
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

Founded 1853 — JULY, 1917 — Fifth Series
No. 255 — No. 27

The London Quarterly Review.

Contents.

London
CHARLES H. KELLY
25-35 CITY ROAD, and 26 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C. 1.

PRICE HALF A CROWN. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION, 6s. POST FREE

CONTENTS

THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY 1917

THOUGHTS ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

IT was made possible by the great war-strain. Two and a half years' struggle with Germany wore out the system. It was so weak at last, and the revolutionaries so skilful, that there was no 'bloody revolution.' The Tsar was removed almost, as it were, by sleight of hand or magic. Suddenly the most mighty and mysterious monarch of the world, having fled from his capital, finds himself running about the streets of a wretched provincial town unattended, unreverenced, and without mien or bearing; looking like a bewildered townsman who had lost his way. He goes into a church full of peasants praying, falls on his knees and weeps, prays ardently aloud, and then through his tears asks forgiveness of the worshippers. But they for their part seem stupefied, not quite able to understand who he is or what he means. He goes out into the street once more. A company of soldiers passes: once they were Tsar-worshippers, making the sign of the cross after singing the national anthem—'God save the Tsar!' The emperor salutes them—'Hail, my fine fellows!' But they do not return his salute or answer to his words. The Tsar was a gentle and religious monarch. But had he been an Ivan Grozny or a Nero one would have thought that the spectacle of the 'sacred person' abased would have evoked partisanship, the impulse of devotion, at least in some; the Tsar's tears would have started into armed men, and such a force

risen behind him that the handful of daring idealists and Socialist agitators in Petrograd would have been swept away. But no! Fate and the circumstances of the time and the addition of war-sorrows and a strange glimmering light of new destiny intervened, making the peasant more stupid, more blind, deaf, divided in himself. The revolution is accomplished without even the birth of a royalist movement, and without even the prospect that the poor little boy Alexis will be a Russian Prince Charles.

In 1902 Tolstoy wrote in a sort of valedictory letter to Nicholas II that however good and wise a Tsar may be, he cannot rule 130 million subjects. The rule was bound to pass out of his hands into those surrounding him. A Tsar could not choose disinterested and able helpers, for he knew only a few score men who through chance or intrigue had got near him and were careful to ward off all who might supplant them. Autocracy was in reality an obsolete form of government.

And yet it served in time of peace, and the Tsar did find and use Stolypin and Sazonof and Bark and many another able man. It needed two and a half years of war to show in practice that the system was unfitting for the time, was in fact obsolete because of these defects which the ancient Tolstoy adumbrated to his 'brother' as he called him.

In the first splendour of the opening of the war the Tsar never stood higher; he obtained apparently complete forgiveness for errors in the past. He could dispense with his enormous body-guard and the 'ten thousand soldiers' to guard him. The anthem was sung everywhere and by all classes on the impulse. There was no hint of revolution. Fortune smiled on Russian arms, and her victories and the heroic deeds of individual soldiers cast a glamour from all Russia upon the throne. At the same time the remarkable vodka prohibition appealed to Russian intelligence. Both heart and mind acclaimed the Tsardom, and

who could have surmised that these splendours were evening splendours, that a melancholy twilight would succeed to them, and then of a sudden the night shutting off?

Yet so it happened. The diminuendo of incapacity set in. Defeat in Poland shed a lurid light from the Western horizon upon Petrograd, and showed the little, incompetent men of office, more and more dwarfed, more and more helpless. And then the strange Siberian peasant gained stature and importance.

The Tsardom became so weak that it could not look after its own elementary interests. It could not find representatives to go to London and Paris, but let its enemy Milyukof stand for Russia. It could not propagandize in the British and French Press, but let all manner of dangerous and anti-dynastic rumours, true and untrue, go unanswered. For months only revolutionary opinion regarding Russia was printed in the British press. Our strongest Conservative organs made the word 'reactionary' serve instead of 'conservative' as far as Russia was concerned. Our populace became of opinion that the Tsar was making tremendous efforts to secure a separate peace. Rasputin was written up in various papers, and even the person of the Empress was not spared. There was not a word of remonstrance from official Russia. The details of the plot to depose the Tsar and obtain a regency with a constitutional system were openly talked of in London, and there was a general assent both official and unofficial. On the other hand, news of Pacifists and pro-Germans in the revolutionary camp was carefully eliminated by censors or interested editors. This, excepting the swiftness of the success of the rebellion, testifies more than all else to the impotent state to which the government had been reduced.

Last summer in Russia I often heard the opinion expressed: the old army has passed away, the army which we have now is quite a new one, and taken from a

different class of people. It has far more artisans and middle-class people. There is a different spirit in it, and propaganda makes great progress. This partly though not entirely explains the military support with which the change was carried out. Then the Conservatives, persistently called Reactionaries abroad, freely backed the revolution, and some like M. Purishkeyevitch, 'Right of the Right,' as he called himself, gave passionate force to their backing, and led the aristocrats against the throne. They did so, not to establish a Republic, but a Constitutional Monarchy. Without their aid M. Kerensky and his colleagues would not be where they are. The British and French Governments also backed the political conspiracy, believing in the moderacy of its objects. And beyond all these things one must suppose the time had come. All the forces in Europe tended one way—revolutionary idealism in Russia, military necessity for Germany, business instinct in England, the money and hate of the Jews, America's need to reconcile half her alien population to the Allied Cause. So it was easy at last, and Russia, which talks and talks, and yet never does, at last was silent for three days and *did*.

The Tsardom has gone, and there is little prospect of its return. Nicholas II is not a conspirator by nature, not ambitious. And his child has no future. If he had wished to regain power, the voluntary writing of his own decree of abdication was most unlikely. That resignation liberates the thought and will of loyal Russia. There is no question of the Constituent Assembly voting whether they will have a Tsar. They will decide or try to decide what form of democratic system Russia will adopt. And although the fifteen million or so Old Believers are said to be in favour of a Limited Monarchy, it is at present unlikely that a monarchy will be established. Russia does not care for compromise. Despite her admiration of England she has none of the English love of caution and

half-measures. One of her grievances against Nicholas II was that he was so moderate in the use of his great power. Russia seems bound to plunge to the other extreme, namely, of democracy.

Russia is free. And what she is free *for* is a much more interesting question than what she is free *from*. It is not a leisure time in history when we can afford to concern ourselves long with what has been and will be no more. It is a time of increasing destruction, and the future which we keep in view is a future of the rebuilding of civilization. Russia's hour is come and she is put at large. All eyes are upon her, expectant of various things, of gain, of interest, of inspiration, of revenge. What then is to be her future?

On a long view I am completely optimistic. On a short view everyone must be anxious. The long view is the more interesting, but the short view more pressing. In considering the latter, there is the urgent question, Will Russia make a separate peace? Personally I do not think she will, however extreme and unrepresentative her Government may become. It would be too difficult to find terms that would satisfy Poles, Jews, Germans, Letts, Little Russians, and so forth. But I think Russia's military effort is virtually at an end. From an immediate war point of view the Revolution is unfortunate. For it turns out there are far more pro-Germans on the revolutionary side than on that of the court. And from the day of the abdication of the Tsar, Russia has ceased to do anything worth mentioning in the field of battle, and the desertions from the army have been very great. From a peace point of view the new Russia with its characteristic ideals should, however, be helpful when the time comes. The fall of Gutchkof and Milyukof in favour of extremer men bodes ill; the rise of Kerensky is an unpleasant portent. He is, however, not a strong man but a clever demagogue, and may overdo his rôle of facing both ways. On the whole

one sees the worst types of politicians rising into power. That is the short view; the long view, though a maze of alternative wrong roads, is more hopeful.

One of the first phenomena of the new Russia is a general rise in wages and an increase in the value of house property in the great cities. No discrimination is to be made in the rates of wages paid to Chinese and other alien labourers. The war wage is higher than has ever been known in Russia, a rouble and a half and two or even three roubles a day being paid upon occasion for unskilled labour. The old sixty-copecks a day wage vanishes. Henceforth the Russian working man will be paid at the same rate as his brother labourers in other European countries, and with the rise of Russian industry after the war his wage should rise above even that level. One of the first meanings of free Russia is that Russia has become free for commercial exploitation. There is no longer the drag on business imposed by the old régime. It will be possible to get the coal out of the ground, to lay the necessary rails to run whole new forests of timber to the rivers. Capital will be forthcoming for the development of the butter industry on a hitherto undreamed-of scale. Russian sugar will undersell all other European sorts. She will begin to supply herself with all the raw cotton she requires: the mills will capture almost the entire market of Asia. Discoveries of gold in Siberia will multiply, and swarms of diggers follow. Great companies like that of the Lena and Kishtim will be formed for the exploitation of Russia's marvellous wealth of copper, zinc, lead, silver, platinum, asbestos, naphtha, &c., &c. A frozen meat and canning industry will be established and express itself in Chicagos of the East. The wool and horsehair of the innumerable herds of the nomads will find better markets. In commercial significance what land can compare with Russia? Virginal America did not offer a richer return. Without a Tsar Russia is the land of opportunity, and not only the land of

opportunity for Russians, but for all enterprising Europeans; British, Germans, Belgians, Americans, Japs. It is there, after the war, that the vultures will be gathered together.

Of a surety, despite Russia's wretched present state materially, she becomes prosperous without parallel within ten years of the coming of peace, attracting all speculators and investors and fortune-seekers, the commercial counterbalance in the east of America in the west.

Possibly more than that. If Russia decides to be free for all commercial enterprise she should offer greater attractions than America. The flow of European emigration to the United States should turn the other way into Russia, and a great cosmopolitanization of certain parts of it set in, America being fed merely from the English Isles and colonies, and thus obtaining the necessary leisure to crystallize nationally and achieve her own cultural and spiritual ideals.

Russia if she chooses can become a great business republic, at first thought an even greater one than that of the U.S.A., because her population is better spread over a vaster area, and she has ready access to the millions of China and less prejudice against them. But one result of the revolution will be to draw back population from the remote parts of Asiatic Russia and cause an emptying in vast regions.

What sort of Russia would that be? It would be gay and thrilling, very immoral, very extravagant. The music-halls of Moscow would outshine with their star-constellations the Coliseum and the Palace of London and all the shows of Broadway in New York. There would be bosses and trusts and Tammany and graft and the fight against them, though the problems would be always greater and more complex. A certain Anglo-Saxon genius for simplicity has stood America in good stead. But there is no genius for simplicity in Russia. The people love complexity. Russian psychology must be taken into account, and first and foremost comes this instinct for complexity and with

it an anarchic temperament that loves to escape from its own imbroglios by extreme action; then an extreme curiosity and wish to experience new things, an adventuresomeness with regard to Providence, lack of the power of moral restraint, and a Tartar instinct for spending a long time over business. A Russia that will attract materialists, not a Russia attracting idealists. The Tsardom putting itself first, the army second, the Church third, and commerce fourth or fifth, at least exhibited to foreigners the ideal side of the Russian people and drew pilgrims from the West. But the business republic would attract seekers after 'real' gold, not after spiritual gold.

The choice of taking this prosperity would seem obvious to the Western world. And possibly Russia, seeking to identify herself with the West, will take it. Great pressure will be brought on her to take it. The foundations of this material prosperity could only be laid by foreigners. They can lay them and start Russia on the road, and it would be an immense advantage to them personally. Russia's huge debts place her moreover in a subjective state, where she can be reasonably argued with. But the Russian people, as a whole, do want something better, and especially those idealists whose voice has arisen. They did not pull down the Tsardom to instal Mammon in its place. They want a more spiritual kingdom. The Russia which is now vocal is not middle-aged Russia. 'Men' and 'women' of the age of twenty are to have a vote. It is young Russia, unmarried Russia, and earnest youth is always out for the ideal rather than the material. The Russia of ideas and dreams, religious Russia more than ever is to the fore. The great coming clash is not of the 'old régime' or royalism with Liberals and Radicals. That old scenery can be swept from the arena. The clash will be between business and idealism, between middle-aged Europe and young Russia, but in any case between business and idealism.

The Orthodox Church swings free of the State. The new Procurator of the Holy Synod is turning out all the corrupt bishops and priests, and bringing in the earnest spiritual reformers. 'The corner stone of my policy,' says M. Vladimir Lvof, 'is the freedom of the Church. The Church will be disentangled from the political system, and the State cease to have power to interfere in the Church system. The Church must and will become free to arrange its own life.' In brief, disestablishment.

There lies no terror in disestablishment. The Church would lose some adherents to other sects, but its great natural strength would be free to develop. The puritan sects rise into prominence, though it should be borne in mind that the present revolution is not in any way due to them. They are too slight. But they have a root in Russia, and their chapels will now spring into being in every town. Literature, music, and fine art, with their source in national religion, ought to develop strongly, especially literature, which at this moment is in a poor way and rather below the general world standard. The opinions of men like Prince Yevgeny Trubetskoi, Merezhkovsky, and Bulgakof ought to count for more than they have done in the past. And the change which the revolution has wrought in the destinies of mankind brings to the fore the work of the great philosopher Vladimir Solovyof, with his vision of a united humanity and a universal Church.

Russia has always wished to fashion something new, to be something new in humanity. Even its most ardent reformers have urged that they did not wish to follow simply the example of the republics of the West. They wished a new synthesis.

Now the political idealists are flocking to Petrograd. There is a general amnesty to all who have suffered for the cause. Prison doors have opened, and every provincial gaol in Russia has discharged sufferers. The penal prisons of Siberia—including the famous Alexandrovsky Central,

about which how many songs have been composed?—have been broken up. Great numbers of *Vetchniki* (those serving life-sentences) have been redeemed. The exiles from the fringes of the tundra, beyond the Arctic circle, and from all parts of Siberia are to come home. Red Cross trains await them at the nearest railway stations. And finally, all those languishing through political fear in England, France, Switzerland, America, and elsewhere, have their passages paid. Lenine and his brother Socialists obtain a free pass from the kindly Germans that they may more swiftly pass to Petrograd to work for peace. Russian Socialists interned in Germany may also obtain release. The voices of all these will count. For they have suffered. And they have not suffered in order that Russia may become a business republic with commercial slavery or a militant empire enslaving other nations. They have suffered for *freedom*, an almost mystical word in their hearts and souls. I do not think they merely want revenge. They are idealists, and their force will be ranged against material ambitions and vulgar conceptions. But they are bound to cause another great storm in Russian opinion and public life next autumn, if not before.

The new synthesis will be worked out by individuals, but necessarily also by nations. The collective voice of subject peoples will be heard. Finland may become separate and cease to count as Russia, but the other races cannot easily be eliminated or obtain complete independence. There is no suggestion as yet from the Russian side of a complete liberation of Poland. The Ukraine, that is Little Russia, is too much of one flesh with greater Russia to be separated, though it has a strong national movement. And what of Letts, Lithuanians, Armenians, Jews, Georgians, Persians, Ossetines, Kirghiz, Turkomans, Sarts, Tartars, Zirians, Samoyedes, to mention but a few of the scores of races in the Empire? What of Siberia as a separate interest, of the Caucasus as a separate interest, of Central Asia as a separate interest?

Russia as a Republic may be profitably compared with the United States. There are as many varying races. And now that the Tsardom has gone these races can no longer be looked upon as conquered or subject peoples. Their voices have full value. The difference is that in America there is an assumption that the diverse Europeans entering the country are ready to give up their particular national feeling and sink everything in the common term America. But in Russia there is no such readiness to sink all in the common term, Russia. The nations have geographical associations; some have language and culture. They are proud of their distinctions. The territory of Russia is wide enough, not a little plot like Great Britain where Scots and Welsh and English easily mingle. The smaller peoples, moreover, live by themselves, they are not spread over the land and lost collectively as in the United States. The future of the Russian Republic is, therefore, one in which nations as well as individuals speak. Even if a United States of Russia be realized, it could not be a United States as in America, but must rather be a United Nations.

How much anxiety the Russian revolution caused to those who knew Russia! But what a strange and unexpected exhilaration immediately followed—a sort of relief from war-depression. The most precious inheritance of the past was endangered in Russia, but for Europe a new vision and promise was vouchsafed. Then for the first time one definitely understood that death-sentence had been passed upon the old Europe; nothing could be patched up and allowed to revert to pre-war conditions, the old had to pass away. It meant almost inevitably the eventual fall of Kaiserdom also. Vast and potential Russia had suddenly become material free to be shaped, attendant upon creative destiny. It promised and does promise that all Europe shall come to that same humble and subjective state, ready to be re-cast as something new. There becomes

possible a new vision for humanity—not simply a vision of safety, for we do not really deeply care for safety, but a vision of a new and greater unity.

The problems of the new Russia are monitions of the problem of the new Europe. There is the hope that after the war it may be possible for all our nations to think of Europe in a new way, to find in the idea and name of Europe a common spiritual and material interest to which all could be loyal. As the peoples of Russia come to be to Russia, so may the peoples of Europe, including Finland and Ireland, be to Europe.

The first days of the war saw the great affirmation of the sacredness of nationality. There followed a Radical movement against nationality inspired possibly by the non-Zionist Jews whose natural ideal is cosmopolitanism, mixed nationality, implying a mongrelization of races, one type, one State, and everybody speaking Esperanto, much business and no war. But the idea of making Europe or Russia a melting-pot for races was distasteful, and could not have won its way. It was also not practicable. The nations of Europe care too much for their national culture and ideals to efface themselves, even were this war ten times the material calamity it is. The conception, however, had attraction for some. Its abortive expression was that of the 'League of Peace,' which has now given way to the much more promising formulation of the 'League of Nations.' At the same time a ferment of republicanism threatens all the thrones in Europe. It is generally realized that the barriers which keep nations apart must be removed. But owing to the example of affairs in Russia, it is realized that the nations are intent on keeping their nationhood. The unity to which we are going forward is the unity of the recognition and toleration of difference, love of difference; not the unity of reducing all to standard types.

It may be remarked now how ill-suited is the average British or German intelligence to the new task of accom-

modating the new elements and expressing them in all their complexity to make a great unity. The Teutonic race is naturally intolerant of other races. Possibly German intolerance will be blasted away by war, and by the wholesome lesson of the despised French beating them, and by Russians beating them. But the British intelligence, except when modified by the sympathy of the Celt, is more inclined to simplify by breaking or excluding than by understanding and including. Love and patience are required beyond all other qualities. The Italians bring gifts of this kind, but on the other hand inherit bad traditions. Their consciousness is still in the old Europe, nourishing ideas of territorial aggrandisement, and pursuing with that end a steady, persistent, though secret diplomacy. Because of the Italians, our sad Balkan friends who have suffered so much constantly tremble or are possessed of hate. Even the unduly despised Greeks might join in the great understanding, but for fear of wolves in sheep's clothing. France is patient and tolerant though suffering, but even she nurses the need for revenge. There remains Russia, and turbulent though her conditions are she has yet the model psychology for the great problem. I do not speak of all her tribes, some of which are savagely intolerant of other people; but of the Central Russian race, which after all has the power in its own hands, and can arrange the home almost as it will. Russia loves complexity, she is tolerant, she is also profound in thought, not given to superficiality. She has a far-reaching vision, and her Church at least has for long been preoccupied with the idea of the union of humanity. Pan-human ideals have long since been expressed, and many who died in their struggle against the old Tsardom did so, not so much in the name of local freedom and a partisan political view, as in the name of universal brotherhood.

It is of course true that the phrase 'universal brotherhood' as used from working men's platforms is little more

than the expression of a domestic sentiment. The narrowness of the life and outlook of the poor workers voicing it evokes the scorn of the cultured and the travelled, especially among our own people. The same is true in Russia, where the working man is more illiterate and narrow in outlook than those of the same class in the West. But there is this great difference in Russia—that the idea of brotherhood and even universal brotherhood permeates all classes of society. And in social if not yet in political relationships tolerance rules. Condemnation, and exclusion, and the boycott, and the sending to Coventry, and 'cutting,' and giving the cold shoulder, and even calling for punishment—God's punishment—on the neighbour, are not frequent in the Russian vocabulary and literature. The Russian charity is an almost all-inclusive charity. Hence at this late era it is still possible for Russian Socialists to dwell in a state of love and charity with their German confrères. 'In the future there shall be one language,' says Solovyof, 'but it shall not be an exclusive but rather an all-inclusive language, not an *Esperanto* or *Volapuk*, but a great and mighty organic language embodying all the partial languages men are speaking.' He conceived this in the realm of ideals. With regard to our ideals we babble in little selfish tongues not understanding one another, but when the ideals of mankind are made common for all, the new language will be one that embodies all the partial languages.

Russian social philosophy, moreover, contemplates an all-inclusive human society, a true Catholicism, supported first on the recognition and tolerance of all diversity of expression, the scaffolding of the city of God, built and cemented with love and mutual enhancement. To say that we are all *disjecta membra* of Christ is merely theology to us in the West, but in the East it is a living daily understanding of our pathos on the road of destiny. The vision is of a world-republic. No, of more than that, of a world-

Church, of all-Humanity as one in love and mutual understanding and praise of God, Sophia.

Because of this vision, which, even if only seen or realized in a small part, is stupendous and greater than anything our earthly records tell of in the past, the Russian revolution is the first and most significant solution which the war has caused. The League of Nations has been called the germ of the Super-State. The change in the conditions of the Russian people reveals the possibility of an agreement and an understanding and a unity in Europe. It is that which has given to the great destructive calamity a new creative aspect. The old must all be pulled down in order that the new may be built.

To revert, however, to Russia. She is the hope of Europe. If she settles her problems beautifully, Europe may be trusted to do so also. But if she becomes a prey to anarchy and disruption, is more devastated and falls to pieces, Europe in future may be also one of extreme desolation and low life. If she becomes a brassy, blatant, business State, Europe also will turn all her energies to Commerce, with trade wars and bread wars following. For it is an error to suppose that separate Republics are less capable of making war on one another than monarchies. If Germany becomes a business republic and lives in a state of unreconciled spiritual and material interest with her neighbours, she will make war again and more successfully. Russia has the rôle of saying the prologue of the new drama. Rightly understood, the prologue foreshadows what the story is, and the five acts following it tell it at more length and make the substance of it. It is as yet undecided; nothing is clear except the material out of which the new must emerge. The great hope is that Russia will show us a new experiment in democracy, and that there may be a further realization of the complex and beautiful genius of the people. We may see in the course of time something without counterpart in the old; not merely the realization

of some Western idea of government such as Republicanism or Socialism, not merely the culmination of opportunism and selfishness, a business State, but the birth of a new child, a new body politic with its dreams and daring, its vision and splendour. And that which is best and truest in Russia will come forth and have the pride of place. Nothing beautiful of the old will be lost; it will be carried on into the new, re-dreamed, re-found, re-expressed, its Christianity not failing, its literature and art not failing, its brotherliness, frankness, and generosity not failing, its colours not lost in mere republican greyness, its complexity of form and genius for new groupings and formations not lost in the discipline and rigidity of ordinary Socialism, Russia the God-bearer, as Dostievsky called her, giving to Europe the marvellous Christ Child.

It is by faith that all who love Russia can see her new Destiny is in our keeping, in our hearts. As we look creatively on chaos, there arises shape and form. And looking creatively is love, whereas looking destructively is hate; idealism and criticism, the substance of peace and the substance of war. And after the greatest period of destruction and dissolution comes naturally the greatest reaction Humanity has ever known towards construction and unity. Hence the vision. It may be merely the vision in a dream. Mankind has ever lived for dreams and visions, and expected the outside varying world to conform to its ideal. In the past it has always failed to conform. But if the world must be desolate, and the altar on which we sacrifice show itself merely as a senseless, all-devouring bonfire, if Russia instead of showing external unity be swept by anarchy or become a Mammon-serving State, the dream will still remain. Humanity has at least been united in the heart.

STEPHEN GRAHAM.

THE CHURCH AND THE CHURCHES

Church Divisions and Christianity. By W. LEIGHTON GRANE, Prebendary of Chichester. (Macmillans, 1916.)
The Primitive Church and Reunion. By W. SANDAY, D.D., Professor of Divinity. (Oxford University Press, 1913.)
The Church and Religious Unity. By HERBERT KELLY, of the Society of the Sacred Mission. (Longmans, 1913.)

'THE Church of Christ is so overshadowed by churches,' said an American bishop, 'that not even a postmaster could find it.' The present is not the first generation in which amidst the multiplicity of denominations men have asked, 'Where is the true Church of Christ to-day?' The Master has too often been hidden by His professed followers. His own Ecclesia, which according to His word He builds unceasingly without hands, has with difficulty been discerned among the crowds of ecclesiastics who have claimed to be its sole representatives. 'Lo, here is Christ,' they have confidently proclaimed, or, 'Lo, there'; the multitude have been bewildered, and the wise have believed none of them. Other causes, besides unhappy divisions, have obscured the fair structure of the Lord's own Church, 'built to music, therefore not built at all, and therefore built for ever.' When there was but one visible Church throughout all western Europe, the professed vicar of Christ sat upon a throne so stained and defiled that simple-minded Christians hid their heads in shame. For two centuries a cry for 'Reform in head and members' had sounded forth, uttered and reiterated in vain. Reformation of an anything-but-holy Church came only in the sixteenth century, when a cataclysmic rent had made reform absolutely imperative.

None the less it is true at the present moment that few things mar the symmetry and hinder the progress of the Church of Christ in the world more than the strifes and contentions, the envyings and jealousies, which divide its professed adherents. 'See how these Christians love one another,' explained the rapid progress of Christianity in the second century. When men say, 'See how these Christians quarrel with one another,' sermons are preached and churches built for the most part in vain. This is an old text, and it does not call for the repetition of a threadbare homily. Happily there appears to be an increasing consensus of opinion that something may now be *done* to remove, or at least to diminish, the evils of disunion. Hence a too familiar theme may be presented in a new and more hopeful light. It is coming to be a prime duty of the hour for all Christians to take what part they can in an effort to promote Christian unity in the best sense of the word. It is, however, not so easy as it might appear to speak the right word and act in the right way. The subject requires more study than sanguine enthusiasts are prepared to give. Zeal is good, knowledge is good, but the zeal of the zealous must be directed by the knowledge of the wise if the great work of removing inveterate abuses of centuries is to be successfully accomplished.

The three books described at the head of this article are but specimens of literature, the very description of which would fill many pages. They may be said to represent the ways in which the three main schools of Anglican opinion face the subject. Father Kelly is a strong High Churchman, and his book contains a friendly foreword from the Bishop of Winchester. The able and genial Broad Churchmanship of Dr. Sanday, Canon and Professor, needs neither eulogy nor description from us. The volume we have placed first, the only one published since the outbreak of war—an epoch that must be taken into gravest account in all discussions—represents the more distinctively Evangelical section of

the Church of England. Prebendary Grane was Hulsean Lecturer in 1913, and he has expanded one of his lectures, on the 'Unifying Power of the Christianity of Christ,' into a volume which deserves to be read far and wide. He appeals to all communions, Catholic and Protestant. He is possessed with the strongest sense of the importance of his subject. He holds it to be cardinal, vital. 'Some striking reduction of the barriers between separated churches, founded on a re-valuation of relative values, appears to be the one specific for the weak and weakening hold of every form of systematic Christianity upon the world.' The book has many merits, besides the central one of the fine and truly Christian spirit which pervades it. Especially should the clause in the above sentence, 'founded on a re-valuation of relative values,' be noted. Prebendary Grane urges, and we heartily agree with him, that it is of little use to propound schemes of ecclesiastical reunion from without, unless there be a change of mind within. Lines of cleavage visible above the surface are symptoms of causes of disunion that lie deep and spread far. Learn to put first things first, says Mr. Grane in substance, 'claim a new precedence for the things that matter most'—the things that mattered most in the minds of the Apostles and of Him who is the Lord of Apostles—and the lost unity may be regained. In the momentous crisis of war and the no less momentous crisis of reconstruction which will follow, the testing period can only end in disaster to the Church of Christ, argues Prebendary Grane, 'unless in the hour of trial a new and genuinely Christian spirit is found in possession of every class in the community.' And institutional religion, he says, can render no efficacious help 'without some radical change in the whole attitude and relation of Christian churches towards each other.' Surely here is a subject which calls for the use of all the wisdom and all the grace which the leaders of the churches possess. Above all there is needed

the inspiration and guidance of that Spirit without whose healing and purifying influence no Christian unity worthy of the name can ever be attained.

I

Indications of a centripetal tendency among Protestant churches and an impatience of the existing multiplicity of sects and denominations have been visible for twenty years past. Signs of mutual approximation were steadily increasing before the outbreak of the war. Rome, it is true, showed no inclination to abate anything of her arrogant claims. An attempt made in 1896 by certain High Anglicans to secure a recognition of Anglican Orders met with a severe snub in the bull *Apostolicae Curae*. The Orthodox Church of the East waits unmoved till the rest of Christendom shall acknowledge that she alone has remained faithful to the Oecumenical standpoint of the fifth and sixth centuries. The Church of England, true to its traditional *via media*, does and does not reckon itself among the Reformed Churches. It disclaims the name Protestant, yet from time to time speaks faintly encouraging words to non-episcopal 'bodies,' not 'churches.' Individual representatives of the Church of England have often exhibited the truly Christian and large-hearted spirit of Mr. Grane's book, but the tone of official utterances has always been (perhaps necessarily) guarded and very much like that of Augustine to the Donatists, 'Come in to us; we cannot come out to you.' More will be said on this subject in the latter part of the present article.

It is amongst the Evangelical Free Churches of this country and of the Dominions overseas that the drawing together of denominations has been most marked. In 1896 was formed what is now generally called the National Free Church Council. In 1900 amalgamation was effected between the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterians, whilst at the present time more than initial overtures

have taken place for at least a close alliance between the United Free Church and the Established Church of Scotland. In 1907 three Methodist bodies in this country—the 'New Connexion,' the 'Bible Christians,' and the 'Methodist Free Church'—became one under the title of the United Methodist Free Church. In new countries like Canada, Australia, and South Africa, where population is comparatively scanty and old prejudices are more easily thrown off, denominational lines are rapidly disappearing. The Methodists have for some time been united in Canada, and a preponderating section of the Presbyterians are willing to effect a union with them. In Australia advances have been made for closer union between the Anglicans and the Presbyterians, but no action has been taken in the matter.

The chief impetus towards reunion has come—naturally enough and most honourably—from those engaged in the work of Foreign Missions. Divisions which are regrettable at home become an intolerable scandal and danger in the foreign field. And by general consent the World's Missionary Conference, held in Edinburgh in 1910, has constituted a kind of high-water mark for the last decade—a proof of what a great Christian assembly including the most diverse elements may be and do when it is mightily drawn into one by the Holy Spirit of God Himself. No one who was present at that Conference will ever forget it. Happily it was not allowed to die a natural death when its sessions closed. A 'Continuation Committee,' ramifying in various directions, is preserving the spirit and carrying on the projects of the Conference itself. But for the war, which has severed so many precious links and ties, the gathering of the next World Missionary Conference, due in 1920, would in all probability have marked an epoch.

As it is, preparations have been made for closer co-operation and confederation on the Mission field, which are bound to tell for good. The native Christian churches of

China, India, and Japan do not desire to produce replicas of the diversified sects of this country. One speaker after another in Edinburgh urged the strong desire felt that there should be one national Christian Church in China and in other Eastern countries. 'India will go straight to the fountain-head and form her own church.' The tendencies thus indicated no doubt need to be watched. Infant churches that are unable as yet to walk alone will do well not to be in a hurry to start for themselves as independent national churches, which might prove to have little more than the name of Christian. But the churches at home may learn much from the simplicity, earnestness, and unflinching loyalty shewn by comparatively new converts, and few better guides on the whole subject of Christian Unity can be found than experienced missionaries, many of whom have been labouring for a generation with apostolic zeal for the spread of the gospel in its primal simplicity and power.

There is no need to linger over the hopes and fears raised by the Kikuyu controversy, except to say that it illustrated at the same time the crying need of closer co-operation among Christian Churches on the Mission field, and the invincible prejudices which every attempt of the kind arouses in a certain section of the Church of England, represented by the Bishop of Zanzibar. The judgement of the Archbishop of Canterbury was on the whole well balanced. He approved of the principles on which the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda had acted in reference to a United Holy Communion, and did not oppose the movement in favour of Federation, but naturally pointed out that as action of that kind would seriously affect the whole Anglican Communion, the new departure should begin from the centre, not from the circumference. The next Lambeth Conference, due in 1918, was to have considered the matter, but it is clear that the gathering will have to be postponed. Meanwhile the Bishop of Oxford

has made no secret of his dissent from the Archbishop's judgement, and he is clear that the Anglican Church 'must be left out of any general Protestant federation.'

Meanwhile in the United States of America events have been moving rapidly. The 'Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,' founded in 1908, included according to the latest returns 30 Christian denominations with a membership of 18 millions and a much larger 'adherent' population. The Council includes both white and coloured churches—Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Lutherans and Friends, together with Commissions on Christian Unity and Social Service appointed by the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1911, however, largely owing to the waves of influence circling outwards from the Edinburgh Conference, there appeared a 'Joint Commission appointed to arrange for a World Conference on Faith and Order,' and the initiative in this instance came from the Episcopal Church. During the last six years the preparations necessary for the meeting of such a World Conference have been proceeding steadily on both sides of the Atlantic. In this country a representative Joint Committee of Anglicans and Free Churchmen (bishops, clergy, and laity), has held a series of important meetings. A full report of the conclusions reached has not yet appeared, but the discussions cannot fail greatly to promote friendly mutual understanding. An interim report on doctrine entitled 'Towards Christian Unity' was published a year ago in the religious press. When peace comes, after a war in which for the first time British and American arms will have been united in a great common cause, the fruit will appear of seed which has been sown quietly and steadily for some years past on both sides of the Atlantic.

The latest and most advanced movement of all is progressing as we write. In September of last year a Conference met in Oxford, consisting of 80 delegates appointed by the Chief Courts of all the Evangelical Free Churches of England,

and a scheme of Federation was in general terms accepted. This was further developed at a meeting held in Cambridge last March, and when it is complete it will be submitted (probably in 1918) for approval to the assemblies of the federating churches. The plan provides for a Federal Council, to which in the first instance only advisory powers will be given, but the way is left open for the exercise of full executive functions when such powers are granted with the full consent of the several denominations. A declaratory Confession of Faith was agreed to with unanimity, and it constitutes—not a creed, in any sense obligatory upon churches or individuals—but a statement of broad and earnest Evangelical belief, which in itself is of considerable value. Probably all difficulties are not as yet surmounted, but very gratifying progress has been made in the direction of mutual understanding and hearty co-operation.

