted or asked to deliver the sermon, as appears from the Gospels and Acts, or did the ordained Rabbis only enjoy the privilege of addressing the congregations? There have been many attempts to solve this problem. M. Friedlander, in his book *Synagoge und Kirche in ihren Anfängen* (Berlin, 1908, p. 218 ff.), drew the distinction between the Hellenistic and the Pharisaic synagogues; he gave, however, no proofs for the actual existence of this differentiation. We cannot believe that a Jew from Egypt found different customs and institutions obtaining when he happened to attend the service in a *Judaean* Synagogue. Then there is no indication that the synagogues into which Jesus and Paul entered were Hellenistic institutions. Did Jesus and Paul make no

[1] See J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, Breslau, 1875, p. 76, and my article, 'Zu den traditionellen Namenserklärungen,' *Zatw.* xxv. (1905), p. 309 ff.

[2] See Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, I², p. 29 ff.; J. Lévy, REJ, lx. p. 27 ff., and Lauterbach, *J. Q. R.*, N.S. I., pp. 291 ff., 563 ff.

attempt to bring the Gospel to the Pharisees? Therefore it is impossible to accept Friedlander's solution. We venture to suggest that the *official* part of the sermon, which partly dealt with the Halacha (the explanation of the Law), could only be delivered by recognized teachers; whereas the *unofficial* part, and as such we may regard the λόγος παρακλήσεως, could, however, be taught by any one (see Luke ii. 46; iv. 16 f.). Philo repeatedly points out that the most learned member of the community gets up and explains the Law (*De Septenario*, p. 1178). Likewise was it held in the gatherings of the Essäens (see *De vita contemplativa*, p. 892 f., and *Quod omnis probus liber*, p. 876; *cf.* Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien in der Septuaginta*, Leipzig, Vogel, 1841, p. 52 ff.). The case of R. Eleazar ben Azarja, referred to above, points to the same fact. In the third century we find that two scholars came to a place, and one (R. Abbah) gave an Haggadic lecture, whilst the other (R. Hijja b. Abba) delivered an Halachic sermon (b. Sota 40a). Yet in former times it may be that people were interested in Halacha only, or the preachers skilfully combined both Halacha and Haggada. In the third century, it seems, there were many changes. Thus an Am Haarez (layman) was not allowed to become a public lecturer. One Am Haarez said to R. Hosaja: 'If I tell thee a good explanation, wilt thou repeat it in the congregation?' (Gen. R. 78, 16).[1]

8. We will consider the question, *when* were the sermons delivered? Here again Zunz (l. c. p. 386 ff.) collected a good deal of the material. Yet there remain a few supplementary questions to be raised and answered. It seems that generally the service was held on Sabbath in the morning and the sermon was delivered after the lesson from the Prophets (see Luke iv. 17; Acts xiii. 15; Hoennicke, *Das Judenchristentum*, p. 257). R. Meir, c. 160, delivers his

[1] Graetz, *Monatschrift, G. W. J.*, 1885, p. 490, is mistaken in stating that the preachers were not given to outward action before the end of the Tannaitic period.

sermons on Friday evenings (Lev. r. chap. 9, 9). From another story we may infer that some Rabbis preached before the termination of the Sabbath (Gen. r. chap. 10a). These customs are confirmed by R. Jochanan, who tells us that there were two families in Jerusalem; one took their meal on Sabbath, the other on Friday, at the time when the sermons were delivered, and both perished (b. Gittin, 88b). The instance of R. Meir shows that women too listened to the sermons, a fact which is corroborated by reports from the first century (b. Hag. 3a). Not only on Sabbath days, but on festivals too, was it the custom to preach; and R. Eliezer found it agreeable to preach 'the whole day' (b. Beza, 15b). Of course people would not stand it, and one by one left the room, which caused annoyance to the great master, who reproached them for their unseemly behaviour.

Public sermons were delivered in synagogues. In the time of R. Jehudah I., the congregants of the town of Simoneia asked the Patriarch for a man who was fit to teach them Bible and Misnah and to preach and to judge their doubtful cases. The Patriarch sent to them one of his most capable men, R. Levi bar Sisi, 'and they made him a pulpit (βῆμα), and they made him a seat thereby' (Gen. Rabba 81, 2). Such a pulpit was of wood in the middle of the synagogue, where the Hazzan (minister) stood (b. Sukka, 51a). The preacher delivered his sermon sitting, as we know from the description in Luke iv. 20 f. (ἐκάθισεν), and in Hebrew there is the expression *yosheb we-doresh*, 'he (the preacher) was sitting and preaching.' In the Moslem world, this custom, to preach whilst sitting on the mimbar (βῆμα), prevailed. Arabists tried to explain this strange custom, yet it was borrowed with several other rites and prayers from the Jews (see about it J. Goldziher, *Muhamedanische Studien*, ii. p. 42, and C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam in Noeldecke Festschrift*, vol. i., p. 331 ff.). We may mention as a significant instance the case of R. Eliezer ben

Hyrkanos, who was told by his teacher to deliver an exposition, sermon. He said: How can I sit whilst my father is standing? (Pirke of Eliezer, chap. 2, and Horovitz, Ch. M. Bet Eked Agadoth, i. pp. 7–15).

Besides the sermons on Sabbath and festivals, there were also other occasions for preachers to deliver their homilies. Thus at funerals, at family gatherings, at school festivals, especially when pupils left their masters. Many of these occasional sermons are preserved, illustrating the eloquence of the scribes. For their functions the scribes are said to have got the uppermost rooms at feasts and the chief seats in the synagogues (Ev. Matthew, xxiii. 6; *cf.* my *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, ii. p. 45 ff.).

4. We have also to deal with the question, *How* were these public sermons received by the congregations? This point may bring home to us more and more clearly the attitude of the people who listened to the addresses of Jesus and Paul in the Synagogues. Generally they were listened to quietly and highly appreciated. We may cite St. Jerome's word: 'They say one to another: Come, let us listen to this or that Rabbi, who expounds the divine Law with such marvellous eloquence; then they applaud and make a noise and gesticulate with their hands' (To Ez. 33–38. 34–31; *cf. J.Q.R.*, vi. 238 ff.). We shall, however, cite instances where the preacher was severely criticised by his audience. We learn that even the congregants of such an eloquent orator as the famous R. Akiba fell asleep whilst he was delivering his sermon (Gen. Rabba, 58. 3). Surely no little consolation for many a modern preacher! The same thing happened with the Patriarch Rabbi Jehuda II., who preached before a sleepy gathering and enlivened them by the remark there was a mother in Egypt who bore 600,000 children. People became interested and asked, Who was it? The answer was, Jochebed is meant, who bare Moses, who was worth as much as all the men who left Egypt (S. Cantr. 4, 2, Mechilta, ed. Friedmann, pp. 42–6,

with variations). Many of the similar exaggerations in the Haggada are to be attributed to such occasions, where preachers were at a loss how to call or rivet the attention of the people. By uttering such eccentric remarks they kept the interest of the audience alive. It was one of the homiletical touches of the ancient preachers. We have to bear in mind that these preachers taught in times of storm and stress and before mixed audiences. There were among them quaint people: Jews, Palestinian and Hellenistic, Jewish and heathen Christians, Gnostics and heretics of various kinds. There is nothing astonishing in the fact that, as we know from the Acts, there were riots after exciting sermons. Once, when the scribes preached in Rome, about 118 A.C., a man disturbed them with the question, Does God keep Sabbath?[1] R. Gamaliel II. was publicly mocked at when preaching on the future glory of Jerusalem (b. Sabbath, p. 30b, b. Ket 111a). The same happened with R. Jochanan bar Nappacha (b. Baba Batra, 75a). The latter, too, exaggerated the wonders which will happen at the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The people of Cæsarea ridiculed the sermon of R. Abbahu, who taught that Mordecai nourished his niece Esther with his own breasts.[2] It happened even that scribes interrupted their colleagues or pupils whilst preaching, and said, 'It is enough!' R. Akiba cried thus to Pappeus, whose sermons must have been more comprehensive in those times than they are now (Gen. R. chap. 86, 1, and parallels). Even R. Meir heard the word 'It is enough!' from his friends (Gen. R. 86, 1, and Lev. Rab. 5, 1). Other instances of a free criticism are preserved in the case of Ben Azzai, who whilst a bachelor praised the institution of marriage, condemning those who were lonely; he was told by R. Elazar ben Azarja: 'Thou dost preach nicely indeed, but dost not practise thy own teaching' (see Gen. R. 84, 20). The

[1] Exod. Rabba, p. 146a.
[2] Gen. R. 30a; see on this theme my article, *A. R. W.*, 1912.

patriarch R. Gamaliel II. reproached a preacher, R. Nehorai, for inventing wonderful events and preaching them. The patriarch called to the preacher, 'Thou art one of those who invent wonders' (see Jelamdenu, Numeri, ed. Grunhut, p. 52a). In one case we hear of a preacher who vividly described to his audience the scene how the burial-place of Joseph was revealed to Moses, and how he (Moses) made strenuous efforts to obtain possession of the coffin, exclaiming, 'And do not wonder concerning the legend!' (Mechilta, p. 246). It will surely be opportune here to remind ourselves of the words of St. Jerome, which apply, of course, to a later period: 'The preachers make the people believe that the fictions which they invent are true; and after they have in theatrical fashion called forth applause, they arrogantly step forward and speak proudly' (see *J. Q. R.* vi. 284). We see, however, from the above instances that the people did not believe all those fictions to be true. Many of the fictions were invented merely to arouse the attention of the congregation. It happened to a well-known preacher, R. Jehuda ben Simon, in Sepphoris, whilst preaching publicly, that the people did not incline to believe his story, just as they did not listen to R. Abbahu's fiction in Caesarea. He wanted, namely, to make the audience believe that even the ashes of Adam perished in the Flood (Gen. R. 28. 3).

5. Regarding the themes of the sermons, we can assert that they touched all sides of religious thought and all the circumstances of human life. It is strange to hear from St. Jerome: 'Search through all the synagogues and you will not find a single Rabbi who impresses upon his flock the duty of despising earthly possession or who praises the virtue of poverty' (To Is. 3, 14; *cf. J. Q. R.* 6. 228). The more so, since the teachers of Judaism did impress, as a matter of fact, the virtue of poverty and taught the vanity of luxury (see especially b. Hagiga 9b, and parallels). One would have to give all the problems of Jewish theology in order to describe the themes of the sermons. The concep-

tions of God, as the Creator of Heaven and Earth, the Father of Mankind, the Benefactor and Judge, were pre-eminently expounded. Of great importance were the choice of Israel as God's people, the merit of the fathers, the biography of the biblical personages, the past and the future, the great hopes of a Messianic time, and the severe ordeals of Israel in exile and under foreign yoke; all these themes were described and illustrated. In order to describe vividly the legends and descriptions so as to bring them home to the mind of the listeners, they were often painted with glowing colours. To illuminate this we refer only to one event. R. Jose ben Chanina preached in Sepphoris on the Flood, and pictured the wicked people of the Flood as thieves. He gave instances of their stealing and robbing, certainly aiming at his own contemporaries. Among the listeners were also many of the well-known thieves of Sepphoris, and they learned many things at the lecture which they had not known previously. The result was that people blamed the preacher for showing the thieves the way to steal (j Masser Seni 55d, Gen. R. 27. 3, b. Sanh. 109a). It shows us clearly that the preachers represented the characters of the Bible according to their own taste. There are undoubtedly many historical references in those sermons and statements. The saints and glorious names were exalted, those of the wicked censured, always taking in a general view of the manners and opinions of their own fellow men. The history of the Flood was especially adapted for such a course. R. Akiba, we are told, once lectured in Ginzak on the Flood, yet his words made no impression whatever; he stopped, and then spoke about Job, whereupon all were moved to tears (Gen. Ra. 33, 7). People do not like to be always blamed, but they need edification. We see from all these indications that preachers liked to choose the story of the Flood as a theme of their sermons. It may be that some preachers had their peculiarities in the choice of their themes. Thus we are informed that the above-mentioned

great preacher of Caesarea, R. Abbahu, used to preach on the three kings who, according to the Mishnah, will have no share in the future life, e.g. Jerobeam, Ahab, and Manasseh; he grew so excited that he became ill, and he vowed that he would never preach again on that subject. Yet after his recovery he again chose that theme. People asked him: 'Didst thou not vow not to preach thereon?' He (R. Abbah) answered, 'Did they repent? If so, I shall discontinue my sermons' (b. Sanh. p. 102b). We find that the three parts of the Bible. the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, were the sources of the preachers. Indeed, in the sermons of Peter and Paul respectively, we see that they started from biblical passages just as the Rabbis did it. Peter, in Acts iii. 13, starts, 'The God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of our fathers,' which is remarkably similar to the beginning of the eighteen benedictions and Paul, Acts xvii. 24 (*cf.* iv. 24; xiv. 15) which is based on Exod. xx. 11.

6. The sermon was held in high esteem, so also the preacher. There is a saying, 'When the *presbyter* is sitting (on the pulpit) and preaches, and they respond after him Amen, may His great name be blessed, even if one's sin deserve one hundred years (punishment), the Holy one, blessed be He, will forgive him all his sins' (Eccl. Rabba 9, 14). R. Judan bar Siman said, 'One who preaches publicly statements of the Torah is worthy that the Holy Spirit shall rest upon him' (Cant. Rabba 1, 8). R. Acha gives the practical advice to preachers that, before going to deliver their sermons publicly, they should thoroughly prepare for their ordeal (Exod. Rabba 40, 1). And even in earlier times we find R. Akiba again, when called upon to preach, excusing himself on the ground of not being properly prepared (Exod. R. 40, 1). Another advice was: It is better not to preach at all than to deliver sermons which are not as agreeable to the congregation as honey and milk mixed together (Cant. r. chap. 4, 22). Just as honey is sweet and

milk is nourishing, so the teaching had to be sweet and wholesome, useful and pleasant. It must edify and teach, it should engage heart and mind together. It is recommended to young teachers to listen to experienced masters first, who have learned by experience the art of speaking publicly, so as to rouse the will and the feeling of the people (Midras Misle, chap. 10). Of course, preachers are warned not to become a victim of the sin of vanity. He must be far from the very shadow of self-admiration. He stands there as God's messenger, and as such his voice is heard in the congregation (see Exod. Rabba, chap. 16). These are a few of the homiletical requirements and experiences which have to be remembered even now by any teacher or preacher of the Word.

7. In 1 Corinthians xiv. 27, 28, we read: 'If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two or at most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church, and let him speak to himself, and to God.' The interpreter is, as Hoennicke (*Das Judenchristentum*, Berlin, 1908, p. 259) recognized it, none else save the Maturgeman. It was the Jewish custom for the Maturgeman to interpret the sermon to the audience. We know many scribes who held that office. Often, of course, a dispute arose between preacher and interpreter. Thus once the latter was rebuked by an unknown preacher, who might have had good reason to be angry with his Meturgeman, to whom he applied: 'The words of wise men are heard in quiet,' these are the (sermons of the) preachers 'more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools' (Eccl. vii. 5), that is the Meturgeman, who dominates the congregation (Midras Eccl. Rabba 69a). One can understand this position. There were many opportunities for rivalry between preacher and interpreter. Many preachers were unfortunate in having a Meturgeman who did not faithfully repeat or translate the sermon to the audience, which of course caused annoyance to the preacher

(b. Sota 40a). Sometimes the interpreter corrected the false statements of his superior (b. Sanh. 44a), after the latter had left the room. We hear, moreover, of a preacher, whose sermon was interpreted by Jehuda bar Nahmani, a great orator, who mocked and laughed at the sermon, interpreting it with malicious remarks of his own (b. Sanh. 7b). It is well known that Jehuda bar Nahmani opposed the appointment by the Patriarchs of preachers not fit for their office (see my article Rd. E. J. 64, 59 ff.). Therefore it appears only natural that he did not make matters easier for the unlearned, unfit, and often unworthy preachers. Then we find rivalry between the preacher's wife and the interpreter's wife in the case of the often-mentioned preacher of Caesarea, whose good lady was vexed by the wife of the interpreter, who supposed that the latter stood higher in every respect than the preacher (b. Sota 40a). One can imagine how dangerous it was to discuss such questions among ladies. The interpreters received their salaries from the communities (b. Pes. 50b, j. Sukka 58a, Gen. R. chap. 98, 11). In the third century there was the established usage that an interpreter should not be less than fifty years of age (R. Abbahu, b. Hag. 14a). Young men were perhaps not fit for such an office, for they might be too zealous and jealous, causing trouble. We thus see that the institution of the διερμηνευτής or Meturgeman was in existence during the first three centuries.

8. E. Norden in his *Agnostos Theos, Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte religiöser Rede*, Leipzig, 1913, deals with the forms of the religious address in the first century, using as his starting-point the famous speech of Paul on Mars' Hill, known as the Areopagus sermon. It is not uninteresting to show that the motive of the statues and altars—e.g. in the case of Minucius Felix in his dialogue, who is represented walking with Caecilius and Octavius on the shore of Ostia; Caecilius shows his reverence to the statue of Serapis, which incident provided the occasion for the debate on the

question whether idol-worship is justified or not (see Norden, p. 88)—is known in Rabbinical literature as well. We refer herewith only to the case which happened in Acco with Rabban Gamaliel II., who once bathed in the bath of Aphrodite in the town mentioned. A philosopher approached him, asking, 'How can you visit the bath of Aphrodite? Is is not written in your Tora, "And there shall cleave nought of the cursed thing to thine hand?"' (Deut. xiii. 18). R. Gamaliel answered: 'We do not answer in a bath!' After he left he said to the philosopher: 'I did not come into her territory, but she came into my territory' (b. Az. p. 44b, Midras Tannaim, ed. Hoffmann, p. 68, my *The Apologetics*, p. 8). We have got only a few lines of a whole discussion on the theme. It is quite obvious that here, as well as in the case of Paul, the statue or the altar of the idols offered the best opportunity for discussing the question of idol-worship. It was an occasion to fight the heroic battle against the vanity, immorality, and falsehood of the ancient heathen world.

From Acts iii. 12 we see that the official appeal to the audience was, 'Ye men of Israel in the gathering of Jews,' or 'Sirs' (Acts xiv. 16) speaking in heathen communities, 'Ye men of Athens' (Acts xvii. 22). In Hebrew it would read Anshe Bet Israel or Bene Israel! The elders of the court addressed the high-priest Ishi, 'My man,' or 'Sir' (M. Joma 1/3, 1/5, 4/1, Tamid 6/3, Para 3/3). The commentators ask, 'Why did they use the expression Ishi and not Adoni? Yet the form of address in Acts teaches us that the official form of appeal was Ish or ἀνήρ, Anashim or ἄνδρες. In the Rabbinical sermons, we find that they addressed the audience thus: 'Our brethren' (M. Tanit ii. 1, p. 15a, and p. 16a). Rabbi Akiba, standing on a high chair, addressed the gathering, which came to comfort him, with the same words: 'Our brethren, Israelites' (b. M.K. 21a). In another case we find that the personal address to the listeners was put at the end of the sermon; this was

when the Rabbis, about 150, left Usha, where they had enjoyed the generous hospitality of the inhabitants of the city. The story is very instructive. R. Jehuda ben Ilai of Usha, the first speaker, toasted the Rabbis, who came from abroad, and styled them: 'You, our brethren, the great scholars,' etc. R. Nehemia and R. Simon bar Jochai concluded their addresses: 'You men of Usha,' or 'you, our brethren, men of Usha,' thus spake R. Jose ben Chalafta, R. Elazar, son of R. José of Galilee, and R. Elazar ben Jacob (Cantr. chap. 2, 16). From the speeches delivered by R. Jehuda bar Nahmani, the famous interpreter of R. Simon ben Lakis, at an assembly in a schoolmaster's house of mourning, named R. Hijja, whose child had passed away, we infer also that the audience was styled 'our brethren.' In the first address 'our brethren, suffering and distressed by this bereavement,' and in the second, 'our brethren, who practise charity, and children of those who likewise practised charity.' Remarkable is the repetition in both cases of 'our brethren' in the last sentence (b. Megila, p. 28b).

9. We may recapitulate the results of our investigation. Our task was to illustrate from Rabbinical sources the form of preaching in the Synagogues and in the primitive Church. In the Synagogues it was the custom for every one, when called upon, to deliver a sermon or to address the congregation. Of course only the unofficial portion was dealt with in this way. The scribes could not, and would not, have allowed unlearned men, or even learned members without ordination, to give the official decisions of the Schools (Halakah). That explains the fact 'that Jesus and Paul preached in the various synagogues.' Only in the third century, at the same time when the Church established the office of the lector, were official preachers appointed. The sermons were delivered generally after the Sabbath service at noon; but we find them delivered also on Friday evening and before the termination of the Sabbath. The preacher

sat, an old Oriental custom still preserved in the worship-places of the Moslem world. The sermons were generally received by the audience with approval, yet sometimes with rebuke or contradiction. It is easy to imagine that disagreeable statements led to serious troubles. The riots in Iconium, Lystra, Thessalonica, and Corinth might have happened after the sermons in the synagogues had been delivered by the first teachers and preachers of Christianity. The instances from Rabbinical literature show us the attitude of the congregants towards the preacher and bring home to us the fact that they frankly criticized the sermon. As regards the themes of the sermons, we may rightly assume that all aspects of real life and current teaching were dealt with, based naturally on the Scripture, even as we also find in the earliest Christian sermons. Then we quoted passages which illustrate the position of the preacher in the Synagogue and the duties he was supposed to discharge. Finally we discussed the question of the interpreter and of the address, both common to the Church and the Synagogue.

The power of the word has often conquered the might of the sword. The victims of the latter gave to their conquerors the teaching of life, the belief in the one God, who created heaven and earth, and the example of love for ideals, higher than the children of men ever conceived, ideals revealed by the Lord of Eternity and all Ages to His chosen ones. The great orators of the Synagogues were well aware of their high duty towards their God. Small was their influence and audience at first; we may, however, apply the old parable that from one torch many fires are kindled, but the light of the first torch is not diminished by the kindling of many other torches.[1] Thus the word coming from earnest men and pious hearts will always carry conviction to the listener, thereby strengthening the message of the Everlasting.

A. M.

[1] See *Justin's Dialogue*, chap. 128; Tatian's *Sermon to the Greeks*, chap. v. 4; Sifrê *Zuta*, ed. Horowitz, p. 163 and p. 200.

CHINA'S NEW PRESIDENT AND THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK

PRESIDENT LI YUAN-HUNG is the only man who has made a name by the Revolution. He has won a great reputation for stalwart uprightness and integrity of purpose. Among all the patriots of the Republican régime he is the one least suspect of political ambition. He seems to possess an absolutely disinterested desire to promote the welfare of his distracted country. Previous to the Revolution of 1911 he was a more or less obscure cavalry officer stationed in Wuchang, the viceregal capital of the united provinces of Hupeh and Hunan. Yet even in those days he had the reputation amongst his colleagues of being a 'clean' official, i.e. he was free from political ambition or any desire to amass wealth, the all but universal failing of Chinese officialdom. The great Yangtsze viceroy Chang Chih-tung entertained the highest opinion of this promising young officer and made him his own *protégé*.

When the Revolution burst with hurricane fury on that momentous night of October 10, 1911, Li Yuan-hung was chosen by the revolted soldiery as their commander. He would have preferred to have taken no active part in that desperate adventure, but his own soldiers instinctively turned to him at this critical time, and, marching to his residence with loaded rifles, insisted that he take the command. Unwillingly he was borne aloft on their shoulders and instated as the official military head of the Revolution. It was a perilous position. If the Revolution turned out a fiasco his life was forfeit at the hands of the Manchu rulers. If he preferred safety to facing the dangers of leadership his

NOTE.—President Li's name is pronounced Lee.

life was not worth a moment's purchase at the hands of the turbulent soldiery.

Li's first move was most diplomatic. Within a few days of reluctantly accepting the Generalship he dramatically tested the loyalty of the revolted soldiers, by volunteering to resign his position to any man the army might, upon further knowledge, think more equal to the situation. This was instantly vetoed, and thus reassured by the unanimous wish of the military leaders and their followers, Li rose to the occasion, and in a short speech definitely accepted the command. He made but one condition—there must be loyal obedience to his orders, and this was eagerly promised. No greater proof could be given of their implicit confidence in the man than this importunate insistence of the whole revolted army that he should guide them at this most critical juncture, when a false leader might easily have betrayed their cause into the hands of the relentless Manchu. They felt themselves to be free from treachery under the captaincy of Li Yuan-hung. To the honour of General Li be it said that through all the uncertain days that have passed since that fateful choice was made there has never been amongst the Chinese a breath of suspicion as to the sincerity of his motives or his faithfulness to the Republican ideal.

From the first General Li has shown himself a moderate man. His conduct of the campaign against the northern Imperial troops was marked by none of those barbaric methods so frequently associated with Chinese revolutionary outbreaks. He ever kept before the army the fact that the men they were fighting against were fellow-nationals ('uterine brothers' as the Chinese say) who would some day join with them in sustaining the greatest Republic in the world. As a further proof of his wisdom and humanity, General Li discountenanced the wholesale massacre of Manchus, and it was largely owing to his efforts that the terrible slaughter was brought to an end.

His first message to the people contained, amongst other items, the following: 'I am to drive out the Manchu Government and restore the rights of the people of Han (Chinese). Let all remain orderly and not disobey military law.'

The rewards and punishments included the following: 'To those who can afford protection to the foreign concessions a high reward.' (The foreign concessions are small strips of territory adjoining the principal ports conceded by China to European governments, where their subjects are permitted to reside and trade). 'To those who guard the churches (Mission stations) a high reward.' 'To those who inflict injuries on foreigners—death by decapitation.'

These regulations showed that General Li saw the possible danger of becoming embroiled with the European Powers, and thus sought at the outbreak of the Revolution to avoid all international complications. By his foresight and tactfulness he gained the goodwill of all nationals residing in Hankow and neighbourhood, without losing the confidence of his own sensitive people.

After the few weeks of fighting that followed the outbreak of the Revolution, and at the suggestion of General Li, peace commissioners from both parties—Imperial and Republican—met in Shanghai to discuss terms of peace, General Li himself electing to remain in charge of affairs in the central provinces rather than become involved in political discussion. It is greatly to his credit that General Li has never been a party politician; none of the many political factions of China have ever been able to claim him as their partisan.

At the close of the Peace negotiations, the famous revolutionary, Sun Yat-sen, was elected at Nanking as China's first Provisional President. When later Sun Yat-sen resigned the presidency and Yuan Shih Kai was elected to the post, General Li was found to be the candidate with the next largest number of votes, and when the count was

taken for vice-President, General Li was almost unanimously elected to the office. When we remember that he had but recently been an unknown army officer, and that he had also suffered defeat in the late conflict at the hands of the Imperialists at Hankow and Hanyang, his election to such a position of honour demonstrated that he had not lost the confidence of his countrymen, and that his unassuming manner had not blinded them to his high moral worth. He had not sought for the position, and in fact he had held out against being elected, but his election stood. He decided, however, not to proceed to Peking, the official seat of government, but to remain in the important military centre of Wuchang.

President Yuan was undoubtedly uneasy at vice-President General Li's great popularity, and he could moreover do nothing drastic against the Republic until General Li was in his power. The vice-President was repeatedly invited by President Yuan to join him in Peking and assist in the administration; but the vice-President was astute enough to see the net that was being spread for him, and wisely declined to leave Wuchang, making as his legitimate plea that the affairs of the central provinces needed his unremitting care. Besides this, his personal safety was assured in Wuchang by the unswerving loyalty of his own troops and by the great distance of this city from Peking. He held, too, the office of Generalissimo to the Republican armies, and thus wielded great military power. After many schemings, President Yuan finally out-manœuvred him by sending down from Peking one of his most faithful generals with a large army of northern troops. Ostensibly they were sent to assist in the garrisoning of Hupeh, in reality they were to overawe the staunchly loyal men of General Li's army, and to compel the General himself to obey the Presidential mandate to leave for Peking. There was no alternative, and General Li left Wuchang for the capital, to the regret of both Chinese and

Europeans. By his unsullied patriotism he had won the confidence of all his fellow-provincials, and by his transparent sincerity and tactfulness he had gained the high esteem of all men of foreign nationality; but both Chinese and Europeans held their breath as General Li approached Peking, and they wondered what fate awaited him there. Arrived at the capital, General Li was given a residence near to the President's palace, and was fêted by the President with great display of friendship. Gradually the meshes of a very fine net were thrown around him, and China soon realized that the President had secured his prey. What would be the sequel? General Li was virtually a prisoner from the time he set foot in Peking to the day of the President's death. Chinese officialdom watched the game as inveterate gamblers watch the play between two unequal opponents. Many knew that the General's life was unsafe, and any false move on his part meant swift and certain death at the hands of the masterful President.

A cleverer and more ambitious man than General Li would either have fallen a prey to political intrigue or have become a mere understudy to Yuan. General Li did neither; his transparency of character and lack of ambition saved him. From first to last he was absolutely loyal to the man who had been chosen as the chief executive of the State, and he was as equally loyal to the young and much tried Republic he had helped to found.

General Li soon tired of the shallow insincerities of Peking. The times were out of joint. The Republican leaders appeared more concerned about place and honour than about the clamant needs of their native land. He asked permission to retire from public office and desired to assume the quiet life of a religious recluse, but the suspicious President would not permit him out of his sight. First on one pretext and then on another, the President managed to keep General Li in Peking, and had the General persisted in his desire to leave the capital it is an almost moral

certainty that he would have forfeited his life, for Yuan could not have permitted so popular a rival in the public esteem to escape from his personal supervision. To the intense relief of his friends General Li was persuaded to resign himself to the intolerable situation and remain in Peking.

When President Yuan and his sycophants were engineering the ill-starred monarchy, General Li dissociated himself from the enterprise. He did not in so many words condemn Yuan, but his attitude was unmistakably shown to be against the abrogation of the Republic. His firm example undoubtedly helped many of the more far-seeing officials to hesitate in their acceptance of monarchy, and to their eternal honour be it said that many of them, on one pretext and another, resigned their posts in the Central Government and quietly returned to their ancestral homes, there to await a more propitious day in their country's life. Among the number were some of Yuan's life-long friends, who, while believing in Yuan's power to save the country, realized the weight of public opinion to be against him and his monarchical aims, and preferred obscurity in their distant homes to being branded as traitors to the new Republic.

Upon his assumption of the Imperial Yellow, Yuan sought to establish, for the first time in Chinese history, an hereditary nobility and bestowed rank and emoluments with a liberal hand. Many accepted these favours greedily, and others more diplomatically and not without secret misgivings; but the staunch Republican General Li set his face as a flint against the whole procedure. He was offered a princedom with hereditary pension of $20,000 a year, but the faithful commoner was not to be bought. He refused both title and pension, and this at a time when most men thought that the Empire would certainly be established. After the bestowal of the princedom, General Li received from the Central Government an official copy of the patent of nobility. This document he returned without even

opening the cover; and when the Ministry of Finance sent him his princely salary, General Li informed the Ministry that he was a commoner and no prince, and that he dared not receive the opulent allowance. Later, when the Minister of Finance himself called upon him to urge his acceptance of both title and pension, General Li immediately left the room without uttering one word in reply. This act of great discourtesy to the powerful statesman gave unmistakable proof of his sincerity in refusing the honours offered him. The General further sent in a memorial to the President stating that unless the bestowal of the princedom were officially cancelled he could not retain any position in the Government. So strong was he in his amazing integrity and such was the influence of his great example that Yuan had perforce to communicate with the civil and military governors about the advisability of cancelling all the hereditary titles which he had so recently conferred.

It has been an astonishment to those who know China that the late President did not more accurately gauge the public mind, and it must be presumed that he felt equal to suppressing by armed force those who objected to his monarchical aims. The old Revolutionaries, however, were too strong for him. They might have neither executive ability nor experience, but that they were most intense patriots none would deny, and they certainly were men who would risk their all to aid the carrying out of their republican ideals. Thus it came about that they organized a most serious revolt in the mountainous and sparsely populated province of Yun-nan in the distant south-west. This revolt spread to the neighbouring provinces, until within a few months of this fresh outbreak no less than nine out of the eighteen provinces were in open rebellion against the Central Government. Other provinces, those nearer Peking, were only kept loyal to Yuan and the Government by the presence of the Northern armies in their midst. Fighting between the North and the South fluctuated with

varying success, and China seemed destined to years of anarchy and internal strife.

Through all these months of political disturbance and warfare there was never absent from the minds of both Monarchical and Republican leaders the ominous thought of foreign intervention. The European Powers had, voiced by Japan, cautioned the Government in the early days of the movement for monarchy that the country might get out of hand if they pressed the scheme for re-establishing the Empire. Yuan and his party had replied that it was the people's wish to abrogate the Republic and establish a constitutional monarchy, and that they were well able to suppress any isolated cases of revolt against the Central authority. The Government also hinted that they resented this interference with China's sovereign rights as a free people. Nevertheless it was this fear of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of China which finally brought the leaders of both sides to realize the gravity of the situation.

It was at this juncture that General Li Yuan-hung again, for the second time in the history of his unhappy country, stepped into the breach and suggested peace negotiations at Shanghai. This proposal was eventually accepted by both parties, and soon peace commissioners met the revolutionary delegates to discuss the situation and come to terms.

The Emperor Yuan, in response to the popular demand, had resigned his laboriously acquired throne, and a constitutional cabinet had been appointed with the powerful Field-Marshal Tuan Chi-jui as Premier and War Minister. The Revolutionaries on their part were to lay down their arms and submit themselves to the Central Government, but the crucial test came when they were asked still to accept Yuan as the head of the State. This last condition the revolutionary Republicans absolutely refused to accept, and the deadlock seemed complete. Again General Li intervened. This time he sent an urgent and uncom-

promising telegram to the Southern leaders. It was to the effect 'that in view of the daily increasing serious situation of the country, both sides should be sincere in the negotiations to find a peaceful solution between the Chinese themselves, without any foreign influence and intervention. Otherwise the names of the leaders on both sides would go down in history as national traitors, who sold their native land to alien powers solely for attaining personal and selfish ends.' He also emphasized that under no conditions would he act for Yuan as President of the Republic (this was the demand of the South), 'as his experience and ability as an administrator did not permit him to shoulder the great responsibility of governing this vast and troublous country even temporarily.' General Li had great faith in the power of Yuan to guide the ship of State into the harbour of peace through the troubled waters of political and national upheaval. His absolute and unalterable rejection of the overtures to take the helm was an earnest desire to retain the services of Yuan as President, and he went to all lengths of political concession thus to preserve him to the State.

Into the midst of these party factions there came another hand that abruptly cut the knot of their political tangle. With tragic suddenness the President died on June 6, and by his death the greatest obstacle to internal peace was for ever removed. There are two opinions as to the cause of the President's death. One is that he was worn out with political strife and chagrin at the failure of his monarchical ambitions. The other is that the civilian and military clique, realizing that the Revolutionary leaders were implacable in their hatred of Yuan—either as Emperor or President—and fearing possible Japanese intervention if the question of leadership were not speedily settled, may have decided to get out of the dilemma by the 'removal' of Yuan. Whether this was so or not, Chinese history abounds in such dilemmas and in such 'removals,' and the President's decease at this juncture was a most significant coincidence;

and to most Chinese it will be a long time before they can be brought to believe that it was due to purely natural causes.

In the presence of a death so sudden and so mysterious, the various factions came together and with practical unanimity the vice-President General Li Yuan-hung was called to the Presidential office. His unfailing loyalty to the Republic and his undoubted sincerity and ardent desire to advance his country's welfare have made him immensely popular with all sections of the people, and his soldierly qualities have also endeared him to the army. President Li Yuan-hung is, in many ways, an ideal man for the post. His election to the Presidency at once gained the approval of the diplomatic corps at Peking—in itself an indication of the confidence of the European Powers. President Li comes to his post of high honour and grave responsibility with the unanimous good wishes of both Chinese and Europeans.

The sterling worth of his character has been tried and proven; it remains now to be seen whether he possesses those incommunicable powers of the born leader which are so essentially necessary to the China of to-day.

E. C. Cooper.

THE INSPIRATION AND AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE

DURING the last sixty years a great change has passed over British thought about the Authority of the Bible. Opinions held firmly and almost unanimously by our fathers are to-day explicitly or implicitly rejected by nearly all theologians. To many devout men and women this change is most perplexing.

They have been accustomed to regard the Bible as in a unique sense the Book of God: and they ask with anxious hearts, what is the meaning of this change of opinion about it. To answer this question is the purpose of this paper. And I undertake it, in humble reliance on the guidance of the Spirit of the Truth, with the more confidence because the mature thought of a long life devoted to the study of the Bible assures me that this anxiety is needless; and that this perplexing change is but a retreat from an untenable position, taken up by some writers in the middle of the last century, to an impregnable position found in the Bible itself.

With this object in view, I shall discuss the relation of the Bible to the Tidings of Salvation announced by Christ. On this relation, we have in the Bible no formal and definite statement like the assertion of the Deity of Christ in Jno. i. 1–8, 14, 18, or the announcement of Salvation by Faith in Rom. i. 16, 17, repeated in ch. iii. 22–30, iv. 23–25, v. i. But we have in Lk. i. 1–4 the human purpose which prompted the writing of the Third Gospel; and in Jno. xx. 31 the purpose, human or divine, which underlay the Fourth Gospel. Moreover in Rom. i. 2, 2 Tim. iii. 15, we read of 'Holy Writings' and 'Sacred Letters,' i.e. of books standing in special relation to God and His purposes of mercy to men, like the holy objects of the Old Covenant. For light on this sacred relation, we now seek.

We shall begin by search for the human origin of the books of the Bible, testing their truth and worth as we should any other ancient documents. Just so, we estimate the character of Christ by the moral principles by which we judge our fellows; and by so doing we learn His infinite superiority. For the Supernatural and Superhuman never displace the natural and human; but go beyond, and build upon, and raise, them to a height otherwise beyond their reach. Similarly, in the Sacred Records we shall find decisive indications of the Hand of God. But this result can be attained only by personal and persevering searching of these Holy Scriptures. In this paper, I merely suggest a pathway to it.

As nearer to us in time, supported by more abundant evidence, and of much greater value, we shall begin with the NEW TESTAMENT, its authorship, date, and worth. For in these matters the Old Testament is surrounded by much greater difficulty and uncertainty. We shall thus advance, by safe steps, from that which is nearer and better known to that which is further away.

Our first question is about authorship. The Four Gospels and the Book of Acts not only are anonymous, but contain very little evidence about their writers. In contrast to these, thirteen letters claim to have been written by the greatest and best known of the early followers of Christ; and give abundant information about their author and the circumstances in which they were written. All these were accepted without doubt, as written by the Apostle Paul, by all the earliest Christian writers whose works have come down to us; from Irenaeus in the latter part of the second century, onwards.

The Epistle to the Romans gives an orderly account of the Gospel preached by Paul. At once it wins our high regard as a work of profound thought and careful observation, and reveals a writer of keen intelligence and high

moral character. He had evidently (ch. i. 13) not yet been to Rome, and was free to engage in active apostolic work. Similar characteristics mark the two letters to Corinth; except that they are addressed to men whom Paul claims as his sons in the Gospel, and deal with special details of church administration. This closer relation, and the genuineness of the letters, are strongly confirmed by the writer's severe rebuke of his readers for their unworthy conduct. Such rebuke, no one trying to palm off his own work as by Paul would have dared to write. The earlier letter to Corinth is further confirmed by a quotation from it in a letter written about the close of the first century by the Church in Rome to the Church in Corinth, and known as the Epistle of Clement of Rome.

All three letters are connected together by references to a collection for the poor among the Christians at Jerusalem, which Paul was making in Macedonia and at Corinth: 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. ix. 1, Rom. xv. 26. Their genuineness finds further confirmation in the Book of Acts, which gives an account of Paul and his work in complete harmony with these letters, including, in ch. xxiv. 17, a most significant passing reference to this collection. This various and combined evidence, which can be appreciated only by careful personal examination of the documents, has convinced nearly all modern scholars that these letters and that to the Galatians are from the great apostle who founded the Churches of Europe. This abundant and decisive evidence, which cannot be brought in like measure for any other ancient document, points to them as the firm ground for the first step in our investigation of the origin and worth of the Bible.

Further information, confirming the above evidence, is found in nine other letters claiming to be from the same illustrious author. Not all these are accepted as genuine with the unanimous confidence given to the other four epistles, nor is the evidence in their favour so overwhelming.

But in each case it seems to me sufficient for reasonable certainty. In some of the later letters we notice a development of the writer's thought: e.g. Eph. i. 22, Col. i. 18, where Christ is conspicuously the HEAD of the Church. This could not have been present to his mind when he wrote in 1 Cor. xii. 21, speaking of the Church as the Body of Christ, 'the head cannot say to the feet, I have no need of you.' As compared with these words, those quoted above from later letters mark an important advance.

Notice at once the lowly homage with which Paul bows before a fellow-countryman of his own day, whom he recognizes as infinitely greater than himself or the greatest of men or angels and as marked out from all others as the Son of God; and his description of 'the Gospel' or good news announced by Christ, as a 'power of God for salvation to every one who believes.' This faith of Paul, which finds various and harmonious expression in his letters and recorded addresses, is an all-important fact in the history of human thought.

We now ask, Has Paul correctly reproduced the actual teaching of Christ about Himself and the way of salvation? For an answer, we seek further evidence. In the four Gospels, we have short memoirs of Christ. These are very welcome: for Paul's references to Him are fragmentary. These memoirs were confidently accepted by Irenaeus and all early Christian writers as written by the apostles Matthew and John, and by Mark and Luke, younger friends of apostles.

We soon notice that the first three Gospels are closely related, in narratives and discourses, and even in words and phrases. Evidently either two were copied from the third, or all three from a common source. Their actual origin is the Synoptist Question; to which no satisfactory answer has yet been given. They present a picture of Christ and an account of His teaching about Himself and His relation to God in complete harmony with the profound homage paid to Him by Paul.

The Fourth Gospel differs from the others in most of its narratives, and in the style of Christ's teaching. But this difference only throws into greater prominence its complete agreement with them, and with the letters and recorded addresses of Paul, in its homage to Christ as the Only-begotten Son of God, the future Judge of all men, and the supreme Teacher in things pertaining to God. We notice also its close agreement with the teaching of Paul about the unique prominence of belief in Christ as the condition of salvation; and about the believer's indwelling in Christ and Christ in him.

In not one of the Gospels does the writer say anything about himself, except that in Lk. i. 1–4 he justifies his work by the similar attempts of others and his own accurate knowledge, i.e. by an ordinary motive of a good man. On the other hand, negative indications in the Fourth Gospel suggest the author. In the other Gospels, James and John, sons of Zebedee, are conspicuous in close relation to Peter and Andrew. In the Fourth Gospel, neither James nor John is mentioned by name: and only once (ch. xxi. 2) do we read of 'the sons of Zebedee.' On the other hand, in ch. xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2, xxi. 7, 20, we have, closely associated with Peter, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved,' and in ch. xviii. 15, 16 (cp. xx. 2, 3, 4) 'another disciple.' We ask at once, Why is this prominent disciple's name so persistently kept back? The traditional answer, and the only one conceivable, is that he was John, the son of Zebedee, and that to him we owe the Fourth Gospel.

Another witness demands mention. Other books of the New Testament contain important prophetic elements. But the Book of Revelation differs from them in being almost exclusively prophetic and symbolic. The writer tells us that his name is John; but does not suggest that he is an apostle or a son of Zebedee. The book has some small points of contact with the Fourth Gospel: but the distinctive features, mentioned above, are conspicuously absent;

and both in phraseology and tone of thought they differ widely. It is, however, another witness speaking to us from the first century.