It is too soon yet to say what will be the effect of the war upon the relations of Christian churches in this country and throughout the world. The seven times heated furnace of pain and strife through which the nations are passing will burn sharp and clean. But it depends upon the nations and the churches themselves whether it shall act to the full in destroying wood, hay, and stubble, while refining the gold, silver, and most precious qualities of national and church life. Sir Charles Wakefield is quoted by Prebendary Grane as saying, 'I am haunted with the conviction that unless the Christian Church becomes united now when the call for unity is so great . . . she will lose her greatest chance to become a living power in the land. . . . I am certain that the hour is fast approaching when the Church will have to decide between unity and decadence. God grant that she be so inspired as to choose unity.' Mr. Grane uses language quite as strong. He asks whether we must not 'be ready to fall down before high heaven in abject contrition for the hampering mass of the unnecessary with which the exigencies of separatism have weighted and

obscured the old moving, saving faith of Christ in the Light and Love of God.'

Not many responsible Anglican clergy have spoken with the frankness and evangelical catholicity of Prebendary Grane. But a sympathetic review of his book in the *Spectator* in February last brought a letter from the Bishop of Down, which deserves to be widely known and carefully considered. He says that if 'the old conventions, the old complications, the old divisions and antagonisms pass on unchecked into the new age, nothing can save the Church from a most pitiful failure.' He pleads for 'complete interpenetration of all the spiritual elements' alive and potent amongst us. 'What madness to turn away to the alien communion of Rome, or the remote church of the East, while excluding the great Christian forces which represent so many mighty prophetic ministries and which have shown so much splendid spiritual vitality!' He advocates 'brotherly intercourse on equal terms, the admission to Christian fellowship of all who hold the elements of the Christian creed, of a larger freedom in the use of the pulpit, and above all of united counsel in synod or convocation of all the Christian churches of the Empire.' It is to this last that Dr. D'Arcy especially looks for securing the interpenetration of spiritual forces on which he rightly lays stress. He would have another and even more comprehensive 'Edinburgh' once in every three or four years. The effect of such gatherings, dominated by the spirit of unity and of God, which was so marked in 1910, would be simply incalculable. Reality, simplicity, and unity in religion are urgently demanded to-day by others besides the 'Student in Arms,' and if these be not characteristics of the Christian churches of our land when the morning of reconstruction dawns, so much the worse for the churches.

II

The obstacles in the way are many. Some of them may

without much difficulty be removed, others are so serious as to appear at present insurmountable. It may perhaps be safely said that so far as the Free Churches are concerned there are no differences of faith or of order which would be in themselves prohibitory of (say) federal union. It is otherwise with the Church of England. The real obstacle in this case is not one of doctrine, as was proved by the document 'Towards Christian Unity' already referred to. Of the four articles in the 'Lambeth Quadrilateral,' the first three dealt with Scriptures, Creeds, and Sacraments. The difficulties which would arise under these heads can hardly be called insuperable. It is otherwise with the fourth article, which deals with 'the Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.' The language is vague, perhaps intentionally so. But the absolutely insuperable barrier to union is not the legal position of an Established Church, nor the tenacity with which it naturally and rightly maintains its episcopal constitution.

The real crux lies in this, that the prevailing school in the Anglican Church of to-day insists upon episcopacy for the whole Church of Christ, as divinely appointed and pertaining not to the *bene esse*, but to the *esse* of Church life. As Canon Knox-Little put it some years ago, 'without bishops, who have received the grace of Orders by regular succession from the Apostles, you can have no priests . . . . without bishops and priests, no Sacraments, which are a necessary means of union with Christ, in other words of salvation.' No bishop, no salvation! That this was not the position of great Anglican leaders such as Hooker, Andrewes, even Cosin, is well known. The theory will not stand the test of modern historical investigation as illustrated by scholars like Lightfoot and Hort. The Episcopalianism represented by the last two names is of a fine and reasonable type. Few non-episcopal students of

Church history would refuse to acknowledge the value of Episcopacy, and many would grant that at one time it seemed to be almost a necessity. But when it is made a matter of principle on the one hand that the presence of one type of Church organization is absolutely essential to the existence of a true Church, it becomes a matter of principle with others to deny it. Conscience is at least as fully enlisted on the side of those who defend freedom as of those who assail it. Compromise here is impossible. The acceptance of the ecclesiastical theory which is maintained by the majority of Anglican clergy to-day would 'unchurch' and hand over to 'uncovenanted mercies' by far the larger proportion of the Protestant churches in all lands; and as long as this view is maintained, not only union, but anything like federation is impossible.

Into the age-long controversy thus raised this is not the place to enter. Articles vi. and xx. of the Church of England declare concerning the Scriptures that 'whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not . . . to be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.' But diocesan bishops are unknown in the New Testament, and no form of church government is therein described, still less prescribed in perpetuity as essential to the conveyance of Divine grace. Historical research has shown that many of the arguments brought forward in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the divine right of Episcopacy can no longer be maintained; but the strength of the case in its favour as one of the best, perhaps in certain periods the best form of church government is freely admitted by candid students. But this is no question of historical research, or even of adducible argument. Bishop Gore said some years ago—and if we mistake not he would repeat the dictum to-day—that 'the Anglican Communion would certainly be rent in twain on the day on which any non-episcopally ordained minister was formally allowed within our Communion to celebrate the Eucharist.' He added

that any colonial Church which thus recognized the validity of non-episcopal orders would be disowned at home. The Archbishop of Canterbury speaks much more guardedly, and many have welcomed the fair and candid tone of his words in reference to possible 'co-operation,' if not 'federation,' on the Mission-field between episcopal and non-episcopal churches. It may, however, be true, as the Bishop of Oxford has said, that the manifestation of fraternal spirit in one direction would involve protest or secession on the part of those whose sympathies are strongly enlisted in another. The composite nature of the Church of England is well understood, and true unity cannot be secured by a mere alteration of existing lines of cleavage.

The same remark applies to all proposed readjustments between differing churches and denominations. An ill-judged Act of Union may promote disunion. Statesmanship is necessary, as well as catholicity of spirit, if the growing desire for Christian unity is to be wisely fostered, and any form of external re-union effectively carried out. In Dr. Sanday's words, it seems essential first of all to 'create an atmosphere,' in which mutual approaches may be successfully made, and perhaps no method would be of more avail for the purpose than that suggested by the Bishop of Down. But delay is often only a form of obstruction. 'Atmospheres' of the most unexpected and varied kinds are being rapidly created just now, and it may be that during the next few years violent and extensive changes may affect the whole world, and enforce lessons which multitudes of good but narrow and exclusive Christians appear to be very loth to learn.

III

The resentment and impatience aroused by existing Christian disunion are at this moment so strong that there is great temptation to rush into methods of sweeping reconstruction intended to destroy all barriers at a blow, which

might easily end in confusion worse confounded. The present writer has no panacea to suggest, nor would the end of an article be the place in which to set one forth. But a few notes may be added as to the conditions under which an almost incredible improvement might be effected in the mutual relations of the Christian churches, and permanent reunion be secured by gradual steps steadily extending in scope and power. The pendulum has long been swinging in the direction of division; how may we make sure of steady advance towards a union of Christendom which shall suffer no more rents and schisms?

(1) It must be clearly recognized that within the Christian pale there is room for a multitude of diverse ideals, in respect of worship and conduct, thought and life. The habit of mind which thankfully recognizes this diversity, and endeavours first to understand and then to respect, if not to sympathize with, the ideals of others, is a prime duty for all concerned. Unity in diversity is the standard, the diversity being as fundamental and important as the unity. The problem of the One in the Many, the Many in the One, has not yet been solved by the philosopher or the statesman. We need not be surprised if it proves difficult in the case of the Church and the churches, but it will be solved if the conditions are fully and fairly borne in mind.

(2) The solution is not to be found in past history, though the events of history are invaluable as material, if wisely used. There is no primitive model of a perfect church to which we may revert as to an exemplar. The church of the New Testament was not an archetype, though it made a noble beginning. It was inchoate and imperfect, not a pattern shewn on the mount. The procedure of the churches in the second century, or the third—when in Cyprian mediaeval ideas of unification took their rise—has no binding force to-day, though the whole history of the Early Church is a storehouse of instruction which we neglect at our peril. The history of the last four

hundred years is instructive also. God has taught men by His Holy Spirit since the beginning of the twentieth century lessons which are more important for us than any which the 'catholic usage' of the Middle Ages contains. 'Development' is not a magic formula to conjure with, but it indicates God's method in the history of mankind; and if the earlier stages shed light upon the later, much more do the later upon the earlier. Most reverently do we regard tradition; but we ask, What is God doing *now*? And what would He have us do for the needs of to-day?

(3) Uniformity is not unity. Amidst churches possessing the same church government, the same church order, the same recited creeds and forms of worship, there may be a fatal discord of ideas and ideals; with great variety of outward appearance and clothing there may be identity of ideals and aims and inward unity of purpose. When Paul in his rebuke to the Corinthians indignantly cried, 'Is Christ divided?' there was but one church in Corinth, the σχίσματα were all within its borders. The period when the stately Church of the West was most impressive in the spectacle of its united action was one when in many respects that church was in its least healthy condition and was farthest from the spirit of its Lord. An amalgamation of religious communities might be 'engineered'—i.e. dexterously contrived—in this country which would increase numbers and political influence and yet distinctly lower the level of personal religion. Without for the moment discussing creed and ritual, it may safely be said that the universal Church of Christ would not be the better off, but the worse, if the only type of church government prevailing in it were monarchical, i.e. Papal; or oligarchic, i.e. Episcopal; or democratic, i.e. Congregational. The Church of England would not tolerate the Methodists within its borders in the eighteenth century, not because of any doctrinal differences, but because it did not like their methods and activities. The Church of Christ, as a whole,

has gained by the Church of England's loss, and it is now as impossible as it is undesirable to put back the hands of the clock to where they stood two hundred years ago. Unity is a splendid ideal, uniformity is a chimæra.

(4) Deeply religious men in all churches understand this. Father Kelly tells us that it was a long time before he could understand the Nonconformist ideal of freedom, as he had always understood and maintained the ideal of ecclesiastical tradition and sacramental order. Now he is convinced that reunion must come about by synthesis, not by surrender; by comprehension, not by a process of whittling away characteristic features. We agree. The difficulty lies of course in the character of the comprehension proposed. If we understand the direction in which the thoughts of many respected High Church leaders are tending, it would mean the absorption of 'sects' all and sundry, into the one true church with its Apostolical Succession, a certain measure of free action being granted (e.g. to lay preachers), just as laymen are allowed to read lessons in the Church Service, while the service itself is conducted by the 'duly appointed' clergy. But absorption is not union.

5. Prebendary Grane adopts as the motto of his book, and as the text of his very excellent sermon, the saying often mistakenly attributed to Augustine, *In necessariis Unitas, in dubiis Libertas, in omnibus Caritas.* But he knows well the difficulty of its application. If we could secure the last, 'in all things charity,' the other two might soon follow. But as things are, the whole crux lies in the drawing of the line between essentials and non-essentials. We go heartily with Mr. Grane when he shows us what he means by putting first things first. But the Catholic does not agree with the Evangelical as to what ought to come first. Mr. Wakeman, in his history of the Church of England, says that before 1662, 'two incompatible systems of religion' existed side by side in the Anglican Church, and that one was bound to drive out the other. As actually presented by

Anglo-Catholics and Puritans, this may be true. But are the two views utterly irreconcilable? The Puritan represents the Spiritual Ideal of the Church and the Anglican the Sacramental Ideal, but these are not of necessity mutually exclusive. It used to be said that science and religion were irreconcilable, but we have learned that it was the materialism of the scientific man and the dogmatism of the theologian that were incompatible. Is it not possible for Puritan and Sacramentalist to meet and understand one another at last?

(6) Between Evangelical Free Churches themselves happily no such serious questions arise. Their differences are not negligible, but they agree as to essentials, and especially of late years find themselves not differing very widely on non-essentials. Their problems are largely administrative. In the working of these numerous churches serious waste is incurred through the needless multiplication of ministers and buildings, rivalries and jealousies are apt to arise, time and strength are spent in machinery which might be better employed. These are familiar objections to the present state of things, obvious on the very surface. It is at the next stage that questions are asked such as whether the church of Christ would really be benefited by the merging of Methodism into Presbyterianism or Congregationalism, by the substitution of uniformity of method for diversity? If it be said that federation rather than organic union is aimed at, and that no type of Nonconformist Church life worth preserving need disappear, then the danger arises lest in addition to all existing churches there should be found one church more; or if the Free Church Council be continued as well as a Federal Council established, two churches more. It is obvious, however, that these are difficulties of quite a secondary order, existing only to be overcome. Changes in social and ecclesiastical life have come quickly during the last fifty years. They will come far more quickly during the next five.

The real issue which lies at the heart of the whole discussion is, What is to be the future of organized Christianity? There need not be the slightest fear as to the future of religion, or of the Christian religion. Organization is another thing. The religious unrest of which all thoughtful observers were conscious before the war did not arise from distrust of religion, of God, of Christ, but of organized churches in their present condition. This uneasiness has been immensely increased during the last three eventful years. Institutions of all kinds, which seemed stable as the hills, have begun to rock; to other dignitaries besides the House of Romanoff has been given a notice to quit. The churches as institutions are on their trial. Bishop Brent, in his eloquent sermon in St. Paul's on 'America's Day,' quoted with approval the judgement of an influential layman who said, 'It becomes increasingly clear that the question of world peace and of Christian reunion go together.' He himself added, 'The watchword of the Churches must be "unity." Either churches must justify their claim to be the favoured or exclusive residence of God by exhibiting in their works a holiness or a superiority nowhere else apparent, or else must admit the favour of God towards other churches of lesser pretensions. A large part of the public has already served notice on the churches that unless we observe the elementary principles of peaceableness and fairness and fellowship they will get on without us.'

'But I see a vision,' continued Dr. Brent, 'I see a great movement, not of man but of God, coming sweeping through this world of ours and gathering into its embrace all true-hearted men. I see a united Church—a Church worthy of the residence of Jesus Christ among men, a church which will bring holiness and power to all the people of God. That is the end of the vision, and that is the supreme thing to which we must commit ourselves to-day as Christian men.' It is a fair vision—never an impossible one, because it is according to the mind of the great Head of the Church

Himself. It is now being brought more within range and reach by the great world convulsion which will end, as we hope and believe, in a lasting world-peace. We are longing for a great League or Commonwealth of nations; is it to be said that a Commonwealth of Christian churches—their diversity being recognized as well as their unity—is utterly impossible? Churches which will persist in quarrelling when nations have learned to agree may well fear lest One with the seven stars in His right hand should say, 'I will come unto thee and will move thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent.' But the churches are learning their lesson and are allowing the lineaments of the Church—say rather of the Head of the Church—more fully to appear. A better vision is dawning. Though it tarry, we are to work and wait for it; then it will surely come, it will not tarry.

W. T. Davison

ITALY AND CIVILIZATION

Pasquale Villari. *L'Italia e la Civiltà.* Pagine scelte e ordinate da Giovanni Bonacci. (Milano: 1916. Ulrico Hoepli.)

UNDER this suggestive title there has been recently published in Milan a work the value of which it is difficult, at the present hour, to over-estimate. For no necessity is more imperative, in order to a sane and calm judgement of the confused elements and issues of the far-reaching and resounding strife of to-day, than that of a clear vision of the large background of history from which it proceeds,—remote as may seem the connexion and kinship of that history with the dominant facts and forces now luridly presented to our eyes.

Journalism, so gravely responsible for the formation of public opinion in every country, has not failed to measure the political and military significance of Italy's fateful choice two years ago, reversing the tradition and alliances of a generation to cast in her lot with the cause of Europe and of civilization against the Central Powers. But there are found few traces, in this ephemeral literature, of that worthier vision and wiser judgement which discerns in such choice a return to older and nobler traditions, to those national instincts by which Italy's destinies have been shaped for centuries, and through which she has wrought so mightily in the fabrication of the modern as well as of the mediaeval world.

It is chiefly for its contribution to the knowledge and study of this all-important background that the volume we review merits the interest of readers outside, as well as within, the land where it appears. Dr. J. Holland Rose (to mention only one of our own writers) has done much

in his *Development of the European Nations* to help us to the realization of the events which in the last century have massed in the European sky the storm-clouds bursting now in deluge and destruction over several continents, but half a century is too brief a period wherein to find all the causes from which so vast and terrible a tempest has sprung. The well-known sentence from Virgil—*felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*—set in the title-page of Dr. Rose's book, and commented on in his preface, is still more apt if written before a summary, not of contemporary annals but of ages of history, ages, too, in which the peoples of Europe took their origins, formed their national characters, and traced out the first lines of their habitations.

It is with an *anthology* of Italian and of European history that we are now concerned; a selection from the writings of Prof. Villari, whose ninetieth birthday has been marked by the tribute of this volume, compiled and published as the fitting homage of his friends and pupils. The principle of selection has led to the inclusion only, or chiefly, of those passages which, in his many historical and literary works, refer specially to Italy's contribution to the great and ceaseless task of civilization. So skilfully and successfully has that principle been followed that the patchwork character too evident in many such compilations is seldom seen throughout the volume; it is woven rather than pieced together. The index will tell the reader that he is looking into a composite mirror, through a window made of many fragments; but the vision and reflection are continuous; we see here 'life steadily and see it whole.'

Villari is known in England chiefly by his great work on *Savonarola*, and also, though less widely and favourably (probably by reason of the less inspiring and attractive subject), by his study of *Machiavelli and his Times*. Other works from his pen have been translated here, but it is by the congenial study consecrated to the great Florentine prophet that the Italian historian is long likely to be known

to readers of our own tongue. To such, a sketch of the career and a brief estimate of the character of the writer will be the best introduction to his work; and this, in its most summary form, we give before presenting the author's historical findings and judgements scattered lavishly through this volume of selections.

I

Born at Naples ninety years ago, but residing in Florence for almost seventy years, Pasquale Villari may be said to resume in himself, not only the southern and northern elements of Italian character, but also the events of modern Italian history: of that period which, beginning with ineffectual revolts against Bourbon and Austrian tyranny, found its central epic in the Garibaldian days, its great achievement in national unity following on the capture of Rome in 1870, and its constructive task in the internal consolidation and development of the new state and kingdom. For through all his long life he has been, by his teaching and by his example, one of that band of true patriots whose sane enthusiasm has contributed in great measure to the success of the *Risorgimento*, and carried forward, stage by stage, the work initiated by men of more conspicuous fame. His first years were passed amid a generation to which Napoleon was not yet a legend, but a living and a passionate memory, a name still evoking old loves and loathings, old sensibilities of desire or of dread; his closing days are spent in the throes of a new and equally fateful conflict, in which the fortunes of Italy are as closely engaged. His tale of life begins under the oppressive shadows of that Alliance of Kings by which the once vanquished monarchs of Europe planned to prevent for ever, alike the revolt of the peoples and the rising of parvenu Emperors, both equally hated by them as equally hostile to the local and limited despotisms once overthrown and now restored. It closes amidst a struggle whose issues are still hidden from us, but where already

some seers are bold to see signs of that Alliance of the Peoples which alone holds for the world the hope of reconciliation and of fruitful peace.

Following in the steps of his father and of his uncles, Villari began the study of law, purposing to become an advocate. He quickly tired, however, in this path, and with characteristic Southern vehemence closed it for ever by making a bonfire one day of all his legal papers, all but suffocating himself with the smoke. 'Italy had by that bonfire one mediocre Neapolitan lawyer the less, and one good Italian historian the more.'

Turning now to literature, he found a congenial master in Francesco de Sanctis, a professor and critic who sought in letters that same spirit and ministry of life and liberty which then engaged, in every direction of activity, the noblest minds and hearts of Italy. For pedantry in literature had gone hand-in-hand with despotism in politics; to meet the danger of ideas, of the ferment of thought, one safeguard was found in turning eager and impressionable students to the sterile research for correctness and purity of style, to the worship of well-turned words and phrases, to the cultivation of classical form. But De Sanctis made letters a cult rather of life than of language, he taught men to seek more for the voice of the prophet than for the touch of the artist in the great writers of the nation. It was not strange that such a school quickened the patriotism of its pupils, and master and scholars were dispersed after the abortive rising of 1848, some paying with life, others with exile, the penalty of failure in this early struggle for freedom.

Villari came to Florence, where, within a few months, he published his first historical work, a brief introduction to Italian history. Ten years of devotion to study, passed in obscurity and poverty, were followed by promotion to the professorship of history, first in Pisa, and afterwards in Florence. With the publication of his *Life and Times of Savonarola* (1859–1861) he passed at once into the fore-

front of Italian writers, and received public and unstinted recognition of his merits. Thenceforward his life, as Professor, Historian, Statesman, has been the rich and ample fulfilment of the promise of his early years in Naples. Under all the changing skies of political life he has kept till eve 'the faith of morn'; the enlightened and instructed patriotism which inspired the Neapolitan student of seventy years ago breathes through his teaching as a historian, informs his work as a Minister of State, and finds expression in the last words of the volume before us, words written on the very threshold of the European war.

As *Professor* he left to his students that all too rare legacy of the teacher to the taught, the memory of a personality which quickened and enforced the thoughts and truths he ministered, of an enthusiasm which did not cloud or confuse, but cleared and quickened his judgements of men and events, of a freshness and freedom of illustration and application presenting the driest or most abstruse subjects in an attractive form. If in preciseness and minuteness of detail, if in vigorous methods of research, others may have excelled him, none (says the writer of the prefatory sketch before us) has flung open so widely the windows, and shown new horizons so ample and luminous to his scholars. Speaking, e.g. of historic method, he found, to lighten the grave subject for his hearers, the tale of the Academy which offered a prize for the best monograph on the Camel. 'A Frenchman went to the Zoological Gardens, an Englishman departed to the East to see his subject "at home," but the German competitor evolved a camel from his inner consciousness.'

As *Historian* he has given to his countrymen (and through translation, in a minor degree, to European literature), a library whose catalogue is too long to find enumeration here. His studies around such leading figures as Savonarola and Machiavelli; his works on various periods of Italian history —the barbarian invasions, the early Florentine age, &c.;

his essays or briefer studies (within, or separate from his larger works) on the Latin and Teutonic civilizations, or on modern literary and political characters (Cavour, Garibaldi, Taine, De Amicis, &c.); his social and pedagogic writings and addresses; finally his recent essays bearing on the European rivalry and the mission of Italy,—all these indicate a mass of work which, alike in quantity and quality, rank him high among the great writers of his age and country. If his *style* (to name a subject always hazardous to any reader of a foreign tongue) lacks the glow and fervour which light up the pages, e.g. of Mazzini—the 'purple patches' inspired by prophetic even more than artistic passion and power—Villari has at least the merit of presenting vividly and clearly by his word and phrase the theme he treats. He carries his reader forward by directness if not by distinction of language, and in the interest inspired by his pages we forget the form for the substance of his teaching. And in such literature, treating less of the finer arts than of the greater business and practice of human life, it is probably true, as has been said in another connexion, that the best dress is that which calls the least attention to itself, and draws the most to its wearer or its subject.

As *Statesman* Villari has served his generation chiefly by the stress he laid on the necessity of improving the social condition of his countrymen, as the true basis on which alone a sound system of education could be built up. He declined, as Minister of Public Instruction, to separate the question of education from that of general social amelioration. To him the personal character of the citizen and the public code of instruction, the influence of the home and the training of the school, were in vital relation with each other. He refused—to the disappointment of many who looked for miracles of educational reform from so exceptional an authority—to bring forward sensational schemes and codes at an hour when Italy needed rather a patient

and co-ordinated labour in every direction to make the country worthy of the freedom won. The evil of the slum, the maladministration of the workshop, the miseries of the peasant in many districts—these for him were, no less than the special maladies of an ill-ordered system of education, the business of any and of every minister of State who aimed at the full-orbed development of national life.

Probably this is not the least of the services he has rendered to his country; it may serve to commend to us, who have kindred problems to solve, the work of Villari in many fields from which a rich hoard has been gathered in the volume we review.

II

The binding thread of the gleaner's sheaves within this volume is found in the theme which has suggested its title—*Italy and Civilization*. In his long and indefatigable labour, the fruits of which are to be found in about four hundred volumes or pamphlets, there is scarcely a period of Italian history, or a fundamental question related to it, which Prof. Villari has not touched. And through all he has discerned certain persistent forces and principles which give to the seeming hazards and chances of history a direction and a purpose. Above all, there emerges for him the continuity of the Italian tradition in the European story; as is said in the introductory paragraph of this work—'In the records of human kind one nation alone can boast a succession of four diverse civilizations. Greece has scarcely risen from age-long oppression; the Eastern peoples seem to have forgotten their past greatness; the culture of the nations prospering to-day in Europe is of modern origin. Italy, instead, flourishing in Etruscan times, rises with Rome to a greater height; fallen, she found renascence in the Middle Ages by the Church and the Communes; vanquished and down-trodden, again we see her to-day, after three and a half centuries, springing forth

to new destinies. It is remarkable above all, that in so many varieties of fortune, she has always maintained unimpaired the same national temperament.' This is far removed, with all the greatness of its claims, from the inflated and rhetorical pretensions of an earlier patriot than Villari, the philosopher Gioberti, whose book on *The Primacy of Italy* (published in 1843) demonstrated, in all good faith, that alike in past, present, and future Italy was, and must remain, the first nation in the world, without a rival or competitor. 'Nationality' of that rank type is a weed that has flourished in many soils; if to-day it finds its habitat in Germany, other countries of Europe have given it an earlier and as perilous a culture. It is under nobler and worthier inspirations that Villari has conceived his thought and vision of the greatness of his land, her value and her virtue as a civilizing power, aiming not at primacy but at service. 'Italy feels to-day that the history of the past gives her the right and imposes upon her the duty of contributing to the progress of the world. . . . As the individual must sacrifice his existence to the greatness and prosperity of his country, and in thus doing acquires his personal value and dignity, so the nation must contribute to the progress of a vaster human civilization, in which the diverse forms of culture, of religion, of national associations, will become as the various sides of the new civilization for which the world is now preparing. In this stands the ultimate reason of resurgent Italy, this determines the value of it in the history of the world.' Is not this to write over the truly civilized State, no less than over the truly Christian soul—*saved to serve*? And if this be, as we believe, the expression not only of the elect spirits of Italy, but of the soul of the Italian people, it is easy to see that her choice of two years ago was dictated by motives at least as high as those which determined Britain's decision of months before; dictated too by traditions reaching back not to a few nicely calculated generations, but to many centuries of history.

Nor will the reader of this volume hesitate to believe, as he rises from these summary records of the past, that Italy has paid through all the ages of her history that debt to civilization in which her noblest sons and seers have discerned the providential purpose of her life, and of her place both above and among the peoples. Villari leads us to his last pages and to his 'ultimate reason of resurgent Italy' through centuries in which the lamp of sacrifice has oft burned dimly, oft indeed seemed extinguished, in this temple of the State, yet has re-kindled with a readiness that proved the flame to persist. Somewhere on the altar, when all seemed cold, there lingered a spark among the embers, and the sacred fire has never been wholly quenched.

If the stage on which Italy has played her part among the nations is impressive, still more striking and fascinating are the figures that pass over it, from Gregory to Garibaldi, from Machiavelli to Mazzini, from Charlemagne to Cavour—and to all these figures and personal forces, or to the movements that centre round them, Villari's pages lend illumination and definition. If history be indeed 'philosophy teaching by examples,' it is well to remember, as such names may remind us, that there is scarcely any experiment of national and political life that has not been tried in that old laboratory of Europe; no combination of elements, no schemes of government, no panaceas of social or personal perfection, that have not found there an advocate and a demonstration. Let the reader glance at two only of these names in the sharp set contrast of ideals they suggest to us—Machiavelli and Mazzini; one the most sinister of political thinkers, the other the most enlightened of prophetic teachers. Villari will help us to realize how faithful to its mediaeval source is the modern un-moral State. In that small civic realm of Florence, four centuries ago, the statecraft which defies the conscience of humanity to-day was propounded and enacted with a clearness and a thoroughness which left nothing doubtful to after ages desirous again to

make costly experiments with the fundamental principles of civilized life. 'Politics has ends and means of its own which are not those of individual morality . . . ; the statesman must never hesitate, but enter resolutely on that path which the nature of things demonstrates to be necessary,' even though 'private or personal virtue and goodness would arrest him half way and render him uncertain.' For 'he will always be excused when he leads to the desired and necessary ends, to the formation, that is, of the greatness and force of the State. He who succeeds in this may certainly, as a private citizen, be blamed; he will merit, howbeit, as a prince, immortal glory.' The comparison, however, between the mediaeval teacher and his modern followers in Central Europe must be corrected, as Villari's pages teach us, by the fact that Machiavelli's remorseless and ruthless means were invoked to restore order and freedom in States and cities threatened by foreign oppression from without and by anarchy from within. The end which in the fifteenth century was held to justify all means was not aggressive empire, but salvation from chaotic and chance tyrannies involving the dissolution of all society in Italy. Deliverance from these once won, faith in public and in private virtue would again be kindled, and life would once more find for every subject of the State its consecrated aims. Our modern historian, faithful to this ameliorating aspect of his countryman's teaching, does not the less utter the pertinent criticism that the use of such means, even for noble and necessary ends, imperils the very basis of the society they are designed to found, and leaves unanswered the question whether a State thus constituted could cherish in all its obligations and duties a morality no less sacred and exacting than that of private life.

It is to the glory of Italy that the very generation which saw the adoption, by a rising and ambitious neighbour nation, of her long abandoned and outcast doctrine of the un-moral State, saw also the prophetic ministry of

Mazzini, preaching, first to her, and then to all the nations, the noblest and purest patriotism that Europe has seen in her visions and hopes. Mazzini has mastered Machiavelli in Italy, and the clearest issue before the world in this present strife is the choice by Europe between these spokesmen of contrasted ruling principles of life; the new age will find its maxims either in the political craft of the mediaeval statesman or in the prophetic call and challenge of the modern idealist. For a brief season Florence, having rejected Savonarola, found in his stead no better leader than Machiavelli, since the penalty of refusing the prophets is to be ruled by the politicians, and to exchange the so-called haze of idealistic visions for the dense and chill fog of 'practical politics.' The brightest hopes to be conceived of that new era when Europe's night of weeping is followed by her morn of song will show us a democracy with Mazzini's *Duties of Man* in her hand, and Mazzini's watchword of 'God and the People' on her lips. For from him, as from no other of her modern teachers, she will learn that

'He builds too low who builds beneath the sky.'

The reader of Villari's pages will find, again, in the passages devoted to the Renascence period, proof of this experimental character of Italian history. From time to time the world has believed that in some new springs of knowledge she has found the veritable fountain of life; that the tree of knowledge is one indeed with the tree of life. 'Culture' in various forms has fascinated humanity with promises of progress kept to the ear and 'broken to the hope.' To-day it is science which has lured its pilgrims to the desert, and given to the thirsty the mirage for a pool; four centuries ago it was in the resplendent art and literature of the Renascence that men saw the Utopia of the race. Our historian helps us to see in that movement both its higher and its lower meanings; in one direction it was a noble awakening whose initiators he finds in two Italians—Columbus who

opened the paths of the seas, and Savonarola who opened those of the spirit; in the other it was a quest indeed, but of a Golden Fleece rather than of a Holy Grail, a restless devouring desire to explore and exploit every field and pasture of sensation open to the mind and emotion of man. And the end was, as too often in the tale of a fancied Earthly Paradise, that the men who had sung

'Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,'

confessed their failure of hope, not in a return to virile faith, but in a cynical scepticism, or in a relapse to childish superstitions of horoscopes and astrology, of occult sciences and of the gods of fate and fortune.

Indeed, no lesson emerges more frequently in these pages than man's need of religion to inspire and sustain every true movement on his upward way. Thus the reaction of despondency which followed on the first fervours of the Risorgimento triumphs of a generation ago is traced to the failure of Italy to sanctify herself, to find a true faith and a true worship in substitution for the false divinities she had forsaken or expelled. If the deep religious passion which burns and glows through the writings of Mazzini is absent in Villari there is not the less a profound moral consciousness of those higher than human purposes and powers which are working through all the blind aimlessness or dim-sighted selfishness of human effort and endeavour. 'As a historian,' he says, 'investigating the actual state of things, I assert the existence of religion in the world as an undeniable fact. We must either conciliate it or have it for our foe; in my opinion there should be no doubt as to which course should be chosen. For, meanwhile, the road we are trying to follow (i.e. the exclusion of religious teaching and of theological thought from Italian education) ends in a dead wall.'

Not less instructive than these sections of the volume which touch on the middle period of his country's story

are those at the beginning and end of the work, dealing, the one with the history of the ancient Roman Empire, and the emergence of the two strains of civilization which have continued to the present day—the Latin and the Teutonic; —the other with the world crisis drawing on, as the last pages of these selections were written, to the clash of arms in the European war. Here also philosophy is 'teaching by examples,' and we read as a lesson written for to-day the summary judgement which tells us that the old and once invincible Roman Empire fell when, with the extension of her boundaries, she lost true and living unity with the peoples she had conquered. Subjected only by force, submitted by armed legions to a civilization imposed from without and not infused from within, the heterogeneous mass fell apart at the shock of barbarian invasion, and they that had taken the sword perished by the sword. It is the epitaph of ancient empire carrying civilization and culture at the point of the sword; is it not also the doom of modern empire forcing them at the cannon's mouth?

ARTHUR RUDMAN.

THE GOD OF MR. H. G. WELLS

God the Invisible King. By H. G. Wells. (Cassell & Co.)

IT goes without saying that this latest adventure of Mr. Wells into the realm of religion will meet with the warm approval of the many who are in these days outside the Churches. It is indeed much more than probable that any exhibition of the mistakes and failures of his somewhat flamboyant volume, will meet with chilly reception and be promptly branded as sheer bigotry. Nevertheless it must be done for the truth's sake, and the resulting odium defied. For although in parts of his book it is difficult to take the author seriously, yet his claim is as unmistakable as vast, and the constituency to which he has access is unmeasured. He declares that his 'renascent' religion—

> is an account rendered. It is a statement and record, not a theory. There is nothing in all this that has been invented or constructed by the writer. I have been but scribe to the spirit of my generation.

If he be thus but the spokesman for his age, the marvel of his versatility becomes transformed into a veritable miracle. The root fallacy of his whole fancy is so patent, and its resulting efflorescence so manifestly delusive, that one is at a loss to understand how the many can be thus represented. One venturous man may eagerly follow a Will-o'-the-Wisp, but it is hard to think of a whole generation doing so with him. The situation to which he invites us, one may truly liken to a long and well-appointed train, crowding with expectant excursionists, who are called upon to admire the engine which is to convey them to their happy land. And fine it looks, in all brilliant technical array, at a distance. But presently a storm comes on, and after the deluge of rain has passed, they look for it in vain, seeing that it was after all but a cardboard structure which has melted away. We shall see shortly that this is precisely

what happens to this 'trend of intelligent opinion' which Mr. Wells pronounces 'a discovery of truth.'

His last word here is that 'The kingdom of God is at hand,' and in view of the many nobilities and excellences which decorate the structure he has drawn for us—the most striking features of which seem strangely familiar to Christian observers—we are disposed to be comforted amid our present sorrows. But when the challenge which he flings down to come and examine its foundations, is accepted, lo! it is found to be nothing more than a castle in the air. For it rests on nothing but his own exuberant imagination—'The writer has found this faith growing up in himself'—that is all. Save that they also for whom he claims to speak, 'explain this modern religiosity' by simply saying that 'they have little argument, but profound conviction.' If the author would stoop to hold converse with some Latter-Day Saints, or Christadelphians, to say nothing of Theosophists and Eddyists, he will find plenty whom he does not represent, who will supply him with as profound conviction and little argument as ever he can desire. In not a few glowing passages he points us to a Promised Land—it is only a pity that we cannot here quote them. But they remind us inevitably of the lament of Sir Stanley Maude in the recent Mesopotamian campaign,—a tragedy in briefest statement—that 'the progress of the troops was much hindered by the mirage.' The mirage in Mr. Wells' pages is made up of phrases, figures, ideals, promises, not only couched in Christian phraseology, but embodying thoughts, words, and deeds, which every humble-minded Christian would recognize as his own. But as to the dynamic through which they are to be actualized in daily modern life, it is in the latter case potent enough; in the former, however, its only mocking substitute is a zeal for 'religiosity.' Which will no more bring 'the Kingdom of God' to pass on earth, than a painted fire will warm a room.

If only it were worth while, or if all who read this volume

could be constrained to face such a scrutiny, many and valid would be the criticisms evoked by these pages. But it would really need an interleaved copy, and smaller print with narrower margins than the original, to point them out. For if we may be deliberately definite without stooping to the meticulous, certainly not less—to take an average—than a dozen instances might be quoted of each of the following counts in a general indictment: Boundless confidence in calm assumptions of infallibility; unfair and untrue accusations of Christians and Churches; truculent verbosity in stating Christian positions; fine phrases and paragraphs which when examined are found to be purely imaginary if not quite meaningless; dogmatic assertions; manifest fallacies; unjustifiable cartoons instead of fair representation; uncalled-for sneers; mere semblance of novelty derived from plagiarized Christian conceptions; claims on behalf of a new god which are all the time only true of the God of the contemptuously-rejected Christian theology; sweeping claims for this 'modern religion'—as to its ethical ideals and social influence—which are as unwarranted in reference to it as they are already justified in regard to Christianity. These charges are only made after close examination of every page—the matter for regret is that they cannot here be exhibited by quotation.

That being so, one might well ask whether it is necessary to take such a work seriously. There are those who think it is not, and dismiss the whole with a half humorous, half cynical, review of a few lines. The unwisdom of such procedure is seen in the fact, of which there can be little doubt, that this work, especially in the cheaper edition which is sure to appear soon, will probably obtain as real vogue among thoughtful people—already acquainted with 'Mr. Britling'—young and old alike, within as well as without the Churches, as a year or two ago Mr. Blatchford's two books had with the man in the street. The suggestion that these latter are now well-nigh forgotten, and that Mr. Wells' new

'discovery' will soon share the same fate, is not warranted, for the cases are not parallel. But even if it were, the transient may also be very harmful, as Zeppelin raids have only too tragically proved. Besides which every one knows that a flood—say like that which troubled Paris not long since —when it retires, leave a deposit of slime behind. The Churches lost very many through the *Clarion* crusade who will never be won back to Christianity. So that from the plain standpoint of Christian principles, a work of such pretensions as *God the Invisible King*, demands fair scrutiny and straightforward handling.

That there are clever sentences embodying keen observation, expressed in lucid speech, sometimes really eloquent, always exhibiting a high ethical tone—even in regard to what some will account the laxity of his sexual morality—along with a lofty democratic standard,—all these the numerous readers of Mr. Wells' various works will expect to find, and will not be disappointed. We must here be content to take them for granted, seeing that this review is written, without apology, from the standpoint of the Christian theology which so provokes our author's vituperative contempt. In brief speech, therefore, it is our duty to show first some of the mischievous characteristics of the writer's whole attempt, and, secondly, the fourfold fallacy involved in his main 'discovery.'

In regard to the whole purpose of his pretentious pages we are bound to point out the following:

(1) The ordinary reader cannot but get confused by the way in which the name 'God' is here employed. The author ceaselessly refers to 'God' in ways and terms which he knows well are, as they have been from the beginning of Christianity, unalterably associated with the Biblical representation of Him. Whether it is true or not to speak of Him as 'that bickering monopolist who became a Father in the Christian system' is quite irrelevant. The fact remains that for the whole modern world the term 'God' stands for

Him alone. And yet hundreds of times this name is used, without any apology or notification, for that alleged new 'discovery' which the author so glorifies. He tells us that he has 'entire faith in the matter of God the Redeemer'—which sounds innocent enough to every Christian reader. But what is meant is very far from Christian. Only in one case is the difference acknowledged as it ought to be. 'The believer'—and the same confusion prevails here, for this does not mean the Christian but the Wellsian—'will assert that his God is a god of salvation.' What the 'salvation' is we may presently inquire; here the point is that the proper name, with the capital G, is quite unwarranted, because its connotation is already unalterably fixed; and the true term, with the small g, is that which to avoid confusion and make the issues clear, ought to be employed on every occasion where the author intends to refer to his new discovery. Such phrases as 'Nothing but utter blindness of the spirit can shut a man off from God'—'all who believe owe an apostolic service to God!'—are decidedly misleading, for in all ordinary parlance they are definitely Christian. The writer is seeking to win his case by sheer glamour. Substitute 'god' for 'God,' and another impression is created at once. In the mere interest, therefore, of truth, the reader ought to go through the book, pen in hand, and strike out almost every occurrence of the capital letter. It has been a very useful exercise so to do, for one reader at least.

(2) Equally marked and misleading is the confusion created throughout the whole book, by the way in which general Christian phraseology is employed without the slightest intimation that nothing Christian is intended. It is scarcely too much to say that this constitutes the bulk of the book.[1] If this element of Mr. Wells' 'discovery'

[1] As detailed quotation is here impossible through limitations of space the following pages will supply sufficient instances, though there are very many more: pp. 27, 31, 47, 63, 67, 75, 79, 81, 114, 116, 124, 167, 168, 170, &c.

were taken away, there would be little left, and that little would not be worth setting forth in print. Both in regard to God Himself and all His relations with men, we find on almost every page avowals like the following :—

> There is but one God, there is but one true religious experience, but under a multitude of names under veils and darkness, God has come into countless lives.
>
> In this book it is asserted that God responds, that he gives courage and the power of self-repression to our weakness.
>
> In but a few centuries God will have led us out of the dark forest of these present wars and confusions into the open brotherhood of his rule.
>
> I doubt if faith can be complete and enduring if it is not secured by the definite knowledge of the true God.
>
> This is the personal problem of sin. Here prayer avails ; here God can help us. From God comes strength to repent and make reparation.
>
> Let there be no mistake about one thing. Here prayer is a power. Here God can indeed work miracles. A man with the light of God in his heart can defeat vicious habits.

All these, as they stand, are purely Christian sentiments, and nothing can present them honestly to the modern reader but the substitution of 'god' for 'God' in every such case. That would, however, suffice to show the ineptitude of Mr. Wells' 'discovery.' For the rest, therefore, of this brief notice, we shall put the case unmistakably by using always the appellation which the author only once acknowledges, viz. : that his new discovery is not 'God'—but 'a god.'

(3) When his statements are clear, they are not only dogmatic, but mostly false or unworthy. These are the only instances here possible, but they are quite typical.[1]

> We all live in the storm of life—if we seek salvation and search within for god, presently we find him. This is the god that men have sought and found in all ages, as God or as the Messiah or the Saviour.

It would be scarcely possible to make a falser statement than that. The identification of Mr. Wells' god with the God of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament, is surely the very limit of untruthfulness. But again—

---

[1] See also pp. 75, 76, 102, 109, 156, 205.

> Modern religion appeals to no revelation, no authoritative teaching, no mystery. To this all true religion, casting aside its hulls of misconception, must ultimately come.

Here, in close proximity, we have 'modern religion' standing for Wellsianity self-sufficient and clear, whilst 'true religion'—which cannot but mean something else, by reason of its 'hulls of misconception,' and so connotes Christianity—must ultimately come to Mr. Wells' new discovery! It is hardly likely. But here is the dogma of 'the new faith,' pure and simple.

> Those who believe say that god is not an aggregate but a synthesis. He is not merely the best of all of us but a Being in Himself, composed of that but more than that, as a temple is more than a gathering of stones or a regiment is more than an accumulation of men. So we think of god as a synthetic reality, though he has neither body nor material parts.

Any synthesis, however, must admit of being analysed, and but little intelligence is required to show that the more this 'synthetic reality' is analysed, the more unthinkable it becomes. No more worthy or adequate is the writer's reference to Jesus, as 'the man who in the extreme agony of his pain and exhaustion, cried out that he was deserted'—for no one knows better than the author that that is not the true or full Christian representation. Such a *suppressio veri* is unworthy of a new religion. His personal scorn for immortality was certainly not shared by Prof. Huxley, as is well known; nor is it helpful to the truth on so great a matter to quote, as final, the bald assertion of Metchnikoff, that 'A future life has no single argument to support it.' Than which a falser piece of dogmatism was never uttered.

Yet almost the same might be truly said of our author's own pronouncement that

> All mankind is seeking God. There is not a nation nor a city in the globe where men are not being urged at this moment by the spirit of God in them towards the discovery of God.

For if the reference be to Mr. Wells' god, 'mankind' neither know nor care anything for his 'discovery.' But if the Christian God be assumed, then it is as false that men

are seeking Him, as it is true that the spirit of God is urging them. Else the infernal horrors of the last three years would never have come upon us.

(4) The author's general virulence against Christianity, and special truculence in reference to the doctrine of the Trinity, are equally unwarranted and unworthy. It is as untrue to affirm that

> the doctrine of the Trinity, so far as the relationship of the Third Person goes, hangs almost entirely upon one ambiguous and disputed utterance in St. John's Gospel (xv. 26)

as it is unworthy to declare that

> none of us really pray to that fantastic, unqualified *danse à trois*, the Trinity, which the wranglings and disputes of the worthies of Alexandria declared to be God.

Any tyro in the study of Christian theology knows better than that, and whatever else modernism in religion may involve, it is a sinister and paltry representation of it to say that 'men are beginning to speak of religion without the bluster of the Christian formulae.'

(5) Many of the grandiose avowals in this volume which seem at first glance such fine expositions of the modern spirit in religion, turn out, when calmly scrutinized, to be merely swollen nothings, if indeed they are at all intelligible. Out of the many take only these as specimens:

> There was an attempt to make the God of nature accessible and the God of the Heart invincible.
>
> The author is restricting and defining the word God as meaning only the personal god of mankind.
>
> God [god] is a spirit, a single spirit and a single person; he has begun and he will never end. He is the immortal part and leader of mankind.
>
> God [god] does not guide our feet. Nothing of such things will god do; it is an idle dream. But god will be with you nevertheless. In the reeling aeroplane or the dark ice cave god will be your courage. Though you suffer or are killed, it is not an end. He will be with you as you face death; He will die with you as he has died already countless myriads of brave deaths.

So one might go on,[1] but space forbids. Their sophistry no context relieves, nor is it cleared away by further exposition.

[1] *cf.* also pp. 99, 115, 120, 161, 163, 184, 186.

(6) The general conception of religion here assumed is open to much correction, and often decidedly misleading. Quotation being here impossible, pp. xv., 87, 111, 204, 205 may be definitely specified as typical instances.

(7) The writer is quite unpardonable in his superficial references to but real ignoring of Christ. Some nine years ago, in his *First and Last Things*, Mr. Wells declared that he did not approve of Jesus Christ, and that it really did not matter to him whether the Christ of the Gospels ever lived or not. This volume merely echoes those sentiments. But it deserves and confirms what Dean Henson said a few days ago in the City Temple :—

> Remove Christ from the central place and the Temple of Religion is not only empty but ruined. To conceive of God otherwise than Christ compels, is to revert to the lower creeds of Paganism, however adroit we may be in covering the nakedness of our apostasy with phrases borrowed from Christianity.

There could hardly be, in few words, a truer summary of the book we are contemplating.

(8) On the whole, the estimate and representation of Christianity and Christian doctrine here put forth are as unfair, untrue, and uncalled for, as is the author's reiteration of the terms 'damn' and 'damnation'—which he either knows well, or ought to know, have no place in the Christian terminology of to-day. He cannot find either of them in the Revised Version ; is it an essential part of his 'new religion' to ignore all the better features of the older religion which he denounces ? If such a method were applied to his 'discovery,' who sooner than he would protest ?

(9) Finally, here in brief must be said that which would need many pages to demonstrate, viz. : that (as was hinted in homely figure at the beginning of this notice) this 'new religion' will never be satisfactory in its results, whatever be the cleverness of its verbal presentation, for the simple but sufficient reason that it will not work. It will no more bring to pass all the Utopia that the author assumes, than a cardboard engine will draw a real train. For apart from

all else which is here open to such serious question, its main purpose, which seems to be an echo of that which came to Paul at Athens, viz.: to set forth an unknown God, is, as hinted above, a fourfold failure. The god of the new religion is demonstrably unreal, self-contradictory, inadequate, and unnecessary. To demonstrate this with appropriate proof and confirming quotations, is here impossible, but may, if needed, be given elsewhere. For the moment it must suffice to call attention to what is fairly manifest.

(i) The Wellsian god is the pure creation of imagination. The title of the volume is more apt than the author intended. *God the Invisible King*—cannot but be significant. No one beyond childhood would take it to signify merely that God could not be seen by mortal eye. But there ought to be for rational beings, and there is, a true sense in which God, if He is to be the object of faith and love and obedience, can be seen in proportion to His reality. This is the specific claim of Christian Theism; and it is not disproved by any of the jeers and sneers with which so often to-day it is dismissed. In the case, however, of Mr. Wells' new discovery, no reason whatever is given—as hinted above—for accepting either the existence or the personality of the alleged god, beyond the conviction and belief of the writer. With the calmest equanimity it is declared that

> God [i.e. god] comes to us neither out of the stars nor out of the pride of life, but as a still small voice within.
>
> The statement of modern religion (of the Wells type) is a mere statement of what we may all perceive and experience.

Those who have been 'hypnotized and obsessed by the idea that the Christian God is the only thinkable God' are released by Mr. Wells' discovery, so that 'their minds become as it were nascent, and ready for the coming of god. Then suddenly, in a little while, in his own time, god comes. This cardinal experience is an undoubting immediate sense of god. It is the attainment of an absolute certainty that one is not alone in oneself.'

> Firstly, god is courage. Next god is a person. The third thing to be told of the true God is that god is youth.
>
> Believers in this modern religiosity advance no proof whatever of the existence of god, but their realisation of him.

Beyond these assumptions, no other ground whatever is given for accepting Mr. Wells' theocracy, and consequently jettisoning all else, than that—Mr. Wells says so. If this generation is content to accept that position, then all that the Christian need reply is that the warning in 1 Timothy iv. 3, 4, is measurelessly appropriate.

(ii) Again; the allegations respecting this new god are plainly self-contradictory. It appears that after all his spleen against Christian doctrine, Mr. Wells must have his own trinity. Thus from three consecutive pages we learn that for the new religion there is

> first the Veiled Being, enigmatical and incomprehensible.
>
> Then, coming out of this veiled being, is another lesser being, an impulse thrusting through matter and clothing itself in ever-changing material forms.
>
> This second Being men have called the life Force—and in it do we all live, with no certainty and no coherence within us— –
>
> until we find god.

First, the Veiled Being; Second Being, the Life Force; Third Being, god.

It would be interesting to know how an 'impulse' can be a 'Being.' But of the relations between god and this 'second Being,' we learn nothing more. We are, however, told that the new god—the third—

> began, and is always beginning—if a figure may represent him, it must be a beautiful youth, already brave and wise, but hardly come to his strength.
>
> He is the undying human memory, the increasing human will.

But apart from the impossibility of conceiving of anything which is 'always beginning'—for a beginning without a sequence is a contradiction in terms—it is difficult indeed to form any notion of a personality out of these elements. It is still more difficult to correlate this conglomerate ever-beginning god with the dogmatic assurance that this god

> is everywhere and immediately accessible to every human being.

For whilst it is the 'most fundamental mark of the new faith

that it worships a finite god,' it certainly requires a Wellsian mind to apprehend how such a finite god can be 'everywhere.'

(iii) Such a god is markedly inadequate for all the tasks set him by his discoverer. One would like to ask in detail what Mr. Wells has added to the conceptions of Mr. J. S. Mill's closing words upon Theism, as to a limited Deity; or wherein he differs from his avowed teacher, the late Prof. W. James.[1] It would seem as if the teacher were wiser than the pupil, but that we must leave here.

After having assured us that god is 'everywhere,' we are told that he is neither all-powerful nor omnipresent. How then he can be 'accessible to every human being' does not become at all clear. In fact it is unthinkable. Moreover, a god who has 'hardly come to his strength' is hardly likely to be a 'god of salvation' such as every human being needs. Furthermore, if 'the first purpose of god is the attainment of clear knowledge as a means to an end that he is only beginning to apprehend. . . . Incidentally our god dies a million deaths.'

Christian thinkers, at all events, will fail to see how in coming to such a god, 'the libidinous, vindictive, boastful or indolent man' everywhere will find that 'now his will to prevail over those qualities can refer to an exterior standard and an external interest, he can draw upon a strength almost boundless beyond his own.'

'Almost,' saves the Wellsian consistency, but ruins the human hope. Was there ever, will there ever be, a real sinner—say one of Mr. Begbie's *Broken Earthenware* specimens—helped out of drink and lust and villainy, into

---

[1] Of his *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 525. 'The practical needs and experiences of religion seem to me sufficiently met by the belief that beyond each man, and in a fashion continuous with him, there exists a larger power which is friendly to him and to his ideals. All that the facts require is that the power should be both other and larger than our conscious selves. Anything larger will do, if only it be large enough to trust for the next step. It need not be infinite, it need not be solitary.

sobriety, purity, loving-kindness, by such a god? Whatever else may be said, as we set the new 'religiosity' side by side with confessedly faulty Christian Churches, at least the appeal to facts confirms one of the sayings of Christ—'No one wants new wine after drinking old—the old, he says, is better.'[1] This is a tempting theme for enlargement, but we must here dismiss it with the plain avowal, which admits of abundant proof, that human nature being what it is, this new god is no more equal to the needs of modern humanity, than the Theosophic 'Star of the East,' or the 'Christian Science' denial that there is such a thing as pain.

(iv) Happily it may be affirmed, with sufficient reasons in both fact and principle, that this new religious 'discovery,' on the lines of scientific fiction, is quite unnecessary if only justice is done—which assuredly in these Wellsian pages it is not—to the Christian doctrine of God and all that it connotes. It is simply false for any writer, no matter how clever, to represent modern Christian theology thus: 'the same common tendency to superlatives and absolutes that makes men ashamed to admit that God is finite, makes them seek to enhance the merits of their Saviour by the device of everlasting fire.' What our fathers held hereupon is nothing to the point. If Mr. Wells is so modern in his science, why should he not allow us to be so in our religion? If in physics he would accept the standpoints of, say, Sir Oliver Lodge or Prof. Silvanus Thompson, why does he not take his conception of Christian truth from such a work as *The Christian Doctrine of God*, by Dr. W. N. Clarke. For there, assuredly, as in a myriad other volumes with authority, he will find no warrant for his gibe. This is not the place to state Christian Theism, even in outline, but when it is fairly set forth, apart from the obscurantist blunders of some of its friends, no less than from the sneers and misrepresentations of its enemies, it is well able to take care of itself; even in these restless days of occult cults and individual vagaries. And

[1] Luke v. 39 (Moffatt).

when our author so epigrammatically concludes his strange adventure with the assurance that 'the kingdom of god is at hand,' we hand him back his discovery with one letter altered—'God' is ours, his is 'god'—not merely because we are Christians, but because there are abundant reasons for our belief that 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' of whom Paul wrote, is still the only God worth thinking of, let alone worshipping, loving, serving. For, in a very much truer, fuller, warmer, and more hopeful sense than is found in the booklet of Mr. Cotter Morison which Sir Harry Johnston recommends, the 'kingdom of God,' according to Jesus Christ, involves the 'service of man' now, as well as the comfort and hope for that which is beyond.

Whatever be the coming conflicts in religion, as in sociology, it may be affirmed with as much confidence as little bigotry, that men and nations that have come through the strains and horrors of these years will need something—some One—more real and more adequate to all their needs, than this Brocken Spectre of a versatile human imagination. If it could be affirmed that 'the kingdom' of such a finite, synthetic, humanly-conglomerate, youthful, uneducated, rationally invisible god, as Mr. Wells offers us, were 'at hand,' it would indeed be time to ring the knell of humanity's noblest hopes as well as highest aspirations. God be thanked that it is not so. 'Salvation leaves us still disharmonious, and adds not an inch to our spiritual and moral stature.'

So declares our modern prophet. To which we may well reply that for such salvation the world of to-day has neither need nor room. In blood and tears has Europe learned the lesson that Nietzsche has had his day, and must cease to be; whilst all mankind is yearning as never before for the bells of peace that will

> Ring out the darkness of the land,
> Ring in the Christ that is to be.

FRANK BALLARD.

WHAT THE NEWSPAPER OWES TO THE MAGAZINE[1]

THE first half of the present year brought with it two notable anniversaries in periodical literature—in January the 139th anniversary of the Wesleyan *Magazine*, in April the 100th birthday of *Blackwood's*. In the May of 1841 two young men, destined to leave a deeper mark than any others of their time upon the periodical press, shared a lodging close to St. James's Square. Of about the same age, they resembled each other not a little in tastes, temperament, and intellectual shrewdness. They had, too, the same almost instinctive insight into the preferences, antipathies of the popular mind. The pair, if they breakfasted together, seldom saw each other again till night, and often not till the following day. On one of these reunions the elder of the two, as he was, by just a year, burst out with—'By Jove, John, I am the editor of the *Times!*' 'I was so overcome with delight,' the other used to say, when recalling the incident many years afterwards, 'that I danced a saraband on the spot.' The congenial and unclouded intimacy continued without a break during the best part of half a century till 1879, when in the late autumn of that year they died within a week of one another. During their London life beneath the same roof, there was some similarity between the occupations of the two.

The son of John Walter, Printing House Square manager, while 'eating his dinners' at the Temple regularly listened in the gallery to parliamentary debates, sometimes 'took them down,' instituted with his own pen the précis of debates which soon became one of the great newspaper's

[1] Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Mrs. Gerald Porter's *William Blackwood and his Sons*.

features, and was sometimes made free of its leader columns. The son of the Scotch publisher, in due course the parent of magazine literature, having served a technical apprenticeship in the house of Whitaker, had been commissioned by the Blackwoods of the next generation, his brothers, to establish a London branch of the firm that gave its name to the monthly that in this April of the twentieth century became a hundred years old.

It is worth while to give a passing glance at the state of periodical letters—excluding newspapers—at the time that or shortly before 'Maga,' or as it was also called, 'Old Ebony,' became a feature in the reading life of the Scotch Athens.

The suspension of the Stuart monarchy in 1649 brought with it a literary and intellectual, as well as a moral and political revolution. Fiction of every kind, from the voluminous romance to the short story after Boccaccio's manner, was discouraged not less severely than every presentation or caricature of life and manners was proscribed on the stage. Books, and those chiefly of a theological hue, issued in sufficient numbers from the press; nearly all the aggregates of unbound sheets were either pamphlets or sermons. At last in 1731 came the first specimen of a magazine free from the moral and social objections which had often proved fatal to many of its predecessors. This was Edward Cave's *Gentleman*. After that no periodical novelty found its way into the market till the Addison and Steele collaboration, having opened a new era, inspired Samuel Johnson with the idea for the *Rambler* and the *Tatler*. But the only approach to anything in the nature of modern magazines in Johnson's time was something in which he had no part, and which has survived to the present day.

The *Annual Register* first appeared in 1758. In general character and detail of contents it originated exclusively with Edmund Burke. The typographical proportions of

news and comment, as well as the space allotted to politics, art, literature, and science were all arranged by him. Long after he had ceased to have anything to do with it, his arrangements in these respects were carried out by his successors. This very hardy annual, therefore, after some 160 years from its inception bears to-day the impress of that imperial intellect which made Johnson say, 'You could not stand for two minutes in an April shower under the same shelter as Burke and talk about the weather without finding what an extraordinary man he was.' For many years Burke not only edited the work he had planned, but wrote the greater part of it too. To Burke belonged the distinction of being the first to call the newspaper press the fourth estate; while his also was the pen that, as regards conception not less than execution, provided several among the more ephemeral prints of his day with a model which, half history, half magazine as it was, they did their best to imitate.

The precedent set by Burke in 1758 showed its full results just fifty-seven years later in Scotland, and forms, because of the historic personages associating with it, an extremely interesting episode in the chronicle of periodical letters beyond the Tweed.

The *Edinburgh Annual Register* was designed and started by Sir Walter Scott chiefly with the object of finding remunerative employment for his old amanuensis, factor, friend, and counsellor, William Laidlaw. Some permanent literary interest was given it by Sir Walter's occasional contributions, including the anecdotes about Scott's gypsies afterwards placed in the introduction to *Guy Mannering*. The chronique of the register at first came from Scott himself, who also suggested the subjects for two or three good original articles and the abridgement of one or two curious books of travel. These instructions show a keener eye to general popularity than Burke ever opened on his undertaking. 'Could I,' writes the Wizard of the North, 'get

the head of the concern fairly round before the wind, I am sure I could make it £100 a year to you. In the present instance it would be at least £50.'

'Willie Laidlaw' also forms the personal link connecting the Edinburgh Annual with the Edinburgh Magazine.

John Blackwood's father, William the first 'of that ilk,' was not only the creator of the firm but the founder of the magazine as well as—like his son and his nineteenth-twentieth century descendants bearing his Christian name—its sole editor. He had begun business life in 1804 as a bookseller, dealing chiefly in old and rare volumes. Neither the club nor even the tavern life of 'Auld Reekie' had then organized itself on its later lines. William Blackwood's shop gradually became a literary house of call for the varied talents collected in the shadow of Arthur's Seat. The frequent meetings of the more or less distinguished habitués of the place, held in the bookseller's parlour, bore their fruit soon after the close of the Napoleonic wars in the suggestion that the success of the two great trimestrials, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, boded well for a periodical which, appearing at shorter intervals, should combine the attractions of both, and should embody what one of its writers called the great nnovating principle of pretty equal oscillation between human life on the one hand and literature on the other.[1]

The April of 1817 brought with it the first number of the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*. The title was soon changed, so as to identify it more closely with the sagacious and energetic Scot who had not only projected it and bore all responsibility connected with it, but up to the seventh number suggested, commissioned, himself alone revised and modified everything it contained. His office staff, chosen with great care and after some probation for technical work, like proof-reading, quotation verifying, and other routine functions, included one Thomas Pringle, whose name and place in the Blackwood comity are only worth men-

[1] De Quincey v. 292, Masson's edition.

tioning because they accidentally associated Sir Walter Scott for the first time with the periodical. Pringle had been given some sub-editorial work on the magazine; in that capacity he affected a Toryism in comparison with which that of his chief and superiors seemed moderate and mild. Scott's recommendation had secured his protégé 'Willie Laidlaw' some small employment with Blackwood; Laidlaw, however, had the courage and unwisdom to blurt out his Whig prejudices and to tell Pringle, with whom he had principally had to do, that he hoped the periodical as it grew older would show better manners towards its political opponents. Sir Walter himself recognized that there might be room for improvement in this respect. The Tories, he said, would have little reason to thank the magazine for its championship if it continued to write about those who dared to discover defects in the Liverpool administration with the truculence which Pringle had tried to emulate in his treatment of Laidlaw. Laidlaw's illustrious patron soon forgot any passing difference with 'Maga's' early hotheads; and if he never himself adorned its pages he became one of its warmest friends. On literary subjects Scott, like other great men on both sides, was indifferent as to the party colour of the periodical in which he wrote. 'For love of the (editor) Jeffrey,' he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* an article 'Pour et Contre,' based on a volume of gossip about the part played and the work done by women of various degrees. This finished, he seems free to take up something for 'Maga.' But before putting his own piece in hand, he recommends the November number of *Blackwood*, 1818, to the Duke of Buccleuch; it contains an article on General Gourgaud's *Memoirs*, written by a certain Vieux Routier of his grace's acquaintance.[1] The

[1] Gourgaud had been the fallen emperor's aide-de-camp. The writer of the *Blackwood* article was a French official of the highest position, equally well known in Paris and London society, as well as justly passing for the most rusé man of his time on everything to do with the political coulisses of the Continent.

Duke is going to repair his health in Italy, and Sir Walter seems to hint that the remedial process will be assisted by the inclusion of *Blackwood* in his bag and baggage.

Thus on completing the first twelve months of its existence the magazine was conducted by the head of the firm whose name it bore on the same principles that have marked its management ever since. William Blackwood, though he took no partner of his prerogative, secured what De Quincey calls an intellectual atlas in one who had been from youth mentally not less than physically one of the most remarkable figures beheld at Glasgow and Oxford. This was John Wilson, then better known by his pen name, 'Christopher North.' He was an early nineteenth-century mixture of a Bayard and a Crichton. The son of a rich Paisley manufacturer, he had after a boyish training at Glasgow become a gentleman commoner at Magdalen. Here he scored a series of unbroken triumphs in the schools, on the river, and on the cricket ground, with the same air of easy mastery as that, with which after a bout of fisticuffs from the towing-path at Henley, he tossed a huge bargee into the Thames for having dared to avow certain democratic sympathies. Eventually the £50,000 left this son of Anak by his father suffered so much from the ill-management of his guardians that the aristocratic giant had to look about for a living. His mother resided in Queen's Street, Edinburgh, when he left the university. Beneath her roof he made famous and serviceable friends, whose influence secured him first a Scotch professorship, afterwards the prospect of fair practice at the Scotch Bar.

Meanwhile he had witnessed the birth of the periodical for which also he was himself to devise the sobriquet 'Old Ebony.' His ideas were too aggressively feudal even for Sir Walter Scott. They delighted and exactly suited Blackwood. Even in its infancy he became the literary life and soul of the magazine, often colouring by the magnet-

ism of his personality the temper and conviction of its writers upon all subjects connected with Church and State, poetry, art, philosophy, and faith. William Blackwood the first died in 1834. Every department of the business passed to his sons, Alexander Robert and John. In publishing, as in other matters, knowledge and ability are the secret of power. Thus by the middle of the nineteenth century the representative authority of the house had concentrated itself in the friend with whom we have already seen the editor of the *Times* elect sharing his St. James's lodging. At that time John Blackwood's London errand was not only to organize the London branch of the family stock, but to reconnoitre the metropolitan talent available for the magazine. He reached London without any exceptional literary acquaintances; he left it knowing all the chief literary figures of the day as well as the social and miscellaneous lions, including Benjamin Disraeli and the future Napoleon III, whom he had met in Lady Blessington's drawing-room. Both of these volunteered contributions.

One intimacy whose beginnings he then formed remained unbroken and undiminished to the end of his life. This was with Anthony Trollope, to whom some prominence may now be given because it was largely through Blackwood that Trollope became acquainted with Charles Lever. After the late General Sir Henry Brackenbury's death Mr. Edward Dicey was probably the one survivor of Trollope's guests at Waltham Abbey. The visitors here, notwithstanding what may have been said or written to the contrary, never included the Irish novelist. Blackwood, however, had not missed those productions of his which first made their mark in the *Dublin University Magazine*. In due course the author of *Harry Lorrequer* and *Charles O'Malley* received his promotion to 'Maga.' As one of 'Blackwood's men,' he struck up the friendship with John Blackwood's lifelong intimate, the creator of Mrs. Proudie and Mr. Slope.

Enough has been already said to show that John Blackwood's father had introduced the star system into his periodicals so far back as Sir Walter Scott's day, with the Napoleonic article based on Gourgaud's *Memoirs*. The paternal tradition was enlarged and modernized by the son, who explained to Trollope himself his editorial methods, to the following effect: 'As a rule I do not engage the regular literary man. He is apt to be *maniéré*. I find out a man who has made a hobby of a special subject, and who can handle it with full knowledge and above all with freshness. For example I hear of (say) a rural dean who has gone in for bee-culture; I write to him to give us an article there anent. He replies he has never written an article in his life. I tell him that he has only to send his facts and we can put them together in the office. And so I get an illuminating and above all a fresh bit of work which is quoted as authoritative by all the bee fanciers of the English-speaking world. Or again, I come across a cavalry officer who has been shooting big game in the Carpathians. I ask him for an article on his experiences. He replies he has never put pen to paper. Never mind, I say, send your facts and we can put it together in the office. Again, I get a fresh racy contribution first-hand which makes the magazine an authority on a new class of subjects, and so in numberless other instances. We thus avoid the hack-neyed, the conventional, and secure original, interesting matter. I always have one or more first-rate novels going on, for choice from new writers. In this way, to go back to early times, I got from a Renfrew merchant, Michael Scott, who had spent his life in the West Indies, first *Tom Cringle's Log*, afterwards *The Cruise of the Midge*. Both of these were immediately and widely successful. Only when they came out in book form after his death did the public know the author's name.'

The mistakes charged against John Blackwood's editorship were committed deliberately, and for a definite reason.

Thus he excluded Thackeray, and would have nothing to do with Robert Louis Stevenson. The writing, he admitted, of each might be up to the mark. Both, however, were out of political sympathy with the magazine, which was, is, and ever will be, 'High Tory.' John Blackwood and John T. Delane were, it has been seen, products not only of the same period but almost of the same twelve months.

The younger of the two, the magazine editor, was able at the outset, from his father's experience as well as his own, to give the great newspaper man some hints worth having because they contained the secret of his own editorial success. From Blackwood Delane learned and taught the race of editors generally the value of reflecting, elsewhere than in the leader columns, the best and most representative opinion of the time on the topics of the day. The selection of 'letters to the editor,' the headed articles, and very many of the more important paragraphs showed throughout Delane's time, and that of at least his immediate successor, the identity of the methods commending themselves to the North-British publishing House and to Printing House Square. A novelty in the *Times* one day became the accepted usage of the entire daily press soon afterwards. Not seldom during the nineteenth century's first half the primitive leaders in the *Times* echoed in their attacks upon Melbourne, the Whigs generally, and Macaulay in particular, the note first sounded by the Tory Magazinists. The influences which created the measured leading article of our own time were yet not more than partially operative; and the true genesis of the leader was in periodicals appearing in longer than monthly intervals. Fifteen years before Blackwood's day the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 and the *Quarterly* four years afterwards had been the first to provide the daily journalists of the better sort with models, as regards construction and tone, in discussing the topics of the day. Between 1825 and 1845 came Macaulay's

well-knitted picturesque and widely inspiring effects in the old 'Blue and Yellow.'