It is now evident that in the New Testament we have four distinct types of teaching. (1) The letters and recorded addresses of Paul; (2) the Fourth Gospel, to which must be added, as evidently from the same pen, the First Epistle of John; (3) the Synoptic Gospels, and from the author of the Third Gospel, the Book of Acts; (4) the Book of Revelation, with points in common with the First Gospel; also interesting and valuable letters of James, Peter, and Jude, and an anonymous letter known as 'the Epistle to the Hebrews.'

Careful comparison of these various documents gives us a perfectly harmonious picture of Christ as infinitely above men or angels, and as in a unique sense the Son of God; as announcing pardon of sin and salvation from sin, and eternal life with God in heaven, for all who put faith in Christ; and as pointing to His own approaching death on the cross as the mysterious means of this salvation. The number and variety and complete harmony of these various witnesses are decisive proof that these writings reproduce correctly the actual teaching of Christ and the main facts of His life.

Other evidence of an altogether different kind confirms this inference. To unnumbered myriads in all ages, this Gospel of Life has supplied a deep spiritual need; and has changed and raised their entire life and character. Moreover, those nations who accept the claims and teaching of Christ hold the foremost place; and, while they have made progress, all others are either helplessly sinking into decay or are being raised by help from the Christian nations. Of this, India and Japan are conspicuous examples. A review of the centuries reveals in Christ a religious impulse which has changed and raised the whole course of human life and thought from failure and stagnation into a new

path of sustained progress. All this taken together affords overwhelming proof of the justice of the claims made by and for Christ and of the truth of His teaching.

In this proof, the books of the New Testament are an all-important factor. Without these early witnesses, we should not have the immovable documentary foundation on which our faith rests securely. For the history of the Church and various theological controversies reveal a tendency to wander away from the teaching of the New Testament. In all ages this tendency has been met by an appeal to these earliest documents, as the supreme authority. In them we get behind later controversies. This was very conspicuous when Luther and others appealed from the traditions and authority of the Roman Church to the Sacred Books which the lately discovered art of printing had put within reach of all. Had these books not been written, or had they not survived, this court of final appeal would not have been open: and conflicting traditions would have caused confusion and doubt. So in our own day, the comparative agreement of nearly all Churches touching the teaching of Christ about Himself and the way of salvation is due to the Sacred Records which all receive as a decisive authority.

This Gospel of Salvation was designed, not only for the men and women of our Lord's own day, and for those who heard His voice, but equally for all nations in all ages. This wider purpose could not have been attained without these writings. We therefore infer with absolute certainty that they were a part of the purpose of Him who, before the world was, resolved to send His Son in human form and to death, in order to build up out of a race ruined by sin the eternal Kingdom of God among men. The Records are, therefore, a gift of Him who gave His Son to die for us.

Yet these divinely given records were written by human fingers, and in Luke i. 1–4 one writer tells us his motive in writing. Another claims in 1 Cor. ii. 13 that his words were taught by the Spirit of God. And in Matt. x. 20, this divine

guidance was promised by Christ to His servants when brought before judges. We cannot doubt that the same Spirit, moving men to write and helping them in thoughts and words, was given to the writers of these records. This guidance of the Spirit of God is the divine Inspiration of the New Testament.

To this divine guidance must be attributed the marvellous fitness of the books of the New Testament, taken together, to convey to future generations and to all nations a record of the life and teaching of Christ sufficient for intelligent faith in Him and unreserved devotion to His service. In this fitness an important element is the compactness, which, in very small compass, enables each one to read for himself all the Christian literature which can be securely traced to the first century. It is a portable library, containing all the information we need.

How the collection and selection of books was made, we know not. But we cannot conceive anything better than the Four Gospels, so different and yet so harmonious; or anything more valuable than the Book of Acts, the letters of Paul and of some other writers known or unknown, and the glorious visions of the Book of Revelation. The collection is as perfect as it is compact. Coming down to us as it does in innumerable manuscripts in various languages, which enable us to reach, within narrow and well defined limits, the very words actually written by the original writers, the New Testament as we now possess it is in very truth a literary miracle. After the supreme gift of His Son to die for man, it is God's second greatest gift to our race.

To what extent this Inspiration preserved the Sacred Writers from errors in details must be determined by careful examination of their writings. In a few places we find what seem to be small inaccuracies. In Matt. ix. 18, Jairus, in his first words to Christ, speaks of his daughter as already dead; whereas in Mark v. 23, 35, Luke viii. 42, 49, he speaks

of her as dying, and afterwards hears that she is dead. This suggests a small inaccuracy in the First Gospel in contrast to more accurate accounts in the Second and Third. Similarly Mark xiv. 12 seems to conflict with Jno. xviii. 28, xix. 31, where the Passover is represented as still future. Matt. xvi. 27, 28 suggests that some men then living would survive Christ's coming to 'give each one according to his action.' But, from that day to this, nothing has happened corresponding to these words or to the abundant teaching of the New Testament about the Second Coming of Christ. On the other hand, this unfulfilled expectation is complete proof of the early date of this Gospel: for these words could not have been written in the Second Century. And this early date increases greatly the value of this witness to the actual teaching of Christ.

In spite of these apparent small inaccuracies, the books of the New Testament, taken together contain, not only an account of our Lord's teaching, of the facts of His life and death, and of the founding of the earliest Christian Churches, sufficiently extensive for all practical needs, but also decisive documentary proof of the correctness of these reports of His teaching and of the substantial truth of the narratives. Moreover this documentary evidence has been confirmed by the effect of this teaching, and of the example of Christ, on unnumbered multitudes of His followers in all ages and races.

We now see what the New Testament is not, and is. It is not a fresh revelation from God to men: for it contains nothing which was not known and believed before a line of it was written. But it is a divinely-given record and unfolding of the supreme revelation given in Christ; a record sufficiently extensive and correct for all the needs of men, and written by human hands, helped and guarded by the Spirit of God, in the form best suited to the needs of men.

The New Testament contains many quotations from

earlier books treasured by Jews as correct records of the history of their nation, and of earlier supernatural revelations from God to Israel. Nearly all these quotations are found in ancient Hebrew copies, which are reproduced in our English OLD TESTAMENT; and agree closely with a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures bound up with the earliest copies of the Greek New Testament. Of these last, I may mention the Vatican and Sinai MSS., written in the fourth century; and the Alexandrian MS., a century later. This close correspondence is complete proof that we possess the Sacred Books of Israel as they were read not only by Christ and His Apostles but by the Jews at the coming of the Greeks under Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., when the remnant of Israel came under Greek rule and the influence of Greek thought.

Like the New Testament, the Hebrew Scriptures contain history, biography, and religious teaching. From Genesis to 2 Kings inclusive, but excluding Ruth, and forming the first two divisions of the Hebrew Bible, we have a connected historical and religious work, at first in scanty outline, afterwards a fairly full national history, from the Creation of the world by God down to the Captivity in Babylon. The latter part of this history receives valuable illustration in the Books of the Prophets, which, except Daniel, form the third division of the Hebrew Bible: the remainder, including Ruth and Daniel, form the fourth division.

In the Books of Chronicles we have another history, paying special attention to religious worship, from the time of David to the Captivity, followed in Ezra and Nehemiah by an account of the return from Babylon and the rebuilding of the Temple and of the wall of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the temple worship. In the remaining books of the Old Testament we have a valuable embodiment of the religious thought of Israel. The Books of Ezekiel and Daniel have much in common with the Book of Revelation.

The Greek copies of the Old Testament embrace other

books, known to us as the Apocrypha, containing both history and religious teaching, and reproducing the life and thought of Israel under Greek rule and the potent influence of Greek thought. The strength of this influence is proved by the fact that the writers of the New Testament, though nearly all Jews, wrote in Greek. This put the Gospel in a form which carried it far beyond the limits of the Jewish race.

The authorship and date of most of the books of the Old Testament are uncertain. The Pentateuch and Joshua are evidently from various hands, more or less clearly distinguished. The historical books as a whole bear abundant marks of substantial truth. It is impossible to doubt the captivity of the Northern tribes, and later on of Judah, and the destruction of Jerusalem. For this humiliating picture of the nation could not have been invented by a Jew. The deep impression made by David on the subsequent thought of Israel bears witness to his historical reality: so does the ridiculous picture of Saul, utterly unlike the founder of a dynasty; and the lofty character of Samuel.

The profound impression made on the best thought of Israel by the bondage in Egypt and the rescue through Moses by supernatural power, as revealed throughout the Old Testament, e.g. Jer. ii. 2–7, xxxi. 32, can be explained only by a great historical reality. Moreover, the picture of Abraham, leaving his own country at the bidding of God, and the important analogy between his faith (Gen. xv. 6) and that of the servants of Christ, as expounded in Rom. iv., Heb. xi. 8–19, Jas. ii. 21–23, bear similar testimony: for it is impossible that this wonderful anticipation of the teaching of Christ (e.g. Jno. iii. 15, 16) could have been invented by a disciple of Moses.

We notice, throughout the Old Testament, in conspicuous contrast to surrounding polytheism, a clear knowledge of, and personal intercourse with, One personal God, Creator of Heaven and Earth and the righteous Judge of all men:

a conception of God infinitely superior to anything in Gentile literature. This unique anticipation of the thoughts about God in all the foremost modern nations can be explained only as due to a supernatural revelation of God given by Him to Israel and not to any other ancient nation; in some such way as that described in the narratives of Abraham, Moses, and the Prophets. It thus confirms the general historical truth of the Old Testament.

In Gen. xii. 1–3, Jer. xxxi. 31–40, Ezek. xxxiv.–xxxvi., Isa. xxxv., lx.–lxii., Dan ii. 44, and elsewhere, we find anticipations, more or less definite, of greater blessings to come, for and through Israel and for all nations. These anticipations have already been realized, with promises of still greater realization yet to come, in the uprising in Israel, through Christ, of a religious impulse which has changed and raised the whole course of human life and thought. The earliest followers of Christ, the men who won for Him the homage of all succeeding ages, were all Jews who had inherited Israel's superior and unique knowledge of God. This knowledge was a necessary preparation for the Gospel of Christ. For the claim of Christ to a unique relation to God, infinitely beyond that of men or angels, could have been safely given only to men who had firmly grasped, as the Jews alone had grasped, the great doctrine of the unity of God.

We see then that, just as the New Testament is a divinely-given record of the supreme revelation given to men in Christ, so the Old Testament is a record of earlier and preparatory revelations given only to Israel. Of these last, the great value is seen in the use made of them in the New Testament. This proves them to be essential factors preparing a way for the gospel of Christ. Standing thus in immediate relation to God's great purpose of salvation, they are fitly called in Rom. i. 2, 'Holy Writings,' and in 2 Tim. iii. 15, 'Sacred Letters.' They are thus raised, after the New Testament, above all other ancient literature.

On the other hand, to those who have learnt in the school of Christ, there is much in the Old Testament which we are compelled to reject as unworthy of God. In Num. xxxi. 1, 2, we read that Jehovah bade Moses to 'avenge the sons of Israel against the Midianites'; and that Moses was angry because, in so doing, the Israelites spared the women, and commanded them to kill all the married women and all the boys, mentioning expressly (v. 17) all the 'little ones.' The maidens they were allowed to keep for themselves. The brutalizing effect of this command, on those who obeyed it, sweeps away every argument adduced to prove any theory of Inspiration which involves a justification of this awful massacre. The same may be said of the command of Jehovah, through Samuel, in 1 Sam. xv. 1–3, to 'smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling;' in punishment for the hostility of a former generation of Amalekites centuries before that time.

In the same category must be placed the commendation in Jud. v. 24–26 of Jael's treachery, so contrary to the law of hospitality prevalent in her day. So also Ps. cxxxvii. 9: 'Happy is he who seizes and dashes thy little ones against the rock.' All these are utterly contrary to the teaching of the New Testament. We cannot take seriously the statement in Esther ix. 16 that, with the help of the Persian governors, the Jews killed 75,000 of their enemies. Much else might be added which we cannot accept as true or right.

All this warns us that the Old Testament must be read with discrimination. The main historical narrative contains abundant evidence of substantial truth; and its teaching about God bears witness to a revelation not given to any other ancient nation. But there are in it other elements which no proofs which have been brought for the Inerrancy of the Bible can compel us to accept. In this respect, the Old Testament differs from the New, which contains everywhere the highest moral teaching. This difference is what

we might expect in the records of a Covenant which in Heb. viii. 13 is described as 'becoming old and infirm, near to vanishing away.'

The immense religious value of the Old Testament is manifest to all devout readers. The practical influence on human thought and life of the examples of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and the Prophets, has been far greater than that of any Gentile characters. Moreover many passages in the Old Testament give suitable expression to the best thoughts even of the followers of Christ. So Ps. li. 2, 7, and especially v. 10, 'a clean heart, create for me, O God; and a steadfast spirit renew within me.' Similarly Dt. xxx. 6, 'Jehovah thy God will circumcise thy heart to love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart.' By tracing inward purification to the creative power of God, these passages and other similar, anticipate Eph. ii. 10, 'we are His work, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God before prepared that in them we should walk:" 2 Cor. v. 17, &c.

To this wonderful anticipation in the Old Testament of teaching which distinguishes the New Testament from all Gentile literature, witness is borne by the many quotations in the New from the Old. The same witness is borne by the manifest debt of modern Psalmody to the Hebrew Book of Psalms.

This immense superiority of the Old Testament to all contemporary literature is a sure proof of a supernatural revelation given to Israel and not to any other ancient nation. This proof cannot be set aside by the moral imperfections noted above. For it cannot be otherwise explained. On the other hand, in our estimate of the Old Testament as a whole, these glaring moral imperfections must not be overlooked.

Another clear indication of the Hand of God is the immense educational value, before and after Christ, of the Old Testament. It takes back the history of Israel to a date much earlier than that of Greece and Rome: and, as a

living and instructive picture of the early life and thought of a nation of unique importance, it is much more valuable. Moreover, long before the histories of Egypt and Assyria were disinterred from buried records, even in the humblest Jewish and Christian homes, some light was shed by these ancient Scriptures on those early empires. It has been well said that History was born when Israel went out from Egypt. Any records of an earlier period are of little value. In view of its practical influence on the thoughts and lives of men and women in all social conditions and in all nations, the Old Testament surpasses far all other ancient literature. This unique value, in so many directions, is another indication of a special revelation to this small race.

Between the Old and New Testaments are the books of the Apocrypha. The First Book of Maccabees is of great value, laying open to view an important epoch in the history of Israel not mentioned in the Canonical Books, except slight indications in the Book of Daniel. The Apocryphal 'Wisdom of Solomon' is a priceless record of a new element in the religious thought of Israel, viz. a clear assertion of Retribution beyond Death. This is confirmed by 2 Maccabees vii. 9, 11, 14, 17, 23, 33, 36; xii. 43, 44.

These books are much more valuable than are the Song of Songs or Esther. Also interesting for its contrast to the Book of Wisdom, but wearisome because of its length, is Ecclesiasticus. The Revised Version of the Apocrypha should be in the hands of every Bible student. But, in contrast to the Old Testament, there are no clear quotations of it in the New.

We now see that, just as the New Testament is a correct statement of the supreme revelation given to men in Christ, with all the documentary evidence needful to prove its divine authority, so the Old Testament is a sufficient record of earlier supernatural revelations given to Israel and leading up to this supreme revelation designed for all men; also that in the Apocrypha we have a record of another prepara-

tory revelation received by Israel, before the coming of Christ, from a Gentile source. This evidence is not weakened by small inaccuracies in the New Testament, or by more serious moral imperfections in the Old. For the evidence adduced in no wise assumes or implies the infallibility of the documents appealed to. Just so, in our courts of criminal law, a variety of very fallible witnesses, when mutually confirmatory, frequently leaves no room for doubt on the main issue. Thus in our study of the Bible, as in the every-day life of men, amid much doubt about details, we have in all essentials absolute certainty.

This warns us not to bring to the Bible any theory of its infallible truth in all details; but to submit its statements to rational and reverent criticism; as we should any other ancient documents. We shall then find in it decisive evidence touching everything we need to know. And the sufficiency of this documentary evidence, increasing in force with prolonged study, will reveal to us, in the composition and preservation of these sacred records, the guiding Hand of God.

On the Contents, Authorship, Date, and Worth, of the books of the Bible, I may refer to two small volumes by me, on THE OLD TESTAMENT and THE NEW TESTAMENT, published by the Methodist Publishing House.

The position taken up in this article touching the Inspiration and Authority of the Bible differs from that prevalent in the middle of the last century. Of this discredited opinion, the best account known to me is a volume by Archdeacon Lee, entitled *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its nature and proof.* 1st edition 1854, 5th edition 1882, from which last I quote. On p. 388, in his 'Recapitulation' he writes, 'Thus far I have endeavoured to lay down principles from which the divine authority, the infallible certainty, the entire truthfulness, of every part of the Scriptures must necessarily result.' So on p. 398 *f.*: I repeat

that if we fully and entirely believe in the divine origin of Holy Scripture, to assert that its statements do not harmonize is a contradiction in terms.' Of this infallibility, he professes to give in Lecture vi. 'Scriptural Proof.' His only proofs are that the writers of the Bible claim in their writings supernatural help; that a correct record was needful for the purposes for which the revelation was given; and that in the Bible such needful accuracy is actually found.

All this I admit: but it by no means implies that every statement in the Bible is correct; nor, as I have proved, is such infallibility needful for the purposes for which the Bible was given. Moreover Dr. Lee's treatment of discrepancies, and of passages which our moral sense forbids us to approve, is most unsatisfactory. The difficulties mentioned by me in this article, and many others, are passed over in silence. And the strongest proofs of the truth of the picture of Christ and of the account of His teaching in the New Testament, and of the substantial truth of the Old Testament, are very inadequately set forth. The whole work is weakened by treating the Bible as a whole, instead of beginning with that part of it which is nearer to us, and about which we have more abundant and decisive evidence; and then going back, in the light thus gained, to the earlier Scriptures.

In popular discourse, the Bible is often called 'the Word of God.' This phrase is very frequent in the New Testament, e.g. Luke iii. 2, v. 1, viii. 11, 21, xi. 28, Acts viii. 14, xi. 1, xiii. 5, 7, 44, 46, 1 Cor. xiv. 36, 2 Cor. ii. 17, Heb. xi. 3, xiii. 7; also in 1 Sam. ix. 27, 1 Kings xii. 22, 1 Chr. xvii. 3, and elsewhere in the Old Testament. We have also there, much more frequently, the phrase correctly rendered in the American R.V. 'Word of Jehovah,' e.g. Jer. i. 2, 4, 11, 13, ii. 1, 4, 31, Ezek. i. 3, iii. 16. But these phrases are never used to describe the 'Holy Writings,' or in R.V. 'Scriptures.' It suitably denotes, as the above passages prove, any form of words, written or spoken, which conveys truth revealed by God to men. Its popular use needs to be guarded lest it

should be taken to suggest that God is responsible for every statement in the Bible, as I am for every statement in this article.

Yet this phrase embodies an important element of truth. As we read the recorded words of Christ, and much else in the Bible, and indeed in the best Christian literature of all ages, we recognize the printed words as the Voice of God to us. Such is all revealed truth embodied in words. So, on an infinitely lower plane, the printed report of a speech of one who speaks with authority is his voice speaking to us. But in each case we must test carefully the correctness of the report. To do this for the Bible, and to elucidate its meaning, is the task of Sacred Scholarship.

We now see the place of the Bible in its relation to the gospel of Christ. It is not a new revelation. For it contains nothing which was not widely known before the books were written. 'God spoke to the fathers in the prophets . . . and to us in His Son.' Of His Voice, we have in the Bible records sufficiently extensive and correct for the purposes for which God thus spoke to men. And Christ promised the Holy Spirit of God, who is the Spirit of the Truth, to open our hearts to understand these Holy Scriptures, and thus to lead us into all the Truth. And only so far as we are guided by the same Spirit can we rightly interpret the Sacred Records.

One chief difference between the New Testament and the best later Christian literature is in its early date, which gives to the New Testament unique value as a witness to the actual teaching of Christ and the facts of His life. Similarly the Old Testament has unique value as containing all the earliest literature of Israel, the nation in which Christ was born and in which He found His earliest disciples and effective preachers. This early date gives to the Bible its place of honour as the primary documentary evidence for the supreme revelation given to mankind in Christ and for the preparatory revelations which led up to it.

How and on what grounds the books of our English Bible were selected and others rejected, we do not know. But there is no extant Christian book worth adding to the New Testament; or any book in it which we could lose without regret. The least accredited is 2 Peter. But by whomever or whenever written, it is an interesting relic of early Christian thought, preserved to us by its place in the New Testament.

The First Book of Maccabees and the so-called Wisdom of Solomon have a much better claim to a place in the Old Testament than have Esther and the Song of Songs. But the two former have no less value because they are outside it: nor have the others more value because they are within. Each must be taken for what it is worth. The Apocrypha (A.V. and R.V.) can be had in convenient and cheap forms. It should be in the hands of every Bible student as an essential link between the Old and New Testaments. Its neglect by many has been a serious loss to them.

The date of the Canonical Books gives them unique value as the documentary evidence for the Gospel of Christ, yet we cannot deny to later Christian literature, so far as it is a correct expression of the mind of God, the inspiration and authority claimed by Paul in 1 Cor. ii. 12, 13: "We have received . . . the Spirit which is from God in order that we may know the things graciously given to us by God. Which things we also speak, not in words taught by human wisdom, but taught by the Spirit.' The result is stated in 1 Th. ii. 13: 'When ye received, by hearing from us, a word of God, ye received, not a word of men, but as it is in truth a word of God, which also works effectively in you who believe.' Even in our own day, a similar result reveals the same inspiration.

The best Christian literature of all ages, and especially the best Psalmody, have been of infinite value, a precious gift of God to His Church, through the Spirit of God evoking intelligent thought in various writers. In this way, unnumbered millions have heard the voice of God speaking to

them, in their own language and in their own modes of thought, the great things of God. And this divine help, every one who by spoken or written words endeavours to pass on to others the message of Christ may claim and with humble confidence expect.

Admitting all this, it still remains that the Bible holds, even as compared with the best other literature, a place of unique honour. The experience of unnumbered devout students bears witness that the New Testament is the Holy of Holies of literature, that in it the voice of Christ is heard and His face is seen as nowhere else on earth; and that other books are of value chiefly as they re-echo His teaching, thus recorded, and that of His earliest disciples. The Old Testament has the unique honour of bearing witness, amid the imperfect conceptions of God under the earlier covenant to a knowledge of and personal intercourse with God which can be accounted for only by a special revelation of God not given to any other ancient nation. It bears witness also to the sufficiency of this earlier revelation for all the needs of His faithful servants even in the dim twilight of those early days. And, as we have seen, the Old Testament has had a special educational value.

This being so, the change mentioned at the beginning of this article is much less than at first sight appears; and is a welcome relief from serious perplexity. We need no longer find excuses for statements and sentiments in the Old Testament which we cannot approve. The Bible is still, and in a nobler sense, the Book of God. It is not the Pearl of great Price; but it is the beautiful Casket in which, by the Hand of God, the Pearl of great Price has been safely conveyed to us.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

Notes and Discussions

THE CHRISTIANIZING OF SOCIAL RELATIONS AFTER THE WAR

WITHOUT engaging in a futile attempt to forecast the effect of the war upon social conditions, it is not difficult to indicate certain factors which will affect the situation. To begin with, Great Britain will be much poorer than she has been in the life of this generation. We cannot have incurred so vast an expenditure without feeling its restricting effects for many years to come. Then, again, industry will necessarily be dislocated when the armies are disbanded. The position will be complicated by the fact that woman has entered so many new spheres of labour, and has established herself in them by her efficiency. It is doubtful how far she will be disestablished, and difficult problems will arise. There are many who fear that the conclusion of peace will see the outbreak of labour troubles. Masters and men are suffering from irritation because at the call of patriotism they have had to yield points which they have been unwilling to surrender, and they will be tempted to pursue a policy of reprisals when they can do so without endangering our national existence. It is certain that the whole question of Trade Unionism will come under review. The rights which the Unions have voluntarily surrendered must be loyally restored to them, but they on their side will have to set up a better defence of restriction of output than has yet been forthcoming.

There are, however, other considerations which give ground for hope that the war has taught us some things which will facilitate the task of Christianizing social relations. In the first place, we have had brought home to us, as never before, the danger of the liquor traffic. The Central Control Board has put limits upon it which, it is to be hoped, will not be removed after the war. It will be strange if the people of this country do not deal drastically with this enemy within the gate, which threatened to bring disaster upon us at the most critical moment in the great struggle in which we are engaged.

In the second place, great social experiments have been made. The area of State action and control has been widely extended, and it will be difficult for the future to make men shudder by describing the godless horrors of Socialism.

In the third place, it has been proved how vast are the material resources of the State, and how cheerfully men will bear the heaviest burden when urged by the motive of self-preservation. Is it too much to hope that in coming days altruistic motives will operate with sufficient power to induce us to accept with a like cheerfulness

the relatively light taxation which is necessary for an organized campaign against destitution and kindred evils?

But whatever new factors may enter in to modify the situation, in its essence the social problem will be the same after the war as before. The war on the Continent is only the extension of a conflict that is going on year in and year out in every State. We are all of us denouncing the doctrine that might is right. I hope that we shall continue to do so when the war is over. There is no denying the fact that, allowing for certain important qualifications, our social and industrial life is based on the doctrine that might is right, and that doctrine is no more respectable when appealed to by Master's Federations or Trade Unions than when invoked by Prussia. To say that the Sermon on the Mount cannot be applied to social life is as immoral as to assert that it is inapplicable to international relations.

The social problem is not *primarily* economic. It is that, but primarily it is moral and religious. The great barrier that stands in the way of social reform is self-interest. Many of us are ardent social reformers until our own interests are threatened, and then we begin to see how much there is to be said on the other side. Benjamin Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*, shows how necessary a factor in social advance is the voluntary surrender of privilege as the results of a changed sense of right. Social conditions can only be changed as minds and hearts and wills are changed, and the crucial problem of the social reformer is how to bring this change to pass. I think it is possible to detect a note of disappointment in the utterances of many reformers who have passed middle life. The social movement has made great progress, and many new laws have been written on the statute-book, but the results have not been all that had been hoped. Human nature blocks the way—human nature inside the Church as well as outside of it. A writer in the *Hibbert Journal*, a few months ago, argued that if only some master of language would depict the Gallipoli peninsula as it was before the war, and as it is now, bearing the wounds and scars of many battles, men would hasten to embrace peace. By parity of reasoning, a picture of Utopia should produce Utopia. *Sancta simplicitas!* There is something infinitely pathetic in this gospel of salvation by word-pictures. All those who have at any time striven to move the wills of men to righteousness know how futile is such a hope. They know that the heart cannot be changed without a mighty and continuous cleansing and energizing, and there is nothing that can accomplish this but the grace of God in Jesus Christ. The first essential to social reform is the Gospel. *But it must be the full Gospel.* The New Testament speaks not only of conversion and regeneration, but of sanctification. Sanctification is not merely intensive but extensive. It is the outworking of the Spirit of Christ in all the relations of the common life. Two principles underlie New Testament Evangelism —first, 'ye must be born from above,' and second, 'beloved, if God so loved us, we also ought to love one another.' John Wesley developed them both in his teaching as to salvation by faith and in

his doctrine of perfect love. It is this second principle which needs to be emphasized to-day, not at the expense of the other, but as its necessary corollary. I do not care for the expression, 'ethical Christianity' which is often used in this connexion. It is apt to give the impression that the Gospel can be reduced to a system of bare ethics. I would rather say that we must study and exemplify and emphasize, more fully than we have done, the moral fruits that spring from the Gospel of the Incarnation and the Cross.

For many years the Churches have presented a one-sided Evangelism. Again and again it has been said from our pulpits, 'Get men converted, and social problems will solve themselves.' That is not true. The truth is, 'Get men converted and enlightened and sanctified by the Spirit of God, and social relations will be Christianized.' But this is a slow and painful process, involving much discipline and sacrifice and restraint.

Firmly as we believe in Evangelism, we are constrained to recognize that its chief peril is superficiality and shallowness. It has often displayed, along with a burning zeal for quantity, a lack of the steady persistence which is necessary to produce quality. The Churches have never made so bold a bid for numbers and crowds as during the last twenty or thirty years, and, speaking generally, they were never less successful in getting them. In the long run, quality is a condition of quantity. We must dig deeper; we must dig deep down into the conscience of society and plant the seeds of the Gospel there, if we are to play a worthy part in the revival of religion. We must get back to the Evangelism of the New Testament and of Wesley, the Evangelism of the New Birth and of Perfect Love.

What does this mean in practice? It means that we must assert by example as well as precept that the interests of brotherly love must be paramount in all social and industrial relations; and that the people must be able to count upon the Church to be, at all times and places, the fearless champion of Christian righteousness, without respect of persons. It will, of course, be objected that membership in the Church does not make a man an expert in economics. True, but it ought to teach him something of the meaning of the Christian life. A change of moral theory will often produce a change of economic theory. There is a good deal of unregenerate human nature behind many of the so-called unchangeable laws of political economy.

Again, it will be rightly said that the Church must keep itself free from political entanglements. But that does not mean that it is to sit on the fence, uttering amiable platitudes, so worded as to please all parties and offend none. Surely, if ordinary citizens can forget their party prepossessions during the war, Christian men ought at all times to be able to cast prejudice and self-interest to the winds in order to champion the cause of the disinherited and to contend for justice between class and class. When the Christian Church convinces the world that it is animated by a single-minded desire for righteousness, regardless of its own temporalities, it will influence every political party without being tied to any.

The Church of the future will be the Church that proclaims without reservation the whole Gospel of Christ, and whose members are sufficiently enlightened in mind and conscience and baptized into the sacrificial spirit of Christ to live out the law of love in all the relations of life. Or to put it otherwise, the Church of the future will be the Church that sets itself with intelligence and determination to the task of winning every sphere of thought and life for Jesus Christ.

We are apt to forget that the social movement is largely a product of the Evangelical Revival. It has repudiated its parentage, but I believe it can be won back, if the Churches will declare and practise the whole counsel of God. Many labour leaders are conscious that they can accomplish nothing without the dynamic of religion, and they are looking for a religion that touches and transforms every sphere of life.

The early Evangelicals were not mere philanthropists; *they got things done.* They put an end to brutal penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and secured the passing of Factory Acts for the protection of the workers. Indeed, one writer has said that the Evangelical Revival, through its class-meetings and open-air demonstrations, taught the world's democracy how most effectively to become audible. What our fathers did for the people we may do. The multitude to-day, despite its many leaders, is still distressed and scattered as sheep not having a shepherd. The people are waiting for a Church which will show them convincingly that Christ came to preach glad tidings to the poor. H. MALDWYN HUGHES.

AN INDIAN VOICE FROM BEYOND

NEVER was it more necessary for the British to inform themselves on Indian problems than it is to-day. Schemes for the reconstruction of the machinery controlling Imperial affairs are being mooted. If the outlying members of the Empire are to be associated with Britain in the governance of the Empire, India, its most populous unit, cannot be left out. The 'Dependency' has been richly dowered by nature with agricultural, forest, mineral, and other resources. The British Empire cannot forge the economic weapons that it, in common with the other Allies, has undertaken to prepare and employ against the enemy, without India's aid. The two years of war have shown, beyond disputation, that Indians are willing to adjust themselves to any conditions that the common good of the Empire and of the Allies may require. Means have to be found, however, to secure Indian interests, and to ensure a rapid and orderly development of India.

The inclusion of India in the 'Empire Cabinet' will offer difficulties. The country is not a self-governing Dominion like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa. Her people are not descended from British stock as are the Colonials. The introduction of Indians into any Imperial machinery that may be set up will mean, therefore, the admission of a diverse element.

Before the war these objections were used to exclude India from the Imperial Conference. The gory struggle of the past two years has, however, altered the situation. Though a foster child, India has been as anxious to spill her blood as the daughter-Dominions. In spite of domestic differences and causes of local irritation, she has made all the sacrifices for the welfare of the Empire that Britain has permitted her to make. Such a unity of purpose as India has shown robs lack of homogeneity of all its disadvantages. It transmutes diversity into a great imperial asset.

That India has a distinct contribution to make in the governance of the Empire was recently recognized when the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India definitely promised that she shall be represented in the Imperial councils. So engrossed are Britons in the war and in domestic affairs, that they have failed to take note of the fact that this matter has now been definitely settled, whereas the promise previously made by Lord Hardinge was inconclusive.

The inclusion of India in the Imperial Conference does not, however, settle everything. It is but the beginning of a new era. Indian affairs cannot be administered, after the war, as they were before it began, any more than life in Britain and other parts of the Empire can be led as if the great world struggle had not taken place.

What do responsible Indians wish Britain to do for India? This is a question that will have to be answered very soon, and one of which all intelligent Britons ought to have a clear idea. No better answer can be given than to quote from a speech that the Hon. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the great Indian leader who died a few months ago, delivered at Allahabad in 1907. He said:

'I recognize no limits to my aspiration for our Motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature, unhampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science, and in arts. I want all this, and feel at the same time that the whole of this aspiration can, in its essence and its reality, be realized within this Empire.'

The quotation is from *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*, recently published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. The great Indian leader speaks in this volume on present Indian problems of all sorts —political, social, and educational—like a voice from beyond. No one who wishes to know what Indians want and what they are seeking to do, can afford to miss reading this book. It is a marvel of cheapness. Though it contains more than 1,250 pages of clear print, is well indexed, illustrated, and cloth-bound, it is priced at 4*s*.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale had worked indefatigably to acquire a mastery over Indian problems. He was born in 1866 in Kolhapur, in a family of Maratha Brahmans—who are uncommonly shrewd in all matters, including politics. His parents were poor. What they

could scrape together, and what he could earn by coaching others, enabled Gopal Krishna to secure his Bachelor's degree from the Bombay University in 1884. He immediately joined the Deccan Education Society, which had been but recently formed at Poona to promote education in south-western India. Two years later he was appointed a professor in the Fergusson College, which had been opened about twelve months before. He was to receive a salary of £5 a month, and was to be awarded a pension of £1 a month after serving twenty years. Only a person filled with love for his people could have thus dedicated himself to work for such a small salary and poor prospects. During term time Mr. Gokhale taught mathematics at first, and, later, history and economics. He spent his vacations wandering about India begging funds for the institution. In his leisure hours he studied standard works on political science and economics, and Government publications, and took as active a part in political and social affairs as time and energy would permit him to take. When he retired from the Fergusson College in 1902, he had acquired a grasp on Indian conditions such as few Indians possessed. Thenceforward, he dedicated himself to the political advancement of India. Within a few years he became the central figure of Indian politics. At first his adversaries called him a sly and slippery man. Soon, however, his bitterest foes had to acknowledge that he was upright, single-minded, patriotic, conciliatory, and moderate. During the last half-dozen years of his life he served as a link between the British and Indians, trusted by both and ever busy minimizing friction and promoting harmony between the two. The words spoken by him deserve, therefore, to be read and pondered.

The space at my disposal does not permit me to set down Mr. Gokhale's message in detail. All I can attempt is to give a few of his ideas on subjects of moment. In his presidential address at the Indian National Congress held at Benares in 1905, he thus voiced the political aspirations of the Indians belonging to the 'Congress School':

'The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that, in course of time, a form of government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing Colonies of the British Empire. For better, for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England, and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire itself. That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one; for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility, required for the proper exercise of the political institutions of the West, can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only. To admit this is not to express any agreement with those who usually oppose all attempts at reform on the plea that the people are not ready for it. "It is liberty alone," says Mr. Gladstone in words of profound wisdom, "which fits men for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine. Wait till they are fit."'

Since these words were uttered, Indians have been given certain constitutional rights, which were accepted by Mr. Gokhale and other Indian leaders as a step in advance. But the aspiration for self-government within the Empire has remained unrealized and is being more vigorously voiced now than ever before.

Mr. Gokhale held that India could not make progress so long as her masses were steeped in ignorance. On numerous occasions he expressed great dissatisfaction with the effort that the Government was putting forth to remove illiteracy, and urged the authorities to spend more money on education, to make elementary education free and compulsory, and to provide adequate facilities for industrial and commercial education. The following passage taken from his speech introducing the Elementary Education Bill, in the Supreme Legislative Council—which Bill, however, was lost—deserves the closest attention:

'. . . the Government of this country (India) must wake up to its responsibilities much more than it has hitherto done, before it can take its proper place among the civilized governments of the world. Whether we consider the extent of literacy among the population, or the proportion of those actually at school, or the system of education adopted, or the amount of money expended, on primary education, India is far, far behind other civilised countries. Take literacy. While in India, according to the figures of the census of 1901 (1911 ?), less than 6 per cent. of the whole population could read and write, even in Russia, the most backward of European countries educationally, the proportion of literates at the last census was about 25 per cent., while in many European countries, as also in the United States of America, and Canada and Australia, almost the entire population is now able to read and write. As regards attendance at school, I think it will be well to quote once more the statistics which I mentioned in moving my resolution of last year. They are as follows:—'In the United States of America, 21 per cent. of the whole population is receiving elementary education; in Canada, in Australia, in Switzerland, and in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion ranges from 20 to 17 per cent.; in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Norway, and in the Netherlands the proportion is from 17 to 15 per cent.; in France it is slightly above 14 per cent.; in Sweden it is 14 per cent.; in Denmark it is 13 per cent.; in Belgium it is 12 per cent.; in Japan it is 11 per cent.; in Italy, Greece, and Spain it ranges between 8 and 9 per cent.; in Portugal and Russia it is between 4 and 5 per cent.; whereas in British India it is only 1.9 per cent.' Turning next to the systems of education adopted in different countries, we find that while in most of them elementary education is both compulsory and free, and in a few, though the principle of compulsion is not strictly enforced or has not yet been introduced, it is either wholly or for the most part gratuitous, in India alone it is neither compulsory nor free. . . . Lastly, if we take the expenditure on elementary education in different countries per head of the population, even allowing for different money values in different countries, we find that India is simply nowhere in the comparison. The expenditure per head of the population is highest in the United States, being no less than 16*s.*; in Switzerland it is 13*s.* 8*d.* per head; in Australia, 11*s.* 3*d.*; in England and Wales, 10*s.*; in Canada, 9*s.* 9*d.*; in Scotland, 9*s.* 7½*d.*; in Germany, 6*s.* 10*d.*; in Ireland, 6*s.* 5*d.*; in the Netherlands, 6*s.* 4½*d.*; in Sweden, 5*s.* 7*d.*; in Belgium, 5*s.* 4*d.*;

in Norway, 5*s.* 1*d.*; in France, 4*s.* 10*d.*; in Austria, 3*s.* 1½*d.*; in Spain, 1*s.* 10*d.*; in Italy, 1*s.* 7½*d.*; in Servia and Japan, 1*s.* 2*d.*; in Russia, 7½*d.*; while in India it is barely one penny.'

The Indian leader asserted that, without education, India could not hope for prosperity. He considered that the official estimate that placed the average income of an Indian at £2 *per annum* was exaggerated. He asserted that the Indian 'population is daily growing poorer under the play of the economic forces that have been brought into existence by British rule.' This opinion was expressed in 1902, and was never modified. Mr. Gokhale believed that fiscal autonomy could alone enable Indians to protect themselves against competition that they were otherwise unable to bear. He decried the 3½ per cent. excise duty that had been imposed upon cotton manufacture in India in the interests of the Lancashire millowners, and pleaded again and again for its repeal. He also appealed to the Government to assist industries struggling against odds.

According to Mr. Gokhale, the freedom of press and platform served the Government a most useful purpose. The rulers, being foreigners, needed to remain in touch with public opinion, the suppression of which would result in disaster. Again and again he fought the officials who wanted to muzzle the Indian leaders. He considered the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act, passed in 1907 and 1910, as retrograde measures, and counselled the Government to refrain from taking action that might drive opposition underground and thereby make it pernicious.

Mr. Gokhale championed the cause of Indians in the Dominions and colonies. He strove to bring about a settlement of the grievances of Indians in South Africa. His efforts, however, were not crowned with the success they deserved. His speeches concerning the Indian immigration question are worthy of special attention, for that problem will have to be solved before long.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

STEPHEN PHILLIPS' MASTERPIECES

THE distressing circumstances of Mr. Stephen Phillips' death have brought him back to some little of the notice that he enjoyed twenty years ago; and men have felt at liberty to speak freely, possibly too freely, of a tragedy which many have known was in our midst. Periods of silence in a poet's career are not infrequent, are often natural and necessary. But in him we have the spectacle of a poet living many years after his genius was dead. The last years of Francis Thompson's life saw little enough verse; but what they did see never failed to contain some memorable phrase or moment of insight, and the poet's genius was not so much dead as deflected into the other channel of prose. But Mr. Phillips, after some years of high achievement, continued through much more than a decade to produce verse in considerable quantity but of low quality, often so low that many a fourth-rate versifier would have been ashamed to sign his name to it. But it is not of this ungrateful subject that

we would now speak, but rather look at the last work in which his genius was its own powerful, radiant self. This, in our opinion, was *Ulysses*, the much-criticized drama which he published in 1902. Many professed to find in this the signs of a falling-off; but, just as the praise of *Paolo and Francesca* was excited, often hysterical, and certainly exaggerated, so the recognition of *Ulysses* was somewhat less than it deserved, a reaction from the other. The drama bears marks of haste, and of that laziness which shirked difficult though promising situations, and which spoils its predecessor. But, disappointing and inadequate as it is, it is undoubtedly the work of a poet. As drama, it has next to no merit, putting aside, as illegitimate where artistic values are in question, its 'pageant' qualities. But the Prologue, in its rimed couplets, reveals the poetic craftsman at once. There are stumbles in it; it is silly to make Poseidon say to Athene

> What is thy heavenly sympathy but this,
> To find occasion for Ulysses' kiss?

But, such puerilities apart, it contains real humour; in Zeus' comment ('Nodding benevolently') on Ulysses' sacrifices, and in his closing observation, as he takes the cup from Ganymede, where also the stage-direction has a fitness possibly not intended by the author:

> Ah, from the first
> The guiding of this globe engendered thirst.
> (Zeus drinks: Olympus fades.)

And, for poetical beauty, this opening is sprinkled with lines of excellence that are worthy of any of the lesser Elizabethans:

> All his wisdom swoons beneath the charm
> Of her deep bosom and her glimmering arm.
> . . . . . .
> From dalliance to the dolorous realm below.

And here is a line of magnificent merit as a picture:

> Sleeplessly plunging to the setting sun.

Phillips had no touch of lyrical ability. When Penelope, in Act I, i, says of the minstrels' song, 'the sweet words of it have hurt my heart,' we are reminded of our form-master's comment at Kingswood after we had read what Duncan says to 'the sergeant' in *Macbeth*:

> As well thy words become thee as thy wounds.
> They smack of honour both.

'Very good of the King to say so,' quoth F. R.; 'we shouldn't all agree with him, perhaps.'

Similarly, Act I, ii. is spoiled by the insipid song of the Nymphs; otherwise, the scene is good, and in the opening talk of Ulysses and Calypso is poetry. The scene suffers from slightness, as the whole play does, being a sketch rather than finished work; but one feels the island's glamour, shimmering even into the dreamy sway and shifting movement of the verse, when Ulysses at first assures the

goddess that he would not return home. Note, too, his eloquently modest replies when questioned about Penelope:

> She hath no skill in loving—but to love.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> She hath a wisdom amid garden flowers.

The drama, it is hardly necessary to say, has no attempt at psychology worth criticism; but in such passages as these it gets as near to the effort as anywhere, though the reader will see that they do not amount to much more than acute observation expressed epigrammatically. And the scene finishes in noble poetry; poetry after Phillips' rhetorical fashion, but very noble, and in stray lines alive with magic and glamour. One passage has considerable fame, and deserves it:

> This odorous amorous isle of violets,
> That leans all leaves into the glassy deep,
> With brooding music over noontide moss,
> And low dirge of the lily-swinging bee,—
> Then stars like opening eyes on closing flowers,—
> Falls on my heart. Ah, God! that I might see
> Gaunt Ithaca stand up out of the surge,
> You lashed and streaming rocks, and sobbing crags,
> The screaming gull and the wild-flying cloud!