Then and not till then did the leading article, as it was formerly known, develop into the dominating feature of the nineteenth-century press. The penny paper—leaders and headed articles alike—bore a not less visible stamp of magazine paternity. No great genius of the pen was ever a more consummate master of the technicalities of his art, or imparted them more successfully to his writers.

Then Charles Dickens. The offices of *Household Words* and of *All the Year Round* became journalistic schools, turning out the best miscellaneous newspaper hands during some three-quarters of Queen Victoria's reign. Meanwhile, especially in his roundabout *Cornhill* papers and sometimes topical essays, Thackeray was training pupils for another branch. The late Maurice Drummond created the occasional note in the *P.M.G.*, but the pattern for its early miscellaneous articles was set by the man who had devised the title, but did not live to see the journal's birth.

T. H. S. Escott.

THE UNITY OF ST. PAUL'S TEACHING

I—ON SIN AND SALVATION

Paul and his Interpreters: a Critical History. By ALBERT SCHWEITZER. (London: A. & C. BLACK. 1912.)
The Beginnings of Christianity. By PAUL WERNLE. In 2 volumes. (London: Williams & Norgate. 1904.)
Primitive Christianity, its Documents and Doctrines (*Das Urchristentum:* 2te Auflage). In 4 volumes. (London: Williams & Norgate. 1906–11.)
Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie. By Heinrich Julius Holtzmann. 1897. 2ter Band: *Paulinismus.*

UPON no subject has linguistic and historical research been more busy in recent times than in the investigation of the writings of the Apostle Paul. Since eighty years ago Ferdinand Christian Baur, of Tübingen, first applied to this field his acute and luminous critical talent, every phrase of Paul's letters, every step of his travels, every trait of his personality has been microscopically scanned and discussed, from almost every conceivable point of view. And yet we find at the end of it all a scholar like Albert Schweitzer, the *enfant terrible* of contemporary German New Testament criticism, in the book which appears at the head of this article summing up the labours of his predecessors thus (p. 237): 'The study of Paulinism has nothing very brilliant to show for itself in the way of scientific achievement. Learning has been lavishly expended upon it, but thought and reflexion have been to seek.' On the ground he has cleared Schweitzer lays the foundations of a more 'scientific' construction of his own, which promises however to be even less adequate and convincing than some of those on which he pours his scorn.

The critics have been great in analysis, in disintegration, and Schweitzer amongst them: only he turns the scalpel

which he plies with such a flourish, upon his brother critics and dissects them as remorselessly as they dissect the New Testament. They examine the house of early Christianity by tracing the stones to the quarry, the wood to the timber-yard and the forest, the tiles to the clay-field whence they were dug and the kiln where they were burned; they seem to suppose that by these discoveries they have accounted for the structure. Paul, to be sure, owed so much to his Jewish blood and Rabbinical education; so much to his Greek environment and the subtly penetrating influence of Hellenism; so much, as recent inquiries make out, to the Oriental mystery-religions, which in his time began to permeate the Roman empire; most of all, thinks Schweitzer, to the Apocalyptic movement of late Judaism; something essential—a reduced and indefinite quantum—to the person and teaching of Jesus, whom the Apostle under the influences above enumerated transformed quite freely, and with small concern for the biographical facts, into his own heavenly and ideal 'Christ.'

The proportioning of the aforesaid ingredients in the make-up of Paulinism is endlessly varied by the theorists, while their uncertainty as to the number and relationship, the literary unity and integrity, of the genuine Epistles further perplexes the analysis: there is little approach to agreement in the combinations devised; every fresh investigator arrives at a new, or greatly modified, formula. St. Paul is still an enigma to naturalistic criticism; or rather, he disappears in the dust of the mêlée it has raised about him, and much of his Christianity disappears with him. He has been torn into fragments, dissected to death; in his place one finds a bundle of Jewish-juridical, Graeco-philosophical, magic-sacramental, mystic and apocalyptic notions tied together without vital unity. Such is the impression that has been made on inquiring minds by a vast deal of the critical literature devoted to Paul and Paulinism within the last thirty years. Criticism works

about its great problem with wonderful patience, industry, skill, and breadth of discursive thought; it fails to get inside!

The work of analysis in the field of Paulinism appears by this date to be about sufficiently done; it is time for synthesis and reconstruction. We have been to the quarry and the timber-yard and the clay-pits; we should like to see the architect's plan and to grasp the idea and purpose that created the building. We are ready to accept on due examination the discoveries, real and manifold, which modern scientific research into the New Testament times has made. St. Paul, and his Divine Master, belonged to the first century of the Christian age as truly as we to the nineteenth or twentieth: they breathed its atmosphere, wore its dress, imbibed its ideas whether to retain or repudiate them, and addressed themselves effectively to its mind. All this and the bearings and consequences of all this, so imperfectly realized by our fathers, the historical critics are teaching us to understand; but they have extravagantly magnified their office and presumed beyond their limit. Hence the failure which Schweitzer signalizes, but which he is powerless to repair.

The Apostle Paul saw in himself and in the Christianity of his age a 'new creation,' a force issuing immediately and sovereignly from the grace of God revealed in Jesus Christ. Though the material wrought into that creation was furnished by the times and belongs to the sphere of historical data, the formative impulse, the vitalizing breath, came (as St. James or St. John would put it), 'from above.' Now a really new creation, a result inexplicable by natural evolution or deduction from historical antecedents, the naturalistic critics do not believe in and will not allow for; and the recent developments of biological science, the breaking down of so much of the old assumptions of separate kinds in nature and of specific creations—have raised, we must admit, a formidable prejudice in their favour. Here in Christianity, in revelation and conversion, is the miracle

of miracles,—a new start in life! The intervention of the Spirit of God, moving upon and working through the human spirit, does not dispense with antecedents; it presumes them, operates with them and brings their potentialities into play. Until the preconditions are understood in their nature, variety, and limits, the supernatural determining factor cannot be fully appreciated. The historical elements and circumstances are the 'three measures of meal' of the parable: there is a 'hidden' something more, the synthesizing and transmuting force, which imparts a new being to the otherwise inert mass—what the Apostle calls 'the Spirit which giveth life.' It is just this one thing needful, the 'leaven' within the lump, that the critics in their careful sifting of the 'three measures' are apt to miss.

St. Paul himself, the God-inspired man, has been too much forgotten in the study of his many-sided Paulinism. This is particularly evident with Pfleiderer, for whom the first century meant a great thought-process, the genesis of a new world from the marriage of Eastern and Western ideas; and hardly less so with Schweitzer, who views the same period as a ferment of passionate forces, half-sensuous and half-spiritual and mainly fanatic, out of which the Christianity of the Apostolic Church was somehow generated. We have a right, after the long-continued and futile efforts at disintegration of which St. Paul has been the subject, to re-assert the unity of his mind and the originality of teaching. The impression he made upon his own age, and the effect of his work upon the subsequent course of religion, are his practical vindication. One is indignant at the levity with which modern upstarts convict this mighty thinker of ineptitude. When Wernle, for example, in his clever but often arbitrary and imaginative book on *The Beginnings of Christianity*, after reviewing Romans ix.-xi., exclaims, 'What a fluctuating medley of thought about God!' the sentence has an imposing sound; the writer stands surely on a lofty height who can look down on the Apostle in that way: it would

become him rather to suspect a muddle in his own mind. It is painful in the case of a great scholar like Otto Pfleiderer —the most philosophical and fascinating, and perhaps the most spiritual of the Baurian succession—to see him first rebuking contemporary critics who imagine, he says, that the lightning-strokes of Paul's genius, his world-transforming ideas, could have proceeded from a 'conglomerate' mind, from a mere congeries of notions 'raked together' from all quarters; and then after this just reproof, when his particular analytic formula fails him, throwing his failure on the Apostle and finding 'no alternative but to admit that Paul kept the two different kinds of conceptions (Judaic and Hellenic) in his consciousness side by side but unrelated, and jumped from one to the other without being aware of the opposition between them.' Now, we venture to say, that is a *reductio ad absurdum* of any theory of Paulinism; for it is to destroy the integrity of St. Paul's mind. No intellectual jumper, no juggler with ideas of the sort Pfleiderer describes, could have mastered the world and time as this man has done. It was a keen-edged, clear-cut sword of the Lord, fashioned of true steel and wrought to the finest temper, which clove its way through the moribund Judaism and decadent Paganism of the first century and opened to the world new paths for freedom and fellowship in proclaiming the reconciliation of mankind with God through Jesus Christ.

After this preamble, let us come to details in the consideration of the rifts and contradictions alleged to exist in St. Paul's recorded teaching.—(1) We start with the Pauline doctrine of *Sin*, as this is analysed by Wernle, who is a brilliant and arresting exponent of Early Christianity on rationalistic lines. Wernle finds two discrepant answers given in the Roman Epistle to the question as to the origin of human sin: the one deduced by Rabbinical exegesis from Genesis iii., which traces universal sin to the fault of the First Man entailed upon his descendants; the other,

the psychological view, of Greek and Platonic affinities though derived in Paul's case from personal experience, which refers it to the duality in man's composite nature and the uncontrollable 'lusting of the flesh against the spirit.' These are certainly very different accounts of the same phenomena: the Apostle blends them without any sense of inconsistency; and so we most of us do in our everyday moral judgements. Who with a sense of the complexity of life, and with an eye to harmony, does not see that the two theories above distinguished instead of being exclusive are complementary, that in point of fact both are necessary to the wholeness of the situation? Life is a solid, not a superficies; it is cut to pieces if you insist on taking it sectionally and viewing it along a single plane. The diverse explanations correspond like history and psychology; they demand each other as the racial and the personal, society and the individual. 'The flesh' —in Paul's phraseology, the seat and fastness of personal sin—is at the same time an hereditary and communistic principle linking us each to the Protoplast and to his fellows; it is the basis of our earthly partnership. The balanced theories amount to saying that sin is just as much collective as individual, just as much individual as collective—at once my own responsibility and the entail of my birth. The antinomy is as inevitable as life. The suggestions of St. Paul's double view are neither specifically Judaic nor Hellenic, but fundamentally human; the Old Testament teems with them,—so does Greek literature.

Out of the contrast just discussed another emerges for Wernle. He detects in 1 Corinthians xv., as indicated for the benefit of Greek converts, *an evolutionary theory* of the world—'the spiritual' growing out of 'the natural' (or 'psychical') and superseding it, as the higher stage of existence displaces the lower and preparatory. Here lies, as the critic truly says, 'the germ of a magnificent optimism.' But the prevailing strain of Paul's thoughts about the world-

process is pessimistic. From Genesis iii. and his Jewish masters, sustained by his observations of man and nature, comes *the theory of degeneration* (the Fall) which is inwrought with the texture of his doctrine and has dominated Catholic theology. It is quite true that theologians have taken too little account of 1 Corinthians xv. 45–49, and of kindred passages in the Epistles; but evolution and degeneration, ascent and descent along the broad stairway of life, are not incompatible, and it is manifest to which of the two concomitant processes St. Paul awards the supremacy.—There is yet a third cosmic theory ascribed to the Apostle, which Wernle might have introduced earlier as Paul's radical explanation of sin, viz. *the demonic hypothesis*,—the belief that 'the present evil world' is ruled by malignant spirits, to whom God for inscrutable ends allows vast scope and power to affect injuriously both personal and world-life. This conception of the mundane course was eminently Jewish, though not exclusively so, having its affinity, if not its historical spring, in the Persian system of Zoroaster.

To the mind of St. Paul the contradictions involved in the above three views of human development, so patent to his modern critic, do not seem to have occurred; he threw out speculations upon these great subjects, Wernle would suppose, as occasion prompted, without troubling himself to bring them into line or to think them through. We may retort that the critic has hardly taken the trouble to follow up St. Paul's indications, or he would have perceived that the Apostle regards Sin at its mightiest as a monster vanquished and suffering its death-blow in the death of Jesus Christ; at its utmost 'aboundings' sin is overflowed by the 'superaboundings' of the Divine Grace (Rom. v. 15–21). So far as concerns the world-process, Sin is an episode serving to reveal the character of God, a passing shadow on the relations of the Eternal to His universe, terrible indeed but transient. The Apostle's pessimism is a gloomy, thunder-laden foreground cast upon a background of

celestial light. As to the demonic hypothesis, this appears congruous enough with the rest when one considers that in St. Paul's view the horizon of life is immeasurably wider than the terrestrial. The working of spiritual antagonism is far-reaching and mysterious: man's life upon this globe is part of a continuous framework stretching into other spheres, and the destiny of animal and material nature around him is, somehow, bound up with his. Modern scientific knowledge of the communion in the forms and laws of matter between this and the other worlds suggests the likelihood of a parallel extension in the spiritual realm. Anyhow, such knowledge should caution us against the prevalent but rash assumption that the intuitions upon this subject of illuminated minds like those of Jesus and of Paul belong to the realm of fantasy and popular superstition. On grounds of analogy it is reasonable to suppose, if we have any good testimony to the fact, that human degeneracy has an external stimulus, that from the first instigation of sin downwards there has been a secret diabolic prompter of rebellion against God—that, in short, the mischief has been projected into this corner of the universe from elsewhere. Whether we accept the Satan-hypothesis of cosmic disorder or not, there is nothing in it at variance with St. Paul's reading of the history of mankind before Christ's coming as a shameful course of degeneration, a miserable subjugation of the spirit by its servant the flesh.

(2) From the doctrine of Sin we pass to that of Salvation—the most characteristic and heartfelt, and at the same time the most laboured part of the Apostle's theology. At the outset the familiar antithesis of ***Justification and Sanctification*** confronts us. Under these terms two different modes of deliverance from sin are said to be presented, which Paul brings into immediate juxtaposition in chapters iii.–v. and vi.–viii. of Romans, without attempting to accommodate them to each other or apprehending the need for adjustment. We may safely say that nine-

teen out of twenty of his intelligent readers have been equally unaware of the discrepancy. Pfleiderer sees in this duality the double front which Paul's gospel presented to Judaism and Hellenism respectively: 'justification' he regards as the form under which the old Pharisee commended to his compatriots, and to proselytes of their way of thinking, the gospel of relief from the sense of the punitive anger of God which their infractions of His acknowledged law have brought upon them; while 'sanctification' is the ethical renewal, the inner transformation, the reinstatement of the spirit in its mastery over the flesh, of which the corrupt Greek world confessed its need. Schweitzer and others, while insisting on the antithesis, rightly deny to the 'ethical' theory of salvation any specifically Hellenistic bearing.

We maintain that the Pauline Justification and Sanctification are halves of the same whole; it is impossible to understand their association in Romans and elsewhere, the mutual implication in which the two experiences are set, without recognizing this relation between them in the Apostle's mind. They are reciprocally essential as blossom and fruit, as birth and life; and they require as little adjustment. People who ask, What need for justification, if we have sanctification? why should not God cleanse the sinner without any formal process of pronouncing him clear of former sin? are asking, Why the gate, when one has got into the way? Those who would dispense with justification or treat it as necessary only for a peculiar legal cast of conscience, appear to forget that religion is an objective reality, and God a personal being distinct from and transcendent to mankind. To be set right with Him was, in the view of Jesus and of Paul, the initial necessity for any sort of religious welfare or sound moral progress. Now justification is nothing more than a Jewish, a forensic expression (if you like) for being *set right with God* in regard to past transgressions. St. Paul may not have used this particular word very much in preaching to Greeks; but

we may be sure he never ignored the *thing*. The 'adoption' of Romans viii. is virtually synonymous with justification, and supplies a bridge, if any were needed, between it and sanctification; for adoption denotes the saved man's changed position, and connotes his changed disposition. 'Adoption' emerges in a context charged with the thought of sanctification and the interior working of the Spirit. Moreover, in the Epistles 'reconciliation' is interchanged with adoption and justification; the equivalence of the three shows how little the scope of the last-named idea was limited by juristic considerations, how much it implied and looked on to in the way of settled fellowship with God and practical righteousness (see e.g. Rom. v. 1, and 1 Cor. vi. 11).

The difference between justification and sanctification is that between status and character; the nexus lies in the fact that our attitude and relation to persons—to God in chief—decides our character. Life is collective and never isolated; and for the society of personal being, God is the 'all and in all.' Hence justification, under whatever name, supplies the objective basis, while faith is the subjective spring of right-being and doing in men, alike before Christ and after Christ—in Abraham, David, or Habakkuk, as truly as in Peter and John—faith in sinful man meeting the grace and promise of a holy God. St. Paul's teaching about justifying faith amounts to this: that God makes men righteous by counting them so, by receiving and treating them as such, though they had previously been nothing of the kind, on Jesus Christ's account, provided they accept His bounty proffered to them in Christ. This method St. Paul asserted to be profoundly just; he proved it to be incomparably effective.

Here, by the way, we take objection to the current designation of the supposed alternatives as 'the juridical' and 'the ethical' theories of salvation respectively—a description commonly serving for disparagement of the former. The juridical, or forensic, through the defects of

practice may be associated in the ordinary mind with artificiality and chicanery; but for all this, the law-court has its ideals: public justice and the majesty of the State are amongst man's noblest creations sloping up toward the Divine; they mirror the order and equity, along with the irresistible sovereignty, of the government of God. Why governmental terms should be deprecated in speaking of God's moral administration—especially when the reign of law is recognized as universal in Nature—it is difficult to see, except for the reason that such language, and the analogies it implies, have in the older theology been overworked and discredited by a harsh and one-sided use. There is nothing in the Divine Fatherhood to exclude the offices of judge and moral ruler, which are, in fact, essential to the conception of an ethical universe. Instead of being unethical, 'the forensic,' or 'juridical,' in its ideal sense is the ethical raised to a higher power in application to the larger collective issues of life; it is righteousness realized in the dealings of subjects with the State. So understood, it supplies an appropriate expression for the dealings of the kingdom and government of God with sinful men. On the other hand, 'ethical' is not a precise or adequate epithet for 'sanctification,' as this was conceived by St. Paul. Holiness is primarily a religious rather than a moral term, 'the saint' of the New Testament is a person consecrated to God, one who is bound in loving devotion to Him under the sense of His grace received in Christ. This, and none other, is the sanctification the Apostle argues upon in Romans vi.: the Christian's ethical life springs from the fountain of 'the love of God shed abroad in his heart through the Holy Ghost given unto him.' So attained, sanctification obviously presupposes justification.

(3) The last remark brings us in sight of a Pauline conception of the Christian state often identified with the second of the above representations (the life of holiness), in which a number of subtle critics discern a third and

distinct way of salvation—*the mystical path* which opens up in the sixth chapter of the Romans, and which is conspicuously traceable in the Philippians group of letters. The watchword of St. Paul's mysticism is the phrase 'in Christ,' 'in Christ Jesus;' its finest expression is the saying of Gal. ii. 20: 'I live no longer, but Christ lives within me.' The conviction of his union with the living Christ, it is recognized, was the deepest fact in St. Paul's consciousness and lay at the base of all his teachings. Yet it was the hardest to communicate—the thing that came out last in his controversy with St. Peter (Gal. ii. 11-21)—an experience impossible logically to verify. In its unreserved communication, the doctrine of the mystical union probably belonged to the 'wisdom' which the Apostle 'spoke among the perfect'; he calls it once 'the mystery, which is Christ in you.'

Those appear to be in the right who regard this idea as covering St. Paul's entire apprehension of the relations of the Christian believer to God in Christ. For his justification, however little the forgiven man may realize this at the time, is on its Christward side nothing else than the identifying of the sinner with the sinless dying Redeemer, to whom he clings and cleaves by faith. The death of the Cross becomes his own in effect, as it was from the first in intention and potency. That surely is clear, whatever may be obscure, in the language of the early verses of Romans vi.; and what else can be in St. Paul's mind when he writes in 2 Corinthians v., 'If One died for all, then all died'? His death was *their* death already, in the purpose of the Dying One and the scope of His passion. The mystic union began on Calvary; it was sealed and certified in the hour of the believer's baptism, when, says Paul, 'We came to coalesce with Him under the semblance of His death.' The identity of Head and members, of Christ and 'those who are Christ's,' is carried to its full extent and includes the whole of justification and sanctification together, when St. Paul writes at the climax of his exposition in 2 Corinthians v.:

'He was made sin on our behalf, He who knew no sin, that we [who knew no righteousness] might be made the righteousness of God in Him.' These words no more clash with or set aside the stern teaching of Romans iii. concerning the indispensableness of propitiation and concerning gratuitous justification as the only possible way to righteousness for a world of sinners, than they contravene the glowing words of Romans viii. touching the sanctifying virtues of the Spirit of Christ and the eternal blessings assured by the fatherly love of God which is made ours in Him. The way of the mystic union, and the way of justifying and sanctifying grace, are not two ways to blessedness but one.

We have found the ground of unity behind St. Paul's wide-ranging theology in his sense of the believer's personal union with the dying, living Christ. His conception of the Church is, at the bottom, that of the collective life of souls in Christ. To expand this central and governing thought, the outcome of St. Paul's innermost consciousness, would require a full statement of his teaching on the Holy Spirit, which cannot here be given. 'The communion of the Holy Ghost' comprehends everything the Apostle means or implies when he speaks of 'life in Christ,' from its first beginnings in compunction for sin to its consummation at 'the redemption of the body.' With every step and circumstance of the long process of 'forming Christ in us' the Holy Spirit is identified; the golden thread of His working runs through the entire texture in warp and woof. He is the sole dynamic of the Christian life.

There is a further consideration, of infinite importance, which demands at this point a sentence or two. Underneath all we have been discussing lies the assumption of the divine lordship and universal mediatorship of the Redeemer, who in this capacity is placed by the side of the Supreme God: 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we for Him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through Him' (1 Cor.

viii. 6)—the catholic confession of the people of Christ. In the Epistle to the Colossians, directed against the worship of heavenly beings to whom powers were ascribed that encroached on Christ's sovereignty, He is declared to be the substratum of the finite universe—and more definitely of the being of mankind. Christ's action as the universal Redeemer is based upon His antecedent position as the ground and mediating cause of creation itself (i. 15–22). The new creation springs from the root and vital principle of the old; redemption is, in St. Paul's ultimate view, a recovery, a restoration of the primal design, which carries it forward through pain, humiliation, and death to undreamed-of heights of glory and perfection.

This principle affects profoundly all the doctrines of salvation. It takes away from the sacrifice of the Cross the appearance of anything merely substitutionary or suppositious. This is not the case of another man outside of me, who steps into my place and undergoes my merited death securing indemnity for me by his interposition; it is the Son of God, the very mould in which our race was cast, who takes our sin's burden upon Him. Voluntary as they are, the Incarnation and Atonement are viewed by St. Paul as grounded in the proprieties of the universe itself (comp. Heb. ii. 10). If Jesus Christ be, as Paul incidentally observes in 1 Corinthians xi. 3, even in the order of natural life 'the head of every man,' if our human existence originated in Him and He stands in a solidarity with the race underlying the Adamic, if His words about the Vine-stock and the branches are a true figure of the fact, then in what Jesus did upon Good Friday and Easter Day it was not, strictly speaking, *another* but (if one may dare to say so) the better self of every human self, the common basis of our personality as it holds of God, through whom our redemption has been procured. The spiritual union of the believer with his Lord was latent in man's first beginnings; from eternity our 'life is hid with Christ in God' (Col.

iii. 3), for (to quote St. John) 'the life,' which was all along 'the light of men, was in Christ in the beginning, with God.' So the teaching of the later Epistles sustains and enlarges that of the earlier. We should have to differ vehemently from Schweitzer upon many points; but we join in his protest against all narrowly subjective conceptions and sentiments respecting the Atonement. In view of the world-relationships of Jesus Christ, His death, as this master critic observes, was for St. Paul 'a cosmic event, which alters the condition of the whole creation and introduces a new age,' so that 'everything else' which ensues 'is only a consequence of this fundamental effect.' 'The world,' cries the Apostle, 'is crucified for me'; 'angels, principalities, powers' are put under the feet of the risen Redeemer.

(4) Still a fourth method of salvation is fathered on St. Paul by a group of recent investigators, working from the side of Comparative Religion. These scholars—Dieterich, Reitzenstein, and Heitmüller are leading names amongst them—have explored the obscure *mystery-cults* which honeycombed the Roman empire during the early Christian centuries—the Orphic and Eleusinian rituals of Greece, the worship of Cybele and Attis imported from Asia Minor, of the Egyptian Osiris-Serapis, and of Mithras which, originating in Syria, was carried far and wide by the Imperial armies. Aided by the glimmering light of these occult faiths and under the analogy of the fragmentary traditions of their ceremonies—of lustration (through the bath of water or of blood), and of the mystic and communal sacrificial feast—the critics referred to, reading between the lines of St. Paul and St. John, are able to discover there the germ of those conceptions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper which Protestants have commonly repudiated as perilous accretions to the gospel. Dr. H. T. Andrews, a learned and able Nonconformist Professor, told us in the pages of *The Expositor* of last November that this discovery is well established—a *chose jugée* in his opinion;

he advises Free Churchmen that they must admit the presence in the New Testament and the Apostolic Church of what they have hitherto denounced as 'Sacramentarianism.' He endorses the statement of Weinel, that 'in St. Paul's writings we have two forms of religion—the sacramental and the purely spiritual—standing side by side without any attempt at co-ordination.' In adopting this position Dr. Andrews has been preceded by Dr. Kirsopp Lake, who goes so far as to say: 'The Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist is much more primitive than the Protestant.' Andrews does not overstate the importance of the question thus emerging, when he says: 'If there is any sound basis for the new movement, it is perfectly clear that a very serious problem will be raised for Free Church theology.'[1] For himself, he would prefer to break with St. Paul rather than to follow along with him the sacramentarian lure; and he sees looming behind this particular difficulty, which is in itself so serious, the radical question of the authority of the New Testament and the canonical force of the Apostolic word for modern Christendom.

In Germany the assent of the veteran Heinrich J. Holtzmann, who is probably the most influential teacher on the Continent upon questions of pure New Testament scholarship, has given the mystery-cult theory wide currency and acceptance.[1] Holtzmann accepts the evidence with manifest reluctance; he regrets Paul's admission of the occult element as a declension from the purity and consistency of his gospel. The deviation 'opened up,' he writes, 'for the early Catholic Church a road which, indeed, it would most probably have followed without this prece-

[1] In the *Expositor* for February, 1917, there appears a weighty protest from the American Greek Testament scholar, Dr. A. T. Robertson, against Dr. Andrews' surrender, under the title 'Paul not a Sacramentarian.' We hope that Dr. Robertson will follow up his remonstrance with a detailed refutation. The thorough-going and judicious work of Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy upon *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions* might have guarded Prof. Andrews from the mistake he has made.

dent—a precedent given by the Apostle, as it were, incidentally and casually,' with small anticipation of the consequences. Wernle follows Holtzmann, dotting the *i's* and crossing the *t's* of his cautious leader. After examining the relevant passages in 1 Corinthians and Romans, he reaches the conclusion that personally Paul cared comparatively little about the sacramental rites; but he was ready to adapt himself to the tastes and requirements of others so far as this could be safely done,—to 'become,' in fact, 'all things to all men.' The religious atmosphere in which he worked was full of sacramentarian ideas and 'impregnated,' as some one else puts it, 'with mystery-bacilli.' Moreover, the baptismal laver, and the loaf and cup of the Holy Supper, were rich in illustrative and homiletic suggestions. So Paul came to lay a stress upon these two observances and gave in occasional expressions an exaggerated meaning to them, by which unawares a heathen infection was brought into the Christian system and 'another gospel' was virtually preached—that of salvation by bodily ritual and of the infusion of spiritual grace through material channels—which Paul would have been the first to anathematize had he recognized it. So the sponsors for the new find regard it as an intrusive element, the introduction into Christianity of a ceremonial magic alien from, and ultimately pernicious to, spiritual religion.

With our present light, we are not prepared to follow Dr. Andrews in his adoption of the latest German theory of the New Testament Sacraments; we do not believe that St. Paul forgot or betrayed himself in the way that Holtzmann and Wernle have come to think. The new sacramentarians, so far as we are able to judge, build upon an erroneous exegesis of the Pauline texts in question; they

[1] Holtzmann formerly held stoutly to the symbolic interpretation of the Sacraments, and Andrews places him by the side of A. B. Bruce as a champion of the popular Protestant view. But, as Schweitzer shows at length, Holtzmann has shifted his ground, and his defection counts for much on the side of the Sacramentarians.

overpress and predate the contacts between the Church and the Greek and Oriental mysteries. St. Paul was familiar enough with the word 'mystery,' and not afraid of using it; but he never applies the term, nor any cognate expression, in this connexion: as to the notion of the Apostle having borrowed from the current heathen mystery-cults, Schweitzer is justified in declaring that, 'so far as our information goes, no typical points of contact present themselves.' The trenchant examination contained in Chapter VII. of Schweitzer's *Paul and his Interpreters* shows how large a discount needs to be taken off the findings of those who, in the name of Comparative Religion, claim to have identified the sacraments of the primitive Church with the superstitious and fantastic rites of Serapis or of Mithras. 'The theory,' adds Schweitzer, 'that Paul personally transformed the gospel on the analogy of the Graeco-Oriental mystery-religions is menaced by the same difficulties which previously brought about the downfall of the theory held by Baur and post-Baur theology, that he Hellenized the gospel' (p. 229).

The decisive question, which Schweitzer charges Holtzmann with 'deliberately evading,' is (as the former puts it) 'whether Baptism and the Lord's Supper *effect* redemption or only *represent* it.' Not for a moment can we doubt what the Apostle's own answer to this plain challenge would have been. Those standing parables of redeeming grace and saving faith, the covenant-pledges perpetually exchanged between Christ and His Bride, have a purely symbolic value, like (for example) the wedding-ring or the soldier's flag; but that value is immense—the value of the tokens and seals of allegiance given and received between the Lord and those who love Him. Their binding force is only impaired by mixture with other notions, and by reading mystery into what is appealingly transparent and beautiful. The Apostle knew nothing of salvation by sacraments, in distinction from or competition with the 'faith' which 'worketh by

love.' The baptized man of Romans vi. and Galatians iii. is simply the declared and pledged believer; St. Paul ascribes a hundred times, as one might say, to faith alone the 'dying' and 'coming to life along with Christ' which in Romans vi. he associates with baptism. Up to this point in the Epistle, he has insisted at every turn, in language meant to exclude every other medium of salvation, upon *faith* as the link between the soul and its Saviour. When suddenly in verse 3 of chapter vi., without a word concerning faith, he speaks of Christians as 'being *baptized* into Christ Jesus' and the very union with Christ which all through the letter hitherto, as in numberless instances elsewhere, he attributes to *faith* is credited to *baptism*, the probability seems to us overwhelming that Baptism is for the purpose of this passage synonymous with Faith. So possessed was St. Paul as he wrote with the idea of Salvation by Faith, that it never occurred to him that anybody would read the sentence otherwise! In the later part of the Epistle 'faith' fills the same rôle of all-sufficiency as in the earlier; and 'baptism' figures no more, after it has supplied the imagery the Apostle required for his vivid representation of the soul's union through faith with the dying, rising Christ.

Except as expressing faith and crystallizing it in public act, as quickening and furthering faith and as setting forth in the way of the *verbum visibile* the objects of saving faith, neither Baptism availed anything nor the Lord's Supper availed anything, to the eyes of the Apostle Paul. The Sacraments formed for him no part of 'the mystery' of the true Christian life; that is 'Christ in you'—the whole inwardness of Christianity lies there. But these are the appointed and speaking symbols of the mystery; they help us to its realization, as all fit and loyally observed expressions of our mutual affections do. They are ineffaceable pictures of our fellowship with the Redeemer, and imperishable seals set by His own hand upon it.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

SWINBURNE AND MR. GOSSE

SOME COMMENTS: WITH A NOTE ON THE INTERVENTION OF MR. GEORGE MOORE

The Life of Algernon Charles Swinburne. By EDMUND GOSSE, C.B. (Macmillan & Co.)

MR. EDMUND GOSSE has much in common with Matthew Arnold. Both had remarkable fathers, nature-lovers, deeply religious by temperament, and remembered almost as much for high and noble personal character and personal influence upon others, as for their great attainments. Arnold and Mr. Gosse share their fathers' passion for Nature, especially for flowers, but neither may be said to share his father's religious faith. The faith of the fathers was ardent and unquestioning. One can say the same of neither of the sons. There is no hostility, but, as contrasted with their fathers, the attitude of the sons —at least toward the outward forms of religion—is, if not sceptical, comparatively cold.

Arnold lived a more or less quiet and uneventful life as a Civil Servant, travelled widely on the Continent, and went lecturing to America. Mr. Gosse has done the same in his time. Arnold's poetry was Hellenic in spirit, and often Hellenic in form. This is equally true of Mr. Gosse's. Those of us who love his and Arnold's poems cherish no little grudge against both that they have so often neglected poetry for prose. Other points of resemblance might be cited, but that on which I particularly wish to lay stress is that the judicial element enters largely into both. They would have made great lawyers. Arnold looked the lawyer to the life, never the poet; and pre-eminent as is Mr. Gosse's place in literature, I am not sure that he would not have

attained even greater eminence, possibly the greatest of all eminence, in law. Mr. Gosse has, however, made the happier choice, and that choice is fortunate for his many admirers, and fortunate too, for one of his friends. Only by one who is himself a poet and a scholar, as well as a writer of singular vivacity, subtle humour, delicate fancy, and withal a genius for adorning everything to which he puts his hand, could so uneventful a life as that of Swinburne be transformed into so fascinating a story. Elsewhere I have paid no grudging tribute to the power and the charm of Mr. Gosse's biography; but in so writing, I had occasion to add that I was not entirely in sympathy with all that Mr. Gosse says of Swinburne the man as apart from Swinburne the poet, and that I took strong exception to the inclusion of a contribution by Mr. George Moore. There, in the article in question, I left the matter, for the reason that the journal in which my notice appeared,—a popular and widely-circulated publication for the general reader, did not seem to me a suitable place for a statement of my views. In the *London Quarterly*, to which I have already contributed some impressions of Swinburne, I shall have quite another circle of readers, who may be not uninterested to know wherein I venture to differ from Mr. Gosse.