In Act II are some fine enough things: Athene's speeches in II, i; and, in II, ii, the thought of little children's ghosts being lured by Ulysses' armour and the comparison of the Furies to sidelong-swimming sharks. But in the main this Act is pageant only. One cannot but think what an opulent thing an Elizabethan's imagination would have made of the descent into Hell; but it must be remembered that Phillips, in a fine poem, had already emptied his mind on this particular subject. Also, when he wrote *Ulysses*, his brain was tired with over-production.

Act III, i. is a scene with poetry in it, especially when Athene bends over Ulysses, and when he recognizes the scenes of Ithaca.

Act III, ii. The death-mist that obscures the suitors to the minstrel's sight is an imaginative and well-conceived touch. Eurymachus' speech to Penelope has some very noble lines:

> Sea-gazing consort of a hero dead.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Thou hast caught splendour from the sailless sea,
> And mystery from many stars outwatched.

But something very like this Mr. Phillips had said already, and said most memorably, in *Marpessa*. In fact, the sadness of this drama rests in the fact that in it for the first time is unmistakably apparent that habit of echoing his past moments of inspiration, which afterwards was to make the poet a mockery of himself. Yet, even though he became a pitiful and lasting failure, we cannot forget the great achievement and rich promise of his youth; after all, when the grace of God was upon him, he did amply sufficient to ransom his name from oblivion. For the sake of those early days of splendour

and power, even in his 'holy ruins' he claims reverence, and no one should permit himself to speak lightly of the poet of *Marpessa* and *The Wife*.

Before leaving *Ulysses*, one other thing should be mentioned. The abundance of stage-directions is out of place in a printed play, which bids for consideration as literature; many of these are annoying in their puerility, the poet seeming most anxious we should not miss his point when that point, such as it is, being in these cases usually feeble, is exceedingly obvious. Thus, Poseidon speaks 'tauntingly,' and Aphrodite 'with soft insinuation.' Both of these directions exasperate, and both occur in the Prologue.

Paolo and Francesca was received with a torrent of enthusiasm such as hardly any other poem can have ever received. Not even Mr. Masefield's work caused such breathlessness of praise. Men like Churton Collins, Owen Seaman, and Sidney Colvin, were carried off their feet, and his fellow poets, such as Richard Le Gallienne, showed the generosity which poets rarely refuse to great achievement, for all their supposed jealousy. This enthusiasm was justified. For the essential thing to say about Stephen Phillips, even now, is that he did a work without any parallel since Elizabethan times. He wrote dramas that were genuine drama and genuine poetry. No criticism deserves respect that refuses to allow him this extraordinary merit. *Paolo and Francesca* is a great play, almost a very great one. The dramatic lines on which it is conceived are grand ones; where it fails is in a certain haste and hurry that refuses to go deep or to build strongly, which sometimes puts upon the stage-directions a burden they cannot bear, striving to express by means of them what Shakespeare would have expressed by an electric touch of words, a sentence flashing out from thought, lightning-fashion. Supreme drama calls for such tremendous mental concentration and must entail such nervous exhaustion—Mr. Masefield means this when he says, of the suicide-scene in *Antony and Cleopatra*, 'the man must have been trembling'—that one can understand a poet shrinking from the effort. But the effort, if successful, would have put Mr. Phillips beside Shakespeare, in a higher sense than we may speak of such men as Fletcher being beside Shakespeare. Though this did not come quite to pass, yet the drama has marks of greatness discernible through all its hurry; and the poet has handled, without harming, a situation on which Dante has expended his ineffable pity and tenderness. What we may call the preparation of the play is overdone. Neither Giovanni nor Francesca speaks quite naturally, and the verse is in danger of seeming more poetical than it really is.

It is possible to overrate the childishness of innocence; and love does not talk of its object in detached, sentimentalized fashion. But drama comes in with Lucrezia, with her thwarted motherhood draining the natural world of symbol and sympathetic metaphor:

> At night the quickening splash of rain, at dawn
> That muffled call of babes how like to birds.

And throughout, all the essential things, the struggle within of the two brothers, Lucrezia's change of mood and purpose, Francesca's strife with herself, the remorseless attraction of three noble spirits to ruin, are rightly conceived. It is only that the dramatic problems are not worked out adequately, what we may call the poetical mathematics being marred by hiatus and omission. The answers are correct, but the poet does not convince us as to how he got them.

Act II closes with Paolo's great speech, tremulous with passion and leaping with fire. In the first scene of Act III the fever of his mind finds expression in lines unforgettable as poetry and drama alike:

> give me in exchange some drug
> That can fetch down on us the eternal sleep,
> Anticipating the slow mind of God.

The Fourth Act begins with Francesca's terror, her vain effort against the foes, visible and invisible, that are closing round her, and moves swiftly to the beautiful, lyrical conversation of the lovers. Giovanni's madness is one of the great things of English poetry, great with an imagination that is all Elizabethan:

> Rouse up the house and bring in lights, lights, lights!
> There shall be music, feasting, and dancing.
> Wine shall be drunk. Candles, I say! More lights!
> More marriage lights! Where tarry they the while,
> The nuptial tapers? Rouse up all the house!

Dante's presence overshadows this scene, and the air quivers with 'the rustle of the eternal rain of love':

> Two lately dead
> Rushed past me in the air.

The end is noble, though it suffers by reminiscence of *Othello* and *The Duchess of Malfi*. Even so, the talk of the lovers, already referred to, suffers in one place by reminiscences that so wealthy a poet could have dispensed with.

These two dramas, both in their success and in their failure, suggest that the question of dramatic form needs reconsidering. The modern play, with its three acts, confines itself to an episode, while the older plays developed a situation or told a story. Hence, our modern plays can hardly equal the older ones in richness of incident, or the evolution of complex character, or the dramatic and pathetic irony which comes with a catastrophe when all its antecedents are fully known and have been clearly set forth. It should be possible to find some means by which poets could avoid alike the undue length and chaotic disorder of most of our old plays, and the skimpiness of so many modern ones.

EDWARD J. THOMPSON.

RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL CONFLICT IN CEYLON

A Counter-Statement

AN article with this title in the July LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW contains truth very badly out of focus and some serious mis-statements. It is stated that the outbreak was a preconcerted and organized rebellion against British rule. The facts are utterly against the theory. It is also stated that for a few days the founda tions of British rule were shaken, that an overwhelmning disaster to civilization was prevented, and that the rebellion was strikingly similar to that in Ireland. These are absurd exaggerations. The writer mentions in particular the Government Blue Book and *Riots and Martial Law in Ceylon*, by P. Ramanathan, K.C., C.M.G., Ceylonese Representative in the Legislative Council. I have read these and also two Memorials to the Secretary of State, and I have had many letters from Ceylon.

There *were* serious disturbances, now deeply regretted; but there was no conspiracy against British rule. Mr. Ramanathan's book is an impassioned cry against asserting it. The following are typical statements: 'The riots were not due to conspiracy against the Government.' 'The Sinhalese are remarkably free from seditious libels, seditious conspiracies and seditious meetings.' Again, as Mr. Leif Jones and others stated in the House of Commons, there is no evidence for it in the Blue Book. The Governor nowhere uses the words sedition, revolution, rebellion: his words are outbreak, rioting, lawlessness. All disturbance was over in six days, and two days after the Colonial Office issued for publication these words: 'The Governor reports that disorder is due to a sudden outbreak of racial and commercial animosity, and is not directed against the European community or Government.' Two months later the Governor in Council said: 'The essential fact, which nothing can obscure, is that one section of His Majesty's subjects (Buddhist Sinhalese) attacked another section (Moslems).' 'The rioters certainly neither did, nor wished to, include Europeans or Govern-ment in their attack.' Not until three months later still does he refer, and in one sentence only, to a disloyal element.

Where, then, did the theory of premeditated rebellion come from? From the military. It is first mentioned by a military officer of only two years' Ceylon experience, whom Mr. Long quotes as of long residence and of intimate knowledge of the people. And what did the military find under martial law? They found that no Government officer anywhere of any kind had received a single sword or gunshot wound; that no Government building anywhere was occupied, attacked, or damaged; and that no European, or property occupied by one, had been touched. They imprisoned for weeks, uncharged with any crime, hundreds of reputable men, made the minutest inquiries, searched their possessions and found nothing incriminating. 'Not a scintilla of evidence of sedition was forthcoming' (Ramanathan). 'A house-to-house search did not

reveal any sign of seditious conspiracies or meetings' (Ramanathan). They searched the native quarter of Colombo and found only two muskets—weapons of rebellion! They searched the whole area of disturbance and discovered only muzzle-loading muskets such as are used by villagers against birds and beasts. Not a single weapon of military value was found anywhere—in a movement compared with that in Ireland! But there were 'bombs,' said Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons. There were none in the military sense. Dynamite charges from plumbago pits were used in some instances against mosques. This is very deplorable, but the Government was never bombed in any sense. Mr. Bonar Law also said, 'It is quite true the riots were not specially directed against Government, but it was the unrest caused by the war that set the thing going' (Hansard). His Under-Secretary also said, 'If not a rebellion it was certainly a revolt, in the sense that it was a complete disregard of lawful authority' (Hansard). Rioting is always that; rebellion is always much more. Recently in the Ceylon Legislative Council a European Member, Mr. Creasy, a life-long resident and son of a former Chief Justice, said, 'Preconcerted plan, conspiracy, is a pure bogey, an imaginary thing.' Of the 'six Sinhalese editors prosecuted' five were fined small amounts, as for minor offences, and the Chief Justice acknowledged their loyalty in open court. The Maha Bodhi Society is not, as is stated, 'probably the most important Buddhist organ in Ceylon'; before the war it had become very small, and its leader, Dharmapala, discredited through his frothy utterances. In any case no parallel with the Sinn Fein can be run. It would be easy to deal with other ill-founded statements. Space only allows reference to two. (1) Mr. Long's 'independent witness' (p. 122) is described by the Governor in the Blue Book as 'a leading Mohammedan'—one of the community attacked! (2) 'The outbreak spread over nearly the whole of Buddhist Ceylon.' Martial law was so proclaimed; but the area of disturbance was 'about one-fortieth' (Ramanathan).

The Commission of Inquiry is asked for, not by a few but by the Sinhalese people in open representative meeting, no one dissenting. Of the Committee of fifty appointed to secure official recognition of Sinhalese loyalty, Buddhist as well as Christian, thirty-four are Christians. The Sinhalese gentleman so fittingly praised by Mr. Long in the July *Foreign Field* spoke and died at that meeting. Protestant missionaries, some of whom have done in this trouble service ever-rememberable by the Sinhalese (Mr. Long praises only the Roman Catholics) are in support. The editor of the *Ceylon Methodist Record* for June refers to 'the Commission of Inquiry which is so necessary.' 'The open sore of Buddhist Ceylon,' says Mr. Long in conclusion. The 'open sore' of Ceylon is neither Buddhist nor Christian, but Sinhalese. It has been caused not from within by badness of blood but from without by the panic-action of martial law.

THOMAS MOSCROP.

MR. LONG'S REPLY

Mr. P. Ramanathan's book on the Ceylon Disturbances will seriously mislead many English people who have not read the well-attested evidence on the other side from official, and especially unofficial, sources. For example, one-third of the book contains his own speeches delivered in the Legislative Council; there is no indication that able and convincing speeches were given in reply by official and unofficial representatives who spoke with equal or even greater authority and knowledge. This suppression of valuable evidence is characteristic of Mr. Ramanathan's controversial methods. Many Sinhalese severely criticize the book on the ground that it is likely to injure their race.

It is impossible to deny that several influential men were convicted by an impartial Tribunal for 'treason,' 'high treason,' and other serious crimes. It is equally impossible to ignore the lamentable fact that seditious literature was scattered broadcast. One pamphlet, published on the centenary of British rule (March 16, 1915), denounces the Sinhalese for tolerating British rule for a hundred years, and it makes an appeal to get rid of the foreigners. Another pamphlet suggested that the Sinhalese should be educated out of their natural fear of white men by having an effigy of a white man in every Sinhalese house. The children were to be taught morning and evening to spit upon and kick the effigy so that their fear of the white man may vanish. Many Sinhalese, besides Mr. Dharmapala, were responsible for such dangerous literature. Not one of the so-called Buddhist leaders dissociated themselves publicly from those men who deliberately poisoned the minds of the Sinhalese against the British. A large section of the Ceylon people will endorse the following statement made by Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons on August 8, 1916: 'Everything pointed to the fact that what occurred had been premeditated. The Commission of inquiry has referred to the systematic spreading of false reports, the accumulation of arms and bombs, and other incidents which, in their opinion, led unmistakably to the conclusion that the riots were in some measure prearranged.' It is charitable to suppose that Mr. Moscrop has not read the solemn warnings by the judges who tried and convicted the Sinhalese editors.

The 'independent witness' is described by Mr. Ramanathan himself as 'a Muhammadan gentleman of acknowledged weight.' Martial law had to be proclaimed in five great provinces, containing an area of nearly eleven thousand square miles, in which the vast majority of the Buddhists reside. 'The open representative meeting' was not attended by a very large number of the most intelligent and influential Sinhalese. The best friends of the Sinhalese people regarded the meeting as a grave blunder. Recent events in Ceylon indicate that the Government is anxious to undo any wrong to innocent persons that may unintentionally have been done during those terrible disturbances last year.

HENRY LONG.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Concerning Prayer: Its Nature, its Difficulties, and its Value. (Macmillan & Co. *7s. 6d.* net.)

MANY even of the more religiously-minded to-day feel the whole conception of prayer to be full of perplexing questions. For their benefit this book has been written. Eleven thinkers have shared the task—a lady, three laymen, a Wesleyan tutor, a Congregational minister, an American Quaker, two parish clergy and two clerical dons. The writers have met together and discussed their essays frankly. Now the results are given to the world in the hope that those who are feeling the perplexities of existence may 'lift up their hearts with a greater confidence towards the Source of all light, of all power, and of all consolation.' Canon Streeter opens with a paper on 'God and the World's Pain.' It may seem hard to believe in a God of Love amid the horrors of the present war, but that faith which our Lord taught and lived in must not be lightly dismissed to the land of beautiful dreams. As to 'lives cut short,' we are reminded that 'a noble life culminating in a heroic death cannot be wasted, its possibilities cannot be unfulfilled—unless we can believe that we cannot believe in God at all—and the test case of the life and death of Christ gives us confidence that our faith is based on reasonable grounds.' Beyond the suffering God sees the rich consolation and the splendid moral growth achieved. 'The last word of the Christian Faith is not sorrow, but sorrow overcome, in love and in joy and in the peace of God which passeth all understanding.' Prof. Lofthouse writes on 'Prayer and the Old Testament.' From a study of Old Testament prayers we see that the religious life of Israel rested on four great convictions. God has a character of His own, loving justice and mercy, hating selfishness, cruelty and vice; and this character can be revealed to human beings. He has a Will of His own; He looks to men both for obedience and co-operation; He inspires man with the strength, steadfastness, and grace of character without which all true satisfaction or blessedness is impossible. Mr. Anson deals with 'Prayer as Understanding.' The conception of God as a Sultan whose wrath has to be turned aside is not entirely obsolete, but it must give way to the Scientific view which means absolute confidence that 'God is all-powerful to do, all-wise to know, all loving to give.' We shall probably learn to lay ever greater stress on the placing of our spirit in harmony with God's purpose. We shall stop beseeching God to cast out devils, and go forth in His

name and cast them out ourselves.' Mr. Anson also contributes a suggestive essay on "Prayer and bodily health.' He speaks of a great department of prayer, almost uncharted still by the Church of Christ. Dr. Rufus Jones writes a beautiful and illuminating paper on 'Prayer and the Mystic Vision.' He holds that mysticism cannot safely be mapped off and isolated as a special and peculiar 'way' either of knowledge or of life. The mystical experience as it bursts upon the soul is 'a unifying, fusing, intensifying, inward event.' Methodist preachers like Nelson and Haime are quoted as 'recipients of experiences which raised them far above their ordinary human level and gave them abounding life.' The author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, in her paper on Repentance and Hope, discusses sin, repentance, and forgiveness. 'If the soul be not steady in its faith it may lose the glad inspiration of God's forgiveness and take again to tears, not knowing that the lion-like bad habits which it sees in its path have the death-sentence already within them, and must soon die.' The same writer is also responsible for the essay on 'Prayer for the Dead.' She holds that 'if this unity of generations past, present, and to be is a reality, then the relation that binds us to the dead is such that we cannot live the religious life without praying for them in indirect ways.' The Eucharist is treated by an Anglican and a Free Churchman; worship, petition, intercession, the world's order and the devil are all discussed with refreshing frankness and suggestiveness. What we miss is a general summary that would gather up and co-ordinate the results arrived at by the various thinkers.

Androcles and the Lion. Overruled. Pygmalion. By Bernard Shaw. (Constable & Co. 5*s*. net.)

The chief interest of this volume centres in its 'preface on the Prospects of Christianity.' Mr. Shaw arrests attention at once by his question, 'Why not give Christianity a Trial?' He maintains that 'the moneyed, respectable, capable world has been steadily anti-Christian and Barabbasque since the crucifixion; and the specific doctrine of Jesus has not in all that time been put into political or general social practice. I am no more a Christian than Pilate was, or you, gentle reader; and yet, like Pilate, I greatly prefer Jesus to Annas and Caiaphas; and I am ready to admit that after contemplating the world and human nature for nearly sixty years I see no way out of the world's misery but the way which would have been found by Christ's will if He had undertaken the work of a modern practical statesman.' His whimsical fallacies about Salvationism and his strange study of the life of Jesus in the Gospels are characteristic. Jesus is 'ashamed' of the abnormal powers by which He can perform miracles, and 'begs the people not to mention these powers of His.' But Mr. Shaw says that if you do certain things that make Christ real, 'you will produce an extraordinary dismay and horror among the iconolaters. You will have made the picture come out of its frame, the statue descend from its pedestal, the story become

real, with all the incalculable consequences that may flow from this terrifying miracle. It is at such moments that you realise that the iconolaters have never for a moment conceived Christ as a real person who meant what He said, as a fact, as a force like electricity, only needing the invention of suitable political machinery to be applied to the affairs of mankind with revolutionary effect.' Mr. Shaw says when 'we engage on a purely scientific study of economics, criminology, and biology, and find that our practical conclusions are virtually those of Jesus, we are distinctly pleased and encouraged to find that we were doing Him an injustice, and that nimbus that surrounds His head in the pictures may be interpreted some day as a light of science rather than a declaration of sentiment or a label of idolatry.' To Mr. Shaw 'Jesus is no supernatural personage, but a prophet only as Mahomet was a prophet.' Pauliniam 'over-ran the whole western civilized world,' whilst the Christianity of Jesus failed completely to establish itself politically and socially.' It is a strange fantasy, but it shows that the teaching of Jesus has taken hold of Mr. Shaw's mind as the basis for a new civilization, and we may hope that he will yet discern that He alone can impart the power to make the world accept it as the law of its life. The plays have a fine sense of the ludicrous, though it is oddly out of place in the Roman arena where the Christians face gladiators and wild beasts. It is pure fun in *Pygmalion*, and the transformation of the flower-girl makes an uncommonly good situation.

A Companion to Biblical Studies. Edited by W. Emery Barnes, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 15*s.* net.)

This is a revised and re-written edition of *The Cambridge Companion to the Bible* which was published more than twenty years ago. Biblical research has been active and fruitful during that period, and the new volume gathers up the new knowledge in the most convenient form. Every article has been revised to bring it abreast of the latest information. Sometimes the original writer has undertaken the revision, but a large part of this exacting labour has fallen on Prof. Barnes. He has also written a valuable little article on the Testimony of Josephus to Jesus Christ, and a chapter on the Sacred Literature of the Gentiles. The Dean of Wells, Prof. Gwatkin, Dr. Murray and Dr. Bonney have brought their important articles up to date, and new articles have been written on the Revelation by Dr. Swete, and on other books of the Bible by Dr. A. E. Brooke, Mr. Valentine-Richards, Mr. Dean Smith, Mr. Elmslie and Mr. Lanchester. Mr. G. H. Clayton has also written on the Theology of the New Testament. Six of the maps are new, four have been revised. There is a valuable Glossary, a Concordance, a general Index and indexes of proper names and subjects, with eight full-page illustrations of great interest. The volume is an encyclopædia of the first rank and of the highest authority.

Christian Reality in Modern Light. By Frank Ballard, D.D. (Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The subject of the new Fernley Lecture is thoroughly appropriate and seasonable. The terrible war with its desolations and ruthlessness gives acute poignancy to the question: Is there any reality in the Christian ideas of God and righteousness and a government of the world? Believers are troubled, sceptics are boastful. Dr. Ballard's discussion of the question is incisive, strong, popular. It is curious that he begins with a quotation of Bradley's denial of the existence of reality in anything: 'There is no reality at all anywhere, except in appearance.' This is true from the view-point of sceptical metaphysics. But James Ward, we are reminded, is as great in metaphysics as Bradley, and gives a different answer. We believe in a thousand things of which we could give no definition which metaphysics would accept. Dr. Ballard tests the question over a wide field, in the realm of fact, history, philosophy, Scripture, Biblical criticism, theology, sociology, eschatology, experience. From all these fields strong arguments are gathered, which all readers will easily follow. The first and last are perhaps the most striking. The appeal of the first is to the fruits of Christianity in the world. It is the argument of Tertullian (second and third century): 'We are but of yesterday, and we have filled your cities and villages, your camps and colleges.' The argument from personal experience is put forcibly. This is the favourite argument to-day in every school. No advocacy is complete without it. The Ritschlian thinks no other argument worth statement. This is going too far. The arguments of the former chapters in the volume furnish an answer to intellectual inquiries. Yet the crowning proof is that of personal life and experience. The Lecture abounds in quotations from modern writers. The author justifies the course he has taken in four different ways. Certainly the amount of reading displayed in modern apologetics is remarkable. One of the good points in the work is that the reader who wishes to read further on the subject will find ample guidance in the references. The pages are made still more attractive by apt quotations of poetry and hymns. The author thinks that the numerous references in public to the 'cleansing blood' jar on modern hearers. Possibly the references might be fewer with advantage. We should like to think that the reference to Prof. Seeberg in the note on p. 85 is mistaken. It does not remind us of the Professor, and we have seen the reference questioned; but it is difficult in present conditions to get at facts.

C. H. Kelly's Shilling *Library of Theology* has had marked success. It is now followed by a second series of volumes at two shillings net. They are large crown octavos bound in maroon buckram cloth, with paper label on the back, and make a very attractive and substantial set of volumes for a preacher's library. Dr. Maldwyn Hughes' study of *The Ethics of Jewish Apocryphal Literature* is a mas-

terly survey of a great but little-known subject. *Unbelief in the Nineteenth Century*, by Prof. Sheldon, of Boston University, is a compact and accurate exposition of various philosophical and critical theories, and shows that Christianity has come out of the nineteenth-century crucible without loss of prestige. Dr. Ballard's *Christian Essentials* is a reasoned summary of the highest importance. *Permanent Elements in Christian Theology* is a piece of Mr. Wardell's incisive and luminous work. *Personality and Fellowship*, by W. Bradfield, brings out the fundamental importance of fellowship for the Christian life. Dr. J. H. Moulton's *Religions and Religion* is a study in comparative religion which is of the deepest interest, Mr. Jackson's *Preacher and the Modern Mind* discusses a vital subject with great frankness. Three brilliant volumes of sermons are included: *The Supreme Conquest*, by Dr. Watkinson, *The Raiment of the Soul*, by the famous Australian preacher, Henry Howard; and *The Land of your Sojournings*, by W. S. Hackett. The Library is fortunate enough to have two fine volumes by Canon Lilley, *Nature and Supernature* and *The Soul of St. Paul*. *Songs of the Jewish Church*, by Dr. Pinfold, is a fascinating study of the Psalter, and *A Student's Library*, edited by H. Bisseker, is a delightful guide to the masterpieces of literature. The selection of the volumes has been made with great skill, and the Library will be a treasure to all who are fortunate enough to get it on their shelves.

Nature, Miracle, and Sin: A Study of St. Augustine's Conception of the Natural Order. By T. A. Lacey, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6*s.* net.)

These Lectures were delivered at Oxford in 1914 under the terms of the Pringle Stuart Trust, just founded, to promote the study of the Fathers and of John Keble. St. Augustine is 'a master of phrase, a rhetorician born and made, but a laborious thinker; his dialectic circled round his words with disconcerting digression.' Mr. Lacey has found that discursiveness somewhat infectious, but his lectures are marked by critical insight and independence of thought. The first is biographical, the others deal with The Content of Augustine's Idea of Nature, Human Will and Freedom, Miracle, Good and Evil, Sin and its Consequences. St. Augustine attempted an ethical construction of the world, and in this he improved on his masters. 'He was sometimes nearer to Plato than Plotinus himself. But he improved even on Plato, by putting the whole stress upon Will. He approached the subject of will from the ethical side and maintained its freedom, but maintained also 'the divine foreknowledge in a sense which involved, as he admitted in his more unguarded moments, a necessary determination of the Will.' As to miracle, he is feeling his way through a maze of natural causes, but in one of his profoundest moods he says that Christ's miracles 'were wrought for the purpose of drawing the human mind from visible things to the task of understanding God.' Mr. Lacey thinks it possible that before long

we may find ourselves in thought nearer to St. Augustine than to Thomas Aquinas or Herbert Spencer. Evil he regards as a sick fancy, a misreading of nature, yet when all other evil is eliminated the fact of sin remains. Augustine did not succeed in explaining the problem of original sin, but he held that no degree of corruption can entirely destroy the good that is inherent in nature. Mr. Lacey quotes freely from Augustine's works to support the positions taken up.

These Things Speak. By Edward Lloyd Jones. (Kelly. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Lloyd Jones had a great reputation as a preacher, and these sermons show on what a solid foundation it rested. They are richly evangelical, but old truths are set in new lights and brought home to the heart and conscience. The illustrations add many a human touch to the discussion of great truths and show how the preacher kept himself in contact with daily life. He says in the sermon on the Atonement: 'There are people who know what a broken bone or lacerated flesh means; but sorrow of heart, sorrow for sin, sorrow for failure—that goes like iron through your soul! People do not understand what sorrow is unless they have broken bones. And the Almighty, in order to come down to the level of our weakness, says to us, "I have been trying to tell you for centuries, by prophet, priest, and king, that I have a heart. But now 'reach hither thy hand and thrust it into My side.'" The studies of Cornelius, Pilate, Daniel, and Job are very suggestive.

The Spirit of Christianity. An Essay on the Christian Hypothesis. By Frederic Seebohm. (Longmans & Co. 1*s.* 8*d.* net.)

This essay was written more than forty years ago, but has not been published till four years after the gifted author's death. It is the work of one who was immersed in business, politics, and social service and believed that religion had nothing to fear from honest investigation. Mr. Seebohm shows the necessity of distinguishing between Christianity and its changing mental environments. It is really a moral force arising from faith in the perfect moral character of the Divine Being. As such it seems to be in harmony with modern scientific theories of development and evolution. Human experience reveals a direct Divine influence upon the hearts and minds of men. A survey of this experience in the ancient world and under Christianity leads to the conclusion that 'the practical difficulties in the way of Christian Faith are not necessarily insurmountable.' The religious experience of holy men forms a continuity of moral endeavour which was not self-born, but awakened within them 'by a Musician outside themselves, in response to whose notes their moral instincts thrilled.' The moral aims of Christianity are true to the life of things, therefore it can never die. It is a noble essay, worthy of the pen that

produced *The Oxford Reformers*, and Science itself has taken Mr. Seebohm's position and does not hesitate to acknowledge the authority of religious experience.

The Character and History of Pelagius' Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul. By A. Souter, D.Litt. (Milford. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Nine years ago Prof. Souter dealt with Pelagius' Commentary in an address before the British Academy. In this second address he laid before the Academy the more important conclusions to which he has since been led. Pelagius' notes are for the most part brief, and are often interwoven with the grammatical structure of the original. Subjects that specially interested him, such as baptism, the life of the sexes, various interpretations of 'heaven' and 'earth' are treated more fully. He evidently used Origen on Romans as translated by Rufinus, and his notes are saturated with Biblical language and have more recollections of classical literature than Prof. Souter at first imagined. The Reichenau MS. in the Grand Ducal Library at Karlsruhe, that is, roughly speaking, the published Pseudo-Jerome *minus* the notes introduced by the word item, seems to represent the original Pelagian Commentary. That position is sustained by various arguments. Various MSS. are discussed in this learned and deeply interesting treatise. It has full-page illustrations of the Reichenau, the Balliol and the Grenoble MSS. The last is the revision of the Pelagius Commentary made by Cassiodorus and his pupils at Vivarium in Southern Italy about the middle of the sixth century.

Faith or Fear? An Appeal to the Church of England. (Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The writers of this volume are members of the Church of England who have a common sense of its tragic failure to meet the needs of the nation in this hour of crisis. The first place is taken by Donald Hankey, known to readers of the *Spectator* as 'A Student in Arms.' He thinks that we want to get back to the main point—to embody Christ. His disciples will only purify the Church, and fill the world with the knowledge of God, by holy living and dying. In the army men are learning what poor things their pride and prejudices were. They see the value of virtues like courage, cheerfulness, unselfishness, and honesty which are common to all. When the war is over the Church must show them how in the fellowship of Christ's body they may still use their gifts in the same spirit of mutual respect and loyalty, and for the furtherance of a common ideal of life. Mr. Scott Palmer's subject is 'The Church and our advance in knowledge.' He discusses science, and shows that the Church especially should be true to life, to its movement and change. Mr. Anson deals with 'Stumbling-blocks'—theological and social. Mr. F. L. Donaldson in 'The Church and Labour' considers 'How to make the Church really the Church of the people.' He finds no lack of natural religion

among the poor, but thinks that the Church has allowed herself 'to become an annexe of the State, and to be exploited by the powerful and privileged classes.' Part V. 'The Test of Living Experience' is by the Rev. C. H. S. Matthews. He regards the growing demand for reality in every department of life as one of the most hopeful signs of the times. There is certainly ample food for thought in this volume, and it will interest every one to compare it with Dr. Ballard's Fernley Lecture on *Christian Reality*.

The Greater Men and Women of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. James Hastings, D.D. St. Luke—Titus. (T. & T. Clark, 6*s.* net.) Twenty-seven names, taken from the Acts and the Pauline Epistles, are included in this volume. John Mark, St. Luke, Stephen, Silas, James the Lord's Brother, and Lydia, are among them. The exposition is lighted up by apt illustration and quotation, and there is a happy blending of scholarly and popular matter. Preachers and teachers will find a rich store of the best helps in this varied volume. —*The Bible View of the World.* By the Rev. M. Anstey, B.D., M.A. (Morgan & Scott, 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is an 'exposition of the abiding principles of Christian truth, as applied to the conditions of modern life, and the circumstances of the present hour,' which Dr. Campbell Morgan thinks would be a valuable text-book for use among young people. Its fourteen chapters deal with great subjects, such as Religion and Life, Evolution and Creation, Culture and Conversion, War and Destiny. The book is full of matter, and is very well arranged. It is always judicious and suggestive.—*Mine Own Vineyard.* By Marshall Broomhall, M.A. (Morgan & Scott, 1*s.* net.) Mr. Broomhall urges that we should judge ourselves unsparingly. What we need more than comfort is the love of the truth. We shall never win the war against evil unless we let the searchlight of truth play upon our personal and national lives. The love of enemies whom we are bound to fight is brought well out in another paper.—*The Secret of Inspiration*, by Andrew Murray, D.D. (Morgan & Scott, 1*s.* net), gives a meditation for each day of the month from William Law. The Spirit of God, The Spirit of Love, and The Spirit of Prayer are the chief themes, and it will be an inspiration to spend a few minutes each morning in such company.—*The Silent Voice* (G. Bell & Sons, 1*s.* net) contains ten 'teachings received by impressional writing' by a lady to whom they 'came as a complete surprise.' Faith is described as 'the very heart-beat of the Spirit.' Prayer is not to be thought of as petitioning, but an entrance 'to dwell awhile as with a friend.' There is much food for meditation in the little book.—Archdeacon Wilson's two lectures to men on *The Natural and the Supernatural in Science and Religion* (S.P.C.K., 6*d.* net) show that we cannot escape mysteries. Our thought of God will always be very inadequate, partial. 'We have light enough, within us and without us, to walk by, and that is all we need.' Every thinker will find help here.—The Rev. T. A. Lacey discusses *Nature and God* in a series of letters to an inquirer. (S.P.C.K. 1*s.* net.) He deals with the things in Nature which appear irregular and abnormal, and shows how God

is at work healing the moral disorders of the world.—*The Book of Jonah.* By T. H. Dodson, M.A. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* net.) Canon Dodson regards Jonah as 'a typical embodiment of the Jewish Church in its mistaken spirit of exclusiveness.' In this book 'the Old Testament has unwittingly supplied us with a distinct and special memorial of our Christian calling as the prophets of the One God to the great Nineveh of entire humanity.'—*The Church Year of Grace from Modern Continental Divines.* By the Rev. Joseph Miller, B.D. (Elliot Stock. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) These sermons cover the period from Septuagesima to Easter. They are chaste in style, spiritual and practical in thought and treatment. This is the second volume of sermons that Mr. Miller has given us, and it is as good as the first.—*The Forgiveness of Sins.* By R. N. Flew, M.A. (Kelly, 3*d.* net, interleaved 4*d.* net.) This is No. 2 in the *Manuals of Fellowship.* The subject is divided into seven weekly portions with a set of thought-provoking and heart-searching questions appended to each. The wonder of forgiveness, the problem, the conditions (repentance and sacrifice), the living way, and the acceptance of forgiveness at the Cross are treated in a devotional style that will make the manual very helpful for united discussion and prayer.—Messrs. Oliphant have just published a set of devotional books which all will welcome. Mrs. Habershon's *Bible Pictures* (3*s.* 6*d.* net) are very attractive; Lettice Bell's *Bible Battles* (3*s.* 6*d.* net) are told for children with great spirit. *The Dynamic of Faith,* by Mr. Paget Wilkes (2*s.* 6*d.* net) and *The Dynamic of Prayer* (2*s.* 6*d.* net) by Mr. G. G. Fleming, will give new courage to Christian readers. *The Soul Winner* (1*s.* net), by the Rev. Joseph Kemp, is a much-needed message. There is a charming book on *Children of South America* (1*s.* 6*d.* net), by Mrs. Hodge, well written and with attractive coloured pictures. *Booklets for the Day* (6*d.* net), by Dr. Whyte, Dan Crawford, and other writers are full of gracious and seasonable messages. *The Soldier's Companion* (1*s.* net), with its scriptures and hymns, will be of great service both for soldiers and sailors. *Homely Thoughts on Re-Incarnation in the Light of the Law of Development.* By John Coutts (4*d.*). Experience fails to prove the Hindu theory of Re-incarnation. The true way of re-incarnation is in Christ by repentance, salvation, redemption, and restoration. It is 'life in Christ, and Christ in the life.'—*The Land of Israel and of Christ,* by A. W. Cooke, M.A. (Kelly. 1*s.* 3*d.* net), is a welcome addition to the *Manuals for Christian Thinkers.* In 182 pages it gives a clear sketch of the history of the land, and describes each province and district. Historical events are kept in view, and stress is laid upon those geographical features that have been determining factors in history. There is a useful bibliography and a good index. It is a Manual that ought to have a large sale.—*St. Paul's Letters Unfolded.* By A. Lukyn Williams, D.D. (R.T.S. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) The first instalment of this Commentary is on The Epistle to the Romans. It is intended for busy people who want brief notes that will be aids to thought and devotion. Each chapter of the Epistle is divided into four to seven sections, with a page or two of comment and a few notes on special words or difficult passages. It is luminous and practical.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

East and West through Fifteen Centuries. By Brig.-Gen. G. F. Young, C.B. (Longmans. 36*s.* net.) (Vols. I. and II.)

THE author describes his work as a General History; this, however, is but another way of saying that it is, in the main, a History of the Roman Empire, from 44 B.C. to A.D. 1453, a period almost identical with that covered by Gibbon's immortal work. In view of the results of recent research General Young is able to adjust the findings of Gibbon in some important particulars; and, happily, free from the anti-Christian bias which vitiated some of the master-historian's conclusions, is able to provide a needed corrective thereto. It is, however, a little strange that one writing history on the scale of the work now under review, and selecting a period that the mighty author of *The Decline and Fall* had made peculiarly his own, should quote the latter from the antiquated edition of 1862, and, so far as we have observed, give no indication that he has so much as heard of Bury's great edition, which has made all others out of date. This is but one of the peculiarities to be observed on glancing through the list of authorities consulted which Gen. Young has prefixed to his work. In this list are included a few, but very few, of the original sources; while among the secondary sources quoted are to be found scientific histories of the highest value by the side of compilations of little independent worth. Nor are the omissions less remarkable. One illustration must suffice. For Gregory the Great Barmby's excellent little volume is alone given; there is no mention of Howorth's more recent and very valuable monograph, and, more remarkable still, Holmes Dudden's great biography is passed over in silence. General Young's acquaintance with the literature of his subject is manifestly incomplete; but this can hardly be attributed to him as a fault, for its bulk is so immense that a lifetime would hardly suffice for the mastery of it in its entirety, and he has had but the scanty leisure of a distinguished military career at his disposal, and right nobly has it been turned to account.

The volumes with which we are at present concerned, ending with A.D. 740, cover a period of slightly less than 800 years, years which witnessed the rise and fall of the Roman Empire in the West, and its passing of the zenith in the East. They witnessed also the rise of the Papacy to a position of at least princeliness, though the full development of its world power was still to come. Of this great period Gen. Young has given us a history the reading of which is sheer delight. As becomes the work of a soldier, it is particularly strong upon the military side. We may draw attention to the clear

and excellent account of the composition and tactical potentialities of the Roman legion, and the suggestive treatment of the military reasons which conduced to the collapse of the Empire in the West, but we are inclined to think that our author somewhat underrates military considerations as a contributory factor to the retreat of Attila. Another very striking feature, no doubt also to be partially accounted for by the writer's profession, is the very fine account of the military achievements of Belisarius; one of the world's master captains, almost if not quite the peer of Hannibal himself, the name of Belisarius is, to all intents and purposes, unknown.

Another great service General Young has rendered by throwing into sharp relief the importance of the Christian religion as a factor in history. These volumes are at once a history of Church and State, matters ecclesiastical are frankly the writer's province no less than those civil and military; this is a most admirable feature. On certain points, it may be admitted, we are inclined to join issue with the writer. That St. Peter, for instance, during his legendary Roman episcopate divided his time between that city and Antioch, passing to and fro between the world's metropolis and the Syrian capital, doing duty in both, we cannot accept as even possible; there is at all events not a tittle of evidence in its support. Still less do we think that Polycarp was 'the angel of the Church in Smyrna' referred to in the Apocalypse. Much too low appears to us to be General Young's estimate of Innocent I, in our opinion the first Roman Bishop to whom the title of Pope can with any propriety be applied; certainly it is as paradoxical to describe him as 'a man of no weight' as it is to speak of Alaric as a shaper of the world's destiny 'equalled only by three other men, Mohammed, Columbus, and Napoleon.' But, considering these fine volumes as a whole, the matters for adverse criticism are comparatively few, while the excellences are great.

The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and their Movements: John Wyclif, John Wesley, John Henry Newman. By S. Parkes Cadman. (Macmillan Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Cadman's volume deals with 'three great Englishmen, great Christians, great Churchmen, and loyal sons of Oxford.' That University has nourished many prophets, priests, and kings 'within her borders, but none who in significance and contribution to the general welfare compare with Wyclif, the real originator of European Protestantism; Wesley, the Anglican priest who became the founder of Methodism and one of the makers of modern England and of English-speaking nations; Newman, the spiritual genius of his country who re-interpreted Catholicism, both Anglican and Roman.' The study of Wyclif is divided into four chapters: 'Heralds of Reform, Sources of Wycliffanism, the quarrel with the Papacy, Princes and People.' Milton's verdict on the reformer as a 'divine and admirable spirit' is borne out by his rectitude and integrity,

his enthusiasm for the cause of religion, and his ardent longing for the purification of the Church. His language in controversy was 'harsh, imperious, and vituperative. . . . Courtesy and fairness were then unknown, and his admirers cannot claim that Wyclif did aught to discover them.' The study is discriminating, and skilfully brings out the conditions under which the reformer's work was done. The chapters on Wesley deal with 'an almost unparalleled transformation of the English national character effected under the impulse of a revival of Christianity which subsequently spread throughout the British Empire and the United States.' Many had perceived the crying need of living faith, but Wesley became its embodiment and messenger. Dr. Cadman describes his ancestry and training, drawing some new material from the standard edition of *Wesley's Journal*. He says, 'notwithstanding Wesley's occasional lapses into sentimentalism, it must not be forgotten that he was a great Christian who was also a great Englishman. He belonged to a people whose pieties have never been divorced either from reason or ethics, who were Pragmatists before Pragmatism, and whose accepted test for enthusiasm, vehemence, or profession, is practice.' As an advocate of religion and an organizer of its forces Wesley was unsurpassed. 'The level reaches and tranquil flow of his discourse were sometimes stirred by a divine afflatus of which his hearers afterwards spoke with bated breath; the pillars of the sanctuary seemed to tremble, the Eternal One Himself bowed the heavens and came down, while all the people stood in awe of Him, and the souls of the worshippers were shaken by the winds of God.' The chapters on Newman open with 'The Nineteenth Century Renaissance,' when a new heaven and earth emerged. Then Newman's development and personality are unfolded. He had an unusual aptitude for imbibing the thoughts and ideas of others, and this 'unique impressionability' led to a perpetual modification or relinquishment of principles. 'The successive formations of his beliefs resembled the accumulating deposits of an alluvial soil.' The way in which 'historical theology slowly undermined some basic teachings of the Sacerdotalists' is well described. Dr. Cadman maintains that this unparalleled war calls on the Christian Church to 'restore civilization to the purposes from which it has been wantonly deflected. Whatever the errors, the rectifications, the risks, the losses, this obligation entails, Catholic and Protestant, Traditionalist and Modernist, are bound to gird themselves for its fulfilment.' The volume is one of abiding interest, and one that claims close attention from all students of religious life and activity.

The History of the Church Missionary Society. By Eugene Stock, D.C.L. Supplementary Volume. The Fourth. (Church Missionary Society. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

We are glad that Dr. Stock has written this volume on a large scale. He thought at first of preparing a small book for popular use, but

the material for the last fifteen or sixteen years proved too great to be squeezed into such small compass. He begins with the centenary celebrations of April, 1899, of which a full and most interesting account is given. Then he surveys the work of each field in separate chapters. This part of the work fills nearly 400 pages. The last part describes the Home Base, giving many personal details, and much information as to the Society's house in Salisbury Square, the anniversaries, the missionaries and candidates, the finances, home organization, colonial associations, the publications of the Society, and an appendix on the war and missions. The volume will appeal both to workers on the field and supporters at home. It is a record for which all Churches will thank God, for it shows that this noble Society was never more alive or more fruitful than it is to-day. It is no small satisfaction to Dr. Stock's friends that he has been spared to bring the history up to date and has done it with all his old skill and knowledge.

Lord Kitchener. By Ernest Protheroe. (Kelly, 3*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.*, and 1*s.* net.) This life was almost finished when the *Hampshire* perished in the North Sea. It only needed a final chapter to complete the survey of a noble life. Mr. Protheroe has spared no pains to make his study full and reliable. It describes Lord Kitchener's work on the Survey of Palestine, his historic service in Egypt and the Sudan, his achievement in India and in the Boer War. Two final chapters deal with his crowning years of service at the War Office and his tragic death. It is a story that appeals to the whole Empire, and it is told with discernment and enthusiasm. Nothing seems to have been overlooked, and the heroic figure stands out from the canvas in all his strength and force. Every one who reads the book will feel new courage for the tasks of war-time.