Mr. Clement Shorter, whose geniality and generosity are abounding, has recently, in a sudden burst of self-revelation and self-delusion, told us that he is constitutionally incapable of geniality. Of Mr. Gosse, who is not given to self-revelations, nor, I imagine, to self-delusion, I should say that he is constitutionally incapable of being anything but just. I have spoken of the judicial element in Mr. Gosse as marking him out for the highest places in law, but it would have to be the place of a Judge or Lord Chancellor, not an advocate. Were he pleading for a client, whose guilt was certain, but for whom there was a 'gambler's chance' of favourably influencing the jury by a great speech from counsel, Mr. Gosse would probably lose his case, for

in making his 'throw' he would appeal only to the intellect, rather than use the loaded dice of an appeal merely to the emotions. His constitutional incapacity to be anything but just has become emphasized, as time goes on, by his detestation of bias, and by the singular and deliberate detachment into which he has schooled himself. Not similarity of standpoint, nor identity of interests and of sympathies, nor friendship, nor personal affection, nor even the ties of blood, could deflect the compass-needle of his judgement by so much as a fraction of a degree. This detachment is very evident in his book *Father and Son*, in my opinion one of the most powerful and sincerest studies in personality—one wearies of the hackneyed phrase 'human document'—which has ever been written. To me it seemed almost superhumanly dispassionate in its unflinching honesty, and in Mr. Gosse's detachment from all sense of the personal element, when writing of his father. My own father, who was a member of many of the learned societies, knew Mr. Gosse's father well, and from boyhood upward I had been accustomed to hear Mr. Philip Gosse spoken of as one to be honoured, not only for his scientific attainments, but also as a man of intensely devout faith and religious zeal. But my father knew many other men of science, some of whom came, each Thursday, to spend an evening with him; and I, who was just then a young fellow, attending lectures on geology, was sometimes permitted to be present. Mention of Mr. Philip Gosse always interested me, for I was something of a naturalist, and had read everything which Mr. Gosse had written. I remember distinctly that though his name was, as I say, always mentioned with respect, more than one speaker referred to a certain Calvinistic austerity in his religious views which tended to harshen his attitude to those who differed from him. This affected also, so I heard it said, his scientific outlook, for he sometimes approached his subject, not in the scientific spirit of an unprejudiced inquirer, but with rigid and pre-formed opinions,

founded upon what he believed to be Scriptural teaching upon natural phenomena.

In reading, many years after, *Father and Son*, I was curious to see whether Mr. Edmund Gosse would have anything to say on these points. I did not expect that he would entirely pass them over, but I looked for some pardonable endeavour to soften the temperamental asperities, and to excuse what was narrow or harsh on the religious side. But though the son never fails in filial love and reverence, he tones down nothing, and is almost merciless in his dissection of what he holds to be outworn and unsustainable in his father's religious creed. To his father's greatness, his stern unbending integrity, his nobility of character, Mr. Edmund Gosse does the fullest justice. But even for his father's sake, lest, by silence, the son seem tacitly to consent, he must disavow the sacrifice which his father offered to what the son holds to be false gods. Never did son set himself a sterner task than did Mr. Gosse in writing *Father and Son*, and never did son discharge that task more faithfully.

I speak of that remarkable book here, because it is in the same detached spirit that Mr. Gosse now approaches Swinburne. He shows the poet exactly as he was. No more sincere or marvellously faithful portrait has been drawn. It is in fact not so much a picture as a re-creation of the living man. The fullest justice is done to Swinburne. With the exception of the inclusion of a letter from Mr. George Moore, there is not a word to offend. And yet—I say this with all respect to Mr. Gosse—there were moments, in reading his biography, when I wished that he had not laid the inner personality, and some of the frailties and follies of his friend, quite so nakedly bare to an outside, and sometimes unsympathetic and non-understanding world.

I do not propose here to quote the passages in question, for to do so, detached as they would be from the context, in which they appear as component parts of a completed

picture, might tend to make Swinburne ridiculous in the eyes of some readers who might see only this review, without reading the book—and ridiculous the older Swinburne at least never was, if only because in one's intercourse with him, one came, unconsciously and notwithstanding one's reverence for him intellectually, to think of him, and to feel towards him, very much as one feels towards and thinks of a child. In his later years, while retaining all his intellectual vigour, his personality seemed to have reached the point where life rounds to a circle, and where old age merges once again, if insensibly, into childhood. His follies and his frailties had fallen from him, and, with their passing, had come a gentleness and a deference which were pleading, and almost pathetic. This was the Swinburne I knew—another Swinburne altogether from the brilliant, ebullient, wayward creature, with his halo of red-gold hair, whom in a marvellous piece of descriptive writing, Mr. Gosse likens to an orange-crested and tropical bird. It so happened that I took up the thread of life at the Pines at the very point where Mr. Gosse dropped it. He ceased to see Swinburne, other than very rarely, if at all, after the beginning of the 'nineties.' Mr. Gosse is perhaps a little unkind to those of us whose acquaintance with the poet dates from that time, for he says, in effect, "What can they know of Swinburne, who Swinburne knew, only for a matter of some twenty years?' (not an inappreciable time). I speak, therefore, only of the Swinburne I knew just as Mr. Gosse, out of his infinitely greater knowledge, speaks for the most part only of the Swinburne he knew; but I cannot help wishing that the writer of Swinburne's biography, a book likely to stand on the shelves of every student of poetry—not only to-day, but a hundred, two hundred, many hundred years hence—had known the later Swinburne better. Mr. Gosse does nothing by halves, but he is a trifle bored about the Swinburne who elected to live with Watts-Dunton. It is as if a great artist had been painting a picture from life, and painting it

superbly. Then the sittings ceased, and some twenty years after the artist took up his brush to complete his picture, but without sittings. Had he said, 'This is the man as I saw him,' and left it there, all would have been well. But the artist decided that his picture must be *the* picture, and so must be up to date. Somewhat languidly he put his finishing touches, not now from life, but from his own earlier memories, and from the later impressions of others. Being a great artist, even these earlier memories and later, hearsay impressions of others, as painted in by him, could hardly altogether fail of the mark. But they lack the master-stroke of the earlier work. They are true and they are sincere, but the painter is a trifle 'tired,' and is a little out of touch and out of sympathy with his subject. I have said that Mr. Gosse does nothing by halves, but for once he has done something by nine-tenths. And *the tenth part which he has missed in his picture is that of Swinburne's later but singular lovableness.* Therein Mr. Gosse's portrait of him is incomplete.

Moreover, Mr. Gosse says very little of the changes which came about in the later Swinburne's views, for the poet lived not only to change some of his views, but also to deplore certain of his earlier writings, especially those in which he had assailed Christianity and its Founder. He said to me once that he would give a great deal to recall one poem in particular.

'But to do so,' he declared with a hopeless gesture, 'would be to call attention to it afresh. The printed and published word cannot be suppressed. It is like a poisonous growth of which Walter (Watts Dunton) was telling me. You cut it down, to burn stalk and flower and seed, that it may not propagate. You dig it up, root and branch, as you think—and in a few weeks' time, you find that some accursed root, fibre, or filament which had evaded your search has but become newly virile by the cutting away of older parts, and has concentrated into its diabolical and under-

ground self, the vitality which had spent itself more or less harmlessly above ground and in the open air. Thus, as in the Biblical story of the man out of whom devils had been cast, the later state of your garden is worse than the first. It is so with my unhappy poem. Any effort to suppress it would but newly advertise the thing afresh, and would prompt dishonest publishers and disconscienced 'collectors' ('disconscienced,' to coin not too strong a word, not a few enthusiastic collectors eventually become) to reprint the thing even if privately; and so, by putting what I may call 'a price upon its head,' to give it new importance and value. I fear it must lie where it lay.'

If Swinburne 'went back,' as I say, on some of his early and wilder views, his doing so was due less to the maturing of his intellect than to the refining influence, and to the chastening of his tastes, and in fact of his whole nature, which were brought about by his association with Watts-Dunton. Here I differ from Mr. Gosse, who writes of Swinburne as if he were a mere echo of Watts-Dunton. Swinburne, it is true, attached enormous importance to Watts-Dunton's opinion. He listened with the utmost deference, and considered with the utmost attention all that the latter urged, but he changed his own views only under conviction, and even when apparently so convinced, would sometimes obstinately go his own way. When unconvinced, no persuasion of Watts-Dunton or of any one else had the least effect. Take a case in point. As far back as 1875, Watts-Dunton wrote to Swinburne that the proposed title of a sonnet, 'The Saviour of Society,' seemed to him 'a painful insult to a name that every lover of moral beauty must hold sacred.' Swinburne contested this view indignantly, declaring that it was monstrous that any such interpretation should be put upon the use of so-often-heard a word as that of 'saviour'; and though I believe that it was not until after his death (I am not sure on this point, but at least it was in the same year) that the sonnet was reprinted

under the same title, I feel sure that the retention of the title had, or would have had, Swinburne's sanction, Watts-Dunton's earnest plea and protest notwithstanding. Another point upon which I wish to touch—reluctantly—is that of Swinburne's physical infirmities, of which Mr. Gosse necessarily makes some mention. It is true that one could not but be conscious of certain nervous movements and actions—purely pathological and so painful to witness, as well as painful to recall—and these are perhaps responsible for the not uncommon impression that Swinburne was an epileptic.

In his early life, as Mr. Gosse tells us, Swinburne was occasionally subject to seizures, but for my own part, I saw nothing in him at any time to indicate that he was an epileptic. I believe that the seizures in question were due much more to his singular nervous excitability, increased as that abnormal nervous excitability was by sleeplessness, and by the unwise way in which he ordered—or did not order—his life, than to anything else. That the attacks ceased, once Swinburne abandoned what was irregular in his life and habits, and that they did not recur, confirms my impression. Mr. Gosse nowhere describes the attacks as epileptic. He says they were 'epileptiform,' and if the less informed of his many readers are unaware of the difference between the two words, Mr. Gosse cannot be held accountable for that.

Thus far all I have said of Mr. Gosse's picture of Swinburne is merely a matter of opinion, and my opinion is, I frankly admit, possibly biased by personal regard. There is not, there could not be, any question of an error of taste in what Mr. Gosse himself writes. About Mr. George Moore's contribution to the volume, I hold, and many will, I believe, hold a different view. Mr. Moore did not know Swinburne, but he decided (it all happened as far back as the 'seventies') to call upon the poet. Swinburne was then living in chambers. The front door of course being open, Mr. Moore mounted the common staircase till he reached what he believed to

be the floor occupied by Swinburne, opened a door, somewhat haphazardly, and (he tells us) discovered the poet in a state of nudity. The only furniture in the room, so says Mr. Moore, was 'a truckle bed. Outside the sheets lay a naked man, a strange impish little body it was, and about the head, too large for the body, was a great growth of red hair.'

My first thought on reading this extraordinary contribution (there is more of it) was that Mr. Moore's imagination had been running away with him. He is a brilliant writer of fiction, and I have before now known writers of fiction (and some who are not) who, when they come to chronicle what they quite seriously and in good faith believe to be facts, find their imagination too strong for them. The Rev. J. A. Hamilton, author of *The MS. found in a Red Box*, tells me of a humorous and very human fellow (I should dearly have loved to know him) who wrote for his own tombstone the self-selected epitaph: 'He tried hard not to be a liar.' Most of us with a vivid imagination have on occasion found it necessary to make similar effort. 'Truth,' says George Eliot in *Adam Bede*, 'is so difficult. The pencil is conscious of a delightful facility in drawing a griffin—the longer the claws and the larger the wings the better, but that marvellous facility which we mistook for genius is apt to forsake us when we want to draw a real and unexaggerated lion.'

Your writer of fiction sets out on such an occasion as that described by Mr. Moore, to call, we will say, upon a genius. He finds or does not find his genius in. We will assume he runs his genius to earth and has speech with him. Thinking thereafter of what the genius said, and what the caller said in reply, the caller is conscious how much wittier his answer might have been, if only he had thought of certain things to say at the moment, instead of after he had come away. Thinking of how the meeting happened, and of how much more memorably it might have happened, had it only happened some other way, he sometimes rides the 'mount'

of his imagination that other way. If his imagination be of so lively a sort as to take the bit in its mouth and to bolt with him, he may at last, looking back upon his journey (that taken by jog-trot fact, and that taken by runaway fancy) be more than uncertain by which of the two ways it was that he really and originally came.

I knew a man who to save his life would not have told a lie. To save his life he would not intentionally distort or even colour facts. Yet I heard him describe a certain event; and when I came away, in the company of a friend who had heard the description, and had been present when the event so described had happened, my friend's first remark was 'What a liar that man is!' I, who knew the other man better than he, assured my companion that he was doing the other an injustice. He had so often imagined how the thing might have happened—ought by all the rules of the game to have happened—that having an extraordinary imagination, and being moreover peculiarly open to self-deception, he had at last, in all sincerity, come to accept and to believe the 'Revised Version' of his own imaginings. 'Since then,' I concluded, 'he had occasion hurriedly to tell the story, and told it as so happening; and to a man of his peculiar order of brain, *that* fixes the negative of his supposed true picture for evermore. An angel from heaven could not now persuade him that he is exaggerating, still less lying. It is a dangerous trait, and one must try to make allowances and to thank one's stars one is not "built that way."'

My friend, a man devoid of imagination himself, would have none of my explanation. He roundly accused the other of being an unmitigated liar, asserting, not without reason, that to a plain man like himself, a fact was a fact which no amount of imagination could alter, and hinting, not obscurely, that on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, only one who was not himself without some proficiency in the same direction could put forward so preposterous an

explanation even to defend a friend. And all the time I knew that the other man had spoken only what he believed to be true, and that I was equally sincere in what I had said of him. Something of the sort may or may not have happened in regard to Mr. Moore's memory of Swinburne. That he is incapable of intentional deception or of distorting facts, it is unnecessary to say; but the vagaries of the artistic temperament are many, and I am emboldened to raise the question by what Mr. Gosse himself says of Swinburne: 'Swinburne was,' Mr. Gosse writes, 'an autobiographical will-o'-the-wisp. He was not disinclined to give information about his life, but his recollections need the closest inspection. In the midst of a statement of considerable importance and value he is apt to introduce, by a slip of memory, some remark which makes the whole narrative apocryphal, and the biographer must always be guarding the poet against his own romance.'

There, except to add that Mr. Moore tells us he was much struck in his momentary glimpse of Swinburne by a strong personal likeness between the poet and himself, we will leave the matter. Mr. Moore concludes his Recollection as follows: 'I fled, and jumped into a hansom, and never heard of Swinburne again until he wrote to Philip Bourke Marston a letter about *A Mummer's Wife*, which Philip Bourke Marston had sent him. Of that letter I remember a phrase: "It was not with a chamber pot for buckler and a spit for a spear that I charged the Philistines."'

I express no opinion either of his novel or of Swinburne's comment upon it; but I ask whether this sort of thing should find place side by side, and on the very next page, with the story of Swinburne's friendship with one of the most gracious and gentle of women, Pauline, Lady Trevelyan, or whether it should have any place in the biography of a great poet by one of our most distinguished living men of letters?

COULSON KERNAHAN.

INDIA'S CHANGING STATUS IN THE EMPIRE

Parliamentary Debates, 1914–15–16–17.

Papers Relating to the Support Offered by the Princes and Peoples of India to His Majesty in Connexion with the War (Cd. 7624).

Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. Vol. I, *Report of the Commissioners*; Vols. II–XX. *Minutes of Evidence* (Cd. 8382).

Indentured Labour in Fiji: An Independent Inquiry. By C. F. ANDREWS and W. W. PEARSON. The Anti-Indenture League, Madras.

I

INDIA'S recent admission into the Empire's councils improved her status by making her a member of the Imperial family, whereas before she was *in* the Empire without being *of* it. That anomaly raised the ire of every Indian capable of understanding political issues, and any action taken to remove it, no matter how partially, could not but be gratifying.

The manner in which representation was actually given to India left much to be desired. Indians were not accorded the privilege of choosing their delegates from among themselves. The Secretary of State for India announced, on the contrary, that he would act as India's spokesman at the special Conference, and requested the Viceroy and Governor-General to send from India two 'gentlemen' —that was the term employed in the communiqué—to assist him in the performance of his duties as India's representative. This arrangement did not commend itself to Indians, because they desired direct representation, such as the Dominions had. They could no more be satisfied to have the Secretary of State for India serve as their

mouthpiece than the Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africanders would have been contented to have the Secretary of State for the Colonies act as their delegate. The whole *raison d'être* of the Imperial Cabinets and Conferences is that the principal units of the Empire wish to speak for themselves, and not through members of His Majesty's Government. Matters were made worse by Mr. Chamberlain's lack of first-hand knowledge of India, and by Indians not being allowed even to choose the men who were to be sent out from India to advise him. Indians, as a rule, view with suspicion nominations made by the executive, for their experience in the past has led them to believe that the authorities are likely to select men who may be depended upon to support official policies, no matter how much they may be at variance with the people's wishes, and it is not to be wondered that complaint was made against the employment of that method.

It is difficult to believe that Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues were unfamiliar with the political sentiments of India. Why, then, did His Majesty's Government devise so unsatisfactory an arrangement? The only explanation that appears feasible to me is that, in the absence of precedent the Cabinet followed the line of least resistance—as British Ministries have the reputation of doing.

In view of the services that India had been rendering to the cause of the Allies, from the very commencement of hostilities, by sending soldiers and supplies,[1] it would have been ungracious and inexpedient to leave her out of any war-council that the Empire may hold as she had been excluded again and again from the Imperial Conferences in the past. The mode of giving her representation was, however, perplexing, because she was not self-governing, as the Dominions were. The ideal way to surmount the diffi-

[1] It is a pity that no authoritative account of the aid rendered by Indians has been issued since the publication of Cd. 7624 soon after the hostilities began.

culty would have been to raise the 'Dependency' to the level of the Dominions, and to invite the Indian Prime Minister to confer with the Ministers from Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa. That solution, however, required courage and imagination. The next best way out of the dilemma would have been to let Indians choose their own delegates. The task may well have been entrusted to Indians in the Legislative Council, even though the constitution of these assemblies is not what Indians wish it to be. The only other alternative was to let officials nominate representatives from among themselves or from among Indians whom they regarded as 'safe.' The Cabinet chose the last method, because it did not involve any great departure from the existing practices, much less the enunciation of new principles.

No explanation was given as to why India was asked to send out advisers. It was felt, perhaps, that Indians would have strongly objected to the nomination of India Office officials, or of retired civilians, who, as a class, do not possess the confidence of Indians. Speculation was rife before the names of the nominees were announced, as to why two gentlemen had been sent for. Some persons thought that it implied that one Briton and one Indian would be selected. Others gave it as their opinion that a Hindu and a Mussalman were to be chosen.

The Governor-General of India had evidently his own views on the subject. He considered that it was necessary to send a Maharaja to voice the sentiments of the Indian Sovereign-Rulers, in addition to two nominees from British India. He was entirely right in thinking that India of the Rajas should not be excluded. It is not generally realized, in this country, that Indians still possess and administer 850,000 square miles of India, and that the territory belonging to Indians is more than two-thirds the size of British India and contains a population of over 78,000,000 persons—a little less than one-third that of

British India. Some of the States over which Indians rule are much larger than some of those ruled by European monarchs. The subjects of more than one Raja outnumber the population of the small countries of Europe. Many of the Indian Rulers are descended from ancient dynasties that have played an important part in Indian history. Some of them are the heads of powerful military clans. They have proved faithful allies of the British Sovereign during many crises. Throughout the present war they have been especially generous in giving men, munitions, and money. It would have been wrong indeed to fail to invite at least one of these Sovereign-Rulers to attend the Conference to ensure that the interests of Indian India would receive the attention that they deserved.

The selection of the Maharaja of Bikanir was no doubt due to the fact that His Highness has for years sought to make the partnership between the Rajas and the British Government closer and more useful to both parties. He is a man of great force of character and intellectual vigour. The other gentlemen nominated to proceed to London with the Maharaja were both officials—one a Scotsman and the other a Bengali. The Viceroy and Governor-General would have had to hunt very far to find a more versatile Civilian than Sir James Meston, who is the most affable of men. Unfortunately, however, not long before he was chosen to act as one of Mr. Chamberlain's advisers, his name had been coupled with a movement that was considered to be seeking to retard the growth of political institutions in India. Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, the only Indian selected from British India, is an accomplished barrister and the embodiment of the spirit of compromise. He has filled the highest Government office that has been opened to Indians, and has also occupied the Presidential chair of the Indian National Congress. Needless to add, so moderate-minded a man does not appeal particularly to Indians who are anxious to see India immediately endowed

with self-governing institutions. His acceptance of office under the Government of Bengal a short time before he was sent to the Imperial Conference made him less acceptable to Indians of the advanced school than he would have been had he not been fettered by official connexion.

II

After the three gentlemen had come from India, it transpired that they were to take part in two separate assemblies—the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. Mr. Chamberlain alone was to be a member of the first body, but he was allowed to take his advisers into the Cabinet chamber and they had access to all the information and documents laid before the members, no matter how secret they might be. The Maharaja of Bikanir, Sir James Meston, and Sir S. P. Sinha were, however, to be full-fledged members of the Imperial War Conference, where they were to occupy the same position as the Dominion representatives.

The Indian delegates expressed satisfaction at the cordiality of treatment accorded to them by the Dominion statesmen. Sir S. P. Sinha told me, in the course of one of the interviews that I had with him shortly before he sailed for India, that he had found the Dominion representatives to be very democratic. He said that they expected India to be endowed with representative institutions, and he expressed his belief that if autonomy within the Empire were in the gift of the self-governing Dominions, India would not have to wait very long.

Sir Satyendra had to admit, in reply to my question, that the Dominion statesmen who attended the Conference found it difficult to realize that their colleagues from India did not represent India in the same sense that the Colonials represented their respective Dominions. 'They told us,' he said, 'that they were officials as much as Sir James Meston and I were. We had to remind them that whereas

they belonged to parties that had been put into power by the electors, Indians did not in the least influence our substantive appointments, nor did they have any hand in sending us to the Conference.' It speaks much for the Indian members of the Imperial War Conference that they should have called attention to such differences, and the reader must make a careful note of them if he wishes to understand the Indian view.

I was greatly struck by the impressions of the Conferences in which Indians had participated that Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha was carrying back with him to India. He informed me that the discussion of Imperial questions in a frank and friendly spirit had enabled Indians and Colonials to realize each other's difficulties and responsibilities, and to form an idea of the great future awaiting India and the Dominions. At the conclusion of the round-table conferences all the members felt that though distance, race, and civilization divided the various units of the Empire, yet allegiance to the same Sovereign, and common interests, united them in an indissoluble bond of fellowship. The delegates went back to their respective homes convinced that though the self-governing Dominions are constitutionally further advanced than India, yet the two have much in common, since each is agitating for concessions from the British—the Dominions for a share in the control of Imperial affairs, and India for a similar share as well as for autonomy over Indian affairs. Indians have freely to acknowledge that in asking for an adequate voice in foreign policy and foreign relations, and for consultation on all important matters of common Imperial concern and requiring concerted action, the Imperial War Conference pleaded as much for India as it did for the self-governing Dominions, and that the weight of the self-governing Dominions is being thrown on the side of giving India a share in the control of Imperial affairs—a share that she needs to have in order to safeguard her interests.

The influence that such an impression will exercise upon the Indian mind will be understood only by persons who have followed the trend that political affairs have recently taken in India. The agitation for associating the Dominions with Britain in the governance of the Empire has been taken to mean that attempts were being put forth to make Indians the subjects of the Dominions as well as those of Britain. A paragraph may be quoted from the address that the Hon. C. Y. Chintamani, Editor of the *Leader* (Allahabad), and a member of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, delivered some time ago, to show how high the feeling ran :—

> 'It has been given out that the present self-governing Dominions are to be admitted after the war into partnership with Britain in the governance of the Empire. Think what this involves and implies. The politicians of Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand will, or may, become members of a Parliament of the Empire as representatives of their respective countries, they will be appointed members of the Cabinet, there will be nothing to prevent one of them from being appointed one day as Secretary of State for India or being sent out here as Viceroy or as the Governor of a Presidency. I do not say that the whole of the peril that is attendant upon the threatened transformation of the Imperial constitution will necessarily become a reality sooner or later. But the very possibility of it is a dire misfortune which we must and will do everything in our power to avert. We ought not to, and we will not tolerate the very idea of the widening of the area of our subjection.'

The meetings of the Empire representatives that were recently concluded showed that the Dominions wish India to be lifted up from her position of subjection. The Imperial War Conference recommended, by the unanimous vote of all the representatives from the Dominions, that India be represented at all future Imperial Conferences. The Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons in May that India would be represented at the Imperial War Cabinets that he proposed to hold annually. Mr. Austen Chamberlain informed the House of Commons on May 23 that it is contemplated that 'except under peculiar circumstances the representative (of India, at future Imperial Conferences) would be an Indian.' If the Government

would give an undertaking that Indians would be allowed to choose their own spokesman, the privilege of India's representation in the Empire's Councils would acquire a new meaning.

III

The Secretary of State for India outlined on May 23 the agreement that has been made between the Indian delegates and the representatives of the Dominions to settle the vexed question of Indian emigration to the Dominions. The grievances felt by Indians are succinctly stated in a memorandum prepared by the India Office on 'Emigration from India to the Self-governing Dominions' that is reproduced in the Blue Book (Cd. 8566) dealing with the proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, which was issued on May 25. It reads :—

> 'Indians, in their outlook upon the Empire, are at present powerfully swayed by two ideas. They are proud of the fact that they are British subjects and their country is an integral portion of the Empire. They wish to claim their Imperial privileges, and they do not understand why, on the ground of race, they are unfairly excluded from large tracts of the Empire, and worse treated in some matters than Asiatics who do not belong to the Empire, while (until the passing of the new United States Emigration Law) they have not met with unfavourable differential treatment in the territories of foreign Powers. They are at the same time proud of their Indian nationality, of their ancient civilization, and of the great intellectual traditions which they have inherited. They are deeply moved by treatment which imputes to them ignorance or implies denial of these titles to respect. They have made sacrifices for the Empire ; they have proved their loyalty, their courage, and their fortitude ; and they ask that this should be recognized. Thus sentiment and imagination enter largely into the controversy. If the Dominions would make concessions which would meet feelings of this order they would probably find India would not be unreasonable on material points.'

The conditions of settlement are that :—

(1) The representatives of India recognize the right of each Dominion to make its own laws to deal with emigrants and they do not claim an unrestricted right of settlement for Indians ;

(2) Questions pertaining to Indians should be treated on a footing of reciprocity :

(3) British Asiatics should be treated at least as favourably as alien Asiatics;

(4) Indians who desire to travel for purposes of study or pleasure in the Dominions but do not desire to settle there should be freely given facilities; and

(5) Sympathetic attention should be given to the condition of all Indians who are already settled in the Dominions.

It is difficult to explain the meaning of the term 'footing of reciprocity' employed in this connexion. While enterprising Indians are anxious to emigrate to the Dominions, there is no general desire on the part of Colonials to settle in India. A certain number of Colonials are, however, employed in the public service in India, and, as a rule, hold responsible positions, are in receipt of large salaries, and will have substantial pensions when they retire. The Dominions are also interested in Indian commerce, and at least one of them—South Africa—owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. The term 'footing of reciprocity' must, therefore, have been used in a somewhat elastic sense.

No settlement of the emigration issue will be satisfactory to Indians that will, in any measure, abridge their rights and privileges as subjects of the King-Emperor. Compromise may perhaps be effected along the lines of the 'gentlemen's agreement' that Japan made, some years ago, with Canada. It enables the Dominion to protect herself from being inundated with Japanese settlers, but gracefully gives the Japanese Government the privilege of regulating emigration so that no more than the agreed number of Japanese shall enter Canada in any year. Thereby the Dominion obtains what she wants without wounding Japan's *amour propre*. Is there any reason why Canada should not treat Indians at least as well as she treats the Japanese?

The problem of the Indian emigrant who goes to the Crown Colonies is altogether different from that of the Indian emigrant who wishes to enter one of the self-governing

Dominions. The Colonies want Indians, whereas the Dominions shut the door in their faces. The reason is that the planters in the Colonies do not know how to get along without Indian coolies, and they offer inducements to agents to recruit Indian labourers, and pay their passages. Exception is, however, taken to such emigration because the Colonials insist upon the Indian immigrant executing an indenture that binds him to the contractor as a semi-slave for the duration of the contract. This system breeds immorality of the grossest type, in addition to begetting numerous industrial evils; for, on an average, only two women are imported for every five men. Many a respectable woman has been enticed by the unscrupulous recruiting agent, and sent across the water to a life of shame and degradation. The independent inquiry recently made by the Rev. C. F. Andrews and the Rev. W. W. Pearson into indentured labour in Fiji faithfully portrays the revolting conditions in which indentured Indians live in that colony.

A strong protest has been going on in India for years to put a stop to the recruitment of indentured labour. Lord Hardinge of Penhurst persuaded His Majesty's Government to agree to its abolition, shortly before he retired in 1916. His promise was interpreted to mean that no time would be lost to stop the hated institution. His successor, however, was considered to be dilatory, and, in consequence, agitation broke out afresh in unprecedented intensity. An effort made in the Supreme Legislative Council by the Hon. Pandit Mohan Madan Malaviya to secure the passage of a Bill to end indentured emigration failed. Numerous protest meetings followed in all parts of the country, some of them organized by the Anti-Indenture League, presided over by Mr. S. Kasturi Renga Aiyangar, the editor of the *Hindu* (Madras). A deputation consisting of influential Indian ladies waited upon the Viceroy and Governor-General, and appealed to him to abolish the system forthwith. Lord Chelmsford very wisely decided, in April, to

prohibit indentured emigration. In order to prevent people from saying that he had capitulated to agitation, he gave it out that military necessity had compelled him to take such action. That does not mean, however, that when the war is over the system will be revived again; for Mr. Austen Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons recently that 'it will not be revived.' An inter-departmental conference, with Lord Islington as Chairman, has been set up to deal with 'the question of the supply of labour to, and the settlement of Indians in, the Tropical Colonies, which specially require' Indian labour. It is to be hoped that the Committee will be able to effect an arrangement that will commend itself both to India and the Colonies.

The ideal to be aimed at is clear. Indians must be allowed to enter the tropical colonies, of their own free-will, and to settle where they please. They should be given wages sufficient to live decently and to lay by a little for the rainy day. Their right to labour should not be fettered by penal regulations. They should have franchise on the same terms as other subjects of the King. The planter must be made to understand, above all, that he shall have to go without Indians if he will not spend more upon them, which he can well afford to do. The Colonists may rest assured that they will not lose Indian labour through the extinction of indentured emigration, provided they guarantee Indian settlers fair treatment.

The question of finding a fresh outlet for Indian emigration is an important and urgent Imperial issue. The Indian soil is over-burdened. Millions of Indians have been pushed out of industries and thrown back upon the land. The Indian farmer is illiterate and poor, and employs inefficient methods and implements to cultivate the land. Through lack of irrigation facilities, millions upon millions of acres of land lie waste or practically waste. The population is, therefore, driven to seek sustenance from the comparatively fertile parts of India, which, consequently, groan under

the undue pressure placed upon them. The redistribution of the population, the re-organization of agriculture, and the rise of great industries can mend the situation. It will take time, however, for these remedies to be applied, and they will cost a great deal of money.

In the meantime, Indians who find existence intolerable in their own country, and who are inspired by the spirit of adventure to seek fortune elsewhere, must be afforded an outlet to emigrate. To exclude Indian free labour from all parts of the Empire and not to provide them with an opportunity to settle in some other land or lands would be unjust and unkind. It would, moreover, be inexpedient; for the flood of emigration becomes dangerous when it is ruthlessly checked, and not merely regulated.

The war has, fortunately, given the Empire fresh lands in Asia and Africa where Indians can thrive. The physiography of East Africa wrested from the Germans is similar to that of British East Africa, which has been largely settled by Indians. The soil and climate of Irak, or Lower Mesopotamia, from which the Turks have been driven, are not dissimilar to those of north-western India. The part that Indians have taken in adding both these countries to the British Empire is acknowledged all over the world. If these lands are to become a part of the Empire, what is there to prevent the ear-marking of them, or at least one of them, for Indian emigration, and giving Indian genius free scope to make them Dominions that, in the days to come, may constitute bright stars in the British diadem?

IV

The status of the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor has to be raised in India itself, and not merely in the Dominions and Colonies. Indians do not, at present, have any share in the shaping of their Government's policies, nor do they have any control over their finance. The

Government of India do not possess fiscal autonomy, and, therefore, lack the freedom enjoyed by the authorities of the Dominions to promote their industries. Indians in the Legislative Councils can, at best, exert moral influence—they do not have power, even though *nominally* they have majorities in the Provincial Councils. Indians are very poorly represented in the higher ranks of the public services. According to the Report of the Public Services Commission, issued a few months ago though signed on August 14, 1915, only ten per cent. of the posts carrying a salary of Rs. 800 (£53 4*s*.) and over per mensem were held by Indians in 1913.

The present war is a struggle between the rights of nations to live, and insensate domination of the world by one small nation. The British—and all the Allies—are fighting for the former ideal, and the Germans for the latter object. India has not spared blood nor money to assist the Empire to enable right to triumph over might.

A conflict such as this cannot but strengthen the purpose of Indians to secure from the British the rights and privileges of regulating their internal affairs, as a community within a Commonwealth—rights and privileges that are already enjoyed by the self-governing Dominions. To-day Hindus and Mussalmans are, in one voice, asking for autonomy on the basis of that possessed by the other principal members of the Empire.

Responsible British statesmen have promised, on various occasions since the war began, that India's claims will not be forgotten when the time of reconstruction comes. It is to be hoped that the scheme of reforms proposed will be adequate to impress the imagination of Indians.

ST. NIHAL SINGH.

Notes and Discussions

JAMES HOPE MOULTON

I HAVE already attempted elsewhere[1] to bear my tribute to the memory of Prof. James Hope Moulton, and should have much preferred to leave it to others to speak of him in the pages of this REVIEW, with which he was so closely associated. But the insistence of the Editor has left me no choice, and in trying to carry out his wishes I have at least the satisfaction of knowing that most of those who may happen to read what follows are happily in a position to supply its blanks and correct its imperfections for themselves.

For, widely as Dr. Moulton was known and honoured in all the Churches, he never for a moment forgot that he was by descent and choice a Wesleyan minister, and no one could be long in his society without discovering his unbounded pride in the fact. Notwithstanding the engrossing nature of his University and other duties in later years, his first thoughts were always directed to the Church of his fathers, and he spared himself no effort to render it any service in his power. On practically every Sunday of the year, with the exception of the all too brief month of holiday he allowed himself, he was to be found in one of its pulpits, and by none will he be more truly mourned or more sorely missed than by the ministers and congregations, scattered up and down the Connexion, to whom he was always ready to give of his best. How he found time and strength to do it at the end of an arduous week of teaching, which would have completely exhausted the energies of most men, his friends never could understand. But to him it was clearly a sacred duty as well as a source of the deepest satisfaction, if only for the opportunity it afforded of linking scholarly studies with the practical work of the Christian ministry.