Joshua Rowntree. By S. E. Robson. (Allen & Unwin. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.) Dr. Rendel Harris says of Joshua Rowntree that 'public man as he was, citizen, world-man, politician, minister of the Word, he lived in a retreat and worked from it.' He was a soliciter in Scarborough, and in his youth founded the Adult School there almost single-handed. His love of peace and his ardent support of Mr. Gladstone's Irish measures are well described in this pleasant little biography, but we are even more drawn to him as a lover of nature and of good books. Rowing, skating, walking, and cycling were favourite recreations. His water-colour sketches show an unusually keen sense of colour and atmospheric effect, and a power of recording it with purity and charm. He would spend spare moments in the basement of the National Gallery, glorying in Turner's marvellous effects of atmosphere and light. He loved the sea, and eagerly read books of travel and exploration. His devotion to the Bible appears in a letter to a young cousin. The Minor Prophets ceased to be sealed books to him as new light was poured on them. Ramsay and Deissmann made him see St. Paul not merely as a wondrous theologian

'but intensely practical, using the ordinary Greek of his day, making much of his citizenship, a great-hearted statesman no less than an inspired theologian.'

The feature of the latest edition of John Richard Green's *Short History of the English People* (Macmillan, 5*s.* net) is an Epilogue of 172 pages by Mrs. Green. This forms one-fifth of the whole book. The original work closed with the battle of Waterloo, and at that point the Epilogue opens. Its first part, on the Social Revolution, presents a clear outline of the striking changes in the condition of the people. Mr. Cobbett is described as the greatest tribune the English poor ever possessed. A clear account is given of Catholic Emancipation, the reform of Parliament, municipal reform, the Chartist movement and the struggle for Free Trade; then we see the rise of Socialism, and find ourselves in a world changed in spirit and outlook. Ireland fills an important place in the survey, and Parnell is said to have 'lifted Ireland to a place in politics which she was never again to lose.' A second section deals with 'Foreign and Colonial Policy' down to July 28, 1914. The Epilogue puts into brief compass the leading events of the century, and adds sensibly to the value of the history. Her husband's work was revised with great care in the edition of 1888, and Mrs. Green gives a charming account in her Introduction of the way in which it came to be written. The enlarged edition is a work which every Englishman ought to have on his shelves.

Shakespeare after Three Hundred Years. By J. W. Mackail. (H. Milford. 1*s.* net.) The annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy has special interest in this tercentenary year. Mr. Mackail shows how by degrees nothing less than universal knowledge, nothing short of a doctrine and a message on all the matters which concern life, was ascribed to Shakespeare, till at last this excess provoked its own reaction. 'Shakespeare, the idol, had swollen to such proportions that he began to topple over.' True appreciation must be based on comprehension. We can honour him best by reading him. He sets life before us, not drawing moral lessons but making us see and feel and understand. The lecture is full of interest.

John Gould. An Appreciation, by W. Fiddian Moulton, M.A. (Kelly. 9*d.* net), is an interesting and appreciative sketch of Mr. Gould's memorable work in East Anglia, and of his labours in South Africa. He was an earnest evangelist and a far-seeing administrator, and he was able to inspire others with his own spirit. Mr. Moulton has given us a living portrait.

Me and Jake. By John Salisbury. (Kelly. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) These forty brief records by Durham miners of their wild lives and their wonderful conversions are full of quaint humour. They are true and touching stories.

BOOKS ON THE WAR

The Christian Ethic of War. By P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D. (Longmans & Co. 6*s.* net.)

Dr. Forsyth regards the grace of God in Christ's Cross as the moral force of the Universe. The Kingdom of God is the great moral International. His first chapter—'Killing no murder'— puts this question: 'What are we to do when it is clear that our non-resistance to evil (even to our death) becomes the provocation of evil, offers it impunity, fosters its increase, and gives up the world to the scoundrels?' Christ resisted evil even to death in the act of doing so, and to the entailing of death on His many martyrs. 'To punish the Germany that now is is to return good for evil. It is a part of the pain and conflict of the historic Redemption.' A nation has its duties, and one of the first is 'to see that public righteousness is done, even at the cost of war with the nation that lives for making war, and whose whole organization is entirely subordinate to that end.' If the Cross is a real atonement, a real bearing of God's judgement on sin, then the saints are Christ's agents, who must stand for His righteous purpose and procedure. As to passive resistance, Dr. Forsyth pleads for some consideration towards 'those national sectaries—until at least they propose or promise to take command of the situation, and leave the national life to be pulverized for good by an enemy who in his victory would have no mercy.' The war may restore to piety 'a due sense of the element of judgement in history and at the heart of grace—judgement in the divine course of history because judgement in the divine point of history.' Christianity is 'set for a world-righteousness. And that is the cause for which the Father spared not His only Son, even to the shedding of blood.' We are faced in Germany with 'the growth of an idealism which is but materialism glorified to a megalomania, a combined worship of Mammon, Mars, and Mercury (thief and liar), a compound of militarism, commercialism, and a nationalism based on these, rooted in force, and reckless of morals.' Christ 'did not take the pietist line, forswear national action, and leave God to work a miracle to save His kingdom.' To exchange the moral for the miraculous would relieve us of the coward's dread—responsibility, but 'the love that lifts life, that sweetens, fortifies, and hallows it, is also a consuming fire.' This is a book for thinkers, and it will richly reward all the pains they spend in mastering its powerful argument.

Some Experiences in Hungary. August, 1914, to January, 1915. By Mina Macdonald. (Longmans. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The writer of this book was companion to the two daughters of a Hungarian magnate in the vicinity of Pressburg when war broke out. She was treated with the utmost kindness by the Prince and his family, though she did not hesitate to champion the cause of Britain and her allies. The village lies among the White Carpathians on the borders of Moravia, and is solidly and frankly Slovak, Catholic, and Anti-Austrian. The news of the assassination of the Archduke and his wife was brought to the castle the same day by an old lady who was an intimate friend of the Duchess. The Archduke is described 'as the best hated man in Austria, and the Duchess the best hated woman.' Miss Macdonald tells of the exciting weeks that followed, the eager discussions as to England's attitude, and the fear caused by the early victories of Russia. The Pan-Slav doctor under whom the English lady worked in the Prince's hospital for wounded soldiers did not hesitate to say: 'If the Central Powers win we become a province of Germany; if they lose it's the disintegration of Austria. A country composed of so many races, each one more discontented than the other, must not risk going to war. It's all the fault of that puffed-up, vainglorious peacock in Berlin.' When news unfavourable to Germany was in the papers they were carefully suppressed, but the head gardener supplied Miss Macdonald with the facts from his pan-Slav papers. He was Croatian and bitterly Anti-Austrian, and was not afraid to defend his views. The life of the castle and the village is graphically described. When she went to Vienna Miss Macdonald found her Austrian friends greatly depressed about events in Galicia and Russia, and full of regrets that they had been brought into conflict with Great Britain. The whole atmosphere was much gloomier than in Hungary. The Kaiser was blamed 'for taking advantage of their old Emperor's dotage to lead them into this quagmire. The streets were literally swarming with wounded soldiers, and every public building seemed to have become a hospital—except the theatres, which were open at half-price, that the Galician refugees might have some amusement.' The book is brightly written and has fifteen illustrations of native costumes, Slav and Hungarian soldiers, and other matters of interest.

With the Twenty-Ninth Division in Gallipoli: A Chaplain's Experiences. By the Rev. O. Creighton, C.F. (Longmans & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Creighton served for six months with the 29th Division, and saw much of the fighting round Cape Hellas. He won the high confidence and regard of both officers and men, and did his utmost to provide for the spiritual needs of the brave division which he saw withering away under his eyes. Life was 'squandered to no military purpose, simply by reasonable precautions being neglected.' Yet amid it all he found much unselfishness and seriousness, on the blood-stained peninsula.

He never felt the absence of sin and evil so much, and gives this testimony to the influence at work on the men. 'If people lose those they love, may they not have at least the supreme consolation that the vast majority of them have died better men than they were before? And after all goodness is the only thing that matters, is it not? All the old Scriptural phrases seem to have a new meaning. Men are born again. Their sins are forgiven—for they love much. All are kind and considerate, and really think least of themselves, or if they don't the fact is very conspicuous and rare.' He spoke frankly to officers and men 'on the moral question, and told them quite plainly that victory in the war would be of no use unless we learnt to change public opinion with regard to it.' Some vivid experiences of the landing of the Lancashire Fusiliers are given by those who took part in it. The whole story is pitiful, but as a series of personal impressions and experiences it is full of dramatic interest. The men were marvellous, but the task set them was impossible. Twenty-six illustrations and two maps add greatly to the value and interest of the volume.

The Road to Liége: The Path of Crime, August, 1914. By Gustave Somville. Translated by Bernard Miall. (Hodder & Stoughton. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

M. de Wiart, Minister of Justice, says in a Preface to this work that he has often met the writer, who is one of the best known and most respected members of the Belgian press. A few hours, or at most a few days, after the outbreak of war he visited at great risk the villages between Liége and the German frontier, and compiled on the spot full and detailed record of the atrocities committed by the Germans. The troops crossed the frontier with the whole campaign of atrocity planned beforehand to its last detail by the great general staff. The outrages committed at each village are given, with lists of those massacred and their approximate ages. The little village of Battice was annihilated. An old brother and sister, called Lecloux, went in all simplicity to look at the Germans, and both were shot. It is a record packed with atrocities that make one's blood boil. The writer shows the systematic calumnies by which the Germans have sought to justify the outrages committed.

Dans la Belgique envahie: Parmi les blessés Allemands (Août-Décembre, 1914). Par Joseph Boubée. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 3*fr.* 50*c.*)

This is a sequel to M. Boubée's *La Belgique loyale, heroïque, et malheureuse*. It describes the march of the German army through Belgium and the way in which the people were pillaged by officers and men. One chemist was robbed of property which he estimated at 6,000 francs by officers with revolvers in their hands. As they left they noticed a new bicycle and wheeled it off with the cry, 'C'est la guerre!' M. Boubée was struck with the extreme emotionalism of the wounded Germans. They were as impressionable and tender when wounded

as they had been hard and proud before. Some did show force of mind and moral energy in their sorrows; others took refuge in a dumb surliness and veiled their emotion with an air of ferocity, but the majority wept long, artlessly, silently, as an infant weeps when it suffers. Each of these terrible Prussians, smart Saxons, heavy Mecklenburgers, or sentimental Rhenish, seemed to have brought with his biscuits and photographs an inexhaustible spring of tears. All seemed confident that their cause was just. For them Germany was the victim of a hateful aggression long prepared. Yet Germany knew how to defend its own and was sure of victory. If England had not intervened, one of them said, the war would have been finished in six weeks. M. Boubée gives many vivid sketches of officers and men whom he met in his work among the wounded. Despite all her woes Belgium remains confident in the future, devoted to her king, impassioned in her love of liberty.

Red Cross and Iron Cross. By a Doctor in France. (Murray. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This book had to be reprinted in the month of its publication and in the following month, and it richly deserved that success. It sees that the day of retribution is coming, 'when the civilized world sets to work to pick out the criminals from the barbarians, the criminals responsible for the atrocities and infamies committed by the savage foe.' Documents furnished by themselves show that the heaviest responsibility must fall on the leaders and not on the men. 'Accusations of instigation to murder, even of the wounded, are brought against officers of all ranks by their men in the note-books, now in the hands of the Allies. The doctor could not help liking the dying Boches. They were so forlorn, so patient, so grateful. They spoke with humiliation and shame of what they had witnessed and what they had done. The officers were of a different spirit. They were sullen, arrogant, often insolent, displeased with everything, and most difficult to deal with. Even in dying their men feared to be near them. A village church with a hundred wounded soldiers dying side by side is the scene which the doctor describes. The straw-covered floor was red with blood, a heart-rending, subdued moan filled the church with awe. There was a spy disguised as an Englishman, but the doctor soon penetrated his disguise. He was a base creature, ready to give information for which the secret service would pay a fortune, if his life was spared. One South German trooper rejoiced when his officer was dead: 'I have lived in fear of him night and day for these two months. He has kicked me many times, and the last time he struck me with his whip across the face was the day before he was wounded. I am glad he is dead; it is no fault of his if there are still any of his men left alive, but if there are any I should like to live to be able to tell it them!' The trooper was a Socialist whom his officer had turned into a thief and a murderer. His grim confession is one of the striking things in the book. A big

Uhlan had stabbed an old woman at Dinant as she was entering a house. As she fell on the threshold she turned on him the same eyes as his grandmother had turned on him when he started for the war. That old woman was a nightmare to him. It is a grim record, indeed. The German officers who came into the village actually arranged to carry off the doctor as a prisoner to Germany. He was told of this by a Bavarian who sacrificed his own life to warn the man who had ministered to him. One can understand the call of the book: 'Strike hard, Tommy, strike your hardest! It is the salvation of the world you are fighting for!'

England's Effort. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. (Smith, Elder & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mrs. Ward wrote these six letters in response to an urgent call from America to describe what Great Britain is doing in this great war. She went to the munition areas, and saw with her own eyes what men and women are doing there; she was allowed to visit our Fleet, and to go to the fighting area in France. With all her literary skill and in a lofty patriotic spirit she tells her story. There has been nothing like it in our national history. It is a thrilling record of sacrifice and service. No American will read it without realizing that, as Lord Rosebery says in his stirring Preface, we have found ourselves, and that as for the ultimate victory no soldier allows even a momentary doubt. We have seen no account of what women are doing in the munition area so detailed or so inspiriting as Mrs. Ward gives in her third letter. Detonator work has to be done by specially careful women and girls. Only about eight are allowed in a room, and they wear green muslin veils and gloves as they shape the pellets of high explosive powder for the charging of shells. The powder is taken out of a box by a small copper ladle, and put in a press which stamps it into a tiny block, looking like ivory. The hand is held over a little tray of water lest any powder should escape. Every man and woman ought to read this book.

The Sinn Fein Rebellion as I saw it. By Mrs. Hamilton Norway. (Smith, Elder & Co. 2*s.* net.)

These letters give a very vivid sketch of events in Dublin during the Sinn Fein Rebellion. Mrs. Norway's husband was Secretary for the Post Office in Ireland, and his experiences and those of herself and her son of seventeen are described from hour to hour in the most graphic style. The way in which the rebels were allowed to build up their organization despite many warnings is dwelt on, and the perils which doctors and others ran from the hidden snipers are shown. Mr. and Mrs. Norway's valuables were stored in his official safe and cupboard at the Post Office, and were all lost or destroyed. Men had to be sent about the streets in long boilers, which Guinness's Brewery turned into splendid armoured cars. The driver and twenty-two men were packed inside. The mob looted the shops in Sackville Street in the most brazen fashion. One very fat,

very blousy old woman staggered under a load of fruit, and called on the Almighty and all the saints to help her when the tins rolled on the pavement. Mrs. Norway helps us to see the whole tragedy with our own eyes.

Nelson's History of the War. By John Buchan. Vol. XIII. (Nelson & Sons. 1*s.* 3*d.* net.)

This volume opens with a chapter on 'America at the Cross-Roads.' President Wilson was right in the principles he laid down, but wrong in their application. There was a reaction against the narrow nationalism which had predominated, and a growing sense that the international issue was an integral part of the national interests. Mr. Root's speech is described as 'probably the most remarkable made in any country since the outbreak of war.' 'The position at sea' includes an account of the submarine campaign and the story of the Moewe. Our battleships in the North Sea were 'the modern crusaders, the true defenders of the faith, doing battle not only for home and race and fatherland, but for the citadel of Christendom.' The winter's war in the air, the Fall of Erzerum, the Conquest of the Cameroons, and the First Battle of Verdun are also dealt with in this volume. Mr. Buchan's work loses nothing of its force and insight as it moves along.

The Times History of the War gives a whole weekly number to the work of the Chaplains in the Allied Armies. The story is an inspiring one, and it is told in a way that will stir every reader. Our chaplains have shared the dangers of the men, and have been their friends and comforters as well as their spiritual guides. The number is profusely illustrated.

The German Peril and the Grand Alliance: How to Crush Prussian Militarism. By G. de Wesselitsky. (T. F. Unwin. 1*s.* net.)

This address was delivered at the Central Hall to a large gathering drawn together by the invitation of Sir Robert and Lady Perks, and presided over by the Speaker of the House of Commons. It embodies fifty-five years of study, and is based on the conviction that the victory of Germany would be not less fatal to herself than to the rest of the world. The German mind has been unhinged by the sudden accession to power and wealth. In almost every branch of science absurd or degrading theories have sprung up. The advisability of going on all fours was eagerly discussed five years ago, and a reform of the family which would give the reins to all animal instincts has been advocated by certain schools of reformers. 'Unnatural vices prevail in the highest circles and find philosophers and even theologians to justify them.' The iron discipline of the Prussian Army is traced to the Teuton oppression of the Wends. Frederick II found the State 'a most efficient machine for keeping down the people at home and robbing his surrounding neighbours.' Bismarck brought

about a gradual Prussification of the laws and institutions, the public and private life of other German States. Evidence is given that the German Government has been intriguing to make the subjects of the Entente Powers act disloyally to their countries by serving the interests of Germany. M. de Wesselitsky gives his views as to the fundamental conditions of permanent peace in the closing part of this powerful and far-sighted address.

The Religious Spirit of the Slavs. By the Rev. Father Nicoli Velimirovic. (Macmillan & Co. 1*s.* net.)

These three sermons, delivered at St. Margaret's, Westminster, deal with the orthodoxy, the revolutionary Catholicism, and the religious spirit of the Slavs. Christ entered the Slav world as a Lord under whose feet lay already conquered Zeus, Jupiter, and Wothan. He came not from a Bethlehem cottage, but from Saint Sophia, the most brilliant temple on earth. Slav orthodoxy 'needs more Christian dramas blended in one. She needs more of Christ on earth, more votes for Christ. She is thirsty for more stigmata, more suffering, more sins,' and more virtues. According to the Slav point of view Christianity came into the world to infuse a new religious spirit, to clear and purify the human conscience. The sermons get to the heart of Slav Christianity and make it both more intelligible and more attractive to English readers.

Poland's Struggle for Independence. By Rajmund Kucharski. (Allen & Unwin, 6*d.* net.) This is the sixth in the series of pamphlets which aim to give reliable information on all Polish matters. Each subject is dealt with by a Polish author and has an introduction by a British specialist. Mr. Kucharski describes the course of the struggle for independence from the days of Napoleon down to 1868. It is a record of disappointment and sorrow, to be followed, we trust, by brighter days of national freedom.—*Love's Inferno.* By Dr. Edward Stilgebauer. Translated by C. Thieme. (Stanley Paul & Co. 6*s.*) The author of this war story is a native of Frankfort. Neither he nor his book dare enter Germany, and no one will wonder who reads its description of the horrors of Louvain, Ypres, and the carnage at the Yser. The terrible vengeance taken on the villagers at Rosey haunts one's imagination, and so do the realistic scenes of surgical work at the front, and the whole hideous panorama of war. The heroine goes mad and is drowned when the dykes are broken in Flanders. The whole book is a tragedy. It fascinates and horrifies one at every stage.—*Poland Ravaged and Bereaved.* (Polish Information Committee, 6*d.* net.) This interesting lecture by Countess Ledochowska shows how Poland is suffering, and dwells on the service she has rendered to Europe in the past. It will plead effectively for her people.—*The Population of the Polish Commonwealth.* (Allen & Unwin. 6*d.*) Mr. Gurney has spent many years in Poland and gives an account of the population of German, Austrian, and Russian Poland which is of great interest.

GENERAL

The Archbishops' Committee on Church and State. Report with Appendices. (S.P.C.K. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

A COMMITTEE was appointed in 1913 to inquire what changes are advisable in order to secure in the relations of Church and State a fuller expression of the spiritual independence of the Church as well as of the national recognition of religion. It consisted of twenty-three members, and met on twenty-three days. It recommends that the Representative Church Council should receive statutory recognition and be given real legislative powers in Church matters, subject to a Parliamentary veto. There would be a House of Bishops, a House of Clergy, and a House of Laity. Any measure which secured a majority of votes in each House would lie upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament for forty days. A Special Committee of the Privy Council would be formed to consider each measure and draft an advisory report upon it. If that is favourable the measure would be automatically presented for the Royal Assent on the expiry of forty days, unless either House of Parliament by resolution direct to the contrary. Any measure receiving the Royal Assent would acquire the force of an Act of Parliament. This would give the Church power to make such reforms as were required by circumstances, subject to the tacit acquiescence of Parliament advised by an expert body. We agree with the criticism that the Houses of Clergy and Laymen might be merged, reserving certain subjects for the clergy when sitting alone. Wage-earners and students receive special representation. It strikes us as a very sound scheme for securing reforms which commend themselves to 'a recognized organization by which the whole mind of the Church, clerical and lay, could be effectively expressed.' The report contains a valuable historical introduction and a set of appendices on various debatable points.

The Village Gods of South India. By the Right Rev. Henry Whitehead, D.D. (H. Milford. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This volume by the Bishop of Madras is the first of a series on the leading forms which religious life has taken in India. The writers of the volumes in preparation hope to shed fresh light on their subjects drawn from close religious intercourse with the people whose faith is described. The editor is Mr. J. N. Farquhar, Literary Secretary of the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s in India and Ceylon. Dr. Whitehead has gathered his material almost entirely from his own observation and inquiry. The shrine of the Village Deity is, as a rule, far less imposing than the neighbouring Brahmanical temples, but in times of pestilence, famine, or cattle disease the whole body

of villagers turn to it for protection. The Bishop describes the leading features of the religion, the characters and functions of the gods, and the cult. Then he shows the modes of worship in the Telugu, Canarese, and Tamil country with the help of many striking illustrations. Chapters are given to the folklore of the subject, the probable origin of the worship, and the social, moral, and religious influence of the system. The book is packed with the most interesting details, and is a valuable contribution to a subject on which little has been written. It seems to be the first attempt to deal systematically with this aspect of Indian religion. The series promises to be one of unusual importance for all students of the religious life of India.

The Heart of Buddhism, Being an Anthology of Buddhist Verse. Translated and edited by K. J. Saunders, M.A. (Milford. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This series—*The Heritage of India*—has been planned by a group of Christian men, in order that every educated Indian, whether rich or poor, may be able to find his way into the treasures of India's past. Mr. Saunders thinks that India can hardly be too grateful for the ethical teaching of Buddha. If she had been able to blend this with her mystic intuition of the reality and the nearness of God, her history would have been different. Christ is beginning in strange and incalculable ways to dominate the sub-consciousness of India and to dictate the programme of her social reforms, and it is 'being seen that Gautama, agnostic though he was, was yet a forerunner and is still a prophetic voice, of whom she has much to learn.' The heart of a religion is best seen in its hymns, and those here translated are often very beautiful, though their pessimism is almost painful and the low estimate of women is very marked. The little poem on the practice of gazing at dead bodies is horrible indeed. The stories open a world of thought which is strange to a Western mind. There is praise of chastity and charity, but no hope for the future, and we can well understand that the Christian doctrine of a Heaven where there is a 'knitting up of sundered ties' attracts Buddhists powerfully, and many of them have taken it over into their religion. The notes are very helpful to a student.

The Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Five volumes. (Jarrold & Sons. 2*s.* 6*d.* net per vol.)

These are the first volumes of *The International Library*, which includes the works of Fielding and Smollett and Lane's *Arabian Nights*. They are crown octavos, bound in dark blue cloth, printed in clear type, and with effective decorative title-pages. Griswold's Memoir of Poe is given, with a short estimate by James Russell Lowell, and an account of his death by N. P. Willis. It is a pitiful story of a life wrecked by intemperance. When he was sober his modesty and unaffected humility gave a constant charm to his character. He was a winning and refined gentleman. His popular vogue rests

mainly on *The Raven* and *The Bells*, but there is much feeling and beauty of expression in such poems as 'The Sleeper.' His short stories make a weird appeal to the sense of horror and mystery. Their intensity, as Prof. Greenough says, is 'one of the marvels of literature.' His critical estimates are sometimes warped by jealousy, and 'when he talks about plagiarism or metrics, he is often silly,' but his influence was salutary, for he helped to brace the critics up to greater strictness and discernment. He felt that the chief vices of American criticism were 'its excessive patriotism, its failure to search for principles, and its habit of forgetting that very delightful people are sometimes guilty of very bad technique.' This is a very cheap and attractive edition which will be prized by all who wish to know more about the strange being who influenced Browning, Tennyson, and Morris, and has cast a spell over so many readers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Sussex at War and Poems of Peace. By Arthur Beckett. (Sussex County Herald. 6*d.*)

Mr. Arthur Beckett is already most favourably known by his books, *The Spirit of the Downs*, *The Wonderful Weald*, &c. He is richly imbued with the true Sussex genius. The poetry revealed or implicit in his prose works here stands out in articulate and agreeable verse, chiefly short swallow-flights of song, but none the less musical and sweet. He is as good an interpreter of Sussex, the fairest of our counties, as any one can desire to have. In walking and bicycling he has covered it all, from the broadest of the 'whalebacked' Downs to the smallest and oldest of its ancient hamlets tucked away in a corner of the sweeping green garment of our English Garden, called Sussex. We hope this little book will find many readers. It appeals alike to all—especially to those who dislike poetry.

The Flower Patch Among the Hills, by Flora Klickmann (R.T.S. 6*s.*), is a breezy book full of glimpses of quaint country folk and not without its graver side in meditations about war and thoughts in a hospital. It ends with drawers and rooms overflowing with wedding array. It sparkles from beginning to end with fun and kindly feeling, and the way in which the reader is taken into the author's confidence is delightful. We do not wonder that the book had to be reprinted within a fortnight after it was first issued.—*The Rudder: A Novel with several Heroes.* By Mary S. Watts. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s.*) The story opens with a commencement address to the undergraduates at Cambridge (Mass.) by Marshall Cook, the famous novelist. He and his nieces and Miss Grace, the millionaire, to whom he at last ventures to propose, figure largely in the book. But its background is the labour problem and the great ice-strike, which proves a fiasco through the heroism of the Ice-King's athletic son. His marriage to Mr. Cook's brilliant niece Eleanor ends in a separation, though we feel that there is real force in the base-ball player. The story is full of spirit and insight into character.

International Morality and Exchange. By Henri Lambert. (Allen & Unwin. 6*d.* net.) M. Lambert is a Belgian manufacturer, driven from his factory and home, who regards 'the universal acceptance of Free Trade—necessarily commencing by freer international trade relations—as a sure and certain means of realizing the promise of goodwill.' That gives special interest to the pamphlet, but the position taken up by the Australian Premier has to be borne in mind. 'Peaceful penetration' has served Germany too well to be allowed in the future.—*Who's Who in American Methodism.* Compiled and edited by Carl F. Price. (New York: Treat & Co. 2$ 50*c.*) We are glad to welcome this new Who's Who. It has 254 pages with double columns, and is printed in bold type. The responsibility of selecting names has been 'almost entirely placed upon a Board of Nominators representing the various conferences in different branches of American Methodism.' Mr. Price is indebted to Dr. Joy, editor of *The Christian Advocate* (New York), for the suggestion of the work and the plans from which it has grown. The chief dates and facts of each life are given, with lists of books written, but we miss the hints as to recreations given in the English Who's Who. It is a piece of good work which will be of daily service on both sides of the Atlantic.—*Freedom.* By W. B. (Oxford University Press. 6*d.* net.) Freedom is the watchword of England; Law was the watchword of Rome; Liberty is that of France. Law ends in tyranny; liberty in anarchy. Freedom is a compromise in which neither law nor liberty has a decisive predominance. The writer discusses personal and political freedom, and makes practical applications, with special reference to universal military service. The conclusion is reached that it is a delusion to suppose that peace may be maintained without war, that the effort need be less than the utmost that all the associated nations are capable of. 'The offender will always be confident in his own strength, and the protests of unarmed peacemakers will have no more effect than the bleating of sheep or the angry demonstrations of a flock of geese.'—*Ministers' and Laymen's Handbook.* By John Elsworth. (Methodist Publishing House. 1*s.* 6*d.* net.) This guide to the business of Wesleyan Methodist Circuit Meetings follows the plan of that compiled by the late Rev. James E. Hargreaves. It has now been revised and brought up to date by one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Conference. As a pocket handbook it is wonderfully full and compact. The Sunday School legislation of 1911 is given, and everything is put in the most convenient form for reference.—*Brother o' Mine.* These pen pictures of life on the farm colonies at Lingfield and Wallingford show how men are raised by such work. It needs unspeakable love and patience to share one's life with the poorest of the poor, but it brings a great reward.—*The New Zealand Official Year-Book,* 1915. (Wellington. 2*s.* 6*d.*) This is the twenty-fourth yearly issue of this wonderful set of statistics.—*The Redcap's Annual* (Kelly. 3*s.*) is full of good stories in prose and verse, and has a wealth of pictures in which children will rejoice. There is no dull page in it.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (July).—In the opening article on 'Imperial Reconstruction,' Mr. Sidney Low thinks that Mr. Asquith may yet go down to history as the Premier who substituted government by parties for government by party. It is possible that, like other war measures, the Coalition may be continued in peace, which will be in many respects only a prolongation of war, in an equally acute though less murderous form. 'The large non-party Council of Ministers, with its inner ring of Executive officers, may remain as our normal organ of government.' That would open the way for the association of Colonial statesmen with the central administration. In the larger Cabinet there are already Ministers 'without portfolio,' and room could be found for more. Prof. Pares writes on 'Russian Hopes and Aims.' The German is all over the interior of Russia, as well as on the Western frontier, blocking the contact which Russia seeks with Western Europe. The actual frontier is the most Prussian part of Prussia. 'East Prussia is indeed the very nest of Junkertum, of militarism, of class aloofness, of racial domination.' Russia demands emancipation from German economic domination and a full and free initiative within Russia for the development of her own economic resources. The country has grown bigger and richer. Moscow is full of business and life. The English alliance will in the nature of things continue when peace returns. English influence is the wished-for substitute for German influence. The gap left by the withdrawal of so many Germans offers a unique opportunity to us. We have greatly gained in the good opinion of Russians by the severe test through which we have passed, and the spirit of England has become a daily study of the keenest interest to our comrades in arms.

Hibbert Journal (July).—The subject of War Sermons is dealt with in two articles. One is, alas! posthumous. A 'Discourse on War,' by the late Dr. Stopford Brooke, denounces aggressive wars and defends righteous and necessary wars. Written ten years ago, the discourse is singularly apposite to-day. Dr. A. Shadwell exposes the extravagances of some German war sermons, but urges that the typical pulpit utterances in Germany have upheld the claims of moral law and do not admit that might is right. He finds 'the spirit of self-examination and high ideals' in most of the sermons he has examined and 'the potential elements of a strong moral revulsion' when the facts of the present conflict become known. An article to be read and pondered is that on the 'Spiritual Alliance of Russia and

England,' by Harold Begbie. Two articles deal with current questions of conscience, both by Principals of Congregational Colleges, Dr. Selbie and Dr. Garvie. The former is the more concrete and popular, the latter deals with abstract principles. Both together provide what is needed just now in the conflict between war and Christian ideals. Dr. Selbie does full justice to the motives of conscientious objectors, but he points out in the most forcible way that they are in grave error on six leading topics in their interpretation of Christianity. Education is suggestively dealt with in 'Education and Humanism,' by Prof. A. Darroch, and 'The Educational Opportunity,' by J. A. R. Marriott. 'Race Suicide,' by the Countess of Warwick, is plain-spoken and sufficiently startling. Two articles are by Jewish contributors—'The Perfection of Christianity,' by C. G. Montefiore, and 'Jewish Mysticism,' by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz.

The Dublin Review (July).—Father Cuthbert and Mr. G. K. Chesterton write on 'Wilfrid Ward.' His entire sincerity and his sympathetic endeavour to understand the points of view of other men won a respectful hearing for the Catholic position amongst thinking men of every shade of philosophic thought. 'His vocation as an apologist of the theory of development applied by Cardinal Newman to the life and teaching of the Catholic Church came to him out of the stress of his own experience. Newman's analysis was to Wilfrid Ward the solution of a difficulty created by his own conservative temperament and his intellectual appreciation of the facts of life as he saw them.' He was always seeking to get at the truth behind the formula. As editor of the *Dublin Review* he set himself to foster 'a better mutual understanding between Catholics and non-Catholics.' Mr. Chesterton dwells on his merits as a biographer, and his genius for intellectual gossip. Mr. Reynolds writes on 'The Russian Church,' Dr. Barry deals with the question, 'Is Turkey doomed?' It is a specially good number of the review.

The Constructive Quarterly (June).—Prof. Schaff thinks 'the movement towards Church Unity' is justified by the strong impulse towards Unity in English-speaking Christendom, the emphasis laid upon our Lord's prayer that His disciples might be one, and the advantages likely to accrue in spreading Christ's kingdom at home and abroad. These facts justify the Movement, and 'demand that the participation in it be hearty and prayerful, with a willingness to set aside "honest" convictions, if necessary, in the interest of the cause involved.' Principal Selbie in 'The War, Revival and Re-union' says, 'Revival must begin in the Churches themselves and among those whose religion has hitherto been more nominal than real.' The war has revealed in our young men a spirit of sacrifice that is genuinely religious, and we may be confident that those who have so nobly responded to the call of Caesar will not fail to respond to the greater call of God.

The Church Quarterly Review (July).—Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth's article on 'Wordsworth and His Influence' is based on Prof. Harper's new biography. She says 'it is this intensity of spirit, this profundity and yet simplicity of feeling that makes Wordsworth so real to us at this most critical hour of our national life.' Dr. Headlam, in a short paper on 'The Virgin Birth,' holds that the more we read the modern criticism of it 'the more unsubstantial and unreal it appears. It does not attempt to prove, it cannot in fact prove, that the Christian tradition is untrue; it assumes this untruth as axiomatic because it implies what is supernatural and, therefore, cannot be true. But to the Christian the whole life of our Lord is supernatural, i.e., contrary to natural phenomena as we know them, and a supernatural Birth has always been felt to be fitting and harmonious. In the documents we possess such a Birth is clearly and unmistakably taught. There is a beautiful tenderness and self-restraint in the narratives. The criticism which has attacked them has largely been shown to be the result of half-knowledge.'

Holborn Review (July).—The first article, and perhaps the best, in this number is by Rev. C. J. Wright, B.D., on 'Religion and the Miraculous.' The subject is somewhat hackneyed, but the excellence of Mr. Wright's treatment lies in his contention that the issue turns mainly on the use of terms. He agrees with Dr. Sanday that when we find the true definition of miracle, the miraculous will no longer be a problem, and with Wendland, when he says that the 'conception of miracle stands for the belief that Nature is not the whole of the reality apprehensible by man.' What needs to be safeguarded, in Mr. Wright's opinion, is 'the reality of the Spiritual Realm and the truth of a transcendent Spiritual God.' 'Poetry and Patriotism,' by A. Hird, deals chiefly with Shakespeare and Wordsworth. Dr. James Lindsay writes on Pascal as a thinker. A very interesting sketch of the now famous West African missionary, Miss Slessor, is contributed by W. Barlow, who describes her as a saint and 'in every sense a great woman.' She lived by prayer, and her life was a miracle. Other articles are 'Famous Thirteenth-Century Preachers,' by Dr. Jas. Foster; 'South Africa,' by I. Dorricott, and a bright little essay, 'On the Writing of Letters,' by W. Ernest Clegg.

The Expository Times (July and August).—Dr. Hastings' editorial notes are always a main feature in this periodical. In the July number we note also Dr. Sanday's short sermon on Shakespeare and Dr. J. S. Banks' 'Eastern Religions in the West,' with an instalment of Sir W. Ramsay's 'Denials of Peter.' In the August number, three leading articles are by Wesleyan Methodists—Dr. J. H. Moulton's sermon, sent from the Nilgiri Hills, on 'The Things which Jesus Did'; Rev. Geo. Jackson's account of the Ferrars of Little Gidding; and Rev. W. A. Cornaby's 'Chinese Sidelights on Scripture Passages.' Mrs. Adela M. Adam, Lecturer at Girton and Newnham Colleges, continues her papers on Mysticism, dealing with Greece and Rome respectively

in the two numbers. When these papers are collected their value will be more clearly seen.

Round Table (September).—Besides the paper quoted in our first article, this number deals with 'War Aims,' Ireland, France, and the Problem of the Disabled. It is doing valuable service to the empire.

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (July).—This number is full of interest. The first two articles celebrate the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Divinity School of Chicago. Dr. M'Giffert reviews the progress of theology, and Dr. W. H. Faunce that of religion, during the past fifty years. The two surveys necessarily cover somewhat the same ground, but they are quite independent in their treatment of the one subject—the bearing on theology and religion of evolutionary doctrine, Biblical criticism, psychological study and social reform, and other great movements of our time. Both writers agree in describing the disintegration of the sharply defined dogmatic religion of half a century ago. We are glad that one of them also points out the danger lest Christianity itself should change its essence and lose its power. 'It must refuse to be dissolved into poetry, into sociology, into civic betterment,' or, we may add, into vague philosophy touched with emotion. 'The Hellenistic Mysticism of the Fourth Gospel' is an excellent study of its theme from the practised pen of Prof. E. F. Scott, who also reviews in this number Dr. Percy Gardner's 'Ephesian Gospel.' Dr. Scott does well to point out that the mind of the writer of the Fourth Gospel is centred not on philosophy, but on facts. His new mysticism 'rests on a deeper apprehension of the meaning of the life of Christ.' Prof. E. D. Burton continues his scholarly studies of 'Spirit, Soul, and Flesh' in Greek and Hellenistic writers of the early Christian period. The material he has amassed is most valuable, and his handling of it is marked by characteristic judgment and skill. We shall look forward to the book of which (doubtless) portions are now being presented. Other articles are 'Two Types of Liberalism,' by C. Gray Shaw, and 'The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs,' by J. F. Thompson.

Princeton Theological Review (July) contains three articles besides the customary reviews of books. These are 'The Divine Messiah in the Old Testament,' by B. B. Warfield, 'Suggestions regarding Biblical Sites,' by John D. Davis, and 'The Silence of Ecclesiasticus concerning Daniel,' by R. Dick Wilson. Professor Warfield seeks to show that the Messianic hope of the Old Testament implied the proper Deity of the Messiah, and he uses as his best illustrations the passages Ps. xlv., 6, Isa. ix., 6, and Dan. vii., 13. The exegesis of each of these is disputed, and any conclusion drawn from them is at best very doubtful. Dr. Warfield's reliance on Hengsten-

berg as an interpreter seems to have blinded him to the more reasonable view of the Messianic hope, as expressed by Dr. A. B. Davidson, that 'it is not taught that Messiah is God, but that Jehovah is fully present in Him.' The writer of the third article argues that the silence of Ben Sira with regard to the book of Daniel does not prove that it was not in existence before 180 B.C.

Harvard Theological Review.—The July number contains an important article on 'Confucianism and the New China,' by Dr. E. T. Williams, Chargé d'Affaires at Peking. 'Confucianism, with its elaborate ritual, its bloody sacrifices, its antiquated symbolism, and its fine ethical teaching, has again been made the State religion of China.' Dr. Williams is of opinion that this action 'is not intended to abridge the constitutional rights of the adherents of other faiths. It is natural, he thinks, for the Chinese to feel that the moral law finds its sanction in the national religion; but the disestablishment of Confucianism "would not, as its friends profess to believe, have necessarily meant the disintegration of society or the deterioration of the individual."' The experience of the United States is said to prove the contrary. 'Our country is not less religious than those which maintain established churches. The difficulty with the Confucianist has been that he cannot conceive of his religion as independent of the State.'

Bibliotheca Sacra.—The first article in the July number is 'A Sketch of the Early History of the Dogma of the Virgin Birth,' by Horace M. Ramsey, M.A., B.D. A recent discussion of this subject is ably reviewed in the light of modern criticism. Excellent constructive use is made of statements made by Dr. Harnack. The writer's contention is that 'the ideas of virgin birth in the case of Jesus, as set forth in the canonical Gospels, have no parallels in the instances cited from pagan sources. The birth of Jesus, as told in the first and third Gospels, whether true or false, is at least unique.' The Rev. E. S. Buchanan gives the results of an examination of a new Spanish MS. of the New Testament, and shows its affinities with the oldest Western documents. His article is entitled 'More Light from the Western Text'; amongst the readings described as 'gems from the Spanish mine' are John xx. 21: 'As the Father sent me unto suffering, even so send I you'; Phil. ii. 8: 'He became obedient to the Father unto death, even the death of the cross'; John x. 30: 'I and the Father and the Holy Spirit are one.' As Mr. Buchanan delves 'deeper and deeper into the origin of our Bible text,' he finds himself 'confronted with an ever-increasing number of variant readings,' but he is 'struck throughout by the greater spiritual content of the Western readings.'

Methodist Review (New York), July–August.—The first and most interesting article is 'An American Girl at the French Battle-Front,' by 'Mademoiselle Miss.' A sketch of 'Shelley: For Personal

Reasons Only' is given by Rev. E. Voorhees, and a genial and inspiring picture of Dr. Norman Macleod is drawn by Dr. Gladstone Holm, by way of celebrating the centenary of the large-hearted Scotch divine. Bishop Hamilton's stirring appeal to ministers and laymen on the 'Criminal Neglect of the Immigrants' Children' will not be uttered in vain. Other articles are on 'Billy Sunday' and Lorenzo Dow. The weightiest article of all is in 'Notes and Discussions,' by Dr. D. Macfadyen on 'Jesus Christ the Measure of Humanity.' It deserves and will repay study.

Methodist Review (Nashville) (July) is an excellent number. Dr. Forsyth's 'Christ: King or Genius?' would itself distinguish the issue. 'Personality is the supreme form of power,' he says. 'In the midst of history stands One Person, who in His very death is not swept away by its stream, but He diverts it into a new channel.' Dr. Newman Smyth asks, 'Are the Churches prepared for the day after the War?' and evidently is not prepared to answer Yes. Dr. Parkes Cadman's paper on the Decline of Monasticism is ably written and instructive; it may be read side by side with 'John Huss, Martyr,' by Jas. Crutchfield. The M.E. Church South is duly remembered, as it should be, in this Review. A sad but real interest is awakened by a recovered sermon by the late Bishop Tigert on 'Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the Lost'; the Southern poet, Walter Malone, is interestingly described, and a graphic sketch is given of that singular and eccentric figure, Lorenzo Dow. The editor's contributions to this number include an analysis of the Epistle to the Galatians and an article on Methodism Unification in America. 'The Methodist world,' he says, 'will watch with anxiety the work of the Commission appointed to discuss and settle this great question.' Deep interest and anxiety will, we can assure him, be felt on this side of the Atlantic.

The Review and Expositor (Louisville), July.—The chief articles in this number are 'Shakespeare's Value to the Minister of To-day,' by F. W. Everhardt; 'Luther's First Trial,' by Prof. J. A. Faulkner, of Drew Seminary; 'Objective Religion,' by Rev. J. E. Walter; and 'The Origin of Evil,' by Dr. W. P. Wilks. The conclusion arrived at by the last-named writer is that we cannot answer the question 'Whence is evil?' and that the revelation we have is all we need.

The Christian City (May–June) gives the addresses at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the New York City Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church on April 18. Dr. Workman told how he had been wandering about New York and pondering over its vastness and the opportunities it offered to Methodism. Bishops Wilson and McDowell, the Governor of New York State, Dr. North, Dr. Peck, and others gave delightful speeches about the city and its Methodism. Dr. North thinks that nothing could be done with ten millions of dollars that would do more to save the city than to invest it in reinforcing all the Methodist Churches of New York.