Of the part that he took in Conference, or as a member of the Legal Hundred, I am not in a position to speak; but I do know that he never allowed other calls to interfere with his duties in these respects, while his interest in the missionary side of his Church's activities amounted to a passion. He was himself a missionary's nephew, and the opportunity afforded him in 1911 of visiting his missionary brethren in the West Indies was eagerly welcomed for the better understanding of missionary problems that it brought with it. 'Sympathy and enthusiasm I could claim,' he writes in the Preface to the Fernley Lecture on *Religion and Religions*, which was

[1] In the *Expository Times*, June, 1917.

partly the outcome of this visit, 'a qualification without which no one could attempt even the humblest memorial of a century of world Evangelization. But the actual sight even of a corner of the field at once helped me to realize the limitations of the home student, and gave me precious hints for their correction.' And then, after a reference to the Hibbert Lectures on *Early Zoroastrianism*, which he was passing through the press at the same time, he strikes what was ever a dominant note in all his teaching—'I want to miss nothing of the spirit that shines in many dark places, for I am sure that the first great Christian missionary was right when he declared that God had never left Himself without witness. But I shall not pretend to think that these are anything but broken lights of Him who came to bring the dawning of the perfect day.'

Of the value of Dr. Moulton's contributions to New Testament study it is difficult to speak without giving the impression of exaggeration. Not that his actual output in itself was so great as compared with that of certain other scholars, but for the most painstaking exactness combined with rare originality and freshness, his books have had few rivals in recent years. For theology, in the stricter sense of that word, he used always to say that he had no aptitude, but linguistic studies of every kind appealed to him irresistibly. It was fitting, therefore, that his first published work should be an *Introduction to the Study of New Testament Greek*, and when his father found it impossible to carry out his cherished plan of rewriting an independent edition of his translation of Winer's well-known *Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, the son accepted the task as a pious legacy, to which he devoted himself as the great work of his life. The first volume, which consisted entirely of *Prolegomena*, was published in 1906, and bore on its title-page the words, 'Based on W. F. Moulton's Edition of G. B. Winer's Grammar,' but it was soon seen that these words would cause misapprehension, and by the advice of his friend and publisher, Sir John Clark, they were omitted from subsequent editions. The book was to all intents and purposes a new book, and this largely from the constant and skilful use which the writer makes of the immense stores of illustration he had gathered from the recently discovered Egyptian papyri, and other non-literary sources such as the ostraca and inscriptions. To the importance of these for the study of New Testament lexicography, Dr. Moulton had been first directed by Prof. Deissmann's pioneer volume of *Bible Studies*, and he quickly found for himself a corresponding field in the region of grammar. No one has been more cordial in the acknowledgement of Dr. Moulton's services in this direction than Prof. Deissmann himself. I remember asking him some years ago what he considered to be the best Grammar of the Greek New Testament, and unhesitatingly he pointed to the *Prolegomena*, adding that there was this also to be said that Moulton was never 'langweilig' ('wearisome'). The description is thoroughly deserved. I doubt if there was ever a grammar written in a brighter and more sparkling style, or with more of those quiet touches of

humour, which crept so readily into all that he said. More than ten years have passed since Vol. I was published, and, had he been spared, Dr. Moulton meant to make it his first charge to see through the press the large second volume dealing with Accidence, for which the materials were practically completed before he left for India. And it is earnestly to be hoped that means will yet be found of supplying the introductory and closing chapters which are still awaiting, and of placing in the hands of students a work which is bound to take the foremost place in the difficult and intricate subject with which it deals. Of the concluding volume, which was to be devoted to Syntax, not more than a single chapter, alas! seems to have been written.

As regards the *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, in which I was associated with Dr. Moulton, I find it more difficult to speak. I have no hesitation in saying that in the two parts already published what is most original and valuable is due to him, though our method of working involved co-operation of the closest kind. Our general plan was that I should provide from my own notes and from any materials we had in common, a first draft which was sent to him to be revised and supplemented, and sometimes almost completely rewritten. And then if necessary we discussed together the changes and additions that had been made, or might still be required. When the second half of the alphabet was reached, this process was to have been reversed, and he was to have taken over the writing of the first draft. The work was necessarily slow and laborious, and involved many debatable points of translation and interpretation, but in the long years of intercourse we had never a discordant or jarring note, and I only learned to marvel increasingly at the extraordinary width and accuracy of his scholarship, and at the quickness with which he perceived what were the important points to be illustrated. It seems at present almost impossible to face the prosecution of a task, whose chief joy was that it was borne along with him.

To Dr. Moulton himself no burden ever appeared too great. He was an indefatigable worker, and only the variety of his occupations enabled him to stand the strain as he did. Lectures, speeches, sermons, letters—endless letters on all conceivable topics—found their place in his busy day, to say nothing of the time that he somehow managed to rescue from it for close and exacting study. He was, without exception, the most *alive* man I ever met. There seemed to be practically no subject which did not appeal to him, or on which he had not something fresh, and often audacious, to say. His conversation was as helpful as it was brilliant, and his wide culture, his lofty aims, his frank open-mindedness, and the persuasive influence of his arresting personality at once captured all who had the privilege of listening to it. The eager, almost boyish, enthusiasm of his welcome, the warm grasp of the hand, and then the rapid flow of talk upon every possible topic, personal, scholastic, religious—how they all come back to one! How hard it is with our limited vision to

understand that he should have been taken from us in what seemed the very height of his usefulness and power, and that, too, at the hands of a nation to which he was linked by so many ties, and in which he had sought so earnestly to believe!

The personal sorrows which darkened his own last years are too recent and too sacred to be dwelt on here. But those who were nearest to him know that through all he never lost heart, clinging with ever-increasing intensity of conviction to the consoling verities of the Christian Faith, and to the blessed assurance of an eternal reunion hereafter. 'Those on the other side,' Dr. Rendel Harris has told us in his touching account of the last hours of the friend he loved so dearly, 'stood to him Christ-wise, saying Christ's words and doing Christ's deeds to him, as they had done to one another.' And while we mourn our own unspeakable loss and the irreparable blank that he has left behind him, we can rejoice that he had his own 'solemn troop' and his own 'sweet society' to welcome him in the new and higher life of service on which he has so assuredly entered.

G. MILLIGAN.

MOULTON AND DEISSMANN

FEW things will bring home the tragedy of the war to Adolph Deissmann more than the death of James Hope Moulton through a German submarine. It was only my privilege to meet Dr. Moulton once or twice, but I know Deissmann, and I believe he, who was Moulton's 'greatest friend on earth,' despite the war and despite the manifestoes of the Professors, with equal sincerity regarded Moulton as *his* greatest friend.

When I went to Berlin University in the autumn of 1908 I knew no one except by repute. But having heard Deissmann lecture at a summer school in Cambridge, I ventured to claim acquaintance with him and wrote to him. No one could have been more courteous than Deissmann in reply to my letter. He invited me to his house, advised me most helpfully in the course of study I was pursuing, and treated me with much kindly consideration all the time I was in Berlin. Undoubtedly the mention of Moulton's name, and the fact that I belonged to the same Church as Moulton, made him more than ordinarily kind to me. The name was a talisman.

I never met a more courtly Christian gentleman than Deissmann, and can understand Moulton's friendship for his German colleague. That Deissmann should have signed the manifesto of the German professors against England has seemed to all who knew him almost inexplicable. That Harnack should have signed it is quite another matter. Harnack is a little Kaiser in his way. His critical faculty, usually so marvellously balanced, has broken down, or has not been applied to certain modern German documents, or he could not have said what he has said. One is sorry to know that that critical faculty could break down so badly, but with Deissmann it is not the blindness of the intellect but the hardening of his great heart which hurts

most. *Corruptio optimi pessima.* Deissmann had great and, I believe, sincere admiration for things English. He intended sending his son to an English Public School: he and his wife both spoke English well. Harnack used to confess with some scorn that he was a man of only one language, and his attitude to things English was very different from that of his younger colleague. Deissmann was pro-English before the war, and Moulton might have been called in the best sense pro-German. To both the war must have seemed as a bad dream, which turns things upside down and gives an utterly false value to familiar and well-loved objects. I do not imagine that either of them thought war possible, until it happened. And now one of the two comrades in a great enterprise has fallen a victim to one of the war's worst inhumanities.

Perhaps our reverence for German Theological Wissenschaft had gone a little too far, but there was never any danger that German scholars would be enslaved by English theology. Indeed only since the days of Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort did German theologians and biblical scholars condescend to take any notice of English work in the same field. And even in recent years I quickly discovered that English scholars, whose opinions were treated most seriously by all students (and by themselves) in this country, were spoken of with scant respect by their German *confrères*, or were disregarded. But not all German professors took that attitude. Deissmann did not take it. Through his friendship with Moulton he knew more of England than many of his colleagues. Never did I hear him lecture without some reference to English scholars' opinions, and with a modesty becoming a great scholar and a gentleman he never hesitated to give Moulton the precedence in the work in connexion with which their names are indissolubly joined. It was of course through Deissmann that the D.Theol. of Berlin was conferred on Moulton a few years ago.

I remember about Christmas, 1908, at a dinner-party at Deissmann's the toast was given by the Professor himself—a toast he had discovered written on some ancient potsherd from an Egyptian rubbish-heap—*Bibite amorem Sancti Iohannis.* I believed, and still believe, that Deissmann had in mind the coming of the Kingdom of God in giving that toast, and was not secretly toasting Der Tag. In days of panic German scholars, who knew better, and many lesser folk, who did not, have been swept off their feet into condoning silently, if not publicly, foul deeds unworthy of themselves. We cannot understand it. To excuse them is not possible. But to have known Deissmann as he was—whatever he is now—gives to me at least the hope that in Moulton's own words 'time and God's spirit will bring contrition.' Till the day of reconciliation I shall remember that toast, '*Bibite amorem Sancti Iohannis,*' and I am sure that some, with whom I drank it that night, on the other side of the North Sea, will not forget it. May it be that Moulton's untimely death will change the heart and open the eyes of one of Germany's intellectuals, and one of the greatest-hearted of them? After all it is

not only in the victory of the Allies—that is a means to an end—it is in a change of heart of the spiritual leaders followed by a change of heart of the German nation that there lies the one hope of the future peace of Europe.

F. Bertram Clogg.

ARTHUR GEORGE HEATH

The records of youthful heroism which from time to time appear in print bear eloquent witness to the richness of the sacrifice that the nation to its lasting honour has made during the war. Doubtless the immediate circle of relatives and friends will be more deeply interested in memoirs which recall, however inadequately, the memory of the departed: yet it is fitting that a larger public should be made aware of the lives of golden promise which have been freely offered to the cause of liberty, lives which in various ways were destined to enrich the moral and intellectual activities of the age. Among such Arthur George Heath holds a place of high honour. Born in London, the son of George H. Heath, who was known and beloved by many readers of this Review, educated at a London school, that of the Grocers' Company, he early achieved distinction as a scholar, and in 1904 won an open classical scholarship at New College, Oxford. Coming into residence in 1905, he obtained the following year a Craven scholarship; a First in Greats and a Fellowship at New fitly crowned a brilliant career. The year 1910 he spent in travelling, visiting France and Germany and attending the Universities of Paris and Berlin: the succeeding years till August, 1914, were occupied by regular work at Oxford as a Greats tutor, and lecturer chiefly on philosophy and social and political theory. On the outbreak of war he obtained a commission in the sixth Battalion of the Royal West Kent Regiment, eventually went to the front, and finally on October 8, 1915, while leading an attack of his platoon in the Loos salient, was killed. Such in brief outline was the career of which the enduring worth is not to be measured by its days.

'Life is a quality rather than a quantity,' Heath himself declares in the most beautiful and self-revealing letter of the collection which has recently been published by Mr. B. H. Blackwell under the title, *Letters of Arthur George Heath. With Memoir by Gilbert Murray.* This particular letter was written to his mother: most of the letters are sent to parents, members of his family and friends, and are mainly descriptive of his experiences at the front. One could wish that the pre-war years might have been represented by some correspondence, however scanty, by which Heath's inner self could have been disclosed and the development of his thought on the problem of life and the spirit presented. Perhaps the volume on 'Personality' to be published after the war will in some measure fulfil this desire. Certain it is that as a thinker he was destined to leave his mark on Oxford. It was not, however, only by his intellectual gifts that he impressed those who knew him. He had a singularly affectionate and gentle

nature, with the refinement of a spirit brave and bright, gifted with a sense of humour and playfulness of repartee, modest and shy, yet radiating from his luminous eyes and finely-moulded features a sympathy which was the index of his innate unselfishness. In a word his personality was instinct with spiritual force and high-mindedness: and we recognize him in Prof. Murray's finely-phrased account of the tone of mind which Oxford seeks to keep alive, like that 'of some cassocked clerk of the Middle Ages, whose mental life would shape itself into two aims: in himself to glorify God by the pursuit of knowledge, and among his fellow men to spread the Spirit of Christ.'

The present writer knew Heath as he was in his undergraduate days, and valued deeply his co-operation and responsiveness as a friend and as a member of an undergraduate class which assembled weekly in term time for conversation on the things of the Spirit. His social sympathy was a marked feature of his character and a heritage of his Wesleyan ancestry. It was characteristic that he preferred London to Oxford; the social uplifting of multitudinous workers denied the avenues of the higher knowledge and beauty was the mainspring of his earnest work on behalf of the Workers' Educational Association. Himself a lover of beauty and art, a musician to whom music was almost an aspect of religion, he lived and died for the ideal of a more beautiful England, and the breaking down of all barriers to its social progress. Speaking of the first time he ever heard Brahms' 'Requiem,' he remarks: 'just as these moments of joy or elevation may fill our own lives, so too they may be prolonged in the experience of our friends and, exercising their power in those lives, may know a continual resurrection.' Thus, like many of his peers in this conflict, Heath still lives to us in the elevation and ardour and joy of his vivid personality.

R. MARTIN POPE.

THE NEW PACIFIC

By the New Pacific, in his interesting volume with that title, (Macmillan. 7s. 6d. net), Mr. Brunsdon Fletcher means the Old Pacific in the new conditions that are likely to arise as a result of the war. Mr. Fletcher is associate-editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the oldest and not the least influential of Australasian journals, and has special facilities for tracing the history of the Western Pacific during the past fifty years and for gauging Australian and New Zealand opinion as to the future of the British Empire in the Southern Seas. The book owes much to the late Dr. George Brown, who read the manuscript not long before his lamented death, and to the late Dr. Lorimer Fison, whose letter-books and diary have been placed at the author's disposal. There are also many glimpses of R. L. Stevenson, and of many pioneer missionaries whose names and deeds are familiar and dear to us as household words, as well as sketches of such distinguished living administrators as Sir William MacGregor

and Sir Everard im Thurn; but the chief value of the book at the present juncture lies in its exposure of German methods and designs in the Pacific, and in its lucid statement of the problems that will press upon our statesmen at the close of the war.

In his preface, Lord Bryce puts the matter with his usual mildness when he says that 'neither in the Pacific nor elsewhere has the German Power been found a pleasant or a trustworthy neighbour.' Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, who is on the spot, declares that in the Pacific Ocean, which 'sooner or later must become the balancing centre of the world's trade and development,' 'Germany has been brewing her devil's broth,' and he likens her grip upon the trade of the islands to the 'grasp of an octopus.' In his foreword, he goes so far as to say that 'Germany laid her plans against Australia as carefully as she did against France and Belgium, against Russia and Serbia, and against Great Britain herself.' Mr. Fletcher gives ample evidence that this was the case, and intimates that, for those who need it, there is still more damning evidence in store. These 'grab-alls of the Pacific,' as Miss Gordon-Cumming called them in 1878, have uniformly pursued an unscrupulous and grasping policy; they sneaked their way into island after island, following and appropriating what British missionaries and traders had discovered and opened up; they have showed themselves treacherous to whites and natives; they secured their footing, as in Samoa, by fostering inter-tribal disputes, furnishing arms and securing payment in broad tracts of the most fertile lands; and both in Australia and New Zealand they have left many traces of their plans and plots and infamous ambitions. Stealthily, steadily, they took advantage of the apparent supineness of the friendly British Home Government, and pursued their nefarious practices on the mainland and in the islands, establishing themselves in New Guinea, in the Bismarck Archipelago, and in other scattered groups, building harbours, planting wireless installations, and preparing for 'the Day.' The day has come and gone, and left these possessions in our hands.

What shall be done with them at the close of the war? That they should be handed back to Germany is, to Mr. Fletcher, unthinkable; and this, we are convinced, will be the all but unanimous sentiment and judgement, not only of Australians and New Zealanders, but of the English-speaking race. The record of the present war, on land and sea, cries out in the horrified ears of humanity against the crime of handing over any non-German people of whatsoever race or colour to the tender mercies of the Fatherland. Never again, please God, shall Germany have the chance, which in the past she has never neglected, of exploiting and ill-treating the native races of Africa and the Pacific. This was the deliberate opinion and among the last desires of Dr. George Brown, 'who practically conquered the Bismarck Archipelago for the Germans, and who never ceased to fight for Great Britain and her flag in the Pacific.' In one of his latest utterances to his relative, Mr. Fletcher, he said: 'Germany can never be permitted to return to her possessions; but the British

Empire, either through Australia or by other means, must be prepared to make greater sacrifices for, and to obtain a truer understanding of, dominion in these wide waters if development is to be fruitful and sustained.' Australia and New Zealand would seem destined, in Lord Rosebery's phrase, to be 'the trustees of the Pacific' for the British Commonwealth and for the human race; and the signs are more than hopeful that, given time and sympathy and indispensable initial help, they both will rise with ardour to their high and splendid opportunity and task. The spirit of both countries—enterprising, resourceful, capable—has been magnificently manifested in the war; and with a little patience and assistance they will prove themselves in peace to be quite equal to their destiny.

But help they must have, both from Europe and America, and, peradventure, from our Indian Empire. Their own lands are sparsely peopled and largely undeveloped. Australia, for instance, has barely five million white inhabitants, and according to Mr. Hughes it is capable of maintaining a hundred millions. Froude and many others have computed that the Island Continent has room for four hundred millions. The greater part of it is yet untouched, and the Australians have their hands full, and problems of their own. The tropical and semi-tropical portions of the continent, amongst the richest in the world in mineral and other wealth, can hardly be peopled and developed by white men; though, as shown by Dr. Edward Walker in a remarkable article in this Review in April, 1912, on 'The White Man in the Tropics,' so great have been the advances in tropical medical science that one need not despair of seeing Queensland and Northern Australia in the not distant future yielding their resources to the white man's enterprise and skill. And this, of course, applies to all the groups of islands in the vast Pacific. As pioneers, traders, cultivators, and administrators, white men will be able to retain their health and their virility in those romantic regions, and we may look for the more rapid spread of Christian civilization for which the early missionaries toiled and prayed. Meanwhile, our friends at the antipodes might, we think, do worse than listen sympathetically to the suggestion of the author that more use might be made of our fellow Indian subjects in Queensland and the North. In Fiji there are sixty thousand of them usefully employed, and surely after fighting side by side in France for the freedom and the honour of the Empire, it ought not to be impossible for Indians and Australians to live together and to labour in the not less urgent tasks of peace.

But this is only one of many problems posed in Mr. Fletcher's timely book, problems of native labour and land tenure, problems of defence and development in all directions, and most important of all the vital problem of evangelization. This last may safely be entrusted to the large hearts and liberal hands of the enlightened and progressive Churches of the southern seas, and, of course the economic and political problems that are pressing for solution must be largely left to the people and the statesmen of the Commonwealth and the

Dominion; but in the immediate future, and for a considerable time to come, they will need and will be greatly wise to welcome and to cherish the awakened sympathy and dearly-bought experience of the Home Colonial Office and of the Imperial Council. They will also need much help from the Imperial Treasury and from the British schools and colleges from which so many of their best administrators have been derived. The *Times* points out the right way: 'Give Australia and New Zealand time to develop more fully their home heritage; meanwhile breed up a school of Australians and New Zealanders trained not merely in the Pacific, but in India, in the Sudan, in the Malay Peninsula, in the various regions in which British administration has been successful to an extent perhaps never paralleled at any other time or any other stage of the world's history. Then the day will come to leave to these two great Dominions the keeping of the Pacific.'

Our American friends and allies have many interests in common with us in Polynesia and Melanesia, especially in Samoa and the Solomons, but the relations between them and the Australasians have been and are so cordial that little difficulty need be anticipated in securing their co-operation in the opening out of the new and better world that now is dawning beneath the Southern Cross. Their ideals are the same; they stand for freedom and humanity.

T. ALEXANDER SEED.

CHILD WELFARE IN THE U.S.A.

THE United States of America is the only country in the world that maintains a special Bureau for child welfare. Other lands have seen the wisdom of establishing departments to foster trade, industry, and agriculture, and to conserve forests and mineral wealth; but they still have to realize that it is no less necessary to make provision for the development of the living forces of the nation than that of its material wealth. That the exploitation of land, forests, and mines should receive attention while the men and women of to-morrow are not cared for casts a reflection upon the judgement of men of affairs. Even from the economic point of view the interests of children out-weigh those of material wealth, for the patent reason that a nation can make the most of its natural assets only if it consists of physically strong and mentally alert individuals.

The Act that created 'The Children's Bureau,' as a section of the United States Department of Labour at Washington, D.C., was passed on April 9, 1912.

Mr. Taft, who was President of the United States, conceived the idea of placing a duly qualified woman in charge of the Bureau. Never before had any woman been called upon to fill so important an office, but the United States Senators and the American people in general agreed with Mr. Taft that it was in the fitness of things that an American woman should be appointed to supervise the interests of American children. The President's choice fell upon Miss Julia

Lathrop, and was cordially approved by the Senate and the nation. She had spent the best part of her life in settlement work in the most congested district of Chicago—the second largest city of America, and had acquired a deep knowledge of social problems and great experience in dealing with them.

The Bureau commenced work on August 23, 1912, with 15 persons on its staff and an appropriation of $25,640 (£5,128). Miss Lathrop thought that the money and workers placed at her disposal were not adequate for the task that had been entrusted to her. She was not wrong in taking this view, for even if the term children is applied to persons below 16 years of age, the Children's Bureau was entrusted with the care of 31,220,361 of them. According to the United States Census of 1910, there were 2,217,342 children under 1 year, 10,449,420 over 1 and under 6 years, 14,984,252 over 6 and under 14, and 3,569,347 over 14 and under 16 years of age. A considerable percentage of these little ones were abnormal or sub-normal, that is to say, they were deficient or delinquent, and needed greater care than did children of normal physique and mentality. A great many of them were dependent upon the State or upon private philanthropy; and many others were employed in gainful occupations instead of being engaged in study at school: and their interests needed to be specially watched and protected. No wonder that the Chief of the Children's Bureau felt that the funds and staff that had been placed at her disposal were insufficient to cope with the work that she was expected to perform. She very wisely refrained however from bewailing the inadequacy of the resources given her, and began to make the best use she could of the materials at her command.

As soon as the work of organization had been completed, she turned her attention to discovering the most strategic point at which the Bureau could begin field investigation.

She found that the subject of infant mortality would fulfil all these requirements, and she began the investigation with characteristic vigour. Johnstown, Pennsylvania—a small steel and coal mining centre—was selected as the place where the first survey should be made. Four agents, one of them a man, were set to work on January 15, 1913, to inquire into the social, civil, and industrial conditions of various families and to draw up a careful history of the growth of each baby under one year of age. The man agent occupied himself with doing the preliminary work, such as copying the birth and death certificates, and tracing families that had moved away. The women engaged in the more difficult and delicate task of asking questions and securing replies from the mothers, who were assured that the Government did not wish to intrude upon the privacy of their family life, but merely asked for their co-operation in the interests of America's children. Their motives were so well appreciated by the women of the town, that there were but two refusals out of 1,553 applications for information. Success was partly due to the fact that these agents had secured the goodwill and help of the clergy, the women's clubs, newspapers, and health authorities of the town.

The work was concluded after 349 days' work, and the information secured was afterwards tabulated and published.

Before the first year had ended, the Bureau had more than justified its creation, and no one doubted the wisdom of making a woman its chief. Miss Lathrop felt that the time had arrived for her to ask for increased facilities for her work. She did not hesitate to demand more than four times the appropriation that had been given her in the beginning. She had proved her ability to make good use of the funds placed at her command, and she got, from the United States Congress, the $164,640 (£32,928) that she wished to secure.

With the increased grant she was able to re-organize the administrative office and to secure the necessary staff to carry on correspondence and publicity work, to arrange for co-operation with outside organizations and for exhibits. She was also able to create a division of child health, an industrial division, a social service division, and a statistical division, placing each under an expert and giving him or her research assistants, stenographers, and clerks. She was further able to increase the budget allotment of the library.

Last year the Children's Bureau, in conjunction with the general federation of Women's Clubs, whose membership includes over 2,000,000 women, celebrated a nation-wide baby-week. Effective means were employed to impress upon the public the necessity of reducing infant mortality and to indicate the measures that can be employed to achieve that end and also to rear strong, healthy, and intelligent babies. A vigorous press campaign was carried on throughout the United States.

I have devoted this note to the organization and activities of the Children's Bureau because it is designed to co-ordinate information on and efforts for child welfare. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that numerous other agencies are engaged in similar effort. The Government of the States incorporated in the Union carry on, through their health departments, propaganda to educate the citizens in the care of children. They maintain institutions for the benefit of defective and dependent little ones. Separate courts exist in every State of the Union to deal with juvenile offenders, and much trouble is taken and expense incurred to keep them from coming in contact with adult criminals, and to reform them in 'industrial schools,' as the reformatories are called, in order to free them from all taint of prison life. It may be noted that the first reformatory was established in the United States as long ago as 1830, though the first Juvenile Court was not founded until 1898. Many of the States of the Union now give grants—pensions, as they are called—to widowed mothers to enable them to rear their children at home and thus save them from being sent to orphan asylums. The extension of this principle is due to the belief that children are much better off in their own homes, if their parents are capable of bringing them up properly, than herded together in droves in asylums, where they become institutionalized. The Municipalities, like the States, are carrying on work to conserve child life. Similarly the churches,

women's clubs, and philanthropic organizations concern themselves largely with the welfare of children.

Persons interested in child welfare are particularly anxious to improve the conditions in which children labour in some of the States, especially in the South, where laws are lax. Dr. Wilson approved, in September last, an Act making it illegal for any one to employ children under sixteen in mines and quarries, and children under fourteen in shops, factories, and canneries; and limiting the child's work-day to eight hours. In view of the fact that the individual States are competent to manage their internal affairs, a roundabout way had to be found to effect these reforms. The measure, therefore, prohibits 'the shipment in inter-State commerce or the offer for shipment of the products of any quarry, mine, factory, or cannery,' that does not conform to these regulations. The Act constituted a milestone in social reform legislation.

CATHLEYNE SINGH.

HINDU MIND TRAINING

IT has recently been the good fortune of the present writer to become acquainted with Mr. S. M. Mitra, the celebrated Hindu politician, and pioneer in Europe of the remarkable system of education which has been in use for many centuries in his native land and which is the foundation of the psychotherapy that can minister alike to minds diseased and those unhinged by grief and anxiety. At a time when the question of the education of the future is of such paramount importance in view of the changed conditions brought about by the war, and when so many are suffering from the ceaseless anxiety incidental to it, or are obsessed with the agony of suspense or loss, it would indeed be well if a system of mind training which has had the best results in the land of its origin could be introduced in the West, where on every side except in the last strongholds of autocratic government, Germany, Austria, and Turkey, a new rapprochement is taking place amongst the nations, who are beginning to realize as never before how much can be learned from each other, and how mistaken is the insular unwillingness to consider, still less to adopt, unfamiliar ideals.

Perhaps the most tragic of all the mistakes made of late years in England and in France has been the divorce between secular and religious education, a mistake the worst consequences of which have been averted by the terrible upheaval of the world-wide conflict, one of the results of which has been the return of many to the old belief in the immortality of the soul, forsaken by them in times of peace and prosperity. Never again, probably, will rigid dogma exert its cramping influence, for the seen and the unseen have been brought into a union so close that the non-essential has, so to speak, dropped away from the essential, and the truth is almost universally recognized that it is the spirit alone which giveth life.

In the course of many a deeply interesting discussion with Mr. Mitra on the subject of the differences between the Hindu and

English systems of education, one central fact has emerged into special prominence: there is in the training of the young in India under Hindu control no rigid line between secular culture and religion: they are one and indivisible. From birth to death religion permeates every moment of existence in Hindu life, a fact that is fortunately now beginning to be recognized by the rulers of England's greatest Dependency. Lord Roberts was from the first a shining example of a ruler who could see and was ever ready to consider the point of view of the ruled; and the barriers that so long seemed insurmountable between the native races and the British are being rapidly broken down through the loyal response of the people of India, from the most highly placed Chief to the humblest sepoy, to the call of the West, blood and treasure having been lavished without stint.

A minor result of this wonderful rally to the King-Emperor in his need has been the strong desire of those who are benefiting from it to obtain an insight into the psychology, in other words into the soul, of a nation that can thus forget all old grievances in its loving loyalty to an alien monarch; and such an insight will be obtained by a close study of the notable book, *Hindu Mind Training*, by 'An Anglo-Saxon Mother' (Longmans, 10*s*. 6*d*. net). With an able Introduction from the eloquent pen of Mr. Mitra, whose pupil this fortunate mother was, reviewing the chief Western systems of education and comparing them with that of his native country, the remarkable volume contains eighteen typical tales admirably adapted from the Hindu classics, with questions founded on them and carefully selected answers by various pupils of the famous teacher, all either English or American. This practical illustration of the actual working of a method new to the West reveals an extraordinary knowledge of the mechanism of the human mind, the student being led on step by step first to know himself, and then to turn that knowledge to account in the conduct of life.

The tales, which even in their English garb retain the subtle Oriental charm of the originals, include such masterpieces of literature as 'Savitri,' 'Damayanti,' and 'Chinta,' the first telling of a love stronger than death, the second a poem of human devotion, the third a vivid picture of Hindu married life. Other stories are in lighter vein, including the amusing fables of 'The Foolish Fish,' 'The Glowworm and the Monkeys,' and 'The Hare's Stratagem.' The questions founded on them are as varied in scope as the texts themselves, and as the student grapples with them, a certain sequence becomes apparent, the didactic purpose being in some cases clearly revealed, whilst in others it is skilfully disguised. As a result there will be found in their consideration a kind of cumulative force, all the faculties of the mind being brought into play, leading teacher and taught to realize that in spite of there being nothing either magical or supernatural about it, the system employed is invaluable in its power of compelling thought, by setting in motion hitherto sluggish psychological currents thereby clearing the atmosphere of the mind.

NANCY BELL.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy. By A. Seth Pringle-Pattison. (Clarendon Press. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THE Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of Aberdeen in the years 1912–3 are not primarily an historical survey of opinion on the idea of God. Many names are mentioned in them, and many theories criticized, but there is 'no pretence of an exhaustive survey, and not one of the names and theories actually cited is introduced on historical grounds.' All are employed as a means of illuminating, either by affinity or by force of contrast, the constructive position which Prof. Pattison builds up. Such a method of construction by criticism is specially instructive, and carries the student's judgement on from stage to stage of the inquiry. The first ten lectures open with a singularly fresh discussion of Hume's theism. His theory was based exclusively on the evidence of design in external Nature, and his attenuated theism afforded as he said 'no inference that affects human life or can be the source of any action or forbearance.' The idea of intrinsic value or worth which Kant found in his analysis of moral experience has been of determining influence upon the moral discussion of man's place in the scheme of things, but the externalism of Kant's presentation of the idea of God and immortality was a grave defect, though the consciousness of value remained central for Idealism in the long controversy with Naturalism which filled out the nineteenth century, and is the specific form in which the philosophic problem presents itself to the modern mind. Prof. Pattison argues that Naturalism, in spite of its claims to exclusive reality, is no more than the substantiation of an abstraction, or of a fragment that can exist only as an element in a larger whole. Biology has demonstrated the insufficiency of purely mechanical conceptions to describe even the most elementary facts of life. Man must be regarded as organic to nature. The world is not complete without him and his knowledge. He is not a spectator *ab extra*. 'The intelligent being is rather to be regarded as the organ through which the Universe beholds and enjoys itself.' The second course of lectures leads up to the conception of a God 'who lives in the perpetual giving of Himself, who shares the life of His finite creatures, bearing in and with the whole burden of their finitude, their sinful wanderings and sorrows, and the suffering without which

they cannot be made perfect.' 'We must interpret the divine on the analogy of what we feel to be profoundest in our own experience. And if so, the omnipotence of God will mean neither the tawdry trappings of regal pomp nor the irresistible might of a physical force. The divine omnipotence consists in the all-compelling power of goodness and love to enlighten the grossest darkness, and to melt the hardest heart.' Nature is 'an element, savage and dangerous, into which the human being is thrown to show what stuff he is made of—an element testing with merciless severity his powers of courage and endurance, but drawing from him thereby the utmost of which he is capable.' The real omnipotence of atoning love, unweariedly creating good out of evil, is the very texture of our human experience—that is the conclusion reached in these noble lectures.

A Study in Christology. By Herbert M. Relton, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This thesis was approved for Dr. Relton's degree of doctor of divinity in London University. Its subject is the problem of the two natures in the Person of Christ. In the first part the course of Christological speculation from Apollinarianism down to the Chalcedonian definition is critically reviewed. Its merits and defects are indicated, and its interpretation in the Christology of Cyril and Leo, representing East and West. Leontius of Byzantium, whose importance in the history of thought on the subject cannot be over emphasized, lived in the first half of the sixth century. In Scythia he came under the Nestorian influence, from which he succeeded in emancipating himself, and thenceforward became an ardent defender of the Chalcedonian theology. His doctrine of the Enhypostasia represents the furthest point reached in the attempt to fathom the mystery of Christ's Person, and its importance was recognized in its incorporation into the final formulation of Greek theology made by John of Damascus. In the second part of his thesis Dr. Relton considers the modern revolt against the Chalcedonian Christology, more particularly the objections to the 'Two-natures' hypothesis and the impersonality of Christ's manhood. These objections are met by the doctrine of the Enhypostasia, which is 'rooted and grounded in the very nature of both man and God.' Part Three discusses some recent attempts at Christological reconstruction, and indicates the general drift of speculation. No theory will fathom the whole mystery, but the doctrine of the Enhypostasia seems entitled to more favourable consideration than it has yet received. It is a very able discussion of a profound subject, and Dr. Headlam's valuable Preface shows that its object is really to solve the great problem, 'What do I think of Christ?' He feels that Dr. Relton's thesis marks a distinct step in advance on current methods of dealing with the problem. To him 'the teaching which lays stress on the reality of Christ as God and man, without attempting to distinguish in the way that modern divines do distinguish, between His divine and

human consciousness, represents a more healthy and a more satisfactory solution than some of those offered to us.'

A Philosophical System of Theistic Idealism. By James Lindsay, D.D. (Blackwood & Sons. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

In reviewing the author's *Studies in European Philosophy* Dr. Rashdall expressed a wish that he would undertake a systematic exposition and defence of Theistic Idealism. The subject had already been in his mind, but this encouraged him to attempt his difficult task, for which thirty years' close and unbroken study of the world-literature of all the subjects involved had been preparing him. He presents the main outlines of his system in eleven chapters, which deal with 'Foundations of Idealism; Laws of Logic and Psychology; The God of Theistic Idealism: The Metaphysics of Creation; of Time and of Eternity; History and Providence in Theistic Idealism; The Philosophy of Nature, Science, Art; Freedom; The Moral Order and Immortality.' Dr. Lindsay disowns any ontology in which being or spirit appears devoid of ethical quality or essence. He accepts the cosmocentric mode of interpreting the universe so far as it goes, though it is not free of defect and inadequacy for a world-theory. His own Theistic Idealism claims consideration as a system intelligible, self-consistent, and contravened by no known fact. The God of Theistic Idealism is the sufficient reason or *rationale* of the world to reflective mind. He fulfils the demands of religion, contemplation, and worship, and also meets the need of ethics, which postulates an absolute Moral Ideal. 'God, the Supreme and Rational Will, is immanent in the universe, gives continuity to its history and experience, and is the goal of its true life and endeavours.' In the discussion of freedom it is held that 'the divine foreknowledge as to how I shall act and choose, impugns not my freedom in the very least.' The final chapter on Immortality is of great importance. All that we see of man as capable of rising to moral and metaphysical heights leads us to 'conclude that the whole scheme of the universe would end in complete self-stultification, were not his immortality an unbreakable certainty.' But no conviction of immortality can be adequate or satisfying 'so long as our life is not taken as linked with that of God, and included in His great eternal purpose.' That relation of our life to the Universal Life of God is the goal towards which Dr. Lindsay's masterly argument leads. Every step seems to carry conviction, and despite the abstruse subject the book is wonderfully clear and pleasant to study.

Lectures on the Church and the Sacraments. By P. T. Forsyth, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 6*s.* net.)

Dr. Forsyth says that his view of the Sacraments is 'neither memorial and Zwinglian, nor is it High Catholic. It is sacramental but not Sacramentarian, effective but not sacrificial. The Sacraments are not emblems but symbols, and symbols not as mere channels, but

in the active sense that something is done as well as conveyed.' His lectures were delivered to his students, and are both lucid and well arranged. In an introductory chapter he says, 'Democracy was made by a Calvinism which did not humour human nature, and did not believe in it till God had done with it. It was the Arminians, the human-naturists, who stood by the Stuarts, and the divine right of such kings.' He allows but two alternatives, an evangelical Church and a sacramental, i.e. a Church with the Word uppermost or a Church with the rite. For the Church's unity, confidence, and effect on the world, the objective and moral value of the Cross of Christ, which made the Church, should be replaced (with whatever reforms) at the vital centre of religion. The war has brought to an end the comfortable Victorian age. We have awakened from many dreams. 'We have come upon an unexpected moral quality in our youth. We have found out Germany. And we have rediscovered Satan. We are in the kind of world-crisis in which creeds are reborn for history.' Dr. Forsyth finds in the New Testament the local community and the totality of believers in heaven and earth—the totality of those who are in Christ. Churches are members one of another. That makes mere denominationalism intolerable. 'To become a member of the one Christ who is the Church's life is *ipso facto* to become a member of the One Church.' What is to be done is 'to federate, but not to lose, the denominations, to unite them really and not sentimentally, in the great Church and its organic action.' As to baptism Dr. Forsyth holds that 'Our regeneration is not in the Sacrament but in the Christ who gave the Sacrament to the creature He had not merely influenced but remade. We do not refer our new life to Baptism, but to God's grace which put Baptism there. It is baptismal grace, but it is not a grace that depends on Baptism.' In the Lord's Supper we have 'not a memorial of an ancient Christ, nor the symbol of a Christ remote, but the self-gift of a present and living Redeemer in His vocation as such, Thus He is present in the Church's act rather than in the elements.' Dr. Forsyth's views will not satisfy High Churchmen nor extreme Nonconformists, but he will set them thinking and will probably enlarge their horizon and widen their sympathy.

The Religion and Theology of Paul. By W. Morgan, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Morgan, who is professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in Queen's Theological College, Canada, delivered these Kerr Lectures in 1914–5. His aim is to give a full and systematic presentation of the Apostle's religion and theology in the light of modern research. The lectures are divided into two parts. The first on 'The Redeemer and His Redemption'; the second on 'The Life in Salvation.' These three great realities, Jesus Christ, His Redemption, and the Life in Salvation form the subject-matter of Paul's theology. 'In the innermost shrine of the Apostle's soul stands the figure of the

crucified and exalted Jesus.' His Gospel is 'set in the framework of a general world-view, which bears on it the stamp of the age.' That view Prof. Morgan tries to reproduce. Paul's outlook is at bottom that of Jewish Apocalyptic. He thinks of two ages or worlds. Standing in one that is old and evil, he looks with eager longing towards a new world full of glory. Christ surrendered Himself to death in order to bring us into that new world. But Paul's developed doctrines of the evil age, of man and his sin, the world and its bondage, the Redeemer and redemption carry us outside the circle of apocalyptic ideas. We pass to his conceptions of the flesh and the Spirit. Sin and death are the result of man's fleshly constitution. The doctrine of Christ's person is discussed in two chapters, and Paul's teaching as to redemption from thedemons, the law, and the tyranny of sin is clearly and suggestively set forth. The second part deals with Faith and Mystical Union, the Consummation, Justification, Moral Renewal, Ethics, the Church and its Sacraments, and Paul's philosophy of history. We are not prepared to accept all Dr. Morgan's views, but his book will repay the closest study.

The Work of St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, against the Donatists, with Appendix. Translated into English with Notes Critical, Explanatory, Theological, and Historical. By the Rev. O. R. Vassall-Phillips, B.A. (Longmans, Green & Co. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

So long ago as 1848 it was announced that a translation of St. Optatus would appear in *The Oxford Library of the Fathers*. It has been left, however, for Mr. Vassall-Phillips to give us the first English translation. The name of the historian of Donatism is scarcely known to many students of ecclesiastical history, though he wrote the earliest sustained argument from the Catholic side against heresy and schism. His book was written about 373 A.D., and 'affirms explicitly the truth of Baptism and Regeneration; again and again makes reference to the Sacrifice of the Altar; states the doctrine of the Real Presence in words that are incapable of any misunderstanding; insists on the sacredness of the Holy Chrism; writes of the adornment of altars for the offering of the Sacrifice; refers to the ceremony of Exorcism before Baptism; appeals to deutero-canonical books as to authentic Scripture; takes the continuance of Miracles in the Church for granted; and is quite express in his references to cloistered Virginity and the difference between the commandments of God and counsels of Perfection.' Optatus teaches that it is useless to have a bishop who is out of communion with the one chair of Peter. The Donatists complained of the persecutions inflicted on them by officers sent by the Emperor to secure religious unity. The reply of St. Optatus, Mr. Phillips says, 'is curiously similar to that which we make to-day when we are reminded of what happened in England under Mary Tudor.' He holds that the punishments had

been greatly exaggerated ('just as we say when confronted with Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*'). Then he pleads that those who were punished were for the most part turbulent conspirators against the public security, and that their treatment of Catholics had been infinitely worse than any reprisals to which it may have led. He argued also ('and here again we take precisely the same ground') that whatever happened was due to the State, and for it the Church was in no way responsible. Mr. Phillips points out that Optatus unfortunately went further, and argued that 'perchance' the sufferings of the Donatists were by the Will of God, and he endeavoured to justify them by several parallels from the Old Testament, which are 'strange and sometimes even perverse.' The value of such answers will be rightly measured by thoughtful readers. Mr. Vassall-Phillips has generally based his text on that of Ziwsa, though he has not been afraid to desert it when he saw good reason. His translation of the seven books is followed by a hundred sayings of Optatus as to doctrinal subjects, and the matter which he included in his appendix which Duchesne has carefully reconstructed. Whatever judgement may be formed as to the opinions of Optatus, his work throws a flood of light on the ecclesiastical views of the time, and on the controversy with the Donatists. The large scale ecclesiastical map of Africa will be very useful to the student.

The Text of the Old Testament. By Edouard Naville. (H. Milford. 3*s.* net.)

Prof. Naville's Schweich Lectures, delivered in December, 1915, before the British Academy, are a development of ideas put forward in his *Archaeology of the Old Testament*. He holds that the earliest books of the Old Testament were written in Babylonian cuneiform, the later books in Aramaic, which was a more practical script for common use than cuneiform, which could be written only on wet clay. The rabbis afterwards 'turned the books into the vernacular of Jerusalem, to which a new script, the square Hebrew, derived from Aramaic, was adapted. The Judaic dialect, written with that alphabet, is what we call Hebrew.' Prof. Naville first discusses the text according to Higher Criticism, and expresses his dissent from its conclusions when tested by its own methods and principles. His second lecture is on Babylonian cuneiform and the Canaanite script. He thinks that when Abram left Mesopotamia he took his own tablets with the record given in Genesis from the Creation down to the time of Terah. The subject is illustrated in an illuminating way. In the last lecture, 'Aramaic and Hebrew,' Dr. Naville says that he believes Ezra turned the old Mosaic cuneiform writings into Aramaic, which was the script and idiom of the time. He claims that in his ingenious theory he has not departed from the text of Scripture, and has endeavoured to draw no inference which he could not base either on documents brought to light in the great discoveries which are the foundations of his conclusions, or on a text of Scripture. The lectures are of very great interest and importance.

The Nature and Functions of the Sacraments. By Arthur J. Tait, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The Principal of Ridley Hall has handled this great subject in a way that will commend itself to all evangelical thinkers. He finds in nature the working of the sacramental principle. Physical things suggest those that are mental and spiritual. As St. Paul points out in Rom. i. 19, social life also has its recognized signs of love and devotion. The Old Covenant made provision for its sacramental continuance, and the New Covenant has sacraments with functions determined by its special revelation. The power of the Sacraments to influence faith rests upon the knowledge of the Lord who works through them, and of the truth which they enshrine. Baptism Dr. Tait regards as a declaration that the gift of grace has been given, though it leaves the fact, time, or manner of its actual reception and experience undetermined. The supernatural is not to be found in the nature and operation of the Sacraments, but 'in the truths and operations of which they are the ordered signs, the visible counterparts, the covenant seals.' The subject is treated in a way that is not merely suggestive but really helpful to faith and devotion.

The Christian Hope. By Willoughby C. Allen, M.A. (4*s.* net.) *The Faith of the Prophets.* By C. A. Moberly. (3*s.* 6*d.* net.) John Murray.

Archdeacon Allen's volume begins with four ordination addresses on Christ as the manifestation of the Divine life, hidden hitherto behind the world of nature, but now exhibited in a human life and unmixed with evil. 'The Communication of Life' through Him is then brought out in a suggestive way. A third address, on 'False Mysticism,' deals with the tendency to suggest that communion between God and man can be effected by some other means than through the Incarnation. The fourth address, on 'The Spirit and the New Testament,' shows that the periods of history in which the Spirit of Christ has found most scope for His activity have been those in which the New Testament has been most valued and read. The addresses and sermons and four lectures on 'Christ's teaching as to the Future' will repay the devout reader.

Miss Moberly, late Principal of St. Hugh's College, Oxford, fixes on three principal types of prophetic teaching—the deliverance at the Red Sea, from Sennacherib, and from the captivity in Babylon—as foreshadowing the victory of Jesus Christ over sin and death. In the first chapter the salient points in the historical view of the prophets are brought out. They have a personal pride in the visible justification of the faith of their progenitor, Abraham, and a conviction that irresistible material force is behind the highest moral and mental excellence. Three chapters are given to the Red Sea, the Defeat of Sennacherib, and the Return from Babylon. The prophets 'were enthusiastic patriots, earnestly desiring peace and glory for their nation; but they looked deeply into the nature of peace and glory.

To them real peace meant righteousness, and national glory was bound up with the glory of God, both requiring the avoidance and destruction of evil.' Miss Moberly sees the danger of an established and definite anti-Christianity taking its start in the unfaithfulness of countries once Christian. She feels that spiritual Israel, that is the Christian Church, 'may again come to feel the need for all the confidence inspired by the prophets when natural Israel was but a small community encompassed by innumerable enemies.'

Providence and Faith. Extracts from a Diary. By William Scott Palmer. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Palmer was one of the contributors to *Faith and Fear*, and has secured an Introductory Essay from Mr. Matthews, the editor of that volume. He points out that Mr. Palmer, as a layman with leisure for reading and thought, can help greatly in that positive restatement of Christian truth which the times require. He gives rather a pitiful account of the 'general failure of the parochial clergy to read or to think,' though he holds that this is not to be wondered at, 'for neither at our public schools, nor at our Universities, nor at our Theological Colleges have the men who have entered the ministry in recent years been taught to think much for themselves, or to seek humbly and patiently for the truth.' Kelham he regards as a brilliant exception to his stricture on Theological Colleges. The chief value of his friend's book is, he thinks, that it gives a reasonable doctrine of God to meet our present need. Mr. Palmer points out that the Christian's God is incarnate among men who can see Him with their own eyes. He gives Himself, but limits His omnipotence, for He does not even force Himself upon us. 'Creating in love limits the Lover and Creator while extending the range of both His love and His creation.' Providence has its majesty of order which we may learn since it respects our liberty, and offers it a means by which to grow. Mr. Palmer sees God's Providence remaining outside his personal life unless and until he opens a right way for God to give what He provides. Prayer is the means of that personal relation between man and God. He would teach boldly of a God everywhere, and of effectual prayer everywhere. William Law said, 'Christ given *for us* is neither more nor less than Christ given *unto us*.' There is a Universal Cross, and it is 'the giving of His life by God and His sharing of the life of His creatures.' There is much in this little book that will enlighten and inflame Christian minds and hearts.

The Sacrifice of Thankfulness. Sermons by Henry M. Gwatkin, D.D. (T. &. T. Clark. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.)

A memoir by Dr. T. R. Glover is prefixed to these Sermons. It describes the boy's childhood when he was left very deaf by an attack of scarlet fever, and the delight he found at Shrewsbury School in 'beast-hunting' to get objects for his microscope. At Cambridge he won a First Class in four different Triposes, and in 1868 he was

elected fellow of St. John's. He spent all the rest of his life at the University, never able to work at a subject for more than half an hour, but finding instant relief at his microscope. He held the Dixie Professorship of Ecclesiastical History for twenty-six years. Dr. Glover gives a most interesting account of the man and his work. Truth was 'the first object of his inquiry, and he followed it with rare singleness of purpose.' The sermons, arranged by his wife, are short but illuminating. That on Ps. cv. will appeal to all who are tempted to brood over troubles and exaggerate the possibilities of further troubles. The sermon on Immanence sets out that truth in a most attractive way. These are sermons that one lingers over and returns to with fresh zest.—*The Master's Comfort and Hope.* By Alfred E. Garvie, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.) Dr. Garvie gave this course of expositions when he was pastor of a church, and repreached them in various places during his wife's illness. After her 'call home' he found relief in writing them out and dedicating them to her memory. The need for sharing the comfort and hope which the Master's words have brought to himself seems greater than ever. No part of the New Testament is richer in food for faith than these verses of St. John's Gospel, and Dr. Garvie sets himself to bring out all the meaning of our Lord's farewell message. He does not distract attention by illustrations; his object is to get the real significance of the words and to apply them to the needs of others. The orderly arrangement has had very careful attention, but all are not forced into one mould. He believes that 'both text and topic should determine the treatment, and that the preacher must not allow the freedom of his spirit to be fettered by any theory of sermon-construction.' The sermon on John xiv. is 'The Call to Faith.' 'Heart' includes the entire personality in 'its inner life of thought, feeling and will. Reason, conscience, disposition, character are all embraced by it.' The volume is full of strong consolation.—*In the Day of the Ordeal: Sermons.* By W. P. Paterson, D.D. (T. and T. Clark. 4*s.* 6*d.* net). Every sermon in this volume tempts comment. Prof. Paterson has much to say about the war, about providence, about national economy, and about such vital subjects as repentance, reverence, the magnetism of the Cross, the social mission of the Church. Everything is put so clearly and illustrated so happily that this is a volume that will be greatly and deservedly prized. In summing up the results of the war he says 'We already see the beginnings of a moral conversion. The mark of the children of the new age will surely be that self will be less central in their thinking than it was in ours. We may also confidently look forward to a fresh outpouring of the Holy Spirit.'

St. Paul's Friends. By the Rev. Harrington C. Lees, M.A. (Religious Tract Society. 3*s.* 6*d.* net). Twelve of St. Paul's companions are here described with true insight into their character and work. There is a great deal to be learnt from the sketches, and they make St. Paul and his circle very real and very attractive.

The Apocalypse of Baruch and *The Assumption of Moses*. Edited by Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., and Canon Box. (S.P.C.K. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.)—The translation of *Baruch* is that by Canon Charles, with an extended introduction by Dr. Oesterley. The *Assumption* is translated by Rev. W. J. Ferrar, who says in his valuable Introduction that the writer is 'a Pharisee whose doctrine of grace and good works seems more in harmony with that of St. Paul than with that of the Pharisaic opponents of St. Paul in the missionary world.' He holds also that the world was created to be the scene of God's Covenant with Israel. The beautiful Apocalyptic passage of chapter x. 'seems to provide the very eschatological material which our Lord adopted in His own prophecy of the last things.' Both documents are of great interest for students.

Two little pamphlets should not be overlooked. *A Soul-winning Church*, by A. Winsor Yeo (Kelly, 1*d*.), describes a canvass of the streets round a suburban church which led to a happy increase of members. It shows what results the 'one by one' principle may produce. A smaller pamphlet, *What Shall I give?* (Kelly, ½*d*.), sets forth the duty of systematic giving in a very clear and persuasive way.

A Rational Belief in Heaven. By Rev. E. J. E. Schreck. (Birmingham. Cornish Bros. 9*d*. net.) Five sermons delivered in the Swedenborgian Church as a reply to Sir Oliver Lodge's *Raymond*. Mr. Schreck believes that spirits are making use of Sir Oliver's name to extend the practice of consulting them through mediums. This the Bible forbids and we cannot believe that our loved ones are made happier by such communications with us. That is his argument.

Comparative Religion. By A. S. Geden, D.D. (S.P.C.K. 2*s*. net.) A compact and careful introduction to a great branch of study. Early forms of religious faith such as animism and totemism are clearly described; the five leading religions—Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity are discussed in detail. A comparison of the results achieved and of the present position and prospects of religious belief 'justifies the assertion that of the leading faiths of the world Christianity alone contains the promise of the future.' Dr. Geden's workmanlike guide to this fascinating subject can be strongly commended to all students.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Alfred Lyttelton: An Account of his Life. By Edith Lyttelton. (Longmans & Co. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Balfour said at the unveiling of the tablet to his old friend in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, that his 'irresistible claim on our affections . . . rose from the deepest springs of his moral nature.' As Mr. Asquith put it, 'He perhaps of all men of this generation, came nearest to the model and ideal of manhood, which every English father would like to see his son aspire to, and if possible to attain.' A charming picture is given in this biography of life at Hagley Hall, where Lord Lyttelton was surrounded by his twelve children. He took the keenest interest in their cricket, and kept his own gaiety of heart amid many sorrows. Alfred was the youngest of the flock, and from the beginning showed the infectious joyousness which marked his whole life. His mother died when he was six months old. His sister Lucy, who married Lord Frederick Cavendish when Alfred was seven, was the great moulding influence of his youth. His mother and Mrs. Gladstone were sisters, and the two families of cousins were always together. Alfred's relations with Mary Gladstone were peculiarly intimate. At Eton he was the hero of the school. Lord Curzon says, 'No athlete was ever quite such an athlete, and no boyish hero was ever quite such a hero.' He was King of the School—unrivalled in cricket, football and tennis, but he had a genius for companionship, and drew the best out of others 'in play and talk and feeling, because he never failed to discern it, and to welcome it with joy.' After leaving the University he built up a large practice at the Parliamentary bar. His marriage with Laura Tennant was followed by a year of superb happiness. She brought a sense of wonder and enchantment wherever she came, and her death when her little boy was born was an unutterable loss to her husband. By and by he found a noble partner in Miss Edith Balfour, who inspired him in his work, and when he was laid aside by an attack of jaundice at the Leamington election, spoke at all his meetings. Alfred Lyttelton was not able to follow his uncle's Home Rule proposals, and had a bad quarter of an hour at Hawarden when he made his confession, but the angry statesman soon recovered from his irritation, and sent his nephew a little note in which he declared that nothing could ever make any difference in the relation between them. Mr. Lyttelton did valuable service as Chairman of the Transvaal Concessions Commission, and Lord Milner would have liked to see him appointed to succeed him as High Commissioner. In 1903 he followed Mr. Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary, and did very good work during his two years of office. Party feeling was

unusually bitter, and the 'Chinese slavery' question aroused strong feeling, yet nothing injured his personal popularity, and he was able to procure official and court recognition for many colonial visitors who had formerly been overlooked. Alfred Lyttelton was a true believer who felt that 'the Christian faith is that which stands for all those aspirations for good which lighten my path in this tough world.' His wife was at one time drawn to agnosticism, but as she knelt beside the body of her youngest boy, she suddenly became aware of influences of which she had lost consciousness in her happy days. Five years later she tells her husband, 'The world of the Spirit, the Communion with something we call God, is a living and vital reality to me; the very breath of my being. I could not endure life without it.' Alfred Lyttelton died on July 5, 1913, deeply regretted by all who knew how fearlessly he had stood for everything that was pure, chivalrous, and high-minded in the England of his time. His wife has allowed us to share many of her own most sacred and intimate experiences, and the result is a volume which will always rank among the treasures of English biography.

The Golden Days of the Early English Church, from the Arrival of Theodore to the death of Bede. By Sir Henry H. Howorth. With illustrations, maps, tables, and appendices. 3 vols. (Murray. 12*s.* net each.)

It is many years since Sir Henry Howorth determined to analyse the sources of early English history, and unriddle its difficulties and obscurities in greater accordance with modern scientific methods. He saw that our early ecclesiastical history must be explored before the civil and secular side was dealt with. The first annals and charters were drawn up by priests, monks, and nuns. 'To them almost alone was the art of writing known, and they used it to tell the story of their Church, to defend its dogmatic position, to set out its ritual, to record the lives and deaths of its saints and its devoted officers, to secure good titles to their lands, and to correspond with each other and with the great ones of the earth about the concerns of heaven and the methods of getting there.' Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the one matchless literary work of art in the European literature of the first half of the eighth century, forms a splendid foundation for further research. Sir Henry has already dealt with the famous missionary adventure under Gregory the Great. In the present work he begins by tracing the political results of Aedwin's death. His kingdom was then divided into its two original sections. Deira (Yorkshire) fell to his cousin Osric, who had been converted by Paulinus; Bernicia was recovered by the family of Aethelfrid, who had spent seventeen years in exile among the Scots and Picts. Osric was defeated and slain by Caedwalla, but Oswald, the younger brother, defeated the ruthless British king. Aidan was sent from Iona to be bishop of the new see of Lindisfarne. He owed much to Oswald, who interpreted his sermons and supported his work in every way. Oswald peacefully

moulded Bernicia and Deira into one kingdom. His wide-reaching influence is shown by the fact that he was responsible for the first introduction of Christianity into Wessex. After he fell in battle his remains acquired a reputation as magical and mediaeval remedies. Penda's victory over Oswald was a triumph for Paganism. He became Bretwalda or Overchief of the English race. Sir Henry tells the story of these days with much interesting detail, and gives illustrations of historic buildings. The four sides of the famous Cross at Bewcastle are represented by four full-page photographs. The first volume brings the story down to the days of Wilfrid, who was greatly honoured by the heads of nearly all the monasteries, and had the sons of kings and nobles entrusted to him for education. The second volume opens with the Synod which Archbishop Theodore summoned in 673 at Herutford (Hertford or Cliffe-at-Hoo on the Thames). The administration of Church affairs had made much progress under his wise oversight. The report of the Synod contains no reference to the Pope or to Rome. Its object was to treat in common about their faith and to promote unity and charity. The sharp struggle between Wilfrid and Theodore brought much bitterness in following years, but they were finally reconciled. A careful estimate is given of the service which Theodore rendered to the English Church. Aldhelm's work at Malmesbury, where he was known as one of the greatest scholars of his age, is described, and his indefatigable labours as Bishop of Sherborne. Two chapters in the third volume are devoted to St. Cuthberht and his contemporaries. There are five important appendices, many valuable notes, lists of corrections, and a full index. Numerous illustrations in each volume add greatly to the interest of a monumental work, which gathers its stores from all quarters and presents a living picture of a century of golden days for the Early English Church.

The Life and Work of J. R. Illingworth, D.D. As portrayed by his letters and illustrated by photographs. Edited by his wife. (Murray. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Bishop Gore's Preface to this volume only fills a page, but it gives a real picture of his old friend, who for thirty-two years set himself in his quiet parish to meditate on God and the world and mankind in the light of the Incarnation, and sent out thence the books which brought light to many perplexed minds. Mr. Illingworth's father was Chaplain of Coldbath Fields Prison, a man very unreserved, very sociable, and very skilful with his hands. His mother had a remarkable memory and was an exceedingly interesting talker. From her the son inherited his intellectual gifts. He went to St. Paul's School under Dr. Kynaston, who once described him as 'our most "Egregius" boy.' He was brought up under High Church influence, and 'made a regular practice of sacramental confession from the time of his confirmation until the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. E. King), his then confessor, left Oxford, when he dropped it until he made his last

on his death-bed' to the Bishop of Oxford. He gained an Exhibition at St. Paul's to send him to Oxford, and a scholarship at Corpus Christi. These kept him at the University, where he took a First in 'Mods' and 'Greats' and gained a Fellowship at Jesus College. 'In his young days he knew what was very severe self-discipline of a physical nature. He fasted; he wore a hair shirt.' He was tutor at Keble College, and belonged to what Scott Holland called the Holy Party, which merged later into the *Lux Mundi* party. His *Sermons preached in a College Chapel* revealed his powers to a wider circle, but his health compelled him to seek a quieter sphere. In 1883 he accepted the rectory of Longworth, about eight miles from Oxford, and married Miss Gutteres, a clergyman's daughter, then a nurse at the Acland Home and looking forward to entering the community at Wantage. She really took the active part of the rector's work. He found the parish much neglected, and introduced a weekly Communion at 8 a.m. and daily services. The choir sat at the back of the church and he would not have it moved to the chancel nor put in surplices. He maintained that the singing should be congregational, and it always was. At first he was shy and nervous with the working classes, but by and by people came to consult him on every kind of subject. He had a curate and other helpers, but did not himself visit from house to house, though he carefully visited the sick and sorrowful. Many said he 'did them more good than the doctor.' He preached gems of sermons, never more than a quarter of an hour in length and 'packed up in a little parcel at the end.' They were preached entirely without notes, and if anything struck him in the middle of the service he would entirely alter the subject of the sermon. Mrs. Illingworth gives a wealth of letters which show her husband's life and thought from his schooldays to the end of his life. Longworth became the meeting-place for the *Lux Mundi* authors from 1890 to 1914, and the gathering made no small stir in the village, and brought no small joy to the rectory. Mr. Illingworth's health would not allow him to accept the Gifford lectureship, tenable for two years, with an income of £700 a year. He felt he could not possibly do his best, and his love of perfection forbade him to do less. When war broke out he administered consolation to many stricken hearts. 'The wives and mothers are sad to see.' He preached on the value of sorrow, and wrote to a friend, 'Is not that a beautiful end for Lord Roberts? One could not imagine anything more dramatically perfect for the end of such a career, to die a soldier to the last.' In his early years at Longworth he read much and widely. He often lamented that he could not afford to buy the books he needed, but had to go into Oxford to borrow or read them. His wife says, 'His writing cost him the most astonishing labour. I well remember one sentence, which was afterwards quoted in reviews, being written over about thirty times before he was satisfied.' He always would get the one word, and no other, which he felt expressed in the best way the exact shade of meaning which he desired to express.' He was a great Christian philosopher

who opened up 'an intelligible world in which faith was at home.' He had 'a view of the world and man and God which underlay all his reasonings as it underlay all his life.' To him Divine Immanence and Divine Transcendence were twin truths. 'The revelation of God as love in the Incarnation led back to the deeper truth of the Trinity' deep-rooted in a transcendent God, immanent in His creation man.' He died at Longworth on August 22, 1915, saying as he sank into unconsciousness, 'Jesus, Jesus, I have always believed in Him.'

Ingram Bywater: The Memoir of an Oxford Scholar, 1840-1914. By W. W. Jackson, D.D. (Clarendon Press. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Prof. Cook Wilson was asked by the British Academy to write a memoir of his distinguished colleague, but he died a few months later. The task was then laid upon Dr. Jackson, who had known Prof. Bywater intimately in early life, and was personally familiar with the circumstances and various influences which determined his career. The work could not have been placed in more competent hands. The Memoir is not only a well-considered estimate of a profound scholar, but it shows the movement of opinion at Oxford during the last fifty years as it affected Bywater and his work. He was born at Islington in 1840, and owed much to his father, a clerk in H.M. Customs, who devoted himself to the formation of his son's mind. The boy spent two years at University College School, where he learned no Greek, but took up German and mathematics. His serious pursuit of Greek began at King's College, whence he won an open scholarship at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1858. Viscount Bryce, his private tutor, was impressed by his exact and accurate habit of mind, and in 1862 he gained a first class in the School of Literae Humaniores. Next year he was elected Fellow of Exeter. He formed an intimate friendship with Mark Pattison, which greatly accelerated the development of his own powers, and deepened his sense of the thoroughness and exactness demanded by the pursuit of knowledge in a scientific spirit. Pattison's influence also led him to cultivate friendly relations with foreign scholars, and to collect rare and valuable books. Towards the end of his life he excelled even Pattison in the extent of his collection, and possibly even in the range of his knowledge. He gradually became intimate with the great scholars of Europe, and learned the wisdom of avoiding controversy with German scholars. He was 'deeply sensible of the defects of the German mind, which led both scholars and men of science to depreciate the literary and scientific achievements of other nations, and became much more marked after 1870.' In November, 1914, only a month before his death, he spoke to Sir E. Ray Lankester 'on German, more especially on Prussian, arrogance and intrigue,' and the grasping and pretentious attitude of the Prussians at the International Conference of Academics in Vienna. More than once before the war

broke out he commented severely on the propensity of the German professor, or aspirant for professorship, for stealing other men's thunder. Englishmen laid themselves open to these piratical practices by withholding publication until a perfect statement could be framed. In the meantime the matter became known, and was snapped up by some wily German. As a scholar Bywater was strongly conservative in his treatment of manuscript texts. He set himself to obtain the best text available, or if there was no good text to provide one and then to understand it. It was not lawful to attempt the work of reconstruction until a text was proved hopelessly corrupt, and reconstruction could only be undertaken by one who had a supreme command of the whole of the material for enabling him to enter into the thought of the writer with whom he was dealing. He was for thirty-five years a delegate of the Clarendon Press, to which he rendered inestimable service, and was one of the founders of the Aristotelian Society, and Chairman of its weekly meetings for more than twenty years. In 1885 he married Mrs. Sotheby, daughter of Mr. Cornish, of Salcombe Regis, who became the partner of all her husband's interests. She helped him to increase his bibliographical treasures, and their house in Onslow Square, London, became a favourite resort of English and foreign scholars. In 1893 he succeeded Jowett as Regius Professor of Greek, and held this great office with distinction till 1908. Mrs. Bywater endowed a professorship of modern Greek at Oxford, and her husband augmented the endowment and bequeathed his books to the Bodleian. Dr. Vaughan Cornish gives a delightful account of the great scholar's conversation. His literary output was small in quantity, but supreme in quality, and he takes permanent rank as 'one of the most learned and scholarly of modern Hellenists.'

Arthur Stanton: A Memoir. By the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell. (Longmans & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Father Stanton had a unique position in the religious life of London. His whole ministry was spent at St. Alban's, Holborn. In 1864 he and Mr. Tooth offered to take charge of Dr. Pusey's church, St. Saviour's, Leeds, but the proposal fell through because Stanton was not willing that a home for mill girls should be carried on in the parish by the Lady Superior of the Devonport Society, who would not be under his own control. In 1882 the chapter of St. Paul's was equally divided as to his appointment to St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, but Dean Gregory gave the casting vote against it. He refused on conscientious grounds to accept the living of Tetbury, of which his father had purchased the advowson, and the only other living offered him was one in Chicago with £1,000 a year and a house. In his early ministry he conducted successful missions in various places, but was inhibited by several Bishops and concentrated his labours on St. Alban's. Mr. Duggan, the Roman Catholic priest at Maidstone, whose views as to reunion brought him into conflict with the

authorities of his own Church, told Stanton, 'I don't think you could have been a success in any Church where obedience was required.' Stanton adds, 'And I don't think he was wrong.' He was essentially a free-lance: 'Romanism is to me a lie, and Anglicanism hopelessly Erastian.' He denounced in the pulpit the action of the bishops as to ritualistic practices. Archbishop Tait told him that 'the peace and welfare of the Church is seriously endangered by the course which you have thought it your duty to pursue.' His spiritual influence and the power of his preaching was extraordinary. Among the rough lads and the criminal classes of Holborn he was a true apostle, and some most amusing incidents of his work are given by Mr. Russell. His watchnight services, 'which,' Mr. Russell says, 'the Church of England has borrowed from Methodism,' were attended by the worst characters of the neighbourhood. He tells a Benedictine: 'The Wesleyans love Jesus, and if only they loved His Mother for His sake—but they are afraid to let any creature come between them and their Creator. Hence all their mistakes about the Saints. But God reads their love all right.' He had a wonderful knowledge of his Bible, and found great help in Spurgeon and Dr. Parker, whose Thursday morning services he often attended. He tells a friend on the eve of his ordination: 'My only hope is that you will be a Priest after the Order of Christ Jesus, His clericalism yours and the aim of your soul to copy Him *exactly in everything*. For many years now I have felt the grip of the Evangelical Truth that to flee to Him straight is the only refuge out of the countless difficulties into which the religious thought of the day projects one.' Mr. Russell has told the story with deep affection and sympathy, and even those who most dislike some of his beliefs and practices cannot read this biography without profound respect for a man who gloried in Christ and His power to save to the uttermost.

In Good Company. By Coulson Kernahan. (John Lane. 5*s.* net.)

These personal recollections of Swinburne, Lord Roberts, Watts-Dunton, Oscar Wilde, Edward Whymper, S. J. Stone, and Stephen Phillips will give real pleasure to a wide circle of readers. Some of the papers first appeared in our pages, and we have read them again with renewed zest. The chapter on Lord Roberts shows how he hailed the appearance of Mr. Kernahan's article on 'How to defend England' in this Review. Everything in the book is charming, but nothing is more amusing than the account of the great mountaineer who was Mr. Coulson's neighbour at Southend. Whymper's eccentricities were a source of constant surprise to his friend, but beneath them all was a world of kindness and good will. He gave lessons in climbing to Mr. Kernahan's stepson, a cadet of twelve, and he still cherishes the traveller's memory with honour, gratitude, and affection. The saddest pages in the book, but not the least impressive, are given to Oscar Wilde, whose end Mr. Hall Caine described as 'the most

awful tragedy in the whole history of literature.' No tribute is warmer than that paid to 'S. J. Stone, the hymn-writer,' and there is a wonderful description of Stephen Phillips reading poetry. Some godlike spirit seemed to possess him. 'In that hour there was only one word for Stephen Phillips, and that was genius.'

Lively Recollections. By the Rev. John Shearme, M.A., Hon. Canon of Winchester. (John Lane. 5*s.* net.)

This is a pleasant and unaffected record. Canon Shearme was born in North Cornwall, but has spent forty-five out of his fifty years of ministerial life in the diocese of Winchester. As curate at Cranleigh he had to preach there on the Sunday morning after Bishop Wilberforce was killed on Evershed's Rough. After the service Mr. Gladstone put his hand on the curate's shoulder and said, 'Thank you for what you have said so nicely about my dear friend.' Mr. Shearme was the first rector of the Church designed and given by Mr. Street at Holmbury St. Mary. Lord and Lady Frederick Cavendish often spent week-ends with Mr. Leveson-Gower, and only a fortnight before his assassination they attended early Celebration, and walked back to Holmbury House 'hand in hand up the steep path from the Church, among the fir-trees.' Mr. Gladstone told the canon that he was not particularly fond of listening to eminent preachers; he preferred to go to an unpretentious church and listen to a simple sermon. He criticized one of Mr. Shearme's sermons, and gave him the lines upon which he would himself have treated it. In 1892 Mr. Shearme became Vicar of Ryde, and after thirteen years of successful work in that parish, where he was summoned to Osborne to preach and dine with the Queen, he accepted the living of Oakwood in Surrey in 1905. The book is full of good stories, and gives many pleasant glimpses of celebrities both at home and abroad.

Sir Walter Raleigh. Selections from his History of the World, *his Letters, &c.* Edited with Introduction and Notes. By G. E. Hadow. (Clarendon Press. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The fine painting of Raleigh from the National Portrait Gallery, given at the frontispiece to this volume, seems to set its seal on Miss Hadow's description of the fascination which he exercised over his contemporaries. 'For words, ways, and doings,' says Mr. Stebbing, 'he was the observed of all observers.' The facts of his life are given, and Mr. Percy Simpson contributes critical notes on the text, the facsimile of the letter from Raleigh to Cecil, and the map of the Empire of Guiana which Raleigh prepared, but did not publish. The extracts from *The History* include the Preface and twelve passages, together with 'The Last Fight of the *Revenge* at Sea.' Three letters to his wife, one to the King, and two others, are added. Raleigh had his share of glory and luxury, and was able 'to indulge in silver

armour set with diamonds, rubies and pearls, and shoes said to be worth "more than six thousand six hundred gold pieces,"' but it is the Raleigh of the Tower that holds our attention. He spent twelve years there reading, writing, and making chemical experiments. There is something magnificent, as Miss Hadow says, about a man who, ruined, disgraced, and imprisoned, can calmly sit down to write a *History of the World*. He himself says 'in whome had there beene no other defect (who are all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began.' 'I protest before the Majesty of God, that I malice no men under the Sunne. . . . I am on the grounde already; and therefore have not farre to fall.' His homage to Death is a great passage. There is much beauty in the selections, and endless pathos in the whole story.

The Magdalen Hospital. The Story of a Great Charity. By the Rev. H. F. B. Compston, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

The Magdalen was founded in 1758 by Robert Dingley, a rich London merchant, who was a member of the Dilettanti Society. Its first home was in Whitechapel, on a site recently vacated by the London Hospital; in 1772 it was moved to a new building in Webber Street, Waterloo Bridge Road, and in 1869 took possession of its present quarters in Streatham. Mr. Compston is one of the Governors, and has written this history of the charity as a labour of love. We are glad to see that he makes short work of the theory that Mary Magdalene was a woman of immoral life. He describes the beginnings of the charity and its first friends, among whom Jonas Hanway and the unhappy Dr. Dodd have a special place. Sir John Stainer's elder sister, who gave him his first music lessons, was organist at the Magdalen for a complete half century, and never missed a Sunday. There are as a rule 112 inmates in training. The head matron, Miss Ling, has a rare combination of gifts, and no previous head has ruled her difficult realm with more devotion and wisdom. No one is admitted whose condition points to a maternity home or a Lock hospital. More are under twenty than over that age. The neat costume helps a girl to realize that her condition is vastly better than it was in her sinful days. The story is told with sympathy and insight, and twenty illustrations of buildings and workers add greatly to the interest of a very successful volume, for which the S.P.C.K. deserves warm thanks.

BOOKS ON THE WAR

Inside the German Empire in the Third Year of the War. By Herbert B. Swope. (Constable & Co. 5*s.* net.)

MR. GERARD, the late American Ambassador in Germany, writes a brief foreword to this volume from the pen of one whose friendship and professional equipment he rates highly. Mr. Swope was German correspondent of the New York *World* during the first four months of the war, and made a three months' tour in Germany at the close of 1916. He writes as an American and a neutral, 'without leanings towards either side,' but with 'deep sympathy for both.' The desire for peace is strong in Germany, though there is no belief that it is near. Mr. Swope found 'a subtle change in the fabric of the German spirit. From a certainty of victory, it has been inexorably pressed down to a fear of defeat. From the ambition of world dominance, it has changed to a struggle for existence. From the hope of conquest, it has shifted to a determination not to be conquered. Exultation has given way to desperation.' Two years ago 'Siegen' (conquer) was the word in every one's mouth, now 'durchhalten' (stick it out) is the national motto. The belief in force is losing ground, and many wonder if the war could not have been avoided. Mr. Swope found a bitter and deep hatred for America, and a keen desire that President Wilson might be defeated in the recent election. He describes the precautions taken to bar spies from the Empire. German spies are in every hotel, and on all the transatlantic lines running to America from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Holland. In one of the largest Berlin hotels the floor waiters were young and highly intelligent men. No matter how securely a guest's papers were locked up they would be thoroughly investigated before he had been in the city two days, if he left them in his room. 'Germany is not starving, and she does not intend to starve. She is further from that danger-point to-day than she has been at any time since the British blockade tightened about her.' That is Mr. Swope's conclusion in his chapter on 'Germany's pantry.' His account of Ludendorff gives some interesting facts about Hindenburg's right hand, the grim, inscrutable, silent soldier whose real personality is hidden even from his countrymen. Sweden is the only one of the seven European neutrals that is 'forthright in its support of the German cause.' Norway, officially and popularly, stands opposed to the Central powers; in Holland the popular voice is all for the Allies. A well-known German official asked, 'What is the matter with the rest of the world that it should be against Germany?' The answer was easy. 'Why not ask what is the matter with Germany? Perhaps the fault is with her.' This book is a real help to any one who wishes

to understand the real state of Germany. Mr. Swope sometimes seems to us to lean to the German side, but he supplies much material for forming a judgement, and no one can read his pages without feeling that Germany is reaping the harvest of her own ambition and ruthlessness, and realizes that she will have a terrible bill to pay by and by.

The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. (Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* net.)

This volume gives a series of documents presented to Viscount Grey, and laid before the House of Parliament as an official paper. The evidence was collected from victims or eye-witnesses under the direction of Viscount Bryce, who writes a Preface. The volume is now published by permission. The American Committee for Armenian relief estimates the Armenian victims in the massacres at 600,000 out of a population of between 1,600,000 and 2,000,000. Of 2,000 deported from villages in the neighbourhood of Harpout only 15.2 per cent. reached the goal of their deportation. From other regions perhaps 25 per cent. got to the end of their journey. The evidence given in this volume comes from neutral witnesses, living in or passing through Asiatic Turkey at the time; from natives of the country, nearly all Christians, who succeeded in escaping to Greece, Russia, or Egypt, or who were able to send letters to neutral countries. Two Danish Red Cross nurses twice witnessed the butchery of unarmed Armenians by the roadside. Exiles were drowned by batches of two to six in the Euphrates. An employee of the Bagdad railway stated that the prisons at Biredjik were filled every day and emptied every night—into the Euphrates. Women suffered terribly from the brutal captors. At Akantz, north of Lake Van, 500 young Armenians were shot one evening, and in eighty surrounding villages 24,000 were killed in three days, the young women carried away, and their houses looted. It is a heart-rending story of cold-blooded murder which cries aloud for retribution.

News from No Man's Land. By James Green. (Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Colonel Green, who is Senior Chaplain with the Australian Imperial Force, gives some powerful pictures from the Western Front. What 'A quiet night' really means we see as we watch the men moving along to the fight amid bursting shells. Pipes have to be put out lest the Huns should see a light. The padre is told to duck his head, 'it is a bad place, and you are not supposed to linger.' The little sanctuary of Our Lady of Deliverance is the centre of a scene which might be taken from some drama of the underworld. No Man's Land and the raiding party that has to cross form a thrilling chapter, and 'The Bomber,' a sergeant who has a genius for training men in this art, is a figure that you cannot forget. 'Romance and reality'

takes us to Egypt and to Gallipoli. Other chapters describe the Australian in England, and his headquarters at Horseferry Road. It is a vivid little book, full of enthusiasm for the men and the cause.

Scraps of Paper: German Proclamations in Belgium and France. With a Foreword by Ian Malcolm, M.P. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1*s.* net.) Mr. Malcolm has done real service by publishing these photographic facsimiles of posters and placards pasted by the Germans on the walls of cities, towns, and villages in Belgium and France. They are 'inhuman documents,' and to see them with one's own eyes in their own type and colour brings home the tragedy of the situation as nothing else could do. Here is the proclamation announcing that Edith Cavell has been condemned to death, with a line lower down stating that the sentence passed on her has already been fully executed. Translations face the posters, and notes are given to explain their significance and expose their falsehoods. It is a terrible story thus told in grim outline.

Nelson's History of the War. By John Buchan. (Nelson & Sons. 1*s.* 8*d.* net.) The sixteenth volume of Mr. Buchan's History of the War deals with the battle of the Somme. The first chapter gives a view of the Picardy landscape, the German situation, the allied plans, and other preliminaries to the study of the operations themselves. These are described in four chapters, with detailed plans and maps by which every development can be followed. A fine tribute is paid to Raymond Asquith. 'In our long roll of honour no nobler figure will find a place. He was a type of his country at its best—shy of rhetorical professions, austerely self-respecting, one who hid his devotion under a mask of indifference, and, when the hour came, revealed it only in deeds.' The Somme battle surpassed that of Verdun both in numbers, in tactical difficulties, and in its importance in the strategical plan of the campaign. It relieved Verdun, detained the main foe on the Western front, drew into the battle and gravely depleted the surplus man-power of the enemy, and struck a shattering blow at his *moral*. It taxed to the uttermost the German war machine. It tried the command and the nation, and it strained the men in the line to the last limit of endurance.

Messages from Mars. By T. L. B. Westerdale. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.) This young Chaplain has had some grim experience at the front, and he knows how to enlist one's sympathy and admiration for his brave men. He takes us amid the fighting of this grim Armageddon, and does not forget to show 'the immortal glory of the stretcher-bearing men,' exposed to thousands of shells and bullets in their ministries to the wounded. The chapter on 'Religion in the Army' is full of hope. Soldiers love a hearty sing, and 'a good manly sermon all about the Saviour in a strong spiritual atmosphere' will always attract men to the services.

The Kitten in the Crater, and other Fragments from the Front, by Thomas Tiplady (Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.* net), comes from tents and billets within range or sound of the guns. The letters were all written in 1916, and light up the daily life of our soldiers. We see them at a Communion service in the corner of a field where a mackintosh spread on the grass serves as a table, and on the edge of it twelve men kneel in succession as the evening shadows fall to receive the bread and wine. Another evening there is a little service where the men choose their favourite hymns, and the Chaplain speaks of the forward look to be seen on every page of the Bible. Tommy is greatest when conditions are hardest. Mr. Tiplady has seen his men live and suffer and die, and cannot pay them too great honour. He wins attention on the first page, and he never lets it flag.

Jottings by a Gunner and Chaplain. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.) Mr. Boullier is a young Irish minister who rejoined the colours in August, 1914, and shared the dangers of the great retreat from Mons. 'The vilest atrocities the world has ever known' were committed by the Germans, and their prisoners dreaded being sent to Paris. 'They could not silence their consciences, which spoke out against them after committing such cruel, inhuman, and cold-blooded murders.' Mr. Boullier tells how our thin line marvellously barred the road to Calais. 'We held fast like grim death. Our casualties were tremendous, but nothing compared with what must have been the losses of the enemy.' His spiritual work while serving in the ranks was most interesting, and in February, 1916, he was appointed chaplain.

Heroic Airmen and their Exploits. By E. W. Walters. (Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.) There are thirty-five chapters in this book, and each has its own interest. Mr. Walters describes the birth and growth of the airship, and helps us to understand the mechanism and the working of an aeroplane. He gives spirited accounts of the chief airmen of the Allies and their exploits. It is a book that will instruct and entertain young folk and their elders, and its illustrations are of great interest. Every one who picks up this book will find it hard to lay it down.

Julian Grenfell. By Viola Meynell. (Burns & Oates. 1*s.* net.) This reprint from *The Dublin Review* is a lifelike picture of one of the finest-spirited young Englishmen whom we have lost in this war. Religion was the soul of his life, but every kind of sport thrilled him, and his delight in his greyhounds and horses was idyllic. His poem *Into Battle* exactly mirrors his own feeling in the war. 'It is a wonderful work of the stillness of a soul's consciousness of itself.' Every word of this little sketch deepens the impression.

GENERAL

A Diversity of Creatures. By Rudyard Kipling. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s.* net.)

'PRAISED be Allah for the diversity of His creatures,' a sentence from the *Arabian Nights*, is aptly chosen for these short stories. 'It's easy as A B C' is the hardest to comprehend. The Aerial Board of Control for the Planet is more extraordinary than 'With the Night Mail' in the earlier volume, and it leaves us somewhat agape. 'In the Same Boat' is a drama of nightmare and drugs, with a good genius of a nurse and two brands plucked from the burning. 'The Dog Hervey' is a strange tale with a happy ending. 'The Honours of War' is pure fun run riot, and 'The Village that Voted the Earth was flat' is packed with food for laughter, and so is 'The Horse Marines.' 'In the Presence' is a strange bit of India feud, 'Regulus' is a schoolboy tale. 'My Son's Wife' is one of the best things in the collection, and 'Mary Postgate' has its own tragedy of an airman. For force of imagination, mastery of expression, and weird effects the tales will rank among Mr. Kipling's best work.

The poems interlaced between the stories are also in his happiest vein. 'The Land' is a survey of agricultural conditions from the time of the Romans to our days—a survey that bears on every line the stamp of a master. 'The Children' is a noble tribute to those who have died for us in this war.

> Not since her birth has our Earth seen
> Such worth loosed upon her.

'The Legend of Mirth,' with the four archangels convulsed over the strange ways of men, is a very quaint study, and each piece has its own special message developed with unique artistry and effect.

Jan and her Job. By L. Allen Harker. (Murray. 5*s.* net.) This is a thoroughly enjoyable story. The Indian children are a very quaint pair, and the courtships of their aunt and their extraordinary nurse awaken quite a personal interest. The war gives the disreputable father a chance of redeeming his character, and he takes it. All is very pleasantly told, and one's heart warms to Meg's lover and his splendid bull-terrier.

Personality: Lectures delivered in America. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. With Illustrations. (Macmillan & Co. 5*s.* net.)

The titles of these six lectures are, What is Art? The World of Personality, The Second Birth, My School, Meditation, Woman. 'My School' gives an account of Sir Rabindranath's educational work in Bengal. He was nearly forty when he began it, and no

one thought that a poet would make such a venture. It was really due to the fact that his own schooldays were not happy. He felt that children are made to lose their world to find a bagful of information. 'We rob the child of his heart to teach him geography, of language to teach him grammar.' In his school he seeks to give personal experience of the world. Sir Rabindranath is convinced that 'luxuries are burdens to boys.' He started his school with ten boys. All around the forest sanctuary is a vast open country, and here for fifteen years he has been pursuing his experiment. The boys are taught to keep times of meditation, when they must remain quiet 'even though instead of contemplating on God, they may be watching the squirrels running up the trees.' The object of education is the freedom of mind. 'Children are living beings—more living than grown-up people, who have built their shells of habit around them.' Not the least significant study is that headed 'Woman.' Our civilization has thrust woman into the shade, but she is endowed with chastity, modesty, devotion, and power of self-sacrifice in a greater measure than man. She cannot be pushed back into the mere region of the decorative. In the future she will have her place, and man—the bigger creature—will have to give way. The lectures on personality and on 'the second birth' are full of suggestion. 'We have known the fulfilment of man's personality in gaining God's nature for itself, in utter self-giving out of abundance of love.'

The Order of Nature. By Lawrence J. Henderson. (H. Milford. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Henderson is Assistant Professor of Biological Chemistry in Harvard University. He wishes his readers to remember one simple question: 'What are the physical and chemical origins of diversity among inorganic and organic things, and how shall the adaptability of matter and energy be described?' Since Darwin's time the fitness of the environment has only occasionally aroused passing comment, without ever entering the main current of scientific thought. Yet it is 'certain that in abstract physical and chemical characteristics the actual environment is the fittest possible abode of life as we know it, so far as the elements of the periodic system are concerned.' This view has been vaguely held by many chemists, and Dr. Henderson believes that a hitherto unrecognized order exists among the properties of matter. His essay is intended to demonstrate the existence of a new order among the properties of matter, and to examine the teleological character of this order. He begins with Aristotle, who lacked a clear conception of mechanical or even 'efficient' causation, though his inquiries were pursued systematically, and with great subtlety of dialectic. For the next two thousand years the history of teleology was a record of the stagnation and decay of thought. The inquiry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is described with much suggestive criticism. The progress of biology, man's

attitude to nature, evolution, are considered in three chapters, and the conclusion is reached that 'the contrast of mechanism with teleology is the very foundation of the order of nature, which must ever be regarded from two complementary points of view, as a vast assemblage of changing systems and as an harmonious unity of changeless laws and qualities working together in the process of evolution.' This is a masterly discussion of an abstruse subject. It will make a strong appeal to scientific thinkers.

Human Ideals. By Frederick A. M. Spencer, M.A. (T. F. Unwin. 6*s.* net.)

Mr. Spencer's earlier volume on *The Meaning of Christianity* attracted considerable attention, and this new book will deepen the impression. It deals with problems of Society which demand solution, such as the distribution of wealth, liberty, brotherhood, sex, &c. The words and life of Jesus furnish the clearest and most trenchant expression of the two principles of life. 'They breathe the spirit of the very purest idealism. Life in this order of existence, judged and viewed with a view to a coming and superior order of existence—this is the essence of idealism, and a fundamental and pervasive idea in the teaching and life of the Son of Man.' As to morality, Mr. Spencer holds that the principle of devotion to humanity reaches its maximum power as a moral motive in Christianity. 'In self-abandonment to Jesus as Leader in the work of the Divine evolution of humanity the Christian has his highest life.' The section on Religion shows that in the Lord's Prayer we can best discern what religion meant for Jesus. Prayer is man's side of intercourse with God, and in using it we experience an ever closer and fuller consciousness of God. The chapter on sex is discriminating. Maternity must be deemed a first charge on womanhood, and no pursuit or occupation must be allowed to impair the power to bear and rear children. As women realize their high mission to rear humanity as the offspring of God, 'they will be cured of their sin. As they consecrate themselves to their true ideal, they will abhor the false ideal which has corrupted them.' The task before us is 'to divine the connexion between the growth of human society and the attainment by the soul of eternal life, to understand earthly progress as leading towards heavenly fulfilment.' This subject is treated in a very suggestive way. Mr. Spencer holds that 'as God made this world for souls in the lower stages of their growth, so will He make another world for their perfection.'

Competition: A Study in Human Motive. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These studies sum up the conclusions reached by a little group of thinkers who style themselves 'The Collegium.' The object of their discussions has been to gain further light on the relation of Christianity to social life. The five writers, among whom is the Rev.

William Temple, believe that the social problem can only be solved by gaining a fuller understanding of the will of God for modern life. Competition is first defined, and is then considered in its relation to modern industry, production, character, social reform legislation, socialism and syndicalism, human motives, human nature, education, and fellowship. The chapters are lucid, and keep well in touch with actual conditions. John Wesley is aptly quoted, and it is said that 'a genuine religious impulse and an undoubted moral conviction, both originating with Puritanism and renewed in Methodism, helped to produce and promote the temper which demanded economic freedom.' The task of social reconstruction is so vast and so difficult that we need the Church as the source of undying fellowship, and she must have done with intolerance in spiritual matters. The book will be of great service to all students of this vital problem.

Seven Doubts of a Biologist. By Stuart A. McDowall, B.D. (Longmans. 1*s.* net.) Mr. McDowall, who is Chaplain and Assistant Master at Winchester College, deals with the problems of the existence of God, sin, atonement, the goodness of God, prayer, heaven, and the Trinity as they present themselves to a student of evolution. He makes each step of his argument very clear and cogent. 'Because there is such a thing as spiritual progress, we are driven to believe in a Spiritual Environment that caused it; and, granting the Spiritual Environment, we can't stop short of belief in a Personal God.' It is a valuable little aid to faith.—*The Congregational Principle, Positive and Inevitable,* by Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D. (James Clarke & Co. 2*d.* net), shows, with much apt reference to such masters as Dr. Dale, how there emerges from it 'the truth of the joy of spiritual fellowship, the blessedness of the communion of Christians, —men and women with a like purpose, a like devotion, and a common consecration, gathered together to worship their Lord.' We fancy that every Church would make the same claim for itself.—*The Local Preachers' Handbook for* 1917. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.) Such a handbook as this was greatly needed. It is not only full of information as to the organization in each district, but gives lists of books to be read and classes for students. Papers are also included, dealing with various sides of the lay preacher's work. It is a little book which every one who is interested in lay-preaching will study with eager attention.—*Fresh-water Wonders and How to Identify Them.* By J. H. Crabtree. (Kelly. 1*s.* net.) There is no study more fascinating than that of pond-life, and this pocket cyclopaedia with a page of illustrations opposite to every page of reading is just what a young naturalist needs. Hints are given as to equipment, and everything is put in the most delightfully instructive way.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (April).—Sir A. Quiller Couch has a discerning study of Swinburne. *Poems and Ballads* contained much matter of offence, but it revealed a poet whose music was unlike any of the great masters, yet 'as absolutely fresh and original, as it was potently the music of a peer.' Watts-Dunton saved his life, and probably averted a tragedy, but 'he encouraged him to substitute rhetoric for poetry and rhetoric for prose; and so, while Swinburne wrote much in these thirty years—especially on Shakespeare—that was marvellous, old lovers of his verse and prose cannot help feeling that 'the rest is silence' may be, after all, a better epitaph than 'the rest is rhetoric.' There is a frank discussion of the Dardanelles Report. The Editor writes on 'The Two Paths of Empire.' He holds that 'if it be possible to build up a great Empire, and secure its safety, without restricting the liberty of other nations, surely it would be a wanton thing to imperil the unity of the Empire by destroying, under pretence of imperial preference, the wide imperial freedom of trade that now exists. Upon the policy of freedom we have reared a gigantic empire, prosperous, powerful, united, and tolerant.' The instinct bred in our bones has taught us to seek the greatness of Empire by following the path of freedom.

Church Quarterly (April).—The correspondence on 'Dangers in the Church' will repay close attention. One writer speaks of a sincere and determined body of people in the Church of England who are anxious to make it what they call Catholic. They are to be distinguished from 'a small body of real Romanizers whose aim is simply to wreck the Church of England.' They desire the restoration of the Mass, the promotion of Confession, and the adoration of the Reserved Sacrament. One writer holds that these three points are all inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England, and are not really Catholic. Dr. Bindley writes on 'Papias and the Matthaan Oracles'; Sir F. Champneys discusses 'The Virgin Birth from a Biological Standpoint.'

Hibbert Journal (April).—The Editor makes a timely protest against any conclusion of the war which would leave 'the darkest crime of history, committed against the whole human race, unpunished.' He does not propose to 'punish' 160 millions of people, but he thinks that the real criminals—authors of outrages which

have become darker and more numerous since the article was written —might be identified, and that the conscience of humanity and civilization itself will permanently suffer if the cruelty and brutality which have disgraced Germany in the eyes of the world go unbanned and unvisited. Sir O. Lodge's article, 'After Twenty-five Years,' gives a summary, which many readers will welcome, of the work done during the last quarter of a century in psychical research. Articles bearing indirectly on the war are 'America's Self-Revelation' by Prof. H. B. Alexander, 'National Hate' by A. D. Maclaren, and a discussion of the place of force in the conquest of evil—how far it is admissible in Christian ethics, by Dr. G. F. Barbour. In quieter times Mrs. J. N. Duddington's article on 'The Religious Philosophy of Solovyor' would stand a better chance of being considered. It is well written, and will prove full of interest to those whose attention is being directed in these days to Russian literature. The opening article by Prof. J. B. Baillie on 'Science is one of the Humanities' at least indicates what ought to be. 'The scientific study of the world and of man himself draws out his humanity—humanizes him.' Let us hope that as a prophecy this will come true some day.

Journal of Theological Studies (January and April).—Mr. C. H. Turner's careful and valuable investigations into the tangled subject of Early Episcopal Lists are here continued. He deals with Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, especially the last, summarizing certain broad historical considerations which affect the whole subject. The section 'Notes and Studies' includes a paper by the late Prof. Swete on 'The Resurrection of the Flesh,' an examination into the story of St. John and the Robber, by Rev. G. W. Butterworth, 'Philo on Education,' by F. H. Colson, and forty pages by Dr. A. Souter on 'The Sources of Sedulius Scottus' *Collectaneum* on the Epistles of St. Paul.' Interesting reviews by the late Dr. Swete, Dr. Oman, and others deal with current theological literature. Mr. H. G. Wood describes Mozley's *Divine Aspect of History*, as like 'a prolonged and leisurely conversation with an accomplished scholar in a well-filled library.'

The Round Table (June).—'A War of Liberation' regards the coming months 'as no less than the most momentous in all history. Never before has so wide an opportunity been offered for the betterment of the world's life; and never before have men been so certainly "the masters of their fate." So great is the time that none of us can hope to be worthy of it.' 'America's entrance into the War,' 'on the broad issue of public right, and with a distinct purpose to ensure the future peace of the world against aggression, is distinctly a triumph for the intellectual classes who have steadily and consistently tried to formulate a new foreign policy based upon the interdependence of the modern world.' The article on 'Turkey—a Past and a Future' is of great interest.

The Expository Times (April and May).—The Editor in his Notes draws attention to 'two proposals for the rehabilitation of religion after the war,' Mr. Collingwood's able volume on 'Religion and Philosophy,' Mr. Temple's *Mens Creatrix*, the controversy on the Reservation of the Sacrament, and other topics of living interest. Dr. J. E. M'Fadyen writes on 'The Psalter and the Present Distress,' and Mr. E. Grubb on 'The Eschatology of the Fourth Gospel.' Dr. Wotherspoon's exposition of the word 'visitation,' used of the divine attitude in relation to such events as the present terrible war, is thoughtful and helpful. Dr. H. A. Kennedy contributes two exegetical notes on St. Paul, the second on one of the most difficult passages in his Epistles—Col. ii. 10-15. Rev. George Jackson's instalment of 'The Bookshelf by the Fire' deals with John Evelyn's Diary. Dr. G. M. Mackie, of Alexandria (Egypt), furnishes three pages of Syrian and Egyptian proverbs, marked by shrewd wisdom as well as local colour. Many of them illustrate Biblical methods of speech very aptly. Some of them go far—e.g., 'He who eats and drinks without thanking God deserves the punishment of a thief,' 'If your neighbour be well, you are well,' 'He whom men love is beloved of God.'

Science Progress (April).—Sir Ronald Ross makes this quarterly invaluable for men of science. 'Salt and the Age of the Earth' describes Prof. Joly's calculations. Salt is being carried down into the sea, where it accumulates. If—assuming an original saltless ocean, we divide the amount of salt in the ocean by that carried in every year we reach an estimate of ninety million years. Mr. Bulman gives good ground for supposing that the original ocean was not saltless. 'Recent advances in Sciences' are described by experts in the various subjects.

The Bulletin of John Ryland's Library states that the number of readers using the library has actually shown an increase during the war; Mr. Guppy has been able to develop the resources of the library, and gives a splendid list of printed books and manuscripts secured during the year. Dr. Mingana's little paper, 'Bagdad and After' is of special interest. The whispering-galleries of the near East will re-echo the news, 'Bagdad fallen.' Dr. Rendel Harris discusses 'The Origin of the Cult of Aphrodite,' and Prof. Herford writes on 'National and International Ideals in the English Poets.' The list of books contributed for 'The Restoration of Louvain Library' is splendid.

The Moslem World (April).—Dr. Zwemer says that in Egypt there is more interest among Moslems in Christianity and its teaching than ever before. Copies of the Scriptures and religious tracts are being bought and read by Moslems to an extent hitherto unparalleled. There is a spirit of religious inquiry even among skeikhs and religious teachers. Christian meetings have an increasing attendance of Moslems. There is urgent need of reinforcements.

AMERICAN

American Journal of Theology (April) contains articles of varied interest. 'The Preachableness of the New Testament,' by Dr. Carl S. Patton, goes to show that if the older idea of the authority of the New Testament has decayed, there is a larger sense in which the sacred literature 'carries a spiritual compulsion into the soul of every one who is acquainted with it.' Prof. La Piana deals with recent history of the Papacy under Leo. XIII. and Benedict XV. 'The Eschatology of the Second Century,' by F. C. Grant, inquires into the relation between Chiliasm and primitive Christian Eschatology. E. S. Brightman, of Wesleyan University, in an interesting paper shows that Ritschl does not provide a satisfactory view of religious truth, but has taught us the fruitful principle that it is primarily social. Prof. J. A. Faulkner, of Drew Seminary, writes well on 'Luther and the Real Presence.' Other articles are on 'The Survival Value of Miracle,' 'Oaths and Vows in the Synoptic Gospels' and 'The Origin of Mazzoth and the Mazzoth Festival.'

Harvard Theological Library (April).—The Rev. Alfred Fawkes discusses 'The Development of Christian Institutions and Beliefs.' He finds the key to the Church of the First Age in the belief in the literal and immediate coming of Christ. That 'accounts for its distinctive features, and explains the absence of much that, looking back from later standpoints, we expect to find in it but do not find.' 'Why make provision for the Church of the future—her government, her worship, her theology—when the Church of the present was—to-day it might be—to greet her returning Lord?' The Nicene Age saw the rise 'of the hierarchy, of sacramentalism, of asceticism, of saint-worship, of miracle-mongering.' He thinks that the question of Development has again become one of the first importance. 'We are in need of and we are gradually being forced into a theology based on psychology.'

Princeton Theological Review (January).—Dr. Warfield discusses St. Paul's phrase, 'God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ,' which carries us into the midst of his Christology and his conceptions of God. It also brings us face to face with the significance of the title, 'Lord,' which is so richly applied to Christ in the New Testament, and the meaning of the adoration of Christ everywhere reflected in those writings. Dr. Vos deals with 'The Kyrios Christos Controversy.' Bousset holds that Kyrios is of Hellenistic origin, and that Paul received it from the Hellenistic Christian environment into which he was thrown after his conversion. His position is here acutely and successfully contested. The last article is a learned discussion of the Title, 'King of Persia,' in the Scriptures. There are valuable critiques of the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* and of Mr. Balfour's *Theism and Humanism*. The last is described as 'really a great contribution.'

Methodist Review (New York) March-April.—Bishop M'Connell opens with an article on 'The United States in Mexico,' in which he contends that the hope of Mexico lies in the spread of the Protestant religion. Mr. E. Lewis' article on 'The Spiritual Emphasis in Eucken's Philosophy' enlarges on the better and more satisfactory side of Eucken's teaching. Two articles are on 'Old Sermons,' one giving at length specimens of a 'boy's' early attempts, for the purple patches of which the writer evidently preserves a lingering affection. An instructive article by President Craig describes the work done in modern theological colleges of America and its abiding value. Rev. A. Taglialatela, of Rome, writing on 'The Church of Rome and Morality,' questions whether modern Romanism has much improved upon the condition of things described by Sismondi a century ago. Others are 'Browning and the real Christ Jesus,' by E. Voorhees, and a generous, well-deserved appreciation of Dr. Newton Clarke as a theologian.

Methodist Review (Nashville), April.—Admirers of the late Bishop A. W. Wilson will welcome the excellent portrait and appreciatory sketch of his life which appear in this number. Readers on this side of the Atlantic may remember some of Dr. Wilson's characteristic utterances at the Oecumenical Methodist Conference in Washington in 1891. Dr. A. T. Robertson, in 'John's Portrait of Christ,' vindicates his belief that the Apostle John, the 'beloved disciple,' is the author of the Fourth Gospel. This number of the Review contains more than a dozen other articles, none of them of outstanding merit, but each striking a characteristic note. They include 'A Permanent Peace Plan,' by J. L. Watts, 'The Logic of Energy' by F. M. Thomas, 'The Poet Laureate of the Lost,' a notice of Mr. Masefield's poetry, by R. E. Zeigler, 'Edward Eggleston, Circuit Rider,' and a brief exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians by the Editor.

Review and Expositor (Louisville), April.—Prof. H. C. Vedder, in the first article of this number, propounds the theory that the Sermon on the Mount is both in substance and in form a Hebrew poem. He prints the sermon in detached lines and stanzas to prove (?) his point. Dr. W. T. Whitley, of Preston (England), writes on 'Missionary Activity the Test of Church Life,' and Rev. E. W. Stone on the Position of Women in the Christian Church. He holds that 'there is no sex in the gifts of God.' An interesting paper by Prof. C. B. Williams compares our Lord's own method of interpreting parables (the Sower and the Tares) with those of the commentators. Other articles are 'Is the Modern Church a Good Samaritan?' 'Apostolic and Present Day Preaching' and 'Our Seminary,' setting forth the work of the Southern Baptist Theological College and the churches represented by it